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Richardson, M. E. J.

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Tri-Literal Verbs with a Weak Final Radical y in Ugaritic

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this investigation is to examine whether the different spellings of some forms of III-y verbs in Ugaritic reflect differences in meaning. There are about fifty roots attested which end in y; it is not possible to be exactly sure of the number because the parsing of some forms is tentative. After surveying previous descriptions of the Ugaritic III-y verb (Chapter I) the meaning of the verbs in their contexts is discussed in detail (Chapter II). The examination of all the attested forms shows quite clearly that yqtl forms of III-y verbs describe past and future actions, whether or not the final radical is written, although there does seem to be a slight tendency for the shorter form to be used in past narration. Because of this apparent free variation in the use of final y in verbs, it was decided to investigate how consistently other words were spelled. Those passages that are repeated once or twice in the myths have, therefore, been closely examined and the variations within them have been tabulated (Chapter III). The place names that end in y have also been examined because they are sometimes written without the final -y (Chapter IV). Spelling variation seems to have existed in Ugaritic more than has generally been supposed. If this is so, it may be possible to regard some forms of verbs of the pattern ybky and ybk as variant spellings of the same word.

Tri-Literal Verbs with a Weak Final Radical y
in Ugaritic

Thesis submitted for the degree of

M.Litt.

1976

M.E.J. Richardson

University College.

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Introduction

When the first news of the discovery of the site of Ras Shamra broke there was no hint of any inscription having been found there. (1) This news was to follow some five months later. The earliest report of them in English appears to be in The Times of 22nd October 1929 (2) where the correspondent in Beirut says:

"Interesting inscriptions on clay tablets have been discovered during the excavations at Ras Shamra, near Lattakia. Some of these are Babylonian, dating from the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. but the others are in a hitherto unknown language.

The most important of the Babylonian tablets is a letter of the same kind as those at Tell el Amarna. The other inscriptions are on twelve tablets and a score of fragments or are engraved on bronze hatchets. The writing is composed of only 26 signs which undoubtedly suggests an alphabetic writing. Although the words are most frequently separated, the one from the other by vertical strokes the deciphering presents great difficulties and so far, it is only conjectured that the language has Mesopotamian affinities. It is however highly interesting to find in existence on the coast of Syria at that date what appears to be an alphabet altogether different from that of the Phoenicians." (3)

-
1. There is a notice about the excavation in The Times of 21st May 1929, (p.13d) and a further report on 11th June (p.15c), but only the simplest details are given there. (v. The Official Index to The Times s.v. Archaeology (Syria).
 2. p.15f.
 3. The only response to this report appears to have been from one J.H.Saunders who wrote a letter to the editor of The Times of 24th October 1929 (p.12c).

The news of such potentially interesting inscriptions warranted a fuller report which was provided for the English speaking public in the Illustrated London News of 2nd November 1929 and this was written by the excavator of Ras Shamra, C.F.A. Schaeffer⁽⁴⁾. At this stage he could not add anything to the preliminary description of the new language but two important photographs were included in his report, one of an inscribed adze (one of five which were to play an important part in the ultimate decipherment of Ugaritic) and also a photograph of one of the inscribed tablets.⁽⁵⁾ None of these photographs was really clear enough to enable scholars to make a hand copy from them but at least it was enough to demonstrate that what had been discovered was not a few graffiti but a body of carefully written documents.

The basic task of decipherment was accomplished quickly, mainly because Virolleaud, who had been entrusted with the publication of the inscriptions, published hand-copies of all the tablets as they were discovered before he had really understood them.⁽⁶⁾ This first publication appeared at the beginning of 1930 and all Virolleaud could say at that time was that the language was written alphabetically (because of the small number of signs), that it was probably Semitic, (because most words were composed of three or four letters) and that the sign 𐎗𐎗𐎗, which occurred before what appeared to be a personal name at the

4. This report was slightly fuller than an earlier one which had appeared in L'Illustration of 12th October 1929, p.401ff.

5. The tablet that was photographed proved to be an unfortunate choice, because it happened to be one of those that was not written in the Ugaritic language but in Hurrian. It is CTA 168, and was clearly chosen because of its good state of preservation.

6. Syria x (1929), pp.304-410.

beginning of a letter, probably meant 'to' (used in the address at the beginning of most letters) and could tentatively be given the value /l/. All these statements, although they seemed a little speculative at the time, proved true and two more scholars, Bauer⁽⁷⁾ in the University of Halle and Dhorme⁽⁸⁾ in the Ecole Biblique, Jerusalem, were to build on this foundation and succeed in identifying commonly recurring words like b^cl, bn and bt; they also managed to identify some numerals which were often written phonetically in Ugaritic.

Of these three, Dhorme seems to have been primarily concerned with recording for the readers of Revue Biblique, of which he was the editor, the progress of Virolleaud's work, but he did work out his own decipherment^h also. Virolleaud seems to have gone as far as he could with his decipherment of the first set of tablets by the first months of 1930, and although he may well have known more than he wrote in his publication he obviously preferred to wait until the next set of tablets arrived before putting any tentative decipherment he may have had into writing. Perhaps, like Dhorme, he was aware of the possibility (which was a reality) of there being more than one language represented in this first collection of texts, and the other language ^{might} ~~may~~ well be non-Semitic,⁽⁹⁾ which meant a wider selection of texts was needed. Presumably they discussed these problems together when Dhorme visited Paris and saw the tablets.

Bauer seems to have worked in isolation from the other two and within a year, after rapidly publishing several articles, produced his famous monograph, in which he described the details of

7. ZDMG lxxxiv (1930), pp. 251-4 and OLZ xxxiii (1930), pp. 1062-3).

8. RB xxxix (1930), pp. 152-3 and especially pp. 571-7.

9. Syria x (1929), pp. 304-410.

his own, independent decipherment.⁽¹¹⁾ He was able to transliterate the documents which had been published by Virolleaud but only odd words can be said to have been translated in this work. In fact there were one or two serious errors which had to be corrected later. Bauer had identified $\langle \text{𐤓} \rangle$ as /m/ and $\langle \text{𐤓} \rangle$ as /k/, because he had guessed that the word $\langle \text{𐤓} \text{ 𐤓} \text{ 𐤓} \rangle$ was mlk, 'king'. He should have been suspicious that $\langle \text{𐤓} \rangle$ occurred as a one letter word only in one of the tablets, which it would be hard to explain if it really did signify the common Semitic preposition m(n), 'ffrom' and he could also have noted that the expected plural form of mlk, which according to his decipherment should have been $\langle \text{𐤓} \text{ 𐤓} \text{ 𐤓} \text{ 𐤓} \rangle$ was never attested. These errors suggest a certain hastiness in the preparation of his monograph but it certainly was the first complete attempt to understand this new language and his work was a spur to others to refine his efforts.

After the publication of Bauer's monograph Dhorme pointed out his own amendments⁽¹²⁾ and the list of values he presented was agreed by Virolleaud. When the results of all three scholars were collected an important error could be corrected. Bauer had been confused why the // sign was used in arb^c, 'four' was different from the one used in il, 'god' and also why the sound /g/ could apparently be written with two different signs, 𐤓 and 𐤓 . He had concluded that, as in the Akkadian syllabary so in the Ugaritic alphabet, different signs could be used to represent the same sound. Slowly it became clear that the Ugaritic alphabet did not contain homographs but that the number of signs corresponded to the number of letters

11. Die Entzifferung der Keilschrifttafeln von Ras Schamra (1930).

12. RB xl (1931) pp.32-56, especially p.33.

in the Arabic rather than the Phoenician/Hebrew alphabet. The acute diacritic to distinguish a secondary sound value was therefore discontinued.

All three scholars had an important rôle to play in the decipherment of Ugaritic and to give all the praise, or even most of it, to one of them is unjustified. Bauer was certainly the most prolific writer and published his results immediately but his work seems to have been less accurate than that of the others. Dhorme and Virolleaud seem to have worked along similar lines and after Dhorme's visit to Paris in October 1929 they were probably in regular correspondence. It was Albright, who happened to be in Palestine during those months, who was responsible for telling Dhorme of the publication of Bauer's decipherment and it was he who synthesized the work of the three decipherers and added his own observations in his articles of 1932.⁽¹³⁾ A timetable of events may be drawn up along these lines.

13. Of special importance is his translation of the Baal texts in JPOS xii (1932) pp. 185-208. JAOS lii (1932) pp. 308-9. BASOR xlvi (1932) pp. 15-20. AfO vii (1932) pp. 164-9.

THE DECIPHERMENT OF UGARITIC

Programme of events

- 1929 April Excavation commenced at Ras Shamrah.
(see Albright, JPOS xii (1932) p. 185)
- May The first 48 tablets were discovered, all damaged and many fragmentary.
(see Schaeffer Syria x (1929) pp. 295f; Virolleaud ibid. pp. 304-310)
- October Dhorme visited Paris to see the tablets displayed in the Musée du Louvre.
(see Dhorme RB xxxix (1930) p. 572)
Articles appeared in the popular press.
(L'Illustration 12-10-1929 pp. 401f
The Times 21-10-1929 p. 13d.
ILN 2-11-1929 p. 15).
- November

1930

- May Bauer wrote to Dussaud recording his decipherment
(Virolleaud Syria xii (1931) pp. 15-23).
- 4 June Bauer identified 'grzn' (for hrsn) and supposed the meaning 'adze' in an article in Vossische Zeitung
(Bauer ZDMG lxxxiv (1930) pp. 251-4).
- Summer Albright travelled to Palestine to excavate Tell Beit Mirsim
(Albright JPOS xii (1932) pp. 185-208).
Bauer published news of his decipherment in Das Unterhaltungsblatt
(Bauer OLZ xxxiii (1930) pp. 1062f.).

15 August Dhorme published his own independent decipherment after reading Bauer's article in Vossische Zeitung

(Dhorme op.cit. p.577)

20 August Bauer's decipherment is published in Forschungen und Fortschritte

(Bauer op.cit.)

.. The tablets which were discovered in the second series of excavations arrived in Paris

(Virolleaud op.cit.).

14 September Dhorme corrected Bauer's errors in the identification of

/m/, /s/ and /t/ (Dhorme op.cit.)

20 September The second lot of tablets were cleaned

(Virolleaud op.cit.).

24 September Virolleaud realised that his own tentative decipherment based on the first lot of tablets worked also for the others.

(Ibid.)

1 October The date of the fascicle of RB in which Dhorme's decipherment appeared. (Ibid.)

3 October Virolleaud visited Dussaud to say that his earlier decipherment fitted the new tablets.

5 October Bauer wrote an interpretation of Tablet No. 12 on the basis of his decipherment (Bauer ZDMG lxxxiv Plate 8).

24 October Virolleaud presented his decipherment to AJBL, Paris

(Virolleaud op.cit. p.16).

Bauer's Die Entzifferung... appeared (Ibid.)

Dhorme's decipherment published in RB (Ibid.)

December Date of OLZ in which Bauer revised his decipherment in the light of Dhorme's article (Bauer OLZ xxxiii (1930) 1012).

Soon after Ugaritic had been deciphered there appeared a work which was going to be of fundamental importance to Semitic philology in the years to come, G.R. Driver's Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System.⁽¹⁴⁾ In this book Driver argued strongly that in the evolution of the Semitic verb, the suffixed conjugation had priority over the prefixed one. Later T.W. Thacker was to develop this argument and show that the simplest form of the Semitic verb was the form known in Hebrew as the Infinitive Absolute.^(14a) This form had universal significance and was a base form from which other inflected forms could be derived. He argued that the Imperative was a shortened form of the Infinitive Absolute and the Perfect tense arose from combining the Infinitive Absolute with pronominal affixes. The Imperfect tense was formed and distinguished from the Perfect by prefixing rather than suffixing the pronominal elements to the verbal stem. He contrasted this with what had apparently occurred within Akkadian, where the tense with preformative elements had ^{past} meaning and showed that the waw - consecutive construction could be explained by assuming that there had been a mixing of the two traditions.

Most of Driver's work, which was based on the pioneering research work in the 19th century in Semitic philology by men like Barth^{and Bauer} had clearly been prepared in the light of new knowledge from Akkadian but before the decipherment or even the discovery of the Ugaritic material. Ugaritic merits only a passing mention in the book (although he was later to devote so much of his time to Ugaritic studies) for he was clearly aware of the dangers of circular argumentation.

'I do not think it prudent to use a language which is in the course of being deciphered largely with the help of Hebrew to throw light on unsolved problems in Hebrew itself.'⁽¹⁵⁾

At this time there was no suggestion that yqt1 was the main verb of

14. Published in 1936

14a. SEVS pp. 128-132

15. p. vf.

past narration in Ugaritic. This was not clearly stated until two years later by Goetze in his paper, 'The Tenses of Ugaritic'.⁽¹⁶⁾

This long article spoke of the 'intricate problem of the meaning which is to be assigned to the different inflectional types of verb in the new language'.⁽¹⁷⁾ His first assertion

was that the normal tense of past narration was yqtl. qtl he said, occurred for the most part outside narration and the occurrences of it could be classified under three heads:

- a. verbs expressing a continuous state (pp.268-272)
e.g. hyt - he/she is alive
- b. verbs expressing emotion or perception
e.g. šna - he hates (pp.272f)
- c. internal passives
e.g. yld - he is born (p.273)

Of the qtl forms that occurred in narrative passages he observed that they often clustered together following commands to do those same actions which had been uttered in the Imperative⁽¹⁸⁾, which he felt focussed attention on the actions rather than the actor, and so he proceeded to translate all narrative qtl forms by the English Perfect, with 'have'. He argued that 'he has done' (as opposed to 'he did') really means 'he has (something) done'; so dbh could really mean 'he has something which can now be described as "sacrificed", or more simply, 'he has (something) sacrificed' - which is how he translated it. Although the arguments may at times appear a little forced, his prime concern was to associate the Ugaritic qtl with the Akkadian Stative.

16. JAOS lviii (1938), 266-309.

17. Ibid. p.266.

18. This idea has been amplified by Fenton in JSS. xv (1970) pp. 31-41.

- CTA 14:i:39 kybky that he weeps
- CTA 17:v:25 ahr.umgy after they arrived
- CTA 19:iv:30 dyqny the one who created⁽²⁵⁾
- CTA 17:vi:30 kyhwy when he comes to life⁽²⁶⁾
- CTA 5:i:2, 28 k...tkly '(that) thou annihilate^st.'

c. APOCOPATE: although 'Jussive' had already been suggested as a suitable term to cover these verbs,⁽²⁷⁾ Goetze preferred a term which expressed the form rather than the function of them. He did, however, always translate the forms as Jussive 'for the sake of uniformity'.⁽²⁸⁾ He said that Apocopate III-' forms could end in -a, -i or -u:

e.g. iqra, ispi, iqmu.

He argued that the Apocopate forms of the strong verb would naturally end in a closed syllable and so the variation in the ' could best be explained by assuming that the indicated vowel was the vowel before the glottal stop, not the one following it. But with plural forms like ymru the indicated vowel clearly follows the glottal stop. When an -n was written with the Apocopate-Jussive forms, Goetze felt it corresponded to the Hebrew particle אֵלֶּ. While III-' verbs could not be identified from their form as Apocopate, III-y forms always could, and Reduplicated verbs were characterized by having the middle radical repeated, which he explained by saying that in the corresponding form of the strong verb a vowel would separate C₂ and C₃.⁽²⁹⁾

While Goetze's work was important in its day and is still very often referred to, its limited usefulness now can be seen from comparing the forms he used to illustrate the use of the Apocopated forms with the way they are translated by Driver in CML

25. Cf. Driver (CML) 'owns' Op.cit.
28./p.294. n. 146
 26. Cf. Gordon, 'reveal' 29. ibid. p.290. fn.126.
 27. Friedrich ZA xli (1932) 309 n.1.

i. yip CTA 14:ii:83 Goe. he shall bake

Dr. that he may bake

Note: Goetze makes no reference to the use of yip in CTA 14:iv:174 which is clearly Preterite. Note also example xii, infra.

ii. wipd CTA 24:37f Goe. I shall praise

Dr. (Nikkal) and Eb whom....

Note: Driver admits a form ybd, 'that he might trill' (V B I:18) and 'they trill' (II Aq.vi:30) but derives it from bdd, in other passages.

iii. wtbk CTA 18:iv:39 Goe, she shall weep

Dr. (Anat) wept

Note: clearly a passage of narration

iv/v ymg CTA 19:iii:156 } Goe. he shall go

iv:163 } Dr. he proceeded

Note: clearly a passage of narration

vi. tmg CTA 5:vi:28 Goe. she shall go

Dr. she arrived

Note: reference should read I* AB vi 28

vii wy^cn CTA 6:i:49 Goe. he shall answer

Dr. and (Lutpan) answered

viii wt^cn CTA 6:i:47 Goe. she shall answer

Dr. and (Athirat) answered

ix. wt^sqyn CTA 19:iv:215 Goe. thou shalt give me to drink

Dr. and do thou drink (it)

note! The Jussive is the obvious interpretation here because it follows the Imperative qhn.

x. yst CTA 19:iv:219 Goe. he shall drink

Dr. (our god (!)) shall..drink

Note: reading iln for ila.

xi. l^tst CTA 6:vi:43

Goe. thou shalt drink

Dr. thou verily drankest

xii. wⁿst CTA 23:72

Goe. Let us drink

Dr. That we may drink

Note: according to Goetze, the Subjunctive form (as Driver's translation implies) of III-y verbs preserves the -y. (v.s.) cf. example i, supra.

xiii. iⁱtt CTA 14:iv:201

Goe. I shall....

Dr. as surely as (the goddesses) exist

Note: although he makes no mention of it in his translation, Driver seems to have entertained an alternative possibility that this passage should be translated 'as surely as the goddesses are ~~not~~ angry' (v. CML Glossary s.v. atw).

xiv. ybn CTA 4:iv:62

Goe. it shall be built

Dr. (a house) shall be built

Note: Driver understands this as a conditional sentence: 'If she will make bricks, a house shall be built' and so the verb of the apodosis is not a Jussive.

xv. l^{ahw} CTA 19:i:16

Goe. I will keep him alive (?)

Dr. I will surely revive him

Note: Driver specifically rejects Goetze's translation (v. CML p.59, fn.8) as well as the possibility of making the verb an unfulfilled past conditional tense. 'I would have.....'

xvi. tk^l CTA 19:iv:202

Goe. thou shalt annihilate

Dr. do thou make an end

xvii. ak^{ly} CTA 6:v:24

Goe. I will annihilate

Dr. I shall make an end

Note: In the next line Dr. assumes a change of tense and translates tkly 'thou madest an end'. Goetze takes this word as a Subjunctive twice (op.cit. p.293), but Driver assumes that it is Preterite.

- xviii. ltkly CTA 6:ii:36 Goe. they shall annihilate
Dr. verily (the Sparrows)
made an end

Note: it is not clear why Goetze included this form in his list.

- xix. kypt CTA 23:39 Goe. he shall seduce
Dr. surely (El) entices

Note: it is not clear why Goetze does not include this word as a Subjunctive. He assumes k is emphatic (op.cit. p.296), in which case he assumes it would be followed by the Apocopate.

- xx. wys^f_{sq} CTA 17:ii:33 etc. Goe. He shall give to drink
Dr. he gave drink
xxi. tbn[n] CTA 4:v:115 Goe. she shall build
Dr. (hasten) the building
xxii. tbnn CTA 4:vi:16 Goe. she (?) shall build
Dr. they hastened to build

Note: CML p.99, fn.7, '(that)they might build' The second n is restored in CTA 4:v:115.

- xxiii. tmgyn CTA 19:ii:89 Goe. they shall come
Dr. (the two servitors) proceeded

From these examples it is clear that Driver was unable to accept Goetze's basic idea (although it seemed a reasonable one to hold) that apocopated forms of the III-y verb were to be interpreted with Jussive significance. For the most part he has translated them as Preterites and therefore they appear to be freely interchangeable with the fully written forms. On a few occasions it is agreed that the verb has a Jussive idea, especially (ix), where the apocopated form follows an Imperative, but usually this is not the case.

Two years after the publication of Goetze's paper there appeared the first of Gordon's four great treatises on the Ugaritic language, his Ugaritic Grammar,⁽³⁰⁾ and it is noticeable that he makes only a passing reference to Goetze's work⁽³¹⁾ and in describing the verb he says that it is 'the subject of debate' and refrains from translating yqtl forms in the past tense as Goetze had done. Gordon preferred the 'historical present'.

e.g. ttb^c. btl^t. ^cnt.

'the Virgin ^cAnat departs'⁽³²⁾

Because of the change of tense in consecutive actions (either qtl... yqtl or yqtl...qtl) he refers to the 'essential timelessness of these aspects' and he is clearly opposed to Goetze's suggestions that two performative tenses existed in Ugaritic, the one corresponding to the Akkadian Preterite and the other to the Present-Future, and describes yqtl as a 'universal tense inasmuch as it may refer to the past as well as to the present or future.'⁽³³⁾

He further disagrees with Goetze in choosing the name Jussive for the Apocopate form.⁽³⁴⁾ He chooses several III-' forms vocalised with -i as forms reflecting the pattern yaqtul and of the five he quotes (ym^si, wy^si, y^spi, ispi, t^si) the fifth he translates as a Jussive, 'may ybn', which he indicates has Jussive significance in I Aq. ll. 118, 132, 'may he repair' but the same form is a Preterite in ll. 119 and 133, 'he repaired'. He argues that this is a reflection in Ugaritic of the situation in Hebrew, where

30. Published Rome, 1940.

31. He says that it is a 'handy collection of verbal forms' but makes no observations about Goetze's description of the tenses and moods, (p.47, footnote 1).

32. UG 8, 8.2

33. ibid

34. UG 8.7

the Jussive form of the verb may also have Preterite significance in the waw-consecutive construction. When discussing the III-y verb in particular he agrees with Goetze that the -y is preserved only when it is followed by a vowel.⁽³⁵⁾

Goetze had not considered the use of the Infinitive in his study but Gordon suggested that in III-y roots the preservation of the -y distinguishes the 'ordinary Perfect' tense from the 'absolute Infinitive' - though which form is which he cannot say.

"There is still some doubt as to which is q a t a l a and which is abs. inf. in c₁ (C^{nt}:I:21) and c_{1y} (51:I:24, Krt 165). Both mean 'went up'.⁽³⁶⁾

In fact he seems to prefer the identification of the short form as the Infinitive Absolute.⁽³⁷⁾ He lists several instances of yqtl forms of III-y verbs, separating those with the -y preserved from those without it and translates virtually all of them as Present tenses.⁽³⁸⁾

As more Ugaritic texts were published after the war Gordon revised his work and in 1947 a new edition appeared entitled Ugaritic Handbook.⁽³⁹⁾ Very little has changed in his description of the previously discussed points of interest; he still translates a preformative tense as a historic present,⁽⁴⁰⁾ and he asserts the connection between the Jussive and the Past Tense.⁽⁴¹⁾ He is still uncertain about whether c₁ or c_{1y}, bk or bky is the Infinitive Absolute of their respective roots⁽⁴²⁾ and the only significant

35. UG 8.48 (p.65, last two lines)

36. ibid

37. v. UG 8.25

38. Despite his remarks about the Jussive having a connection with the past tense^(see above) all the short forms are translated as Present but one fully written form, ištynh, is treated as a Perfect (p.66, line 13).

39. A abbreviated UH

40. UH 9.1

41. ibid. 9.7

42. ibid. 9.48 (p.78 third paragraph).

change is in the statement about the -y of the III-y verbs being preserved only when a vowel follows. A newly discovered text had revealed the form t^cln:

t^cln.lmrkbthm

'they mount their chariots'

which showed that even with a following vowel, the -y was not necessarily preserved.

It was eight years before this work was again revised⁽⁴³⁾ but still the overall description of the verb in Ugaritic changed little. It is perhaps significant that the sentence associating the Jussive with a verb in the Past tense has been omitted and no longer does Gordon write:

'As regards the past meaning be it observed that whereas in Hebrew the Jussive expresses the past with waw consecutive, the same occurs in Ugaritic even without the waw.'⁽⁴⁴⁾

He is also more confident in this new edition of identifying the Infinitive Absolute with the shortened form^{pf} of the III-y stem. He contrasts the use of c_n, an Infinitive Absolute which comes directly before the subject, with c_{ly}, which he understands to be a Perfect, following the subject of the sentence.⁽⁴⁵⁾ He observes that in the clause ark.yd, 'the penis is long' (53.34) ark must be an Infinitive for the Perfect would properly be inflected with feminine -t. Similarly w^cn.rbt.e^{rt}.ym (49:i:25) 'when c_n is the abs. inf. c_{anâ} (rather than 3.m.sg. of qtl).' Even so, he finds apparent uses of the Infinitive construction with the fully written -y forms so that his distinction is not at all a tidy one, e.g.:

2:27	w ^c np ^y .gr
51:vi:65	^c d.lhm.šty.ilm
128:ii:11	mgy.rpum

43. Ugaritic Manual (1955)

44. Ibid. p.58 line 5; cf. UH p.61 last three lines

45. Ibid. p.72 antepenultimate paragraph.

Between the publication of UG and UM two important monographs were published which fully discussed the problems of the Ugaritic verb. The first was a dissertation by Hammershaimb which appeared in 1941.^{45a} Because of the War it seems not to have been known in Britain or America until several years later.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Hammershaimb clearly worked independently of Gordon but he seems to have been more strongly opposed to the arguments advanced by Goetze. His main dispute concerns the evidence for the postulated second preformative tense in Ugaritic and, after detailing all the examples cited by Goetze and using the negative evidence of I-n roots and lqh, he comes to a completely different conclusion:

'Das Resultat meiner Überprufung von Gordon's Theorie von der besonderen Präsens-Futurumform ist also, dass ich nicht meine, dass er irgend einen positiven Beweis für das Vorkommen dieser Form erbracht hat.'⁽⁴⁷⁾

He argues that the preformative conjugation in Ugaritic was really displaying all the aspects inherent in the Hebrew Imperfect and he chose to illustrate this wide meaning of the Hebrew Imperfect by quoting the use of the Imperfect in the Song of the Sea where it has a Present, (Ex. xv. 6-7) Future (9ff) and Past (12ff) significance. He comes to the conclusion that:

'das Impf. in R.S. in seiner Anwendung...in Wirklichkeit vom Hebr. Impf., das alle dieselben Probleme umfasst, die wir in den R.S. -Texten finden, nicht sehr verschieden ist.'⁽⁴⁸⁾

45a. UDS

46. v. H.H.Rowley ET lviii (1946-7) p.219.

47. Op.cit. p.109.

48. Ibid.

Hammershaimb refers to the III-y roots to discuss the use of the Apocopated form in Ugaritic. He observes that the vowel of the ' of III-' forms can change, and so whereas a spelling like yqru almost certainly reflects the Indicative of the verb, ending in -'u, a form like yqra could well reflect the Apocopated form of the same verb; this would mean that the vowel indicated by the '-sign preceded the ' and the verbal form would end in -a'. But the real evidence for an Apocopated form of the verb came from the III-y spellings and he attempted to classify the different functions of the different forms.⁽⁴⁹⁾

The first group he distinguished were those apocopated forms which had Jussive significance:

			cp. <u>CML</u>
I AN.i.28f.	^c ttr. ^c rṣ.y ^c l	soll ^c ttr ^c rṣ.hinaufsteigen	he went up (50)
I D 156,163	yṁḡ	er soll gehen	He proceeded
II B vii 47	yqra	er soll rufen	that he may summon
SS i	iqra ⁽⁵¹⁾		I proclaim
SS 72	nšt	lasst uns trinken	that we may ^{drink}

There is no doubt that, as words, Hammershaimb's translation is straightforward but, as with Goetze, the attempt to assign a meaning to a given form out-of-context, and then to argue that that form always has that meaning, is open to the objection that it cannot be valid until a translation of the whole passage has been made. When this has been done by Driver it can be clearly shown

49. Op. cit. p. 98ff.

50. CML p.111 f. (=III B i 29)

51. Hammershaimb was careful to point out that this /a/ was not the final vowel following 'n, for that would make it a Subjunctive, 'was an diese Stellen keinen Sinn geben würde', (p.99)

that a completely different meaning for the inflection can also be given which, while not contradicting Hammershaimb, certainly limits the significance of his argument.

When he came to discuss what he felt to be the main use of the apocopated form, following a consecutive waw, he had to be careful to show that there was a distinction between the copulative waw and the consecutive waw. He assumed that there was, as in Hebrew, the possibility that either the full form or the short form could be used after the conjunction, but the choice of form changed the meaning of the conjunction. Given that it is difficult to be sure of the mood of a verb in Ugaritic because of its context, it is clearly even more difficult to be sure whether the conjunction means 'and' or 'and so'; but, because this difference clearly existed in Hebrew and could be identified through the pointing, it seemed a reasonable hypothesis to make for Ugaritic also, Hammershaimb concluded that the waw followed by the Apocopated form was a waw consecutivum. He is of the opinion:

'dass wir hier ein w haben, das dem w copulativum in Hebr. entspricht. In den Fällen wo w mit Apoc. steht, entspricht es dem konsekutiven w im Hebr.' (52)

The main difference between the Ugaritic waw and the Hebrew waw consecutive was that in Ugaritic it clearly did not change the tense, for he observed that the form wt^cn was followed by the form y^cny in V B, E, 33; rather it distinguished a consecutive nuance.

He also believed that the III-y forms could indicate the use of the Subjunctive in Ugaritic. He believed, with Goetze, that the Subjunctive would be used in subordinate clauses; usually these were introduced with the particle k, and it was common to find the fully written forms of the verb in these clauses

Op.cit.

I K 39	kybky
II D 6,30	kyhwy
I B,2	k...tkly

He concluded that the forms written with -y were probably

Subjunctive:

'Diese Formen sind aber vielleicht in Wirklichkeit Subjunctive, die ein auslautendes a gehabt haben, zum Unterscheid von u des Indikativs.' (53)

But clearly there was no Ugaritic 'rule' that the verb in the subordinate clause must be in the Subjunctive for a number of instances could be seen where the shortened form of the verb was also used:

II B ii, 14,27	kt ^c n
SS 39	kypt

'Möglicherweise ist der Subjunktiv vorzugsweise in abhängigen Satze angewandt worden...in gewissen Fällen vielleicht um ein Streben oder eine Absicht zu bezeichnen, aber die näheren Regeln darüber sind schwer aufzustellen'. (54)

It could be clearly seen that there were no certainties about how the different forms of the III-y verb were used in Ugaritic. The only thing that seemed at all obvious to Hammershaimb was that the short form was used after al, the Prohibitive Particle, (55) and even that 'rule' was going to have to be broken. (55*)

53. Op. cit.
p.101

54. Op. cit.
p.102

55. As in I K, 116.

55*. see below, p. 90, lines 1-3

Another important milestone in Ugaritic studies that must not be omitted from consideration is the large survey of Ugaritic and the Ras Shamrah excavations by R. de Langhe.^(55a) In his discussion of the verb in Ugaritic he says:

"L'étude du système verbal à Ugarit est un travail ingrat...

on est souvent réduit à des conjectures basées sur l'analogie avec des autres langues sémitiques." (55b)

He cites the belief of Bauer and Goetze in the three tenses of Ugaritic and suggests that their speculations were confirmed by the work of Harris,^(55c)

"mais accueillie avec scepticisme par Fr. Rosenthal et résolument combattue par H.L. Ginsberg."

He does not discuss the III-y verbs specifically but concentrates on the three different vocalizations reflected by the roots containing ' .

He shows that the three thematic vowels of the qtl-form in /-a/, /-i/ and /-u/ may well have active (/ -a/) or passive (/ -i/ or / -u/) connotations by analogy with the other Semitic languages.

Following Ginsberg he says that Barth's Law seems to work for the yqtl-form as can be shown from forms like amk, atn :: iqra, ilak and išlh .

55a. R. de Langhe, Les Textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs Rapports avec le Milieu Biblique de l'Ancien Testament, (Louvain, 1945).

55b. Ibid. p. 311.

55c. Z.S. Harris, "Expressions of the Causative in Ugaritic", JAOS lviii (1938), pp.103-111.

But he is extremely reticent about confirming the ideas of Gordon about the three moods of Ugaritic. Gordon had supposed that yagtulu existed beside yagtula and yagtul . He questions whether it can be proved that a vowel necessarily follows the three ' -signs; if it can not, then it is also impossible to decide whether a given III-' form ends in a vowel or simply the glottal stop. All that he can be sure of is that the cohortative and the passive exist:

"À Ugarit ces nuances étaient sans doute également connues mais les formes qui les exprimes ne se distinguent pas graphiquement des formes indicatives."

He draws attention also to the two energetic forms, the Imperative, the Infinitive Absolute and the Infinitive Construct, and the Participle. For the III-y verbs, however, he is content to refer to the studies that had previously been published and that have been previously described:

"Sur ces derniers les verbes faibles on trouve quelques notes dans la grammaire de M. Gordon et une discussion très détaillé notamment en ce qui concerne les verbes comportant un aleph, un waw ou un yod, dans l'ouvrage de M. Hammershaimb."

The second grammatical investigation was a monograph by Austleitner which was published in 1954⁽⁵⁶⁾ although the manuscript had been completed shortly after the appearance of UH.⁽⁵⁷⁾ He clearly sympathises with the way Goetze had resolved the problems of the tenses of the Ugaritic verb:

Das präformative Zeitwort übt sehr verschiedene Funktionen aus: es ist daher nicht überraschend wenn H. Bauer und andere, so Goetze...geneigt waren, nach akkadischem Vorbild auch im Ugaritischen neben einem präformativen Präteritum ein präformatives Präsens anzunehmen.

But in his analysis of the forms he refrains from using Goetze's terminology. He prefers to speak of the

<u>tempus historicum</u> (or <u>narrativum</u>)	tpn.
<u>tempus praesens-futurum</u>	pfu.
<u>modus jussivus</u>	ju.

But ultimately, using much the same evidence as Hammershaimb, from the forms of the I-n verb and lqh he rejects the idea of there being a second performative tense at Ugaritic:

Andererseits muss festgestellt werden, dass sich das pfu. nicht durch die Bivokalität des Stammes von den beiden anderen Tempora abhebt.⁽⁵⁸⁾

He also disregards the possibility raised by Goetze of there being a Subjunctive:

Spuren eines Subjunktivs (mit a-Endung) sind nicht vorhanden.⁽⁵⁹⁾

56. Untersuchungen zur Grammatik des Ugaritischen

Op. cit.

57. V. p.2, 3.

Op. cit.

58. p.68, parag. 114b.

59. Op. cit.
p.70

His discussion of the short and long forms of the III-y verbs is not as detailed as Hammershaimb's. The discussion of the meaning of the particular words in their context was clearly going to be an important feature of his Wörterbuch for which these grammatical notes were an appendix (60) but because he was using more texts than ^{were} available to Hammershaimb he included in his survey a certain amount of statistical information. He compiled a table of all the forms of III-y roots attested and from some 38 forms he observed that 44 were written with the final -y and 44 were written without it. (61) Clearly this table has limited value because it does not show the ratios of full forms to short forms for a particular root nor does it list every occurrence of a particular form - and many roots occur more than once - but in this table Aistleitner was able to indicate which of the verbs had Pfeterite meaning (tpn) which had Imperfect (pfu) and Jussive (ju) meaning. What clearly emerged from his survey was that:

'alle drei Tempora in jeder Kolumne vertreten sind.' (62)

60 op.cit. p.3

61. Op. cit. 67, and p. 66, penultimate paragraph

62. ibid.

63. Op.cit.
p.68.

The difficulty was to try to explain the difference between the differently spelled forms. Although he was unable to explain every one he pointed out one or two solutions.

'die Formen tšthwy im du.2.m. und t^cny im pl.2.m. sind nicht als freie Formen aufzufassen, da sie nach dem y einen langen Vokal (ā bzw. ū) als Endung hatten.' (63)

He observed that the short forms and the long forms could have Preterite as well as Present-Future meaning and so, because they could not with certainty be translated as Jussives, and because he did not admit the possibility of the Subjunctive in Ugaritic, it was clear that it was impossible to tell from the spelling of these forms exactly what nuance to give to them in translation.

63. Op.cit p.68

The latest edition of Gordon's work was published in 1965⁽⁶⁴⁾ and in this book the section on the verb has been considerably revised. After the publication of UM an article had been published in which an attempt to revive Goetze's theory of a second preformative tense yaqattal had been made.⁽⁶⁵⁾ This article argued not merely from a re-interpretation of the Ugaritic evidence but from the spelling of Hebrew at Qumran. Forms of the Imperfect had been noted there with a waw between C₁ and C₂ like 'JG910': Clearly, whatever the vocalization of this form, the link between the language of Qumran and the language of Ugarit is a tenuous one. But Gordon argued against interpreting this kind of spelling as evidence for a yaqattal tense even at Qumran,^{and} he preferred to understand the waw as a mark of the vowel /ø/ which separated C₁ and C₂ because of the additional pronominal suffix on all the forms in which it is attested. The question of the existence of yaqattal in Ugaritic had not been so fully discussed by Gordon in his previous work but here his opposition to it is so strong that he discusses it in one of the first paragraphs of the description of the Ugaritic Verb,⁽⁶⁶⁾

He is also more reticent to accept the second preformative tense because there are several instances of the yqtl being used with Future significance in the administrative literature which had been published in PRU II, where a corresponding preference is also shown for the suffixed conjugation to indicate the past.⁽⁶⁷⁾ It is however possible that this is a use of the Infinitive Absolute to indicate the past since all the forms quoted are in the 3.s.m. form,

64. Ugaritic Textbook

65. R. Meyer in Von Ugarit nach Qumran (1958)

66. UT 9, 2

67. UT 9.3.

without consonantal inflection. Unfortunately only one of the two examples of the Prefixed conjugation he chooses (tknn) is a certain future; the other follows ^cd and may well be a Future Perfect. tknn itself is a reduplicated form from a hollow root which could be explained as a form with doubled middle radical like y^agattal, but he presumably had other instances in mind which he did not quote. Clearly he still feels that the Ugaritic preformative tense is very much the same as the Hebrew Imperfect for he still translates almost all of them as 'historical presents,'⁽⁶⁸⁾ and nowhere does he say, as Goetze had, that, even in the Mythological texts, the main verb of past narration is the yqtl.

He is quite right to say that to prove the existence of y^agattal in Ugaritic a form *y^lq^h is still needed, but it is not absolutely accurate to say that yq^h is regularly used to express the future in the administrative literature. Certainly it does occur as documented by Gordon but in all the passages he quotes it occurs after the prohibitive particle l, in the prohibition clauses at the end of contracts. Really the verbal form here is more likely to have Jussive than simply Future significance.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Gordon seems to have moved further away from the idea of linking the meanings of yqtl and qtl as both capable of past meaning, and even in a passage previously quoted to illustrate the sequence yqtl...qtl the second verb is now alternatively parsed as an Infinitive Absolute.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Another completely new paragraph in UT is the one discussing the waw-consecutive in Ugaritic.⁽⁷¹⁾ Hammershaimb had certainly

68. In UT he does admit the possibility of preferring a preterite translation for the verbs in UT 127.20 (v. p.68 footnote 2) which was not mentioned before (v. UM p.54 footnote 1).

69. UT 9.2.

70. UT p.68 . note 2, cp. UM p.54 : note 2.

71. UT 9.5.

felt that it could be identified, basing his conclusions on the different forms of the III-y verbs with preceding w. But Gordon, who had not previously discussed this question, mentions no forms of these verbs. He says that the waw-consecutive is a feature of prose rather than poetry;⁽⁷²⁾ he does not mention Hammershaimb's work, presumably considering that it was too outdated.

The only other new paragraph in UT, chapter 9 is the one concerning the Internal Passive.⁽⁷³⁾ This question had been referred to before in his previous work⁽⁷⁴⁾ and that same older paragraph reappears in UT unaltered.⁽⁷⁵⁾ In the new paragraph Gordon suggests that the Internal Passive could be used in all the verbal themes. Again his evidence comes from a newly discovered PRU II text in which the form ytn may be a 3.s.m. Passive G. Gordon admits an alternative parsing of the form as a 3.p.m. Active G (the subject would be undefined and so it would be a use of the Impersonal Passive Construction) and goes on, despite the slenderness of the Ugaritic evidence, to suggest that the passive Qal was also much more widespread in Biblical Hebrew than the Massoretes allowed and he advocates repointing forms like רָדַף as רָדַף ⁽⁷⁶⁾

The absence of any discussion of the Subjunctive in Ugaritic is conspicuous. Although he speaks of Moods⁽⁷⁷⁾ all the forms cited refer to forms of the verb with an Energic affix and the paragraph has not been changed at all from what it was in UM. In the meanwhile Aistleitner had discussed the question and concluded that there was no Subjunctive in Ugaritic; Gordon's silence suggests his agreement.

72. v. UT §.9.5

73. UT §.9.13.

74. UM p.27.

75. UT §9.31.

76. In U^I p.73, last line רָדַף is supposed to be a misprint for רָדַף .

77. UT §9.12.

When he comes to discuss the forms of the III-y verb in UT Gordon is able to include several more examples than he could in UM. He now included pdy (which is usually ^{taken to be} a Personal Name but had been understood by Virolleaud in the editio princeps of UT 1006.2. as a verb) and ^clt (from the mythological fragment 1001.9) as 3.m.s. and 3.f.s. forms of qtl, and he also includes a form spy which Virolleaud had taken as a noun, 'incrustation' but which Gordon takes as a 3.f.p. Passive, 'they have been plated (supiyā)',⁽⁷⁸⁾ The PRU II texts had revealed another example of an Infinitive of a III-y root spelled with the final -y (mgy in mgy.hy, UT 1002.42) although Gordon still held that usually the Infinitive was spelled without the -y⁽⁷⁹⁾. The same spelling variation can still be seen in the Infinitive Construct also. He introduces an additional example of the normal short spelling (wkmg.ilm, 'and when the gods arrive') and one with the long spelling also wb.^cly, 'and when he goes up') from the PRU II texts. He included no new examples of the yqtl of III-y verbs but was able more clearly to identify two words as being derived from III-y roots.

a. He changed the translation of

^cnt:ii:24

wthdy ^cnt, tgdd.kbdh.bshq

ymlu,lbh.bsmnt. kbd.^cnt,tšyt

And Anat beholds,

She swells her liver with laughter

Her heart is filled with joy

For in ^cAnat's hands is victory'

cp. 'And ^cAnat beholds,

Her liver is elated

Her heart is filled with laughter⁽⁸⁰⁾

^cAnat's liver exults

78. UT 9.52, paragraph 1.

79. See ^{above} note 37

80. UT p.89, first paragraph, cp. UM p.73, first paragraph.

The change in translation arises from a reconsideration of the parallel structure of the verse and also from a re-interpretation of the noun tšyt because of the occurrence of a verbal form tššy in UT 1001.5; wšptk.ltššy which had baffled Virolleaud.⁽⁸¹⁾ Gordon supposes that it comes from a root wšy⁽⁸²⁾ which also lies behind the Hebrew word, שָׁפַח. He translates the verb as 'suppress' and assumes that in the Anat passage the noun corresponding to the Hebrew word is used. Previously the word had been explained as a Hapax Legomenon from šyt or tšy⁽⁸³⁾

The other root to receive special treatment is phy. In UM Gordon had hesitated to identify the root of the word ph 'see!'. He had listed there other words from the same root, pht, yphnh and toh(n) but he had considered the word phy, which occurs in UT 118.12 as a separate root⁽⁸⁴⁾. Since it was now clear that UT 118 was a translation into Ugaritic of an Akkadian document, and the Akkadian original was now published in PRU-IM⁽⁸⁵⁾ phy could be seen to be the translation of itamarna, and so was quite obviously also the root of the other words meaning 'see'. He accordingly now parsed it as the 3.s.m. qtl of the root phy.

81. UT p.89, first paragraph, cp. UM p.73, first paragraph

82. UT 19.812

83. UM 20.1827 and 1980

84. UM 20.1528, cf. 20.1526

85. R.S. 17.227 + dup. and R.S. 17.380 (see PAV. IV pp.40 ff)

Gordon's work is the fullest description of the Ugaritic language and it has been a basic source of reference ever since its publication. The glossary in it includes the results of his etymological work and it is quoted ^{here} in preference to the outdated translations of Ugaritic Literature (1948) to show Gordon's understanding of a particular passage. In many cases his Glossary differs significantly from Aistleitner's WUS and generally there is not as much reference to the other Semitic languages as Aistleitner and Driver make, and therefore their translations must also be referred to. WUS, which was also like UT published in 1965, remains the only Ugaritic dictionary.

A less well known work, which also appeared in 1965, was a concise ^{description} of Ugaritic written by Segert.⁽⁸⁶⁾ It includes several quotations from the Ugaritic texts but is valuable primarily for its grammatical material. There is no glossary in it. It appeared only in Russian but the Russian is apparently the translation of a German manuscript prepared by Segert.⁽⁸⁷⁾ In describing the Ugaritic tenses he, like Gordon, concludes that there are just two, but he distinguishes four moods distinct from the Indicative. In section 7.2. He states:

The Ugaritic finite verb has the following categories:

- 1) person: 1st, 2nd and 3rd.
- 2) number: singular, dual and plural.
- 3) grammatical gender, the forms of the masculine and feminine gender being distinguished in the 2nd and 3rd persons.
- 4) so-called tenses, rather, properly speaking, aspects of the verb: the affix conjugation qatala, corresponding to the West Semitic perfect, and the prefix conjugation jaqtulu, which corresponds approximately to the West Semitic imperfect.

86. Ugaritiskii yazyk, Moscow 1965.

87. The frontispiece contains the original title Die ugaritische Sprache

- 5) moods: in addition to the indicative mood there are the jussive (probably also the subjunctive mood), the "energetic" mood in -n and the imperative (without prefixes);
- 6) distinguishing of verbs of action and verbs of state by means of a particular vowel between the second and third root consonants;
- 7) voices: (a) active, (b) passive (formed by changing the vowels within the root or by means of the prefix n-), (c) reflexive (formed by means of prefixed or unfixed t);
- 8) verbal themes (to express kinds of action): the basic theme, the intensive theme (with gemination of the middle radical), the causative theme with prefix š-.

After covering the question of the thematic vowel of the Perfect and Imperfect (7.8 -7.10) and the evidence for the Internal Passive (7.11 -7.15) - he uses much the same evidence and reaches much the same conclusions as Gordon - he describes the verbal themes (7.16 - 7.32). After this he considers the question of the two preformative tenses:

7.31 - 7.32

The verb-forms which have survived do not enable us to state definitely whether there was one prefix conjugation in Ugaritic or whether there existed two kinds of such a conjugation. In Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic and Arabic the verbal system displays only one kind of prefix conjugation, traditionally called the imperfect. On the other hand, Akkadian also, in which there are two prefix conjugations, is enlisted to elucidate and explain the Ugaritic prefix verb-forms; they are the so-called preterite of the type *iprus* (in form it corresponds to the West Semitic imperfect *jaqtul-*) and the so-called present of the *ipar(r)as*. [The latter form in Ethiopic is the usual indicative *jeq^{af}tel*, in contrast to which stands the subjunctive mood *jeqtel* (in form this is related to the type *iprus* or *jaqtul*)]

7.32.

The fact that in the prefix conjugation of the type jaqtul- some verbs with the characteristic vowel between the second and third radical consonant have the form jiqtal- cannot serve as proof in favour of the existence of the type jaqatal. The forms which occur in texts published up till now are to be assigned wholly to the type jaqtul-. The forms of a verb with ʾ as initial consonant which are used to confirm the existence of the type jaqatal (as in the model *iatl [*ia'atalu]) can be explained as belonging to the intensive theme or to the reflexive form with n-. Thus it must be acknowledged that in Ugaritic there existed only one prefix conjugation, namely jaqtul-.

The forms of prefixes and suffixes is discussed from 7.33 - 7.42 but Segert refrains from vocalizing the dual ending -ny because of the lack of available comparative material. When discussing the moods he clearly differentiates between the Indicative, illustrated by yšū (yišša'u) 'he raises' and the Jussive ytbr (yatbur) 'let him break'.

7.43

With verbs having ʾ as third consonant, endings are revealed which show the different moods. A verb of the indicative mood in the prefix-conjugation has the ending -u (as in Arabic), cf. išū [jišša'u] (< *jinša'u) (Krt:99) 'he raises'.

7.44

The jussive jaqtul expresses a wish: e.g. itbr [jatbur] (1 Aq: 149) 'let him break'. The jussive with the particle al ['al] serves to express a negative command or prohibition, since the imperative cannot be negated: e.g. al tgrm (125:31) 'do not say!'; al.tšt (51:vi:8) 'do not place'; cf. also al. j⁶dbkm (51:viii:17) 'may he not give you'.

Regarding the Subjunctive he says:

7.45

It is still not established whether forms with -a at the end should be reckoned as proof of the existence of a special form which corresponds to the Arabic subjunctive mood iaqtula. The form iqra (52;l) 'I shall call' perhaps corresponds to the Hebrew cohortative ('iqre'ā) cf. the strengthened ending iqran (52:53); but possibly it is the jussive [ʔiqra]. In the form iqra (52:vii:47) 'let him call', which depends on ilak 'I wish to send' and forms a parallel to the word istrn 'let him hide him', it is possible to see a subjunctive mood. But, on the other hand, in the form wjmza (75:l:37) 'and he reaches' it is impossible to see either a phonetic simplification [wa-jimza] (< ^ʔjimza'u) or a jussive [jimza]. All -n forms he takes as inflections of the Energetic mood (7.46 - 7.47) showing that the -n sometimes includes a pronominal suffix and at other times is simply energetic. He notes that the Imperative mood is inflected like the Jussive and, as in Hebrew, prohibitions are expressed by al with the Jussive (7.48 - 7.49)

When describing the functions of the conjugations and moods he observes three uses of the affix conjugation to indicate:

- a. an action which has been performed before the present time,
e.g. nša 'he raised' (7.51)
- b. a state which continues into the present time
e.g. mla 'he is filled' (7.52)
- c. a wish...thought of as already fulfilled
e.g. hwt 'may you live' (7.53)

He shows that the preformative expresses:

- a. future action (7.54)
- b. present time (7.55)
- c. past action (7.56)

He says that (c) is the most frequent usage and that this usage would naturally be an example of the Indicative mood, although forms of III-y verb suggested that the Jussive may be used.

7.57 - 7.58

The prefix conjugation, when used in narrative, as a rule, has the form of the indicative mood; in those cases where there is no special ending, the indicator -u is displayed; but forms from verbs with j or w as third radical consonant are attested, in which the third radical is absent, which may point to an apocopated form of the type jaqtul: e.g. jbk [jabki] (1 Aq: 176) 'he wept'. (It is also possible that here elision of the third radical, occasioned by phonetic causes, took place, or that it coalesced with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong, which subsequently underwent contraction and was not therefore expressed in writing - **jabkii(u) > jabki).

The jussive jaqtul can indicate an action which was completed in the past, either with the conjunction w- or without it: e.g. apnk....j^dl (49:1:28-39) 'then....he went up'; ^cd sb^ct. snt jbk (1 Aq. 176-177) 'he wept up to the seventh year'; specially after wt^cn [wa-ta^cat(i)] (51:iv:40) 'and she answered' and wj^cn (ib. line 58) 'and he answered', etc; cf. also wjmza (75:1:37) 'and he reached'.

He disagrees with Gordon about the alleged waw-consecutive in Ugaritic although he does discuss one possible case of a consecutive perfect following an Imperative:

7.59 - 7.60

There are a number of cases when the affix conjugation, the prefix conjugation and the affix conjugation are used consecutively (e.g. 51:III:23-26; 51:VIII:21-22), the forms of the prefix conjugation being joined to one another partly asyndetically and partly with the conjunction w- (cf. on the other hand, the sequence:

prefix conjugation - affix conjugation in 51:IV:8-10). It is however, impossible to produce one reliable instance which could definitely support the existence in Ugaritic of a "conversion" of an imperfect into a perfect after the conjunction w, corresponding to the Hebrew consecutive imperfect.

Rather is it possible to adduce facts bearing on the existence of a form of the affix conjugation with w-, following an imperative and thus, possibly, corresponding to the Hebrew consecutive perfect: lhm wšt [l(a)ham wašatita] (67:I:24-25) 'eat and drink'.

His conclusions about the verb as such are summarised in 7.61.

7.61.

The use of the verbal conjugations in Ugaritic poetry is apparently just as free as the substitution of the perfect for the imperfect and vice versa in Hebrew poetry (cf. Exodus 15; Deuteronomy 32). In the meantime it is necessary to limit oneself to the working hypothesis that the Ugaritic affix conjugation corresponds to the perfect in the North Semitic languages (i.e. Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic) and in Arabic, while the verb-forms which have prefixes are similar to the imperfect in the North Semitic languages and in North Arabian. Both conjugations may also be considered as subjective aspects, of which the affix conjugation denotes action or state, and the prefix conjugation describes the course of an action. Whence the affix conjugation is used to express completed action and the prefix conjugation is used to express action not specifically limited in any way. Therefore the prefix conjugation, as well as describing processes which happened in the past, is also a means of expressing action which occurs in the present and which is projected into the future; the affix conjugation is orientated more towards past time. The use of stative verbs in Ugaritic also points to the closest connections

in the first instance with the other North West Semitic languages - Hebrew, Phoenician and Aramaic - and then with Arabic.

Regarding verbal nouns he distinguishes the Infinitive Construct from the Infinitive Absolute (7.62-7.66) and the Participles which are inflected like Adjectives (7.67-7.71); pronominal suffixes, with or without -n may be affixed to them (7.72 - 7.73).

The rest of the chapter is taken up with the forms of the weak verb, I-n (7.76-7.78), I-' (7.79), I-w/y (7.80-7.83), II-w/y (7.84-7.87), Reduplicated (7.88-7.89), III-w/y (7.90-7.98). The last of these sections will be quoted in full:

7.90 - 7.98.

7.90 With verbs with w or j as third radical, the latter are differentiated, at any rate in part. So for example, in the affix form atwt ['atawat] 51:IV:32) 'she came', cf. also the jussive tdu [tad'w] (1 Aq: 134) from *tad'uw 'thou should'st fly'. But in those cases where the weak consonants w and j combine with the preceding vowels which are not indicated in writing, and form long vowels, due to the contraction of diphthongs, the type with j gains the upper hand over the type with w.

7.91 If a consonant follows immediately after the third radical, then the diphthong so formed is monophthongised and is not indicated in the writing. Examples of the affix conjugation: bnt [baneti] *banajti (51:VI:36) 'I built'; gztm [gazetum] (51:III:31) 'you asked'; stt [satiti] *satijti (51:III:14) 'I drank'.

7.92 In forms in which a vowel follows the third radical j is preserved, e.g. in the affix conjugation - ^cLi [alaja] (Krt.165); sti [satijti] (51:VI:55) 'they drank' in the prefix

conjugation - jmǧi [jimǧaju] (Krt:210) 'he reaches'; tstj [taštiju] (51:VI:58) 'they drink'.

7.93 In writing, however, forms are encountered without i, especially after the conjunction w-: e.g. i^cl (49:1:29) 'they go up'; wt^cl (76:III:30) 'and she goes up'; tst (61:1:10) 'she drinks'; more often wt^cn (51:VI:40) etc. 'and she answers'. Either phonetic simplification has taken place: ta^cni^h : †-y > ɿ, or it is a shortened form of the jussive: ta^cni: The same is the case with the imperative: l [alī] (Krt:73) 'rise!'. Examples: from - at [ʔati] (nt pl. IX:III:16) 'come'; plus \emptyset du [da'u] (1 Aq:120) 'fly'.

7.94 The infinitive construct: bbk [ba-bakt] *bakji (Krt:60) 'in weeping'; with -i: lstj gnit [ganiatu] (51:III:30) 'she who creates'; fem. plur. - bjkt (1 Aq:183) 'those who weep'.

7.95 The intensive forms for the most part have -i: e.g. tkli [takalliju] (67:I:2) 'tho destroyed'; participles - mkli [makalliju] (1 Aq:202) 'destroying'; but iks [ikass] (67:VI:16) 'he covers'.

7.96 Causative theme: ššqi [šaššāju] (2 Aq:V:19), apparently the infinitive absolute as a command to a woman: 'cause to drink!'

7.97 Verbs with two weak radical consonants are also attested: e.g. hwj or bjj 'live'; jb (125:23), probably [jahū] *jahw 'he will live'; intensive theme: ahwj [ʔahawwiju] (1 Aq:15, 2 Aq:VI:32); l-ahw [la-ahawni] 'I shall allow (not allow) to live'; ndd 'wander'; idd (76:II:17); wdj (51:VI:32) 'go away'.

7.98 In view of the absence of reliable analogies from the related languages the root of the verb "look", "see" has not yet been finally established: perhaps pwh(?): ph (128:III:28) 'see!'; tph (125:53) 'she looks' pht (49:V:12) 'I saw'.

Although ~~he~~ follows Gordon's outline description, Segert differs from Gordon ~~on~~ a number of important points. He accepts the idea of a Subjunctive (rejected by Aistleitner and Gordon) but rejects the waw-consecutive (suggested by Hammershaimb and Gordon). He has clearly juxtaposed some of the III-y verbal forms to show that although normally when phonetic contraction has taken place the -y is no longer written, so that *šatīti is written štt, 'I have drunk' there are alternative spellings of the Infinitive, like bbk and lšty which seem to defy explanation. Because of the natural rule that when y is written it is followed by a vowel he is obliged to vocalise the two forms differently (bābaki and lašatyi) but it is hoped to show in the following analysis ^{of the verbal forms} that these different writings may reflect a variant spelling tradition in Ugaritic, in which one and the same verbal form can be spelled differently.

II

The Verbal Forms

In Ugaritic there seem to be over fifty⁽¹⁾ verbal roots ending with one of the semi-vowels /w/ or /y/. Since several of the verbal forms may be written with or without the final radical of the verb the question is raised whether the different spellings reflect different meanings or whether the short forms and the full forms are free variants. Table I contains a list of the most important verbs and their meaning so far as they are known.

Because of the essentially consonantal nature of the Ugaritic script there is some ambiguity in the conjugation of the strong verb. The most frequent forms of the suffixed conjugation are qtl and qtl̄t. Both these forms are ambiguous out of context, for the subject of qtl may be 3.s.m. or 3.p.c. and that of qtl̄t 1.s.c., 2.s.c. or 3.s.f. The only other attested form is qtl̄tm (2.p.m.) and in this form person, number and gender are defined. It is assumed that *qtl̄n and *qtl̄tn were used as 1.s.c. and 2.p.f. forms respectively.⁽²⁾ qtl may also represent the masculine singular participle with a corresponding form qtl̄t when the verb is one in the basic theme. Other participles follow the pattern mqtl, mqtl̄t, mqtl̄m and mqtl̄t but participial forms are incidental to this investigation.

In the prefixed conjugation the dominant forms are yqtl and tqtl. These forms also are ambiguous for the subject of yqtl may be 3.s.m. or 3.p.m. and that of tqtl 2.s.m., 3.s.f., 2.p.m., or 3.p.m.⁽³⁾ There is a form tqtl̄n (in which the /n/ is not the energetic morpheme)

-
1. The list has been assembled by collecting the verbs in /-y/ from the Glossaries of WUS, CML and UT.
 2. qtl̄tn is actually attested once in UT 1002.42 in the form ygr̄tn. Virolleand did not draw attention to the fact that this was the first evidence for the form but it is noted (without a reference) in UT 9.8^{1/2} footnote 4.
 3. In this usage the form may be explained as a 3.f.s. (collective) with plural subjects. see JCS 2, 244.

and with this form are associated 2.s.f., 2.p.c. and 3.p.f. subjects. Because 3 p.m. subjects may be construed with yqtl and tqtl forms, and because 2.p.m. subjects may be construed with tqtl and tqtlⁿ forms, it is not surprising that fragmentary passages are prone to misinterpretation. In the other two forms of the prefixed conjugation, qtl and ngtl (1.s.c. and 1.p.c. respectively), person and number are both defined.

A morpheme /n/ or /nn/ which is usually called 'energetic' may be suffixed to yqtl and tqtl.⁽¹⁾ A morpheme /m/ which is usually called 'emphatic' may be suffixed to qtl.

There are rare occurrences of dual forms which will be considered here only incidentally. Sometimes they are written exactly as the plural forms but they were almost certainly pronounced differently. The forms attested are -

3.m.	qtl	{	yqtl(n)	(2)
3.f.	qtl ^t		tqtl(n)	(2)
2.m.	qtl tm		tqtl(n)	(2)
2.f.	qtl ^{tny}		tqtl(n)	(2)

The conjugation of the III-weak verb is a little more complicated than that of the strong verb. While all the ambiguities inherent in the spelling of the strong verb are still found in the III- y verb there are two separate series of forms for the pre-fixed conjugations. In the one series the final radical is written; in the other it is not. Generally both long and short forms are found in equal distribution though some verbs show preferences for one form or the other. The forms of the verb that have so far been attested are summarised in Table II. They are arranged alphabetically and blqy, 'weep' is used to exemplify the paradigm of the III-weak verb.

1. UT §.11.
2. Gordon distinguishes these /-n/ forms as indicative rather than subjunctive or passive (UT p.154).

TABLE I

List of Verbs

'dy		hry	conceive
'ky		wpy	hasten
'ny A	complain	wly	be near
'ny B	happen (?)	wpy	be beautify ^l
'py	bake	wqy	fear
'tw	come	wry	leave (?)
' <u>t</u> w		zgw	low
bky	weep	hdy	look
bny	build	hwy	live
bnw	create (?)	sthwy	bow
bgy	seek	hky	accompany (?)
gly	depart	hny	favour
d'y	fly	hpw	honour
dwy	be ill	hzy	be lucky
dry A	scatter	hdw	rejoice
dry B	hunt	try	be fresh
hgw	count	yqy	keep
hdy	lacerate	yry	shoot
hwy	be		

TABLE I (continued)

kwy		p'y	
kyy	read	phy	see
kly	end	pty	test
ksy	cover	šly	imprecate
l'y	be victorious	špy	overlay
mgy	arrive	qwy	serve
ngh	shine ⁽¹⁾	qny	purchase
ngw	escape	qry	meet
ndy	expel	š'y	flow
nky	harm	šlw	rest
nsy	be distant	šnw	hasten
npy		šqy	drink
nqy	sacrifice	šrh	hurl ⁽¹⁾
'ly	ascend	šty	drink
'ny	answer	tky	be present
gy	entreat	twy	resemble
gly	droop	t'y	present
		try	repeat

1. Two examples of III-h verbs are included, which are the only two so far attested. They are not developed forms from III-y roots.

TABLE II

Forms of the Verb

STRONG VERB

III-WEAK VERB

	Long form	short form
qtl	bky	bk (Imperative)
qtlm	bkym	bkm (Imperative)
*qtlñ	*bkyn	
qtlt	bkyt	
qtltm	*bkytm	
*qtltn	*bkytn	
'qtl	'bky	'bk
yqtl	ybký	ybk
yqtlñ	ybkyn	*ybkñ
nqtl	nbky	nbk
tqtl	tbky	tbk
tqtlñ	tbkyn	*tbkñ

In deciding the tense of a verb three common terms are used in a special way. A 'Perfect' tense means the suffixed conjugation of which the meaning would correspond to that of the Hebrew Perfect. An 'Imperfect' tense similarly means an example of the prefixed conjugation of which the meaning could satisfactorily be rendered into Hebrew with the Imperfect tense. The term 'Preterite' is used to indicate the other basic meaning of the prefixed conjugation which corresponds to the Akkadian Preterite. Although it is more correct not to speak of the verbal forms in Semitic as tenses,⁽¹⁾ and although the 'Imperfect' and 'Preterite' may in reality have been different functions of the same form, it seemed more expedient to use common words loosely than to innovate unnecessarily.

The analysis of the individual verbs has inevitably encountered several cruces interpretationis. Some of these could not have been omitted because the tense of the verb was of prime importance and others seemed too interesting to leave *aside*. Often the investigation of a problem in one passage has raised other problems elsewhere. The question of the detailed interpretation of many an Ugaritic passage must often be left open and many of the discussions below have admittedly been left on a superficial level lest the main aim of the investigation become a subordinate one.

1. CGSL 16.28.

dy

The verb dy occurs in one passage:

UT 1010:19,20

wl. ^csm, tspr, nr(?)n.al.tud,

ad.at.lhm, ttm.ksp

There appear to be two different forms of the verb:

al.tud 2.s.m. Jussive after al;

ad.at 2.s.m. Imperative with emphasizing pronoun
or Infinitive Absolute with a conjugating
pronoun. (1)

Gordon⁽²⁾ actually considers the whole expression to be one verbal form al.tudad.at. He says it is a reduplicated verb and he translates:

'Do not exceed (a price of) 60 (shekels) of silver for them'.

No etymology has been suggested for the word but because of its association with ksp it seems likely that some verb of paying would be appropriate. He seems to have rejected the suggestion of Virolleaud that it was cognate with Arabic dy, 'perform', 'accomplish', 'pay' (v.Lane p.38a f.).⁽³⁾

There is a Hebrew word לֵךְ⁽⁴⁾ which basically seems to mean a 'branch of wood'. It occurs in the phrase לְעֵצֵי הַיַּדִּים, 'the ends of the branches' but it seems unlikely to have any connexion with the Ugaritic word. It is assumed that these verbal forms come from a III-weak root and are to be parsed as indicated above.

1. v.J. Friedrich, Phönizisch Punische Grammatik (1961) para.267, 286n.1.
2. UT 19.73
3. PRU II p.205, where the word is listed in the Glossary.
4. BDB s.v.; KB s.v. gives Molzseit, of which 'log' is an inadequate translation. It means log only because of the collocation with znb.

'ky

A verb 'ky is listed by Aistleitner ⁽¹⁾ to explain the sentence

UT 138:6

iky.lht,spr.dlikt

'I do not have (lit. 'I am without') a letter-tablet⁽²⁾
which you have sent.'

He supposes that the verb is cognate with an Akkadian word akû, 'be lacking' and he appears to be citing the word listed in MA p.33⁽³⁾ as akû, 'weak'. But this word is not used as a verb in Akkadian.⁽⁴⁾ As a noun it is now usually translated 'cripple' and may well be a Sumerian loan-word.⁽⁵⁾ This word may well explain the meaning of the personal name bn.aky in UT 1047:13⁽⁶⁾ (the -y form being diminutive or caritative) but it can hardly be used as a cognate of an Ugaritic word meaning the verb 'lack' as Aistleitner suggests (in German, 'mangeln').

1. WUS p.16, item 173.

2. spr could also be in apposition to lht.

3. The akû of the lexical list cited by MA (de-el-lu = a-ku-u) is now taken to be akû, 'anchor' (AHW, s.v.) or 'mast' (CAD, s.v.). MA had assumed a Semitic word dalālu, 'be troubled' (cf. AHW p.153 s.v. dalālu I and CAD D p. 173 s.v. dullu, which is derived from dalālu B) to be the root of the Sumerian dellu.

4. The word is listed also in Delitzsch, p.52 s.v. 'kh

5. So AHW, p.30 s.v. akû(m) I, but CAD A/1 p.283f. s.v. akû B asserts that it should not be regarded as a loan from Sumerian.

6. The meaning of the personal name is not explained in WUS

Gordon (1) prefers to derive the word in this passage from a supposed root kyy, a root which is not attested elsewhere in Ugaritic and one which has no obvious etymology; Gordon hesitantly translates it as 'I have read', presumably adducing the meaning from the context.

What appears to be the same word appears in another Ugaritic letter but one which was published in PRU II and therefore not available to Aistleitner for WUS. The sentence in which it occurs was not translated in full by Virolleaud but he clearly thought it was a verb (2).

UT 1010:5

lm.tlik.^cmy,iky.aškn

In this passage Gordon regards the word as an interrogative particle with a l.s. pronominal suffix; he translates:

'How can I deliver the logs?' (3)

The main objection to this translation is that he includes the word ^csm from the next section of the tablet. The whole document is divided into sentence units by horizontal lines and it is, therefore, much better to treat ^csm as the first word of the third sentence, rather than the last word of the second. It is unusual to find the subject of an interrogative sentence anticipated by a pronominal suffix attached to the interrogative particle, but in the absence of a better solution it must suffice as an explanation. The only alternative seems to be to regard the

1. UT 19.1222

2. PRU II, p.23f. For the translation of l.5 he says simply 'Je...'.
'

3. UT 19.147

writing iky as an error or variant of ik, the more usual spelling of the interrogative particle (1). The second and third sentences of this letter may then be translated:

lhyil, lm. tlik. ^cmy, iky. aškn,

^csm. lbt. dml, pank. atn, ^csm. lk

'To Hyil : Why did you send to me (saying),

"How can I dwell (like this)?" ?(There is)

timber for Dml's house so I will give (that)

timber to you.'

The situation appears to be that a certain man hyil, engaged in building a house, complained to the king of a shortage of timber for construction work; the king here replies that he is sending him a new supply from another source. The rhetorical question the builder used in his letter to the king is virtually a negative and could be freely rendered 'I can not live(in these conditions).'

When a rare word occurs in separate contexts like this, it is safer to assume that two occurrences of the same word are to be explained than immediately to suppose that one of them is a homonym. It is possible to understand the iky of the former passage also as an interrogative particle, but it could hardly have the meaning 'how ?' there. But it may possibly mean 'where ?' (2) and give the translation:

'Where is the tablet, the document that you have sent ?'

Because of these problems of certain interpretation, the existence

1. Similar variations in spelling can be found in the archaic and poetic forms of the Hebrew prepositions 'l ('ly) and ^cl (^cly) (cf. GKC para. 103o)

2. Conversely Hebrew mh which has to be translated 'how' in I Sam. x.27. mh yš^c nw zh, 'how shall this man save us ?'.

of a verbal root 'ky in Ugaritic is seriously to be questioned. It seems that the two possible forms of it are to be explained as variant writings of the interrogative particle ik, cognate with Hebrew 'yk, 'how?', but in one of the cases it has shifted in meaning to become 'where'.

'ny

The root 'ny is attested in

* CTA 16:i:8 (and similarly ii:108)

hlm.qdš,any

The district of Qadesh groans.⁽¹⁾

This is the translation of Driver. Because it follows the verb bky, 'weep' this seems to be an obvious translation for the word but it obviously depends for its sense on the meaning of hlm. Driver has derived this word from the Arabic preposition hawl but his etymology must be questioned since the word in Arabic does not have such a specific meaning as a town's environs.⁽²⁾

Aistleitner in his translation seems to have been influenced by the term mknpt in the following clause which he translates as 'wingspan', preserving a meaning close to the root idea of knp. He posits the idea that hl is an eagle ('Aar')⁽³⁾ the emblem of Ugarit and named 'the sighing one'.⁽⁴⁾

1. CML p.41, 43

2. Lane p.676a confirms that the word always has a more abstract meaning.

3. WUS item 926.

4. Ibid. item 303.

* See below pp. 214ff.

Gordon (1) supposes that it comes from a place name hl (2) and seems to suggest that any is not a verb at all but perhaps refers to the town's fleet. (3) This would then be a passage describing the greatness of the town.

Aistleitner's translation has not been widely accepted and it does not fit easily into the description of the ailing Krt. Gordon's suggestion that hl is a place name seems better than Driver's 'environs'; the-m may be explained as an emphatic. But since there is no indication that this town, even when it occurs in town lists, is situated on the coast any is not to be translated 'fleet' but, with Driver, 'groan' and it is here parsed as a participle:

'Sacred hl is groaning.'

ny B

A root any B is distinguished by Driver (4) but not recognized by Gordon or Aistleitner. It is difficult to understand why this second root is supposed especially as no philological support is given. It occurs only in the one phrase

* CTA 3:v:43 (and 4:iv:47)

any.lysh.tr.il.abh

Driver translates these words:

'at that moment the bull, El his father, cried out' and the speech proceeds to lament the lack of any temple of Baal.

-
1. UT 19.861.
 2. The name occurs unbroken in the administrative tablet CTA 71:40 which contains other common place names.
 3. No mention of the meaning 'groan' is made when discussing the word in the Glossary. The passage is cited under the general meaning 'ship' (UT 19.861).
 4. CML p.136a.L.4f.

From the context it would be better to parse any as the participle of 'ny A and translate 'sadly'. The usage would be very similar to the other occurrences of this word.

'py

* *

CTA 14:ii:83, iv:174

yip.lhm.dhms, mgd.6dt.yrhm

'He shall bake (has baked) bread for five months . And enough food for six months'.

The word apy(m) occurs as a noun, whether it is a personal name or a verbal noun meaning 'baker', four times (UT 1040:10, 1133:5, 2084:4,5). As a verb it occurs only in this passage describing the preparation Keret made for his expedition. The passage is repeated and the first occurrence, which embodies the commands of El to the hero, is naturally translated as a Jussive; the verb is in the apocopated form. That the short form of the verb should also be used when the narrative goes on to describe the actual baking of the bread shows that it could indicate a Preterite as well as an Imperfect tense. This is an important repetition because it has never been suggested that the text is to be emended and it indicates that a /-y/ may be omitted in spelling without necessarily changing the meaning of a verb.

'tw

This root appears to be cognate with Aramaic 't' , 'come'. Many forms of the verb occur but several words like at and atm are homographs for pronouns. One of the most common verbal forms is at which, except when it is to be understood as the 2.s.m. pronoun 'you', is the m.s. Imperative. A clear example of the word is:-

* CTA 1:iii:16
at.wank.ib[gyh]

'Come, and I will search for him myself.'

The Imperative may be emphasized by /-m/ as can be seen from the parallel passage

* CTA 3:Ciii:25
atm.wank,ibgyh

'Come then, and I will search for him myself.'

The sentence is repeated verbatim in CTA 3:Div:63 but the verbal form there has to be restored. atm also occurs as a homograph for the 2.p.m. pronoun 'you'.

An ambiguous sentence is

* CTA 6:ii:12
at.mt.tn.ahy

Driver (1) favours the translation

'Mot, give thou my brother.'

but Gordon (2) suggests that at is a co-ordinate Imperative and this would mean translating

'Come, Mot, give me my brother.'

* The three words at.bl.at which are repeated in the Hadad tablet (CTA 12:ii:7, 24)* cause difficulty. Since the Imperative is not usually negated in the Semitic languages Driver's (3) translation 'Come, nay come!' is questionable but a translation 'You have certainly not come' would avoid this difficulty. The first at would be

-
1. CML p.111b L.7f.
 2. UT 19.407
 3. CML p.71b and p.73a.

understood either as an emphasizing pronoun or as an emphasizing Infinitive. But the second at would have to be explained as a carelessly spelled form of att (by haplography). But the context is not specific so it would be better to maintain the text and translate 'He has certainly not come'. Although the expected form of the 3.s.m. Perfect is usually considered to be atw that form is never actually written. It is a form used in restoring CTA 15:iv:22.⁽¹⁾ The simplest solution of all would seem to be to understand bl here as an asseverative and translate 'Come, yes come!'

The Imperative at seems to occur again in CTA 13:11 where at.mtbkb(!)[m],[š]mm, if the reading is certain, may be translated as 'Come to your dwelling in the skies!'

The reason for suggesting that this verb comes from a III-/w/ root is the form atwt, an apparently 3.p.f. Preterite, in

* CTA 4:iv:32

ik.mgyt.rbt.atr[t.y]m, ik.atwt.qnyt.i[lm]

'How has the Lady Athirat of the Sea arrived?'

'How has the one who created the gods come here?'

The other occurrences of this verb are in the tqt1 form. The main passage in question comes from the story of Keret and the hero has received a divine blessing

* CTA 15:iii:17, 18

tbrk.ilm.tity, tity.ilm.lahlm

'The gods blessed him and went,

The gods went to their tents!'

This translation of 'ty as 'go' rather than 'come' is not a serious

1. So Gordon. v. CTA p.70 fn.7

divergence from the normally accepted meaning of the word. Similar problems arise with the translation of איל and גסן in Hebrew and also with the Akkadian Ventive. The change is usually explained as a tacit move in the narrator's mind to the next scene of action, but in this particular instance any move there may have been is short lived for in l.20 the scene moves back to the house of Keret. In Aramaic 't' may mean 'go' as well as 'come'.

There is a word tit which, at least formally, appears to be an apocopated form of tity and is construed in this way by Gordon.⁽¹⁾ The passage in question occurs in one of the Rephaim texts but there are several other uncertain words in it and the restorations are conjectural so that any translation must be tentative. Because this particular tablet is not written in lines which correspond to sentence units it is important to redivide them in order to achieve some degree of metrical balance. The important lines are these:-

CTA 20:B:10

mgy.rpum.lgrnt	$\text{i[lnym,l]mt}^{\text{ct}}$
$\text{wy}^{\text{cn}}.\text{dnil.}[mt.rpe],$	$\text{y}^{\text{tb}}.\text{gzr.mthrmny}$
$[\text{.rpum}],\text{bgrnt},$	$\text{ilm.bqrb.m}[t^{\text{ct}}]$
$[\text{.....}]\text{dtit.yspi},$	$\text{spu.q}[\text{.....}]$

'The spirits arrived at the barns,²

The divine beings at the store-chambers.³

Then Danel, the Man of the Spirit, replied,

The hero, the Man of hrnm answered:

"Behold(?)⁴ the spirits are in the barns,

The gods are within the store-chambers.

The ^{NOUN} of the fig⁵ let them eat

OR They have ^{VERB} that⁶ they⁷ might come and eat,⁸ '.

1. UT 19.407

notes of the translation

- α A more literal translation would be 'threshing floors'.
- β The noun seems to be derived from t^cn, 'load' (cf. UT 19:1040).
- γ rpum is not a sufficiently long word to fill the break. Perhaps it was introduced by some exclamatory particle like hn.
- δ Virolleaud's suggested restoration of ilnym does not accord with either interpretation of dtit. His original translation did not always seek to divide lines into metrical units.
- ε This accords with Driver's translation, but it is better to assume that the word is cognate with Akkadian tittu rather than Hebrew תִּטָּא.
- ζ It is assumed that d may introduce a subordinate clause in Ugaritic as it may in Aramaic.
- η It is doubtful whether a tqtl form with a 3.p.m. subject may be juxtaposed to the more usual yqtl form.
- θ The expected spelling of the verb in the 3.p.m. would be yspu.

It seems that either translation of tit is possible. But if it is a verb it presumes the juxtaposition of yqtl and tqtl forms of co-ordinate verbs. If this were a common practice it would surely have led to much ambiguity. When all things are considered it seems better to treat tit as a noun in this passage.

A form ity[is attested once in UT 153:2 but it is too fragmentary to permit interpretation.

atw

The word it in Ugaritic corresponds closely with Hebrew but it is questionable whether the word is truly a verb in Ugaritic any more than it is in Hebrew. There is one inflected form:

* CTA 14:iv:201

iitt, atrt.srm

Presuming it to be a verb, Driver understands itt as a 3.f.s. form and translates the sentence

'Surely (literally: 'how') Athirat of Tyre exists'.⁽¹⁾

Akkadian isû, its cognate, is, it is true, a perfectly regular verb but it means 'have' rather than 'exist'. Driver's translation is questioned by Gordon, but he offers no alternative.

In these circumstances it may be worthwhile to consider an alternative interpretation. The hero has begun to pay his vows at the shrine of Athirat and it would be appropriate for him to begin his prayer with a verb in the first person. In the parallel colon he continues with another first person verb (iqh), 'I will take' and later with as^crb, 'I will introduce' in parallelism with atn, 'I will give'. It may be that itt is derived from a root *itt meaning something like 'take a wife'. After all, that was the purpose of the whole exercise.

bky

More forms of bky are attested than any other III-/y/ root. Short and long forms are found in every part of the declension except in the l.p.c. Imperfect. These are the actual forms attested:

1. CML p.33b.

bky(h) bkyl bkym ybky tbky(k) tbkynh abky
bk bkyl bkm ybk tbk tbkn

bk is probably always to be translated as a verbal noun, or infinitive construct. (1)

* CTA 6:i:9

^cd.tsb^c.bk

'Until you are satisfied with weeping'

* CTA 14:ii:60

bbk.krt

'When Keret wept'

CTA 27:i:10

bk.mla[

'weeping fills...'

Of course, the m.s. Imperative form of this verb would also be bk but it does not seem yet to be attested. bkm always occurs with verbs of speech or motion and it is usually understood as a verbal noun with adverbial /-m/, and translated 'in tears'. Alternatively, certainly with plural subjects, it could be understood as a use of the participle. The word occurs eight times: CTA 41:5,7, 4:42, 10:30, 16:112, 19:57,58,58.

bky is never certainly attested as a third person Perfect tense. Understanding it as a verbal noun or adjective always gives satisfactory sense.

1. UI 9.26

* CTA 14:i:31

bm[.]bkyh

'While he wept', or 'With his weeping' (1)

* CTA 16:i:14

ytn.gh,bky

'Weeping, he began to speak' (2)

CTA 16:ii:93

[tt]n,gh.bky

'Weeping, she began to speak' (3)

* CTA 16:ii:103

uhštk.lbky^ctq

'Your vigour has turned to tears'.

The usage of bky is very similar to that of bkm and bk, the other verbal nouns. A form bkym occurs once in a fragmentary passage (CTA 16:ii:116)[†] but cannot be adequately translated.

bkt is used as an epithet of the goddess š^ctqt and may be translated 'the weeping one', a f.s. participle, when it occurs in CTA 16:vi:4. Aistleitner (4) prefers to regard it as a place name, and Driver translates it as 3.s.f. Perfect.⁽⁵⁾ bkyt is the corresponding f.p. form used as an epithet of the wailing women

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1. So CML p.29a.
 2. alternatively 'he did weep' (CML p.40a) cf. CTA 16:ii:93
 3. Clearly Driver understands the word as an Infinitive here; a participle would be inflected with /-t/.
 4. WUS item 514
 5. CML p.45b

(mšspdt) who came to Danel's court (CTA 19:iv:172, 183(!)), but it is not certain that this /y/ marks f.p. participles of III-y verbs from f.s. participles.

The form ybk occurs only in one passage (CTA 19:iv:173, 177) where the subject is bkyt, 'the weeping women'. It is the only occasion that this verb is used with a plural subject but the change in spelling may be coincidental since it does not apply to other verbs. The form ybky is usually best translated as a Preterite but it is obviously Imperfect in CTA 14:i:39.⁽¹⁾* Here it also happens to be used in a subordinate clause introduced by k but other instances of ybky are in co-ordinate main clauses which eliminate the idea that the fully written form of these verbs corresponds to a subjunctive usage. These are the occurrences:

CTA 14:i:39

mat.kr~~ē~~.kybky

'What is the matter with (?) Keret that he
is weeping'

* CTA 14:i:26

y^crb.bhdrh.ybky

'He entered his ^{chamber} and wept'

* CTA 16:i:12

ybky.wyšnn

'He wept and gnashed his teeth'

* CTA 19:iii:146

ybky.wyqbr

'He wept and made the burial'

1. CML 'he weeps' p.29b

* * CTA 19:iv:173,177

ybk.laqt.g'zr

'They wept for the hero Aqhat'

(referring to the mšspdt and the pzgm.gr)

tbky similarly occurs in both full and short forms. The short form as such occurs only once where the subject is Anat (CTA 18:iv:39). It is translated as a Preterite tense (1) and it so happens that on this occasion the verb follows the conjunction w /w/. That the conjunction w is the reason for the apocoptation seems unlikely since other III-weak verbs are written in the full form after it. tbky occurs without the conjunction w to describe the weeping of Pughat for her brother Keret (CTA 16:i:55, ii:97) and similarly to describe her weeping for Danel (CTA 19:i:34).

Whenever the energetic form is used it appears to conceal a suffix, and the energetic suffix is only rarely added to the full form.

* CTA 16:i:25

bn.al.tbkn

'My son, do not lament me!'

* CTA 16:i:30

tbkn,wtdm.ly

'Let her lament and cry over me!'

* CTA 15:v:12

tbkn,[..]rgm.t₁m, [..]mtm.tbkn

'You shall weep for him [like] lowing bulls,

[As befits] the deceased you shall weep for him!'

In all these sentences a Jussive nuance is appropriate but whether the

omission of the /-y/ indicates a Jussive or arises because of the energetic suffix, it is not clear. The form tbkynh in CTA 6:i:16 is translated as a Preterite (1) but it would be possible to discern a Jussive idea in

* CTA 16:i:6, ii:106

tbkyk.ab.gr

'Father, the valleys weep (or shall weep) for you'.

The form abky occurs three times in the repetitive passage about the slaughter of the eagles (CTA 19:iii:111,126,140). It is always in the phrase abky.wagbrnh, 'I will weep and bury him'.

bny

The root bny, 'build' very often occurs with the noun bt, 'house' as its object. Twice it is attested in the m.s. Imperative form bn:

* CTA 4:v:80,95

wbn.bht.ksp.whrs

'And build houses of silver and gold!'

A probable third occurrence of this form is in the passage (as restored by Herdner). (2)

* CTA 2:iii:7

b[n.]bht.ya[

'Build the houses of Yam!'

The other form that occurs is a 2.s.m. Jussive with energetic suffix /-n/.

1. CML p.109b 'she wept'

2. CTA p.9 cf. CML p.76 (III*C) which has a noticeably different text for this fragmentary tablet.

** CTA 2:iii:10, 4:v:115
 hš.bhtm.tbn[n(?)
 'Hurry, and do build the houses!'

* CTA 4:vi:16
 ...]bhth.tbmn
 '[As for the...]of his houses, you shall build them!'

The word bnt occurs in a similar context and is usually
 parsed as a l.s.c. Perfect tense.

** CTA 4:vi:36, viii:35
 bhty.bnt,dt.ksp
 'I have built my houses with silver!'

In another text a homograph is best understood as an infinitive
 construct, especially if Herdner's restoration is **accepted**.

* CTA 3:E:v:28
 bnt[.]bh[tk].a[l.tš]mh
 'Do not rejoice over the building of your houses!'

The only other form to occur with bt is ybn, the 3.s.m.
 Jussive.

* CTA 4:iv:62
 ybn.bt.lb^cl,km.ilm
 'Let him build a house for Baal as befits the gods!'⁽¹⁾

* CTA 4:v:89
 y[b]n,bt.lk.km.ahk
 'Let him build a house for you like those of your
 brothers!'

A slightly different meaning of this verb is implied when
 a bird, or more particularly the wing of a bird, is the object. The
 bird in question is an eagle which has been dissected to search in its
 carcass for human remains. After the search is completed bny is used

1. Lit. "like the (other) gods".

to describe the prayer for the 'reconstruction' of the body. The short form of the verb is appropriate for the obviously Jussive meaning.

* CTA 19:iii:118,119 (and similarly 132,133)

knp.nšrm.ybn,b^c1 ybn,diyht

'Let Baal mend the eagles' wings,

Let him mend their feathers!'

A contracted form of the l.s.c. Imperfect occurs twice. First it occurs with lightning as the object (CTA 3:Ciii:23)* and then, probably in anticipation of the reconstruction of the eagles' wings, it indicates the proposed resuscitation of Aqhat after death. (CTA 18:iv:40). The adequate translation of both these passages assumes a figurative meaning for the root considerably removed from its basic idea. The 'building' of lightning and the 'building' of people are not usual expressions and it may be pertinent to remark that contracted forms of the first person Preformative tense forms are rare in Ugaritic as they are in Hebrew. Therefore it may be preferable to regard these occurrences as forms of the hollow root byn, 'understand'.⁽¹⁾ Such a meaning would harmonize very well into the context of the first passage where a translation may be offered such as:

CTA 3:Ciii:23

abn.brq.dl.td^c.šmm

'I understand lightning that the sky has not known!'

1. WUS item 531; UT 19.461; CML p.164b line 38f.

The two words bny.bnwt, a common epithet of El, are usually explained as the m.s. active Participle and the f.s. passive Participle of the root bny. The phrase occurs five times (CTA 4:ii:11, iii:32, 6:iii:5,11, 17:i:25). If these words are indeed both from the same root Ugaritic would seem to link in the one expression the idea of bny, 'build' and bn, 'son'. This is the basic reason why bny is commonly supposed to mean 'create' in Ugaritic.⁽¹⁾ Because the idea of 'creation' is primarily conveyed in this expression by the second of the two words it is always as well to remember that there may well be a III-/w/ verb bnw, 'create' in Ugaritic which is distinct from the common bny, 'build'. Certainly the commonly held view that the /w/ of bnwt is a passive marker cannot be maintained if the translation of bnwy (CTA 16:iv:14) as 'my creator' is maintained.

bnw

In the light of these remarks, bnw will be considered as a root distinct from bny meaning 'create'.

bgy

The root occurs only once in the sentence

* CTA 3:Ciii:26

atm.wank.ibgyh

'Come then, and I will search for him myself.'

Aistleitner ⁽²⁾ sees the m.p. Imperative of this verb in bglil.qnm (CTA 17:vi:23) 'Smiths, seek for El!' but in view of the series of

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1. CML p.165a line 2; Driver has separated this meaning from bny 'build' (CML p.164b) but Gordon (UI 19.483) and Aistleitner (WUS item 534) keep them together.
 2. WUS item 560 1*

nouns preceded by /b/ in this passage, and because the one certain occurrence of the verb shows that it takes a direct object, it seems preferable to follow the reading of Driver⁽¹⁾ bg1. .i il, which he translates 'in the reed-beds of El'.⁽²⁾

gly

This verb occurs in Ugaritic most frequently in the phrase gly.dd.il. It describes the behaviour of someone before meeting a god to whom they have been sent. If the verb is really cognate with Hebrew glh, 'reveal', then dd could be translated as 'breast'. The revealing of the breast may be understood as a ceremonial greeting. But the word dd may equally well be translated 'field'⁽³⁾ and then the context would demand a meaning like 'enter' for the verb.

Whatever action the verb describes it was performed by male and female characters alike. In CTA 1:iii:23 it describes the action of Kathir and Hasis and the form ygly is used.

But the most common form is tgly (3.s.f.), which is used to describe Anat's actions before El when she entreats him to authorize the building of Baal's house. The best preserved passage is:

* CTA 4:iv:23

idk.ltn.pnm,	^c m.ilmbk.nhrm,	qrb.apq.thmtm,
tgly.dd.il.wtbu,	qrš.mlk.ab.snm,	
lp ^c n.ilthbr.wtql,	tsthwy.wtkbdh,	

-
1. CML p.54a
 2. CML p.55a
 3. So CML p.149b. L.1f.

'Thereupon she did turn her face towards El
At the source of the rivers,
Amidst the springs of the oceans.
She entered El's territory and came
To the pavilion of the king, Father of Time.
She bowed and fell down at El's feet,
She worshipped and honoured him.'

Only here is the text perfectly preserved and do the lines of writing correspond to the sense units of the poem. This passage enables restoration to be made in two other places and an almost identical text is obtained. CTA 6:i:34 reads wtkbdnh (1.38) instead of wtkbdh and CTA 17:vi:48 also preserves this reading (1.51). This latter passage is more carelessly written in that it contains two spelling errors; mbr for mbk (1) and ad(?) for ab. (2) The same passage evidently occurs again in CTA 3:v:15 but there the form tgl is used instead of tgly. No jussive meaning seems appropriate and Driver confidently translates the verb as a past tense. (3) It may well be regarded as simply a variant writing of the more usual tgly. It is unfortunate that this text omits the last two lines of the passage for it would be interesting to see if tsthwy was also spelled without the final /y/.

The only other occurrence of the verb is in CTA 16:vi:4 where it describes the departure of s^ctqt from Keret's house. The only problem in translation is to decide whether this word s^ctqt is

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1. L.47
 2. L.49
 3. CML p.91a, as CML p.97a.

a personal name⁽¹⁾ or a verbal adjective. Aistleitner⁽²⁾ and Gordon⁽³⁾ favour the latter alternative, the one suggesting the goddess controls the 'passing' (etēqu) ages and the other that she causes sickness to 'pass away'. In addition it may describe the professional status of a woman who processed before a mourner. As such her function would be comparable with that of the weeping woman bk(y)t and the special (lit. 'kept') woman (nsrt). If the word is an adjective it could be explained as a f.p. form because the vocalization of tdu, and perhaps also that of tbu, would suggest by their final /u/ that they had plural subjects.

d'y

The root d'y is known best from the passage about the slaughter of the eagles. In it the noun diy is repeated eight times (CTA 19:iii:115, 119,123,129,133,137,143,149) always in parallelism with knp, 'wing'. Elsewhere it is in parallelism with nsr, 'eagle' (CTA 18:iv:18,23) and the plural diym is in parallelism with nsrm (CTA 18:iv:20f.,31, 19:i:33). These examples suggest that the principle meaning of the word is 'wing' which may be used as a synechdoche for 'bird'. The word seems to be an active participle in form.

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1. So Driver CML p.147b.
 2. V. WUS item 2661
 3. UF 19. 1938

As a verb the form du occurs which appears to be both m.s. and m.p. Imperative.

* CTA 19:iii:120

nšrm,tpr.wdu

'Eagles, flee and fly away!'

CTA 19:iii:134

hrg[b],tpr.wdu

'hrgb, flee and fly away!'

There is a form di (CTA 16:v:49) which appears to be a f.s. Imperative. Although this passage is badly broken clearly commands are being given to s^ctqt which are fulfilled a little later. In the fulfilment the form used is tdu:

* CTA 16:vi:6,7

wttb^c.s^ctqt,bt.krt.

bu.tbu,bkt. tgly.wtbu,nsrt.

tbu.pnm,^crm. tdu.mh,pdrm.

tdu.srr,htm. t^cmt.^c(?)tr.

k(?)m,zbln.^cl.rish

No satisfactory translation of these lines has yet been made.⁽¹⁾

Clearly the words describe the action of Keret's female companion after she has consoled him and left his house. All that is reasonably certain is that she appears to go to some towns and there places something on her(?) head. But did she definitely fly there? If the form tdu is derived from d'y then certainly she flew. But since this is the only reference to a flying goddess in Ugaritic literature could it perhaps be derived from *nd, a word cognate with Akkadian nadû. Then the translation of the phrases containing the verbs would be something

1. v. GML p.45b

like:

'She cast down her ... at the town

She cast down the ... with the sceptre.'

In either event the verb is to be parsed as a 3.s.f. form.

dwy

The verb dwy occurs twice, but in only one context.

CTA 16:ii:82 *

mn.yrh.km[rs], mn.kdw.krt

'How many months has he been sick?

How long has Keret been ill?'

CTA 16:ii:85

tlt.yrh.km[rs], arb^c.kdw.krt

'It is three months since he became sick,

It is four since he became ill'.

The restoration of the verb mrs is reasonably certain in view of the occurrence of the word again in 1.59 (and 1.54(?)). The meaning of dwy is therefore fixed by the context as 'be sick' and as such may be derived from Arabic dawā.⁽¹⁾ The form in this passage seems to be 3.s.m. Perfect. A noun mdw, 'sickness' also occurs (CTA 16:vi:35, 51).

dry A

The verb dry is used in the passage describing the slaughter of Yam by Mot. Although the cognates⁽²⁾ suggest a meaning 'scatter', 'shred' is really a better translation for the word in Ugaritic. There are two occurrences.

1. WUS item 536

2. Heb. zrh, Arab. dr, Akk. zaru.

CTA 6:ii:32

bhtr.tdry,nn

'She shredded him to pieces through a sieve'.

Here the form is a 3.s.f. Preterite with energetic suffix, connected to the verbal form by enjambement.

* CTA 6:v:13

^clk.pht,dry.bhrb

'I have suffered being shredded with a sword by you'.

Here the form is a verbal noun. The restored form drly (CTA 6:v:16) assumes the same usage.

dry B (?)

When Aqhat had had a new bow made for him by the craftsman Kathir and Hasis, Anat very much wanted Aqhat's bow for herself but, not surprisingly, he was not disposed to let it go so easily. Just how he put Anat off is not clear. One of the key words in the passage in question (CTA 17:vi:20-25) is adr. It is repeated four times (ll. 20,21,22,23). Driver translated the word as an adjective meaning 'splendid'⁽¹⁾ but if this is so it is surprising that it is not always inflected according to the pattern of the noun with which it is associated.⁽²⁾ Gordon's understanding of it is similar⁽³⁾. Aistleitner's⁽⁴⁾ suggestion that it is a verb meaning 'hunt' supposes it to be cognate with Arabic dara, 'lie in ambush', but the etymology cannot be regarded as certain. Whatever the meaning of adr, if it is a verb, it seems that Danel was willing to do something to

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1. CML p.55a
 2. Three times it occurs with m.p. nouns and once with a f.p. noun(CML ibid)
 3. UF 19.92
 4. WUS item 791.

help Anat make her own bow rather than, as Driver's translation suggests, leaving her to her own devices.

hgw

The root hgw occurs only once. It is linked in parallelism with spr in a phrase describing Krt's expeditionary force.

* CTA 14:ii:91

hpt.dbl.spr,

tnn.dbl.hg

'H.-soldiers which were countless,

T.-soldiers which were innumerable'.

it is just possible to understand that hgw is cognate with the Arabic هـ, which may mean 'spell' although its basic meaning is 'poke fun'.⁽¹⁾ The context demands a word for number;

It is not unusual in Semitic to find that one root expresses the idea of counting as well as that of narration, for both activities involve verbal repetition and so this may well pass on to the idea of taunting. If hg is a verbal form it could be parsed either as an Infinitive after bl or as a 3.s. Perfect. Since other verba suggest that the 3.p. Perfect is usually written with /-y/ and the Infinitive of III-/y/ verbs ends either in /-y/ or in /-t/ it is easiest of all to assume that this is a noun.

hdy

When the announcement of Baal's death is made, El and Anat each perform a mourning ritual. The main part of this ritual appears to be a ceremonial laceration and three verbs are used to describe the ceremony; hdy, 'cut'; tlt, 'trisect' (lit. 'make three gashes(?)); hrt, 'plough'.

1. Wehr s.v. A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (3^o 1971)

* CTA 5:vi:19


yhdy.lhm.wdq_n

'(Baal) cut his cheeks and chin'. (1)

CTA 6:i:3

thdy.l_hm.wdq_n

'(Anat) cut her cheeks and chin'. (2)

The word is generally agreed to be cognate with Arabic , 'rage' and so 'cut oneself in a rage', and the forms are 3.s.m. and 3.s.f. Preterite respectively.

hwy

Driver suggests a root hwy to explain the verbal form in



* CTA 5:i:15

pnp.š.npš.lbm,

thw.hm.br_lt.anhr,bym

which he translates"

'Its nature (is that) a sheep excites the desire of a lioness; lo! the appetite of a dolphin (?) (is) in the sea'. (3)

His translation of these words was proposed before Herdner's collation of the text (which is quoted here) and in the light of her improved readings it must now be changed. The 'sheep' must disappear and the verb hwy may not necessarily mean 'desire' for a newly discovered lexical list suggests the Ugaritic word for 'he was' was pronounced u-wa. (4) In fact it may well have been pronounced huwa for Akkadian  is used to represent Ugaritic  in UT 1189 and so u-wa could easily be an attempt to render into cuneiform

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1. CML p.109a
 2. ibid
 3. CML p.103b
 4. v. GLECS viii p.66

Ugaritic hw(y). There is no reason at all why thw should not be regarded as a 3.s.f. Preterite form of this verb so that an alternative translation of the passage may be

'So his neck has become the neck of a lion,
And his throat (is that of) a dolphin in the sea'.

hry

The verb hry appears in Ugaritic in parallelism with yld, 'give birth' and so there is every reason to translate it as 'conceive'. It occurs only in fragmentary passages and the only forms actually attested are based on restorations.

CTA 5:iv:22

w[th]rn.wtldnmt

'She did conceive and bear a son'.

CTA 17:i:42

[wth]r(?)nylt

'She did conceive and bear....'

A form hry, which appears to be a verbal noun, occurs in

CTA 11:5

hry.wyld

'By conception and birth...'

This may well be an alternative spelling to the commoner noun hr, 'conception' (CTA 23:51,56) which occurs with a suffix also (CTA 13:31).

why

Driver (following Cassuto)⁽¹⁾ has suggested a root why to explain the form twth in the sentence:

* CTA 3:Ciii:17

^cmy.p^cnk.tlsmn.

^cmy,twth.išdk

'Do hasten to me on foot,

Do quicken your pace here!'

1. CML p.165a

The sentence occurs again, although it is partially restored in CTA 1:iii:11 and CTA 3:Div:56. Apart from the Arabic cognate cited by Driver, other etymologies have been suggested⁽¹⁾ but none of these satisfactorily explains an apparently related verbal form yh.

* CTA 12:i:35

b^cl.ytlk.wysd yhp̄at.ml(!)br

'Baal shall go and hunt,

He shall travel to the edge of the wilderness!'⁽²⁾

The initial radical /w/ seems to have been preserved in the Infixes /-t-/ form of the verb but not in the basic theme.

wly

The last few lines of the Hadad tablet are difficult to translate because several rare words occur together. One root that seems to recur is wly,⁽³⁾ which may be cognate with Arabic ولى 'be adjacent'. It is attested only in this passage and occurs in two forms, ylyh and lawl.

yly seems to be a noun derived from the verb with a 3.s.m. suffix.

CTA 12:ii:52

šr.ahyh.mzah, w̄mzah.šr.ylyh

'The chief of his brethren found him,

Yes, the chief of his kinsmen found him.'⁽⁴⁾

Clearly in Ugaritic as in Arabic the root, or at least the noun derived from the root, has a connotation of family kinship as well as physical proximity.

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- 1. v. UT 19.813
 - 2. CML p.71b
 - 3. CML p.165a
 - 4. CML p.73b

It is more difficult to provide a translation of the sentence

CTA 12:ii:57

ittpq.lawl, išttk.lm.ttkn

Almost every word is a problem in itself. ittpq is supposed by Gordon⁽¹⁾ and Aistleitner⁽²⁾ to be a form of npq, cognate with Aramaic npq, 'go out' and with Arabic nafaga 'escape' (of an animal). The infix /-t-/ would be geminated because of the assimilation of the radical /n/ but there is no reason why it should be doubled in writing; no vowel would have separated the original /n/ from the /t/. If the verb has a passive meaning it is possible to suppose that this spelling arose from a deliberate desire to maintain an infix /-t-/ in the third position of the prefixed conjugation in order theoretically to avoid confusion with the Basic theme of an unrelated I-/t/ root - but there is no obvious root *tpq in Ugaritic to bring about any such confusion. Gordon suggests that one of the /t/'s should be deleted⁽³⁾ which is hardly a satisfactory solution to the problem. In the light of these difficulties the translation 'I have been brought here', or more simply 'I have come', must be regarded as tentative.

If lawl is from wly it will mean 'that I may be near'. Driver translates more freely as 'to bring help'⁽⁴⁾ but Aistleitner⁽⁵⁾ equates the word with Arabic أرسل and the whole phrase would then be

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1. UT 16.79 Not quoted by Driver s.v. npq (CML p.157b)
 2. WUS item 1825
 3. UT 19:1679
 4. CML pp.73b, 165b.
 5. WUS item 108

translated as 'let me come out first'. Gordon hints that the word may be a proper name like iwl and uwl ⁽¹⁾ but this seems doubtful.

isttk is very obscure. Driver's suggestion that it comes from škk cognate with Hebrew škk; 'cease' ⁽²⁾ has not been widely accepted but no other persuasive idea has been brought forwards. The word is an important one in this passage since it seems to be repeated three times in the next three lines. It is parallel with ittpq so to translate it as a verb of motion would be appropriate, but no etymology suggests itself. There is a tenuous link with an obscure Hebrew word יָשָׁא which occurs in Deuteronomy xxxiii:3. ⁽³⁾ All that can be said with certainty is that in both passages the attitude of one person towards another is being described and a meaning like 'be present' satisfies both contexts.

The general meaning of ttkn is more certain, whether it is derived from kwn ('you will be established') or from tkn ('you will be restored'). The last part of the Hadad tablet, then, may be translated thus:

'I have come here to be at hand,

I am here that you may be restored.

Bring here the mighty king,

Bring here the women from the well,

Bring here the one who wails in El's house,

And the women who pray in the chamber of childbirth!

lawl is interpreted as an apocopated l.s. Imperfect (expressing purpose or result) of a root wly.

1. UF19:111

2. CML p.147b

3. BDB s.v. still unexplained in KB

WDY

Before Keret went off on his expedition he painted himself red. Fighting ladies apparently acted similarly, for certainly this is what Pughat did in the story of Aqhat.

* CTA 19:iv:204
 trth[s,wt]a(?)dm tiu(!)m.bglpy[m], dalpšd.zuh.bym
 'She washed then made up,
 She made up with ...

Although the letters are not exactly clear the reading of the two words tidm and tadm is generally agreed. The root 'dm suggests red make-up and the source of the red paint is usually supposed to be some sea mammal (alp.šd, lit. 'shore-ox') or possibly the cuttle-fish from which sepia was commonly obtained.⁽¹⁾

The same motif occurs again in a Baal tablet describing Anat after her bloody fight.

CTA 3:Bi:1 (and similarly CTA 3:Div:89)
 ttp.anhb[m.dalp.šd], zuh.bym

Here the word ttp is used instead of tidm. Gordon derives this word from a supposed root *tpp⁽²⁾ of which this would be the only occurrence and its meaning would be obscure. The only etymology for the word that has been suggested is one by Driver who derives it from *wpy cognate with Hebrew נָפַץ, 'be beautiful'.⁽³⁾ The form here would be 3.s.f. Preterite of an Infixd /-t-/ theme. It is interesting that the root does occur once in Biblical Hebrew in the Hithpael where it also has to do with a woman beautifying herself so

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1. so GML p.67, f.n.2
 2. UT 19.2622
 3. GML p.166b, s.v.yp

the correspondence of the two roots seems probable.⁽¹⁾

The only slight difficulty is the reduplication of the middle radical /p/. Verbs of this pattern in Hebrew are usually explained as reduplicated forms from hollow roots (Hithpolel) but there are often semantic links between related ש"ש and י"ש roots (GK 55d, 77) and these early ideas of Grimm⁽²⁾ may well apply to Ugaritic also. In which case it may be more correct to describe this reduplicated form as a by-form of wpy.

wqy

There appears to be a doubly weak root in Ugaritic which regularly preserves only the radical /q/. The verb seems to be used on two distinct occasions to describe the action of a mortal before a deity.

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1. Jer.iv:30
 2. JBL (1903) p.196
 - 3.

Two forms occur twice in parallel passages in the Baal epic and what seems to be another form of the same verb occurs in the Rephaim text.

* CTA 2:i:18

tn.ilm.dtqh. dtqyn.hmlt

CTA 2:i:34

tn.ilm.dtqh. dtqynh.hmlt

CTA 22:B:5

tm,tkm.bm.tkm ahm.qym.il

The difficulty is to understand the precise meaning of the word from the context and then to give it a satisfactory etymology.

In CTA 2 Yam is demanding the release of Baal from the assembly of the gods. The subject of the verb in 1.18 may be the gods or it may be hmlt, 'the crowd'. That the crowd should be the subject of the second verb is agreed by Driver⁽¹⁾ but the first verb is more easily parsed as a 2.p.m. form following the Imperative tn. The colon would lack complete sense unless the subject is 'you' but if the two verbs are to be derived from the one root it is better to maintain the one subject as the subject of both forms. This colon would then be one of the several already distinguished in Ugaritic poetry which are made grammatically complete only by a parallel colon.⁽²⁾ Provisionally (for the evidence is not really compelling) tqh may be parsed as a 3.p.f. Imperfect, apocopated before an objective pronominal suffix /-h/, and tqyn as the same form but with energetic suffix /-n/. Then a translation would run:

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1. CML p.79 'on whom the multitudes wait'.
 2. Lowenstamm, JSS xiv (1969) p.176 - 196.

'Surrender that god whom they ...,
He whom the crowd ...'

The context is even less clear in the Rephaim text CTA 22. All that can be said with any certainty is that someone appears to be introducing his son to a ritual and the translation of the quoted lines would be something like:

'Little one, she will kiss your lips,⁽¹⁾
There, shoulder to shoulder,
Your brothers will El.'

qym may be parsed as a m.p. verbal adjective.

Some word for 'worship' would seem to be appropriate for both passages, but two separate etymologies give the meaning 'fear' or 'serve'. The translation 'fear' given by Aistleitner⁽²⁾ supposes a root wqy cognate with Arabic وقف. The Arabic word really means 'preserve'⁽³⁾ which is more of an attitude a god may be expected to show towards a mortal than vice-versa; in the VII form it does have the idea of 'fear' but only because its literal meaning is to protect oneself from danger. Gordon attempts to keep this basic meaning of the verb in his translation

'Yield the god whom you harbor,
(Yea) whom the people harbor' ⁽⁴⁾

but he supposes that in Ugaritic the verb is I-/y/. Unless the Arabic word can clearly be shown to have the connotation of the holy reverence the translation 'fear' must be considered tentative.

Driver⁽⁵⁾ prefers to suppose a root qwy, which is used in the Bible

1. sgr.tnšq.šptk

2. WUS item 874

3. so Lane s.v.

4. UT 19.1143

5. CML p.144b

for waiting upon God, to explain the form in CTA 22. It is not clear why he hesitates to derive the form in CTA 2 also from such a verb.

And it does seem remarkable that no-one is prepared to take an apparently simpler solution to the problem, to suppose that here is another example of the Ugaritic root ngy, 'sacrifice',⁽¹⁾ and once it is agreed that hmlt can be the subject of both verbs in CTA 2 this meaning is as fitting as the others. The only possible objection would be that the deity to whom the sacrifice is made would then be expressed as the direct object of the verb. In general this relationship would be expressed by a preposition but syntactic details like this may vary from one language to another. Whatever the root and the correct translation of these forms, the three occurrences can be regarded as synonymous expressions.

wry

This root wry may explain the word tr which occurs in two separate contexts. It is used several times in CTA 10 to describe the action of Anat on starting a journey.

* CTA 10:ii:11

tšu.knp.wtr.b^cp

* CTA 10:ii:28,29,29

wt^cn.arh.wtr.blkt tr.blkt.wtr.bhl

CTA 10:iii:18

tlk.wtr.b[hl

All these Driver translates as 'went off'⁽²⁾ and a non-too-dissimilar interpretation is agreed by Aistleitner⁽³⁾ and Gordon⁽⁴⁾. But Driver

1. CML p.156b
2. CML p.117
3. WUS item 1241 2* 'sie schnellte im Flug dahin'
4. UT 19.1153 'it is at least clear that it designates some sort of motion on the ground or in aerial flight'.

alone positively refuses to admit that these forms can be derived from a root wry cognate with Hebrew וָרָה , 'throw'. The semantic connexion would be a very tenuous one indeed. Driver suggests that all these forms should be derived from a root wry cognate with a rare Akkadian word aru which is a verb of motion⁽¹⁾ and this is the best etymology so far offered.

The other occurrence of the word tr is in the sentence CTA 4:v:83, 17:vi:46 and as restored in CTA 3:Eiv:13

td^cs.p^cnm.wtr.ars

Driver supposes a change of subject in this sentence and makes ars govern the verb. His translation 'the earth did quake'⁽²⁾ assumes that the verb is derived from a root trr A⁽³⁾ which would occur only in this sentence and would have to be distinguished from a more common trr B 'destroy'⁽⁴⁾ It is easier to suppose that all forms of tr are derived from one and the same root wry. Although verbs of motion are naturally intransitive they are often construed with nouns in the adverbial accusative and ars would be understood in that way here. The translation may be something like:

'She stamped her feet and moved (on) the ground'.

zgw

In South Semitic a number of apparently onomatopaeic words are formed with the consonants /z/ and /g/. In Arabic زغزغ ⁽⁵⁾ means 'whisper' and Ethiopic ገገገ ⁽⁶⁾ means 'jabber'. Evidently

1. v. CAD s.v.
2. CML p.97b
3. CML p.153a
4. ibid
5. v. CML p.149 fn.16
6. v. UT 19.826

connected with such words is Ugaritic zgt meaning the whine of a dog in CTA 14:iii:122. A verbal form occurs in

CTA 15:i:5

arh.tzg.l^cglh

'A heifer lowed for her calf'.

Aistleitner⁽¹⁾ derived both words from a III-/w/ root zgw cognate with an Arabic word zagā, 'whine'.

hdy

This root occurs in two distinct contexts. The better attested forms are connected with the examination of a bird's entrails in the passage about the slaughter of the eagles. It describes the initial sighting of the birds in the sky :

CTA 19:iii:121, and similarly CTA 19:iii:135

bnš^ci.nh.wyp<h>n, yhd.hrgb.ab.nšrm

'When he looked up he stared,

He caught sight of hrgh, Father of the Eagles.'

Then later it describes the examination of the slaughtered birds:

CTA 19:iii:130,144

ybq^c.k^cbdh.wyhd

'He cut open the entrails and examined them'.

Corresponding l.s. forms ^{hd,}ibq^c occurs in ll. 110 and 125 and 130.

The word also occurs in the description of Anat's battles.

CTA 3:Bii:24

mid.tmt^chšn.wt^cn, t^ch^ctsb.wthdy.^cnt

'She fought very much and then looked (at the damage),

Anat examined what she had destroyed'.

1. WUS item 887

2. kt. 'its liver' (each bird in turn).

All these translations suggest a basic meaning of 'see' and the word may be understood as a cognate of Aramaic hz'. But it is not at all clear why Ugaritic /d/ :: Aramaic /z/ in this word.⁽¹⁾ If the usual laws of phonology were observed it would be natural to assume that Ugaritic hdy arose from a Proto-Semitic form with /d/ not /z/. Perhaps to avoid this difficulty Aistleitner⁽²⁾ prefers to relate the word with Arabic hadā, 'rejoice' and its common Semitic reflexes, but then he offers an alternative explanation for the Ugaritic root hdw, 'rejoice' (v.i. s.v.). In fact Aistleitner assumes that hdy, 'rejoice' is found only in the description of Anat's battle; in the eagle passage he prefers to keep the meaning 'see' and supposes that these latter forms are derived from an independent root hdw,⁽³⁾ assuming a precise distinction between the meaning of III-/y/ and III-/w/ roots.

hwy

In Ugaritic as in Hebrew there seem to be two forms of the root meaning 'live'. The usual one is hyy with medial /y/ and the less common one is hwy with the medial /w/. The medial /w/ form is the regular one found in Aramaic and some kind of Aramaic influence could explain the existence of this form in Ugaritic as it does in Hebrew. An alternative explanation is that the medial /y/ form is used when the verb is used in the Basic theme and the other is the spelling of the Intensive theme.

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1. A similar example is dr^c :: zr^c CML p.128
 2. WUS item 906
 3. WUS item 905

The noun derived from the verb appears to be a tantum

plural hym

CTA 17:vi:26,27

irš.hym.laqt.ġzr, iršhym.watnk

'Seek life, Aqhat, you hero!

Seek life and I will give it to you!'

The plural /m/ naturally disappears with suffixes.

CTA 16:i:14 (cf. 1.98)

bhyk.abn.a(!)šmh

'Our father, we rejoice in your life!'

The m.s. adjective derived from the verb is spelled hy and occurs several times as in

CTA 6:iii:8

wid^c.khy.aliyn[.]b^cl

'And I know that the Victor Baal is alive!'

There is a word hyt which is understood as a substantive by Driver.⁽¹⁾ It occurs in the formulaic expression of praise to El which is spoken once by Athirat and on another occasion by Anat.

CTA 4:iv:42, 3:v:9

hyt.hzt, thmk

'A life of good luck (is) thy bidding!'⁽²⁾

The only objection to Driver's translation of this word as a noun is a stylistic one; to begin a speech with five nominal sentences is unusual and it would ease the word flow to include some verbal form in the speech. There is no reason why hyt or hzt should not be construed as 2.s.m. Perfect forms of the verb. An alternative translation to that proposed by Driver would then be:

'You have given life and you have brought luck by your words!'

1. CML p.139a
2. CML p.97a

If hyt is a verbal form it is to be compared with hwt

* CTA 10:ii:20

hwt.aht.wnar

'may you live, sister, and we shall ...' (1)

Here Driver chooses to translate the word as a verb, which seems the only possible solution, and it would mean that the spelling with medial /w/ may also be used with the verb in the Basic theme. This word is to be distinguished from the homograph hwt, 'beast', found in CTA 4:i:43.

The m.s. Participle is almost certainly hwy.

CTA 17:vi:30

kb^cl.kyhwy.y^csr. hwy.y^cs,r.wyšqynh

'As soon as Baal lives they will make a feast,

When he lives they will feed him and give him drink'

The word must be distinguished as a verbal adjective from the commoner hy, 'alive'. Some doubt has been cast on the textual accuracy of this passage since Gaster suggested that it may include a scribal dittograph. (2) The idea was accepted by Driver (3) also, but if the whole paragraph is arranged in parallel cola any decision to delete the words hwy.y^csr can be seen to be impetuous. These words serve to support wyšqynh and together they comprise a colon parallel to kb^cl.kyhwy.y^csr. These two sentences together form a bi-colon which can be analysed into the common pattern of semantic parallelism a-b-c-,b'-c'-d. It would be quite appropriate for the verbal adjective to be linked in parallelism with an Imperfect verbal form.

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1. cf. CML p.117b
 2. v. CTA p.83 fn.13.
 3. CML p.54a Where the two words are placed in decorative brackets.

The verb occurs again at the beginning of a letter.

CTA 62:9

wyh.mlk

'May the king live!'

The natural translation of this short form is as a Jussive.

It is clear from the Aqhat story that the word may also mean 'revive'. Anat promises to revive the hero Aqhat and the episode is described three times, once on each tablet of the story. First Anat tells Aqhat her intentions if ever he should be ill:

CTA 17:vi:32

ap.ank.ahwy,aqht[.gz]r

'And then I shall revive the hero Aqhat'.

Then she describes to her messenger Yutpan what will happen:

CTA 18:iv:27

ank.lahwy

'But I am going to revive him'.

Finally she records her avowed intention after Aqhat is actually dead:

CTA 19:i:16

hwt.lahw

'I shall certainly revive him'.

What is particularly interesting is that in the last cited passage lahw apparently hardly differs in meaning from the longer forms ahwy and lahwy, which again raises the question of whether these forms marked with /-y/ are to be given necessarily a different meaning from the ones without it.

sthwy

The semantic connexion between sthwy, 'bow' and hwy, 'live' is a tenuous one and it is perhaps best to regard the one not as the Causative theme of the other but as an independent quinquilateral root. By far the commonest form is tsthwy which may

be variously translated as a Jussive or an Indicative. It is of particular interest that the long form should occur after al (CTA 2:i:15) and also after l (CTA 2:i:31) No short form of the verb is attested.

The form yšthwy occurs twice (CTA 2:iii:6, 1:iii:25) as a 3.s.m. Preterite and yšthwyn once (CTA 1:ii:16) as a 3.p.m. Preterite with energetic suffix.

hky

Driver⁽¹⁾ is alone in positing a root *hky to explain the word thtk which occurs twice in

* CTA 6:vi:45,46

špš, rpum. thtk, špš. thtk. ilnym

He supposes it to be cognate with the Arabic hākā, 'consort with' and translates,

'O Shapash, thou verily keptest company with the shades,
O Shapash, thou verily keptest company with the ghosts'.⁽²⁾


The exact sense of the passage is hard to determine, A simpler solution would be to explain the word thtk as the preposition tht with the 2.s.m. suffix. This cannot be said materially to improve the sense but it does correspond well to the repeated preposition cd 'around' which occurs in the following sentence and probably is linked in parallelism with thtk; The passage may be translated:

'Shapash, the shades are beneath you,
Shapash, beneath you are the ghosts'.

1. CML p.138a.

2. CML p.115b

hny

Driver⁽¹⁾ derives the noun hnt, 'pity' (CTA 17:i:17) from a III-/y/ root. Others⁽²⁾ derive it from a reduplicated root like Hebrew ׀ןן or Arabic  and this seems preferable.

hpw

There is some difficulty in translating the repeated word yhpn in CTA 22:A:12*(which is restored from B:9)

tm, yhpn.hy[ly,

Because most of the words in the immediate context are divine names Driver⁽³⁾ suggests that it may mean 'honour' cognate with Arabic hafâ, which seems fitting. It may be particularly significant that the Arabic word is used in the context of marriages⁽⁴⁾ since this Ugaritic text seems primarily to be concerned with the birth of children. The form probably contains the l.s. energetic suffix and so the translation would be:

'There hyly will present me with a wife'.

hzy

Whether it be a noun⁽⁵⁾ or an adjective⁽⁶⁾ there is no real doubt that the word hzt 'luck(y)' (CTA 3:Ev:39, 4:iv:42) is to be derived from a III-/y/ root cognate with Arabic (haziya) 'be lucky'. There is a possibility that the noun hs (CTA 16:iv:6) may be an alternative spelling of *hz a supposed masculine form of this noun word.

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1. CML p.138b
 2. UI 19.882, WUS item 947
 3. CML p.139a
 4. Driver translates the word 'honour with a wife'.
 5. so Driver, as CML p.91a 'a life of good luck' for hyt.hzt
 6. UI 19.853, 'lucky life'.

hdw

That there is a root hdw, 'rejoice', in Ugaritic is usually accepted without question but it is attested only in broken passages where it is difficult to decide the exact reading and there is a possibility that hdw may not occur at all. The best preserved passage is:

* CTA 3:Ev:30

al.tšmh.br[m.h]kl[k], al.a(!)hdhm.by[..]y

The /a/ of ahdhm has usually been emended to /t/ but Herdner says that here and in the similar passage CTA 19:i:9 the reading /a/ is more probable.⁽¹⁾ It is one of those passages where so much better sense can be achieved by a trivial emendation yet it would be difficult to ignore the lack of epigraphic justification for the change. With the emendation made, the translation is obvious:

'Do not rejoice in the size of your temple,
Do not be glad they are in the !'

Another possible occurrence of the root is in CTA 18:i:18]hd, but because this verb seems to be linked in parallelism with tšt, 'you shall put', the usually accepted restoration is ti,hd,⁽²⁾ 'you shall hold'. Of course if Herdner's recommendation to conserve the readings of the other two passages, whatever they may mean, is accepted all the forms of the hitherto supposed hdw, 'rejoice' may well have to be derived from ahd, 'hold'.⁽³⁾

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1. CTA p.19, fn.7.
 2. so CTA p.85a, with enjambement.
 3. UI 19.130

try

The isolated word try in CTA 6:vi:42 may well be cognate with Arabic عرب, 'fresh' as suggested by Aistleitner.⁽¹⁾ The Arabic word is regularly used to describe food and if this is what it describes also in Ugaritic it contrasts well with the description of putrid food in the next sentence. The form appears to be a verbal adjective.

yoY

Gordon suggests a root yoY⁽²⁾ to explain the forms others derive from woy (q.v.), because he assumes that all Proto-Semitic I-/w/ verbs became I-/y/ verbs in Ugaritic.

yrY

The noun yr, 'rain' (CTA 19:i:40) is derived from a root yrY, 'throw'⁽³⁾ just as Hebrew רָחַף is derived from רָחַף.⁽⁴⁾ Although the metre is hard to determine just here, what parallelism there is seems to indicate that yr may be a 2.p. Imperative, 'make rain!' (v.i. s.v. sly).

As for the verbal form itself Driver⁽⁵⁾ and Gordon⁽⁶⁾ translate the two instances as 'shoot'.

CTA 23:38,38

yšū.yr.šmuh, yr.bšmm.^csr

'He lifts up (his hand and) shoots heavenwards,

He shoots a bird in the heavens'.⁽⁷⁾

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1. WUS item 1125
 2. UT 19.1143
 3. so CML p.166a and WUS s.v.
 4. BDE s.v.
 5. CML p.166a
 6. UT 19.1153
 7. CML p.123a

His translation assumes that ṣr is a bird and that the bird is being shot. But 'shooting to kill' is not the primary meaning of Hebrew ṣr or its cognates. It would seem reasonable to re-interpret ṣr as a description of the sky. Hebrew ṣr is used in this way to describe skies that will not rain⁽¹⁾ and Baal may well be tossing a stick(?) in the air in a rain-making ritual.

'He lifted it and threw it in the air'

He threw it towards the stopped up sky'.

ṣr would be parsed as an adverbial accusative.

The prima facie related feminine form of this verb is tr but a more satisfactory meaning is achieved if this is derived from wry (q.v.).

kwy

Aistleitner⁽²⁾ and Gordon⁽³⁾ refrain from any interpretation of the word nkyt in CTA 16:ii:89.* It is used to describe the tomb of Keret and Driver translates it 'treasury'.⁽⁴⁾ He derives it from a root kwy⁽⁵⁾ but his argument is not quite clear. Akkadian nakkamtu, 'store-chamber', with which the Ugaritic word is supposed to be cognate, is usually derived from nakāmu, 'store'. The consonantal /mt/ seems to have changed into /nt/ in some dialects⁽⁶⁾ which follows an established phonetic change. The /m/ disappeared altogether when

1. I Kings viii:35, II Chronicles vi:26
2. WUS item 1781
3. UF 19.1645
4. CML p.43a
5. CML p.156b
6. Akw p.

the word was borrowed in Hebrew where it was spelled נִסַּךְ (1)
 While the chain of change /m/ > /w/ > /ō/ is understandable, it is not
 at all clear how a cluster /mt/ > /yt/. Further, the comparison of a
 grave with a store-house is a remote one. It would be much easier to
 derive the word from *nky, 'strike' and this noun
 could well mean 'corpse' or even 'cemetery' (sc. bt).

kyy

kyy, 'read' is a root suggested by Gordon⁽²⁾ to explain
 the form iky (UT 138:6), but it seems better to derive this word from
 a root ky (q.v.).

kly

It is quite clear that kly has two separate meanings, 'be
 used up' and 'destroy'. These two meanings probably correspond to
 the Basic theme and the Intensive theme of the verb respectively.

In the Basic theme the word kly seems to be a 3.s.m. Perfect.

CTA 16:iii:13,14,15

kly, lhm. [b]^c dnhm. kly, yng bhmthm.

k[l]y, šmn. bq[

'The bread in their bins was used up,

The wine in their skins was used up,

The oil in their ... was used up'.

Apparently the same form occurs in the titles of two cereal lists.

1. BDB s.v.

2. UT 19.1222

UT 2093:1, 2094:1

qmh.d.kly

'Flour which was used'

But a different form of the verb, though one which seems to mean the same, is used in a wine list.

UT 2004:1

yn.d.ykl

'Wine which was used'

Unless this document is to be understood as an allocation list of wine yet to be supplied and the verb is translated as a Jussive in contrast to the cereals which had been already dispensed, it is hard to see any difference in meaning between kly and ykl in these commercial documents.

The only time that kly is not connected with foodstuff in the Basic theme is in the sentence:

CTA 16:i:26

al^ctkl.bn,qr.^cnk. mh.risk,udm^ct

'My son, do not exhaust the well of your eyes,

The tears from ~~the~~ ⁽ⁱ⁾top of your skull!'

The Intensive theme of the verb is distinguishable because it is usually linked in parallelism with mhs, 'fight' although there is no spelling difference between most of the forms in the two themes.

CTA 19:iv:202

tm^chs.m^chs[.ahk], tk^cl.m[k]ly.^cl.umt[k

'You shall fight the one who fought your brother,

You shall destroy the one who destroyed your

mother's son!'

1. cf. tkk. m^ch^cy.

mkly is clearly the participle of the Intensive theme in these sentences and klt seems to be the l.s. Perfect form.

* CTA 3:Diii:36

lmhst.mdd,ilym. lkl.t.nhr.il.rbm

'Have I not fought Yan, the beloved of El?
Have I not destroyed Nahar, the great god?'

CTA 3:Diii:43

mhst.klbt.ilmišt. klt.bt.il.dbb

'I have fought fire, the bitch of El,
I have destroyed flame, the daughter of El'.

The corresponding l.s. Imperfect form akl is seen in CTA 19:iv:196 where it is linked in parallelism with mhs. It is not clear whether mhs in the other two passages is a verb in its own right or whether it is simply a dialect variant.⁽¹⁾

The end of Mot's complaint to Baal is badly broken but from the traces that remain it is possible to discern two more occurrences of this root. Merdner's text is the most completely restored.

* CTA 6:v:24,25

[^c]nt[.]akl[y.nsm], akly.hml[t.ars]

'Now I shall destroy the people,
I shall destroy the population of the earth'.

Because of the damaged tablet it is impossible to be certain of the exact spellings.

1. As suggested by Held (JAOS lxxix (1959) pp.169-176).

The Infinitive of the Intensive theme seems to be kly which occurs with a suffix in

CTA 6:vi:11,15

ahym.ttn.b^cl,s(?)puy. bnm.uny.klyy

'Baal has allowed my brothers to consume (?) me,

My mother's sons to destroy me'.

ksy

The verb ksy, 'cover' appears towards the end of the Baal story after Anat has given birth to his buffalo child. The goddess embraces the buffalo (or perhaps it is Baal himself who receives her attention), wtksynn.btn (CTA 10:iii:25). * This probably means 'and covered him with two coverings'.⁽¹⁾

At the death of Baal El is moved to grief and one of his signs of mourning is described as

* CTA 5:vi:16

lpš.yks,mizrtm

Later ~~Anat~~ does the same.

CTA 5:vi:31

lpš].tks.miz[rtm

If this verb is from ksy the deities seem to have donned some kind of ceremonial overcoat as a sign of mourning. Driver⁽²⁾ preserved the idea of the tearing of garments as a sign of grief and so derived the verb from *kss,⁽³⁾ a root not attested elsewhere in Ugaritic.

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1. CML p.119a
 2. CML p.109a 'he tore the clothing of his folded loin cloth'.
 3. CML p.144b.

The form mks, 'covering' (CTA 4:ii:5) may be a Participle, suggesting that ksy is a verb in the Intensive theme.

A noun derived from the root is kst (CTA 19:i:36,47, UF 13:9), which seems to mean 'clothing'. Twice it occurs in the Aqhat story, where Danel's clothing is torn either by himself or by Pughat as a prelude to a prayer for rain, and once in a private letter. The word ksh (CTA 17:vi:15) may be another word for clothing (with a pronominal suffix) or it may be translated as 'cup'; this could naturally be an alternative meaning in the letter UF 13:9.

l'y

This seems to be the root of the epithet of Baal aliyn which possibly means 'our Victor' and it could well be the root behind the place name gr.tliyt, 'Hill of Victory'. The best example of the verbal form is

CTA 16:vi:2

[m]t.dm.ht š^ctqt.dt(!),li

'Death ... be destroyed,

š^ctqt...be victorious!'

Although the translation of the word dm is difficult the verb li is most conveniently parsed as a f.s. Imperative. Accordingly an associated form lan would be a 3.s.f. Perfect.

CTA 16:vi:14

mt.dm.ht š^ctqt,dm.lan

'Death ... was destroyed,

š^ctqt ... was victorious'. (1)

The /n/ is provisionally interpreted as an energetic suffix although this is usually found with verbs in a Preformative tense.

1. so GML p.45b

The form tliyn in CTA 19:ii:84 at first sight appears to be verbal in parallelism with ytk and ttp[, and so it may be provisionally parsed as 3.f.p. Preterite with suffix /m/. But because of the damage to the tablet and the unusual use of common words it is difficult to provide a translation. If it is a verb it should be contrasted with Šnt.tluan 'sleep overcame him' (CTA 14:i:32) where the verb is surprisingly written with two /' - signs. If this is a 3.f.s. Preterite with energetic suffix the expected spelling would be tliyn as in CTA 19:ii:84. The /u/ suggests that Šnt is a tantum plural noun. The most satisfactory explanation of the /a/ is to suggest that it is a morpheme analogous to the Akkadian Ventive /-am/ which becomes /-a/ before another bound consonantal morpheme. If such a vocalic morpheme was commonly used in Ugaritic either it was indicated only in verbal forms from III-weak roots or it was only sporadically written.

mgý

mgý is one of the commonest verbs in Ugaritic and is cognate with Arabic صَفَى, 'depart'. This equation presumes that Ugaritic /g/ :: Proto-Semitic /d/. The phonetic equation Arabic /d/ :: Ugaritic /g/ is unusual but not dissimilar from that of Arabic /d/ :: Hebrew /s/ :: Aramaic /c/ as exemplified by أرض :: אַרְצָא :: אַרְצָא. The basic meaning of the Arabic word is 'proceed with' whereas in Ugaritic it always seems to mean 'depart' or 'arrive'. Perhaps both the idea of departure and that of arrival were seen to stem from the idea of advance.

The m.p. Imperative is attested in

CTA 3:Fvi:11

Šmšr.ldgy.ātṛt, mg'.lqdš.amrr

'You fishermen of Athirat go on,

qdš and amrr depart!'

The word mġ is better parsed as a m.s. Participle or an Infinitive Absolute in

CTA 23:75

mġhw.lhn

'As he proceeded to them.....'

The broken form mġ (CTA 16:ii:86) may also be parsed as a participle. All the main verbs in this sentence are in the Jussive.

The regular 3.s.m. form is mġy (CTA 4:ii:22, iii:23, 15:ii:11) But this form with a suffix, mġyh, in CTA 16:i:50 is better explained as an Infinitive with a possessive suffix in a subordinate clause. This is not the only solution, however, for there is a suggestion that this verb may be used in a transitive sense (v.i. ymġyk). This same form mġy is associated also with plural subjects in CTA 20:B:6 which is parallel to CTA 22:A:24, and the form may be construed as a singular or plural when it is associated with compound deities like gpn.wugr (CTA 3:Diii:33) and ktr.whss (CTA 4:v:106).

mġyt is always a 3.s.f. form as in CTA 19:iv:211. It occurs frequently after introductory particles like ik (CTA 4:ii:23) and ahr (CTA 4:iii:24). The shorter form mġt may be l.s. Perfect as in CTA 6:ii:19 or 2.s.m. Perfect as in CTA 57:8.

mġy is one of the words which exemplifies the l.dual termination /-ny/ of Ugaritic. The form is attested in the passage

* CTA 5:vi:5,8

[m]ġny,ln^cmy.ars.dbr, lysmt.šd.šhlumt,
mġny.lb^cl.npl.la,rs

'The two of us have come to The Fair One in a desert land,

To pleasantness in a land of desolation,

We have come to Baal, who has fallen to the ground.'

Gordon isolates another example of this form but the reading preferred by Herdner in the passage in question (CTA 57:8) is mg̃t[(1)]

Of the prefixed conjugation all possible forms are attested. ymgy is the regular 3.s.m. Preterite (CTA 1:v:16, 14:iv:210). It is also used when the subject is a compound deity (CTA 17:v:25) and with plural subjects (CTA 6:i:60, 17:ii:46). The same form is used to indicate an Imperfect tense in CTA 12:i:36 (3.p.(?)) and CTA 14:iv:197, 210 (3.s.m.). The short form ymg̃ appears to be a free variant of ymgy since it is used both as an Imperfect tense (CTA 15:v:18) and as a Preterite (CTA 19:iii:156, iv:163). This last citation describes Danel's tour of the cities. First he proceeded (ymg̃) to mr̃rt.tg̃ll bnr then he went (ymg̃) to gr̃t.ablm and finally he arrived (ymg̃yn) at his own house. The paragraph is interesting because it shows how the energetic form of the verb is used to describe the culmination of a series of actions. The word ymg̃yn occurs again in the same phrase in CTA 17:ii:24. The l.s. form amgy is similarly used with bt in CTA 21:7.

The suffix on ymgyk (CTA 59:8) suggests that the verb must have a transitive usage also. The easiest way to explain such an idea is to parse this form as the Intensive theme. In Hebrew verbs of motion are given an associated transitive idea by inflection in the Causative theme but there is a considerable amount of semantic overlap between the Intensive and Causative themes in the Semitic languages. The translation of the word must be something like 'they have brought you' rather than 'they have come (to) you' but the sentence needs some adverbial phrase to make it complete.

When El is commanding Keret to go on his expedition he uses the full form of the verb.

CTA 14:iii:108

mk.špšm.bšb^c wtmg'y.ludm.rbm(!) wl.udm.trrt

'Then on the seventh day at sunset,
You will arrive at the town of udm,
At the irrigated fields of the town'.

Conversely when Anat is actually mourning for ~~Baal~~ and the actions she performed are described the short form of the verb is used.

CTA 5:vi:28

tmg'.ln^cm[y,ars]dbr ysmt.šd.[šhl]mmt

t[mg'.]lb^cl.np[lla]rs

'She came to The Fair One in a desert land,
To pleasantness in a land of desolation,
She came to Baal, who had fallen to the ground'.

Such a semantic 'minimal pair' is difficult to understand if the basic difference between the short forms and the long forms of III-weak roots is a difference between Preterite tense and Jussive mood.

The energetic form tmgyn is used not to express motion but extent. It describes Athtar's shortness of stature in

CTA 6:i:10

p^cnh.ltmgyn.hdm rišh.lymgy.apsh

'His legs did not even touch the stool,
His head did not even touch the top'.

The same form is used in CTA 57:5 but the tablet is too damaged to permit any certain translation.

ngh

When Keret is on his sick-bed he tells his son to call his sister who is directed

* CTA 16:i:37

[t(?)]mt[n(?)].sba.rbt,špš. wtgh.nyr,rbt

'Let her wait for the setting of the Lady Shapash,
Then let her light the Lady's lamp'.

There appears to be some reference here to a ritual with lamps in preparation for the sacrifice about to be described. Whether tgh is a noun (1) or a verb (2) it is almost certainly to be derived from the root ngh. In other Semitic languages the basic meaning of this root is 'be joyful'. If it is a verb it may be preferable to parse it as one in the Intensive theme which would be similar in meaning to Hebrew נִשְׂאֵן, 'illuminate'. Because of its spelling the verb would appear to reflect an original Proto-Semitic III-/h/ root, not a III-/y-w/ root which became a III-/h/ one.

ngw

When King Pbl is persuading Keret to lift his siege he says:

CTA 14:iii:131

wng.mlk,lbty. rhq.krt,lhzry

The word ng is clearly a m.s. Imperative and is similar in meaning to rhq, 'get away'. It seems satisfactory to equate the word with the Arabic نجا⁽³⁾, 'escape'. If the word means 'escape' in Ugaritic also Keret is being threatened rather than persuaded to leave Pbl's territory.

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1. CML p.41b 'the lighting of the lamps of myriads'.
 2. WUS item 1743.
 3. So CML p.156, n.29.

Gordon likens the word to Hebrew נללל (Lamentations i:4) and independently suggests a root nwg. But the word נלל⁴ may be interpreted adequately as a contracted form of נלללל (1) Even if the traditional derivation of this word from נלל is maintained (2) there is nowhere any suggestion of any etymology from a hollow root.

ndy

The root ndy is generally considered to be a transitive verb cognate with Akkadian nadû, 'throw down'. As such its forms have to be carefully distinguished from those of a related intransitive root ndd 'depart'. Those forms that can according to their context be derived only from ndy correspond closely to the semantic range of nadû.

CTA 16:v:18 (and similarly 21)

[my.bilm],ydy.mrs

'Which of the gods will overcome the disease?'

CTA 16:vi:47

l₁t₁t₁p₁t, t₁p₁t₁q₁s₁r.npš. l₁t₁d₁y, t₁s₁m. 'l.dl

'You have not judged the case of the afflicted,

You have not suppressed those who stamp on the poor'.

But the meaning of the word ydy is not clear in

* CTA 5:vi:13

gr.babn,ydy

It describes part of El's mourning ritual for Baal and immediately precedes the description of his self-laceration. If the gr is some kind of ritual stone perhaps Baal knocked it down with another stone (abn). But it is equally possible to bring in the idea of 'wander'

1. cf. KB s.v. (p.60b).

2. cf. BDB s.v.

to the sentence so that there may be a semantic overlap between ndd and ndy. Whatever the correct translation may be Anat performed the same action in CTA 6:i:2 where the 3.f.s. Preterite form td[is attested.

The word td occurs again in the description of the seven day fire in Baal's temple. For six days it is said to have raged (tikl) then

* CTA 4:vi:32

mk,bsb[^c.]y[mm]. td.ist,bbhtm

'But when it came to the seventh day,

The fire in the buildings'

Since the verb here is clearly intransitive it is easiest to assume that it is a passive form and translate 'the fire was extinguished', deriving the verb from ndy.

There is a form yd in CTA 6:vi:51 parallel to ytr, 'they went back'. This is best derived from ndd and similarly the form ndt comes from the same root in

CTA 18:i:26

[lbt](?)aby.ndt.ank

'Yes, I have left my father's house'.

nky

The common Semitic root nky, 'strike' may occur in Ugaritic. If so, the forms derived from it have been confused with the supposed root ky (q.v.).

nsy

Both Aistleitner (1) and Gordon (2) hesitantly suggest that nsy is the root behind the form ysy in the broken fragment CTA 9:rv:7 but neither suggests any translation. If it is right to suppose that the three words bym b^c1 ysy are a sentence then a possible translation would be:

'Baal went away from the sea'.

The verb could be equated with Akkadian nesû, 'be distant from', (3) but just how such a sentence could be integrated into the rest of the passage still remains obscure.

Gordon suggests that this same root lies behind the form yns in CTA 4:iii:5* and this would assume an initial /n/ of a I-/n/ verb had not been assimilated in the preformative tense. Driver (4) preferred to derive the word from a hollow root nws, 'escape'.

npv

The word npvn appears to be a noun meaning some kind of clothing in CTA 4:ii:5. The root appears to be npv (5) although as yet the word lacks any etymology. (6)

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1. WUS item 1800
 2. UT 19.1661
 3. AEHW p. 781b - 782b.
 4. CML p.157a
 5. so UT 19.1674
 6. cp. CML p.157 1.24, 'root unknown'.

Another word npy which may be associated with npyn occurs repeatedly in CTA 32. It may well be a noun there too, either meaning 'clothing' or a gentilic. Aistleitner⁽¹⁾ prefers to regard it as a passive participle, equating the root with Arabic نفي, 'repel'.

nqy

Driver⁽²⁾ distinguishes one instance of a root nqy, cognate with Syriac ܢܩܝ, 'sacrifice' in CTA 17:vi:9 which he reads as ml]ht nqn,ysbt.⁽³⁾ But Herdner's collation of the text shows that some sign, whether it be the word divider or /t/ separates the /n/ and the /q/.⁽⁴⁾ Because the text at this point is so difficult to read, until other forms of this root are attested it cannot be considered seriously.

c₁ly

The m.s. Imperative of c₁ly occurs certainly in only one passage (CTA 14:ii:73,74) where Keret is told to ascend to the top of the tower. Most of the other instances of the word c₁ are more obviously interpreted as examples of the preposition which also occurs with suffixes in the forms c₁h, c₁k, c₁n, c₁nh (energetic suffix). There is no instance of an emphatic form with final /-m/; c₁[m does occur once in the fragmentary passage CTA 10:iii:6 but the restoration is based on the parallelism of the word with drdr and it is to be interpreted as a noun 'eternity'. One instance of c₁ is usually understood as a preposition (CTA 5:iv:22) may well be another example of the Imperative (either singular or plural) since it follows a possible Jussive form t^{c₁}. c₁ in CTA 16:iv:14 is best interpreted as

1. WUS item 1816 'verstossen'
2. CML p.156b
3. CML p.52b
4. CTA p.82

a m.p. Imperative since the command is given to ilš the carpenter together with his wife.

When Keret's ascent of the tower is described the verbal form w^cly is used (CTA 14:iv:165). It would be reasonable to suppose that c^lly was the regular 3.s.m. Perfect form but a variant c₁ seems to be attested in

CTA 3:Ai:21

yšr.ğzr.tb.ql, c^l.b^cl.bsrrt,spn

'When the sweet-voiced hero sang,

Baal ascended the cliffs of the North'.

Gaster translated c₁.b^cl as 'Baal went up' but Driver preferred 'in honour of Baal'.⁽¹⁾ But the verb 'sing' is not usually found with the preposition c₁. When it does occur it usually means 'sing about something', and it could mean also 'sing in a taunting manner against someone', (literally, 'sing against.....'). Such an acrid gesture would be quite out of place in the festive atmosphere of this paragraph and so there is some justification for retaining Gaster's early interpretation.

A form c^lly usually understood as verbal is in

* CTA 4:i:24

hny.c^lly.lmphm, bd.hss.msbtm

The exact tense of the verb is not certain because it occurs in a speech incidental to the main narrative and this uncertainty is noted by Driver.⁽²⁾ But a possibility which does not seem to have been considered is that c^lly could be an epithet of hyn as it is also an

1. CML p.83 fn.13

2. CML p.93 fn.3

epithet of Baal in CTA 16:iii:6,8. This would mean that two nominal sentences were arranged in parallelism with the verbs of the previous colon in the Perfect and those of the following colon in the Preterite. The revised translation would be

'Hayin the Magnificent is at the forge,
 Hasis has the tongs in his hands'.

The ^cly that occurs in CTA 23:3 is difficult to interpret because of the break. Until the break can be restored it seems best to interpret ytnm as a verb and l^cly as the preposition l followed by a noun which may be incomplete.

A form ^clyh occurs once (CTA 35:46) and is taken by Young⁽¹⁾ to be a form of the preposition with a suffix. If this is the true interpretation the spelling with the /y/ anticipates the much later practice of Hebrew spelling tradition which also attaches suffixes to the stem /^cly/. And a translation like 'the fat upon it is great' cannot be said to be an obvious one. The context, such as it is, suggests that a noun is required and it is tempting to equate Ugaritic ^clyh with Hebrew לֶחֶם. The word is known in Hebrew as one describing sacrificial meat.⁽²⁾ It may well have been associated with pagan practices for there does seem to have been some attempt to expurgate it from the biblical text. Since this Ugaritic text is clearly concerned with sacrificial offerings it seems a strong possibility that exceptionally Ugaritic /^c/ :: Hebrew /y/.

The form y^cl occurs four times; three times it is clearly a 3.m.s. Preterite tense (CTA 6:i:57 - after apnk, CTA 17:i:15,39 -

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1. In his Concordance of Ugaritic
 2. cf. **I** Samuel ix:24 and KB s.v.

clear narration of past events) and once it seems to be Imperfect (CTA 10:iii:12) although the tense here is not quite certain.

t^cl signifies a variety of forms. It may be parsed as a 2.s.m. Imperfect (CTA 17:vi:7), a 3.s.f. Imperfect (CTA 13:17(?),20), a 3.s.f. Preterite (CTA 10:iii:23,30) or a 3.m.p. Preterite (CTA 5:iv:20). A variant for the 3.m.p. Preterite is t^cln in CTA 20:B:4 and CTA 22:A:23.

A form a^cl was thought to be attested in CTA 13:23 ⁽¹⁾ but Herdner has emended the reading to ql.

The word y^clm (UT 138:14) was understood by Young⁽²⁾ to come from the root c^cly. Presumably he was translating the sentence in which it occurs something like:

UT 138:14

wht.ahy,bny.yšal,tryl.prgm,lmlk.šmy,wlh[?]y^clm

'And now let my brother B. ask T. that he may mention my name to the king and let him go up the hill!'^(?)

But because the exact function of 'emphatic' /m/ with verbal forms in Ugaritic is not yet clarified it seems better to consider whether the word y^clm could not be parsed from a root c^clm. There are in fact two possible translations if this were done. If the correct restoration of l.14 is wlh[.]y^clm, the clause may be translated 'let him (tryl)-inform him (bny)!'. This would accord with Aistleitner's⁽³⁾ suggestion that the root is cognate with Arabic علم, 'know' (here in the Intensive theme meaning 'inform') although Aistleitner does not offer any such translation. Alternatively, if the break is

1. so Gordon, v. CTA p.57 fn.31
2. op.cit
3. WUS item 2035

longer, a restoration wlh[.l.]y^clm could mean 'let him not keep anything from him!'. This would presume that Ugaritic c^llm was cognate with Hebrew וְסָגַר, 'conceal'.⁽¹⁾ Both these translations have much to commend them in that they are typical of the **sentiments** expressed in ancient letters of Mesopotamia and so it is better to avoid deriving this word from c^lly.

The Causative theme of the verb c^lly has a devotional connotation. It is used to describe the erection of a commemorative stele in

UT 70:1

pgr.ds^cly, ^czn.ldgn

'The monument which PH erected for his master Dagon'.

What appears to be related l.s. form occurs in

UT 69:1

skn.ds^clyt, tryl.ldgn

'The stele which I, PH, have erected for Dagon'.

The 3.s.m. Preterite ys^cly is used for the presentation of offerings in CTA 19:iv:185.

The two other instances of the verb are not really devotional. ts^clynh, 'she lifted him up' describes Anat carrying Baal on her shoulders (CTA 6:i:15) and the Jussive al.ts^cl (CTA 14:iii:116) is used when Keret is told not to lift a weapon against the city of udm.

c^{ny}

It is a subject still under discussion whether there is more than one root c^{ny} in Ugaritic. Driver⁽²⁾ isolates three: c^{ny} A,

1. BDB s.v.

2. CML p.141b

'humiliate'; ny B, 'answer'; ny C, 'praise'. Only ny B is supposed to occur in the Basic theme thus avoiding confusion in the spoken language. Gordon⁽¹⁾ and Aistleitner⁽²⁾ mention only one root, the one meaning 'answer', but agree that the forms from this verb have to be distinguished very carefully from those of the hollow root yn, 'turn towards'. Sometimes the derivation of a particular word may be ambiguous because the context will tolerate either meaning.

The most common form is wy^cn which usually means 'and he answered', as in CTA 1:iv:13, 2:iii:18,24, 4:iv:58,v:81, 125, vii:14, 37, 6:i:49, 61, 15:ii:12, 16:iv:10, v:23, 17:vi:20, 33, 18:i:15, ii:11, 19:iv:197, 214, 218, 20:B:7, 21:8, 24:24 and 30. When y^cn is construed with a joint deity as the subject it may be parsed as singular or plural. ktr.whss is the subject in CTA 1:iii:17, 4:v:120, vi:1 and 14 and it is gpn.wlgr in CTA 5:i:11.

A variant form, which is also usually translated in the same way, is wy^cny. It occurs in CTA 14:vi:281, 15:i:8, 16:i:24, ii:83 and vi:54. It is interesting that these fully written forms occur only in the Keret tablets and the subject of the verb is almost always the hero himself. This is probably no more than coincidence but it is just possible that, if wy^cny is simply an archaic spelling of wy^cn, the writer of this story may be trying deliberately to give some archaic dignity to the words of the king. The word does occur once outside the story (CTA 10:iii:5) where Driver translates 'and...shall be praised'⁽³⁾

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1. UT 19.1383
 2. WUS item 2060
 3. GM p.117b

but 'and...answered' seems to be an equally acceptable alternative translation. y^cny occurs without /w/ with the meaning 'answer' in CTA 3:Ev:33.

The plural form seems to occur only once.

CTA 3:Div:49

[w]^cn.g^clmm.y^cnyn

'The attendants then gave him their answer'.

Gordon prefers Cassuto's restoration [y^cn] for the word at the beginning of the sentence.⁽¹⁾ Because it would be unusual, according to what we know of the structure of Hebrew poetry, to repeat the root c^cny in one colon, the alternative restoration is best translated:

'The attendants looked round and answered him'.

But if the reading [w^cn] is accepted, the translation presumes that c^cn is an Infinitive Absolute.

Other examples of c^cn used in this way, as an Ugaritic Infinitive Absolute, may be seen whenever it means 'andPN answered' and some other verb in the vicinity makes the actual tense and person clear. Such instances are not at all infrequent, and c^cn stands for a 3.s.m. Preterite in CTA 4:vi:7 (subject- b^cl), and in CTA 6:ii:3 (subject - mt). It stands for a 3.p.(?)m. Preterite in CTA 2:iv:7 (subject - ktr .whss) and, if the restoration is correct, for a 3.p.m. Preterite in CTA 3:iv:49 (subject - g^clmm). It is inappropriate to interpret w^cn in 23:73 as an Infinitive Absolute since it is written with the suffix /-hm/. The word may not be a verb at all since the translation of the other two words in the sentence, ng^cr and mdr^c, is so difficult.

1. v. CTA p.17 fn.6

The Participle occurs in the form c^{ny} in CTA 2:i:28 and with a suffix c^{nyh} in CTA 16:v:13.

wt^{cⁿ} is the regular 3.f.s. Preterite 'and she answered' and it occurs almost as frequently as does wy^{cⁿ} : CTA 3:Eiv:6, Ev:27, 37, 4:iii:27, 32, iv:40, v:64, vi:3, 6:i:47. iv:41, 45, 17:vi:25, 18:i:6, iv:16, 19:iv:190. The only time it not preterite is

CTA 15:iv:26

[wt]^{cⁿ}.m^{tt}.h^{ry}

'And the wanch Muray shall answer'. (1)

The interpretation of the verb as an Imperfect is understandable since the actual narration of Muray's utterance occurs later in v:9ff. But then it is repeated verbatim a third time in vi:3ff. It is not always clear why there is so much repetition in the Ugaritic stories but almost certainly many of the repetitions do not carry forward the action of the story but they are to be interpreted as cultic formulaic repetitions. Since this particular passage has been repeated twice it may well have been said again exactly as before for a third time, with no change of meaning. That such repetition was verbatim seems clear from a rubric in CTA 19:iv:225 (edge) where the reader is told to recapitulate the passage.

The full form t^{c^{ny}} occurs once in CTA 2:i:27. Driver, as he did with the exceptionally written y^{c^{ny}} in CTA 10:ii:5, prefers to derive this word from a different root c^{ny}.

1. so Driver ChL p.39a

He translates:

* CTA 2:i:26

ahd,ilm.t^cny

'I see gods that you are cowed'.

Since the next phrase contains the words for 'inscribed tablet' (lht) and message (mlak) it would be more obvious to suppose that the meaning of the verb here was 'answer'. The translation could easily be revised to follow a pattern like:

'I see that the gods have given their answer

To the letter from the messenger of Yam,

To the testimony of the judge Mahar'.⁽¹⁾

The energetic form t^cnyn occurs four times. Twice it is 3.p.m. Preterite (CTA 1:iv:6, 10:ii:3) but when it occurs in a rubric the better translation is as a 2.s.(?) Imperfect.

CTA 23:12

šb^cd.yrgm.^cl.^cd.w^crbm.t^cnyn

'They shall say it seven times

and you shall answer four times!'

The only other possible occurrence of this form is in the broken line CTA 16:ii:92 but it is too damaged to allow any certain interpretation.

An occurrence of a doubly energetic form wt]^cnynn is in CTA 17:vi:32 but Driver derives this from a different root and translates 'and they praise him too'.⁽²⁾ Whether this is absolutely necessary is questionable but it is interesting that it is one of the few cases of an Imperfect meaning for the fully written form of the verb.

1. lht.mlak.ym t^cdt.tpt.nh r

2. CML p.55a

The form $\underline{n^c n}$ may occur once (CTA 24:31) but the form is a restored one ($\underline{wn^c [n]}$) and any translation supposing it to be a l.p. form of \underline{ny} answer fails to give sense.

The noun derived from the verb is $\underline{m^c n}$ which means 'response'. Primarily it seems to mean a reply to a letter (as in CTA 53:15) and Gordon⁽¹⁾ suggests that it may also mean a liturgical response. This seems to be the meaning in CTA 11:9 although the context is badly damaged. Gordon's⁽²⁾ suggestion that it may mean 'solution' in educational problem exercises is an attractive one. Certainly that small group of tablets (CTA 162 - 165) which consists largely of transliterations of Akkadian into Ugaritic script must have been some kind of academic exercise and the fact that $\underline{m^c n}$ seems to occur in every one of them can hardly be coincidental.

The appearance of $\underline{m^c n}$ in UT 1183:2 may also be interpreted in the same way as Gordon does, but there is an alternative approach.

UT 1183:2

1. r.n.l.a.
2. $m^c n$
3. alnr
4. $\underline{sdq\$lm(?)}$
5. dlt

It can hardly be without significance that the letters in the first line are all separated by the word divider and that the word in l.3 is the same as ~~that~~ in l.1 if that line is read from right to left. This may simply be an exercise in which the student is asked to solve an anagram and the 'solution' ($\underline{m^c n}$) is given in l.3. But l.2 is also

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1. UT 19.1883
 2. ibid

read from left to right; right to left it gives the word n^cm. Could it be more than coincidence that this word is so similar in meaning to sdq and slm? This may be an exercise in reading from right to left and so perhaps ll.3-4 may be regarded as the free translation of ll.1-2. aln^r is almost certainly a personal name. The significance of dlt, 'door' in the last line is far from clear. Perhaps it is to be translated 'tablet' as Gordon suggests, no doubt inspired by the way Arabic may mean 'door' and 'chapter'. But perhaps this has to be read also from right to left so that we have the word tld, 'she bore a child'.

gzy

The root gzy has usually been understood to mean something like 'entreat',⁽¹⁾ because it occurs in a series of actions designed to secure the favour of a particular deity. But the etymology of the word is not at all clear.

The noun mgz occurs in

* CTA 4:i:23

šsknm^c,mgn. rbt.atrtym, mgz.qnyt,ilm

'So prepare a presentation for Athirat,

Lady of the sea,

An offering for the one who created the gods!'

The presentation here is in preparation for a meeting with a superior deity but the word occurs again in CTA 5:v:24 where some ritual to induce conception seems to be taking place. Another noun tgzyt is used

1. So UT 19.1958; CML p.142b (s.v. gzy (sic) and n.18)

'beseech'; WUS item 2164 'gütig stimmen'

apparently in connexion with the raising of the dead.

CTA 6:vi:44

ap.ltlhm,[l]hm.tramt. ltst,yn.tgzyt

'So you shall not eat the ... bread,

You shall not drink the wine!.

Clearly the prohibition (or command)? here refers to a particular kind of bread and wine, and it may well be that the two difficult nouns refer to the vegetables from which the two products were made.

Later in the story and energetic form of the verb is used together with a 1.p. Preterite (?) and a 2.p.m. Perfect.

CTA 4:iii:26,29,31,35

mgyt,btlt,^cnt,

tmgnn.rbt.[.a]trtym, tgzyn.qnyt.ilm,

wt^cn.rbt.atrtym,

ik.tmgnn.rbt,atrt.ym tgzyn,qnyt.ilm.

mgntm,tr.il.dpid. hm.gztn,bny.bnwt-

wt^cn,btlt.^cnt.

nmgn,[x]m.rbt.atrt.ym, [ng]z.qnyt.ilm,

[wahr].nmgn.hwt, [hm].aliyn.b`l

'The Maid Anat proceeded,

And made a presentation to Athirat, Lady of the Sea,

She made an offering to the one who created the gods.

Then Athirat, Lady of the Sea, answered,

'Why have you made a presentation to Athirat,

Lady of the Sea?

Why have you made an offering to the one who created
the **gods?**

You should have made a presentation to the Bull,
the god of kindness,

You should rather have made an offering to the
Creator of Creatures!.

Then The Maid Anat answered.

'We have made these offerings to Athirat,
Lady of the Sea.

We have made a presentation to the one who created
the gods.

Afterwards we shall make a presentation to him,
Even to the Victor, Baal'.

Despite Driver's reluctance,⁽¹⁾ it seems feasible to treat mgn as
cognate with Hebrew גָּזַן which is used in the Bible to denote
ceremonial presentations.⁽²⁾

The root is perhaps best known from its frequent occurrence
in the tablet describing the building of the temple of Baal (CTA 4)
where it is linked in parallelism with two other verbs, pp and mgn.

CTA 4:ii:11

t^cpp.tr.il.dpid t^gzy.bny.bnwt

'She entreated the Bull, the god of kindness,

She made an offering to the Creator of Creatures'.

The goddess Anat has been preparing to meet El, and she has already
performed some robing (or disrobing) ceremony and cast things into a
brazier. This line describes a third action. Although the etymology
of pp is as uncertain as that of gzy, provided that the translation
is restricted to terms of general significance it is not likely to
be far removed from the true meaning.

gly

From the context of the passages in which gly occurs it
would appear to mean something like 'droop' and it is primarily

1. CML p.160 n.7

2. eg. Prov.4:9. See BOB 2.171 b and KB p.453h

applied to vegetation. But such a meaning accords poorly with the meaning of the two Arabic roots with which it may be compared phonologically. غلى basically means 'be excessive', although it does have a number of more precise secondary meanings, and غلا means 'boil'. No other word has been adduced as a possible cognate but a meaning like 'droop' appears to fit most of the occurrences.

In the Aqhat story the desolation of the land at the death of the hero is described.

*CTA 19:i:31

.....]bgrn.yhrb[],

ygly.yhsp.ib[

'Eagles (?) were on the threshing floor,

The land (?) was parched,

The blossom had withered and drooped'.

Because of the breaks the parallelism remains uncertain but a clear picture of desolation emerges from the remaining fragments.

It seems to have been possible in Ugaritic metaphorically to speak of a person as a plant. Later in the Aqhat story Danel curses the cities for the death of Aqhat. To one he says

CTA 19:iii:160

šršk.bars.al.yp^c ris.gly.bd.nš^k

'May your roots not strike in the ground,

and let your bloom*fall into the hands of those

who harvest you!'

*lit. 'head'.

The plant metaphor has not been maintained but this ensures that the point of the metaphor is not lost.

Similarly in Baal, the same kind of phrase occurs.

CTA 2:i:23,24

t[g]ly.h(!)lmrišthm. l_r.brkthm .

...

lm.gltm.ilm.ris̄t(?)km l_r.brkthm

'The gods have let their heads droop,
even as far as their knees,'

'Gods, why have you let your heads droop,
even as far as your knees?'

That the head was allowed to droop may well have been a sign of surrender in the face of adverse circumstances and the image may possibly have some connexion with the custom of placing the head of a corpse between the knees before burial.

The word may well occur again at the beginning of CTA 3.

Although Driver's attempt to read al.tḡlp is not supported by Herdner, who reads simply al.tḡl], his translation 'faint not' can be maintained if the word is derived from ḡly.

The same root ḡly may well explain the sentence sq̄lt.bḡlt.ydk which occurs twice in Keret (CTA 16:vi:32,45). Driver derives the word ḡlt from an independent hollow root ⁽¹⁾ but if it is taken as a verbal noun of ḡly, metaphorically applied to the human body, there is no necessity to assume such a by-form and the translation

'Thou art brought down by thy failing power'

may remain unchanged.

1. CML p.142b

p'y

Gordon (1) proposes that the word ipi/h (CTA 10:ii:32) may be a l.s. Performative tense from a supposed root p'y but refrains from offering any translation. Driver's view, that the word is an epithet of Baal, (2) seems more convincing. If it is a noun, which is cognate with Akkadian upu, 'cloud', the meaning would be very similar to that of the better known epithet rkb.^crpt.

phy

Ugaritic is unique among the Semitic languages in expressing a common word like 'see' by the root phy, which is unattested elsewhere. The meaning of the root is confirmed in the clearest possible way because of the occurrence of the word phy in CTA 64:15. This Ugaritic tablet is actually a translation of the Akkadian tablets RS 17:227 + duplicate and RS 17.380(3) and phy corresponds to the Akkadian word i-ta-mar-ma.

The expected form of the 2.s.m. Imperative is ph and this is the form that seems to occur in

CTA 15:iii:28

wtsu.gh.w[tsh], phm^c.ap.k[rt]

'Then she lifted up her voice and cried:

"Look, I pray, at the face of Keret!"'

The form ph which occurs several times in CTA 6:v:12-18 is always to be interpreted as the l.s. Perfect 'I have seen'.

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1. UF 19.1995
 2. GML p.117b 'Baal of the mists'
 3. v. PRU IV pp.40ff. and pp.80ff.

That the meaning of the root is 'see' is further established by the word yphn which is found in parenthesis to bnš^ci.nh, 'when he raised his eyes and is then linked in parallelism with hdy, 'see' (CTA 17:v:9, 19:iii:120, 135). The same form with a suffix /h/ occurs in

CTA 4:iv:27

hlm.il.kyphnh, yprq.lsb.wy^hshq
'There was El, and when he saw her
He opened his mouth and laughed'.

The energetic form tphn occurs as a parenthesis to bnš^ci.nh in CTA 4:ii:12 and 19:i:29. Further, it occurs with the suffix /h/ in parallelism with c^hyn, 'turn towards' in CTA 3:ii:14. As in CTA 4:iv:27, it is again introduced by the particle hlm in

CTA 2:i:22

hlm,ilm.tphhm, tphn.mlak.ym
'Then the gods saw them,
They actually saw the messengers of Yam'.

It seems that the verb is most often used to describe some kind of ceremony regularly performed when confronting a deity. The tqt1 form of the verb is particularly well attested in such contexts and it is usually to be parsed as a 3.s.f. Preterite.

CTA 16:i:53

hlm.ahh.tph, [ks1]h.lars.ttbr
'There she saw her brother
And sat crosselegged on the ground'.

CTA 3:Diii:29

hlm.^cnt.tph.ilm. bh.p^cnm,ttt

'There Anat saw El

And she stamped her feet against (?) him'.

Ancient oriental modes of greeting naturally seem bizarre in the modern West but as far ~~as~~ these verbs are concerned the context is very similar here and in CTA 4:iv:27. A form tp[h read by Gordon in CTA 19:iv:217 has now been corrected by Herdner to tq(!)[h.⁽¹⁾

In Aghat there are three occurrences of the non-energetic form yph (CTA 19:ii:62,63,68). In all these instances the exact meaning of the word is difficult to determine because of the obscurity of the other words in the passage, but provisionally these words will be considered as examples of the 3.s. Preterite form.

pty

The root pty is almost certainly cognate with Hebrew , 'seduce'. It occurs only once, in the passage where El makes his sexual display before the two women. The form ypt occurs in a subordinate clause after the particle /k/ and it is to be translated as a 3.s.m. Preterite.

* CTA 23:39

il.attm.kypt. hm.attm.tshn

'When El touched the women,

Then those women did cry'.

sly

The root sly is a common root in Aramaic signifying prayer, and it also occurs in Arabic. In Ugaritic it is attested only once

1. CTA p.91b cp. UF p.247a

but the same idea of prayer seems appropriate in the context.

CTA 19:i:39

apnk.dnil.mt, rpi.ysly.

^crpt.b,hm.un.yr. ^crpt,tmtr.bqz

Thereupon Danel, the man of Repha, prayed:

"Clouds, give rain in the heat of the season!

Clouds, make showers in summer !"

spy

The root spy is best equated with Hebrew נסב B, 'overlay'. Usually in the Bible it refers to overlaying wood with gold and in Ugaritic it occurs in an economic text describing gilded chariots, (UT 1122:i:2,4,6). The only other occurrence of the root is in the passage where Keret is describing the beauty of his intended bride. He compares the parts of her body with different jewels and includes in his eulogy:

*CTA 14:iii:149

aslw.bsp.^cnh

which, according to the context, may well mean something like

'Her eyes were encrusted with

Such a translation is difficult to justify on philological grounds (v.i. s.v. slw). One that has some philological basis is Driver's

'I will repose in the glance of her eyes'

He supposes that Ugaritic spy B :: Hebrew נסב A, 'look for'. But this pays less regard for the poetic structure of the passage. In either event sp here is a noun and not a verb.

qwy

qwy, cognate with Hebrew קָוַי , 'attend' (a deity) is the verb supposed by Driver⁽¹⁾ to explain the form qym in CTA 22:B:5 (v.s. s.v. wqy).

qny

qny in the Semitic languages seems to occur regularly with the meaning 'acquire'. Naturally the object purchased is then owned by the purchaser and meaning like 'possess' or even 'dominate' may become associated with the word. The root seems to occur in Ugaritic with its basic meaning of 'acquire' in CTA 14:ii:57. The actual phrase that occurs, according to Ginsberg's original restoration quoted by Driver,⁽²⁾ is [tn.b]nm.aqny. It follows a passage listing the marvellous bribe by which Pbl tries to persuade Keret to lift his siège of the city. Keret seems to reply that he wants no horses such as he is being offered but 'it is sons I would buy'.

The basic meaning of the verb may well be preserved again in

CTA 17:vi:41
[b.g]m.tshq.^cnt wblb.tqny, [xxx]
tb.s(!)y.laht.gzr. tbly^{wkr}

This part of the story centres around the tension caused because Anat was seeking by all means possible to acquire Aqhat's bow. The parallelism in 11.40ff. shows that the object of the verb tqny is

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1. CML p.144b
 2. CML p.29b. and accepted by Gray, Legend of King Keret

missing. Albright's restoration [thblt]⁽¹⁾ seems to have been the product of an over strong desire to secure an analogy with a Biblical passage, (Prov:i:5). Certainly there is no textual justification for it and Herdner leaves the lacuna empty. Could the lines not be adequately translated:

'Anat laughed aloud,

In her heart she would have purchased the bow.

"Give it back to me, you hero Aqhat !

Give it back to me and go on your way." '?

If so, it is interesting that in these two occurrences of the verb in its basic meaning, it is used to signify the attempt to buy what it is not possible to buy.

But the verb does appear to be used in Ugaritic also with the sense of divine ownership. Because a god is so often the subject of the verb it has been translated 'create' for naturally divine ownership would hardly be the result of an act of purchase; it would rather develop from an act of creation. The meaning 'create' has been so widely accepted that several occurrences of Hebrew נָסַף have been re-translated as 'create'⁽²⁾.

When a god is the subject, the verb clearly may not be translated as 'purchase'. Such an instance is the clause

* CTA 19:iv:220

il,dyqny.ddm

'El who owns the fields'.

1. v. CML p.54a. crit. app. to 1.41

2. v. KB s.v. נָסַף B.

The verb here may well be a Preterite and this at first sight seems to support the translation 'created' but the verb, if it means 'own', is more likely to be one like Hebrew yd^c, which is often best translated as an English Present Tense even when the Hebrew form is in the Perfect.

If the root qny does not specifically signify a creative act the translation of the divine epithets qnyt and qnyn need to be revised. qnyn is applied to Baal in CTA 10:iii:6 and could mean 'our owner' or 'our master' rather than 'our creator'. qnyt.ilm is a phrase frequently applied to Athirat and could well contain a Passive Participle which would mean, literally, 'property of the gods'.

qry

The verb קרי in Hebrew means 'meet' but several forms of it are confused with similar forms from the root קרי. קרי is generally said to be cognate with Arabic قري, but the Arabic word does not simply mean 'meet'; more often than not it is used to denote the entertaining of someone who has been met by providing him with food. If the Hebrew and the Arabic words are cognate and the two meanings are related then the same semantic development of the one root has probably taken place also with the Ugaritic word qry.

The verb is usually taken to mean 'meet' in two passages.

CTA 3:Bii:4

wtqry.ǧlmm,bšt.ǧr

'And she met the attendants at the of the mountain'.

CTA 17:vi:43

laqryk.bntb.pš^c

'I hope that I may meet you on the path of opposition'.

In other passages it is taken to have the secondary meaning of 'provide food' especially with reference to the provision of sacrifices for the gods.

CTA 19:iv:184

wyq <ry> ,dbh.ilm. ys^cly.dgth,bšmym

'And he offered a sacrifice for the gods,

He made his/4.. ascent into the sky'.

The same passage occurs a few lines later when the verbs used are qrym and s^cly. These forms would most easily be translated as Imperatives but this is hardly possible if in fact the actions have already been accomplished.

It may be that in ll. 191ff. Danel is suggesting to the pžgm.gr that they make a sacrifice after they have left his court, and then Pughat replies that it is he who should be performing the ceremony. This would satisfactorily explain the /-m/ in qrym as an emphatic morpheme affixed to the Imperative. Otherwise these verbs must be treated as Perfect tenses. Perhaps the Perfect was used instead of the Preterite to indicate the very recent past.

The verb occurs in one other context which is repeated four times in CTA 3. The first occurrence is in

CTA 3:Ciii:11

qryy.bars.mlhmt- st.b^cprm.ddym

This bi-colon is repeated identically in CTA 3:Div:52f.. It occurs again a few lines later (ll.64f.) with the substitution of l.s.

Imperfect forms [a]n.agry and [aš]t, then again in ll.71ff. with agry instead of [a]n.agry. The translation of this line has proved difficult but it seems fairly clear, if the normal rules of parallelism are observed, that it has something to do with offerings

for the gods. The following bi-colon in every case is

sk.(ask.) šlm.lkbd.ars arbdd.lkbd.šdm

'Pour (I shall pour) peace libations into the earth,
..... into the fields!'

š'y

When Anat decides to murder Aqhat she describes how the death will happen in all its violent detail to her assassin Yatpun. It begins clearly enough:

hlmn.tnm.qdqd, tltid.^cl.udn

'Strike him twice on the head,
And three times on the ears!'

Then there follow six similes which are a little more obscure. The first ~~part~~ seem to describe the victim's flowing blood and gore and the others emphasize his gasping for breath. A tentative translation of the first similes would be:

* CTA 18:iv:23

špk.km.šiy dm.km,šht

'His gore⁽¹⁾ shall flow like a stream,^(?)

His blood like a

špk and šiy are taken as nouns and the addition of the possessive pronoun seems justified in view of the variant reading dmh in the parallel passage CTA 18:iv:35. Since the caesura appears to separate šiy from dm the force of Gordon's⁽²⁾ suggestion that they are to be taken as a collocation meaning 'shedding blood' is weakened. šiy seems to have some connexion with the Akkadian še'itu, 'irrigation channel'⁽³⁾ and the same word may occur again in CTA 12:i:22, a passage describing the sprinkling of various substances on the body.

1. lit. 'shed blood'
2. UF 19.2368
3. So OML p.147 fn.16

šlw

The common Semitic word šlw, 'find rest' occurs in Ugaritic once.

CTA 14:iii:149

ašlw.bsp.^cnh

'I will repose in the glance of her eyes' (1)

If this translation is correct the verb is clearly l.s. Imperfect but the parallelism suggests that ašlw may be noun describing some precious substance (see above . s.v. spy).

šnw

That there is a root šnw in Ugaritic seems to be proved by the occurrence of the phrase šnt hlkt wšnwt in an as yet only partly published text. (2) These words may be translated 'Anat went in haste' (3). The root šnw is equated with Akkadian šanû, which in synonym lists is equated with alāku, 'go' and lasāmu, 'run' (4)

Before the publication of this latest evidence Driver (5) had supposed that a root šnw lay behind the form šnt in

* CTA 3:Div:77

atm.bštm.wan.šnt,ugr

'You have done bravely, and I myself have quit U' (6)

Whatever it means it is opposed to bštm, and since Gordon satisfactorily explains bštm as 'you have been slow' (7) there seems to be no obstacle

1. §o CML p.33a
2. CRAIBL 1961 p.182
3. cf. UF 19.2448
4. V. esp. VonSoden in ZA xliii,237
5. CML p.148b (line 1) and fn.16
6. CML p.89a
7. UF 19.532

to translating these words.

'Whereas you have been slow, I have been quick'.

This new translation does little to help a better understanding of the passage as a whole unfortunately.

Perhaps šnmtm in CTA 12:ii:42 means 'the men hastened' but even if it does, again the overall meaning of the passage remains obscure.

šqy

In Hebrew the verb ןןן , which is regularly conjugated in the Causative theme, means to give something to drink. But its counterpart in Ugaritic, šqy, appears to mean simply 'drink' as well as 'give to drink'. This is how the word is to be understood at the beginning of Aqhat (CTA 17:ii:11,;4,23) where the 3.s.m. Preterite form is used (yšqy). What it was the hero drank is not clear. It is natural to assume that the vocalization here would have shown this verb to be in the Basic theme.

When it means 'give to drink' the forms are considered to be in the Intensive theme. Often there is a suffix with the verb in this meaning (and it always happens to be the energetic suffix) as with yšqynh, 'they gave him to drink' (CTA 3:Ai:9 and 17:vi:31). The suffixes refer to the person fed rather than to the drink given. tšqy may be the corresponding feminine form 'she gave to drink' as in CTA 19:iv:224, where the person fed is expressed by the independent pronoun hwt. The same form seems to function as a 2.s.f. Imperfect in CTA 16:ii:76, if the damaged speech is supposed to have contained directions to Pughat. More directions are given to Pughat in CTA 19:iv:215,217, where it is normally assumed that Pughat herself drinks

wine. Because of the antithesis between the different verbal forms tšgyn and tšgynh these verbs may perhaps better be translated 'you shall give me to drink' and 'she gave him to drink' so that Pughat would here be dispensing drinks to others, as she did in Keret, rather than partaking herself.

šgy in CTA 1:iv:9 may be parsed either as an Imperative or a Perfect tense.

The verb occurs also in the Causative theme in the first of the Aqhat tablets. This almost certainly means exactly the same as the verb in the Intensive theme and may be considered a stylistic variant of the writer of this tablet. The actual forms attested are ššgy (CTA 17:v:19), which is a 2.f.s. Imperative, tššgy (CTA 17:v:29), which is a 3.f.s. Preterite reporting the fulfilment of the action just ordered in the Imperative, and yššgy (CTA 17:ii:31,33,35,38) which is a 3.p.(?) Preterite (with a joint deity as the subject).

šrh

The verb šrh, like ngħ (q.v.) appears to have been an original III-/h/ verb. It is interesting that in Hebrew (Job xxxvii:3) as in Ugaritic it is used to describe a thunderstorm.

CTA 4:v:71

w y tn.qlh.b^crpt, šrh.lars.brqm

'Then he raised his voice in the clouds
And hurled his lightning to the earth'.

sty

The root sty means 'drink' and as such seems to be a synonym of the Basic theme of šgy (q.v.). This latter verb occurs also in the derived themes. The Infinitive sty is often used as a verbal noun after the preposition ᶜd (CTA 4:vi:55 - which is parallel to v:110) and after l (CTA 15:iv:27 - which is parallel to v:10 and v:40). It is probably a verbal noun also in CTA 5:iv:15, ultimately dependent on the ᶜ[d] of l. 12. The same form is ~~parsed~~ as a m.p. Imperative in

CTA 23:6

lhm.blhm.ay. wšty, bhmryna

'Yes!(?) eat the bread,

And drink the foaming wine!'

The form m st[y] is an almost certain restoration in CTA 4:iv:36 where it is to be parsed as a m.s. Imperative.

The form stym is a f.s. Imperative with emphatic /-m/ in

CTA 4:iv:35

lhm.hu.stym lh[m].btlhnt

'Eat, and drink as well

The food that is on the tables!'

A variant stm for a m.s. Imperative occurs in

CTA 5:i:25

wlhmm.^cm.ahy.lhm wštm.^cm.a[h].yn

'So do eat the bread with my brothers!'

And do drink the wine with them !'

The form stt which occurs in CTA 4:iii:14 may be parsed as a form of šyt, 'set' (1) or perhaps it is in parallelism with the following

1. GML p.95a 'foul meat was set on my table'.

ištynh and is to be translated 'I have drunk'. In any event it is difficult to decide whether it belongs to the phrase which precedes it or to the following phrase.

A form yšt occurs in CTA 15:ii:9 but because it is linked in parallelism with ytn, 'he gave', it is better to derive this word from Syt. But a form yšt does occur in

CTA 19:iv:219

byn.yš^t.ila(!)

'Our god has drunk some wine'.

This translation is based on the idea that Pughat has just given wine to Yatpun and not taken it herself (v.s. s.v. šgy). This verb has been understood by Driver as a Jussive.⁽¹⁾

tšty occurs as a 3.p. Preterite in CTA 4:iii:40 and vi:58 and tštyn, with energetic /n/ seems to be a variant of the same word in CTA 22:B:22,24. The tštyn in CTA 20:A:7 is to be parsed as a 2.p. Jussive. The apocopated form tšt occurs once as a 3.f.s. Preterite (CTA 6:i:10) and once as a 2.s.m. Preterite (CTA 6:vi:43) but the context of the word in CTA 6:i:30 is too fragmentary to ascertain either interpretation.

The only first person forms attested are nšt (CTA 23:72 and (?) 5:i:25) and ištynh (CTA 4:iii:16). Both are clearly Imperfect.

tky

The root tky, cognate with Hebrew תָּכַן may explain the verb išttk in CTA 12:ii:57. The problems in translating this word have already been outlined (v.s. s.v. wly).

1. CML p.67b 'the god... shall indeed drink'

twy

There is no general agreement on the meaning of the Ugaritic hapax legomenon ttwy (CTA 16:vi:44)*. Of Driver's 'dwell' ⁽¹⁾ Gordon's ⁽²⁾ 'govern' and Aistleitner's ⁽³⁾ 'receive', none is really convincing because all involve yet another meaning for the well worked homonym gr.

The verb occurs in a passage where the meaning of most of the sentences is clear but where the context still admits a wide semantic range of interpretation for the clause wgrm.ttwy. In such circumstances it may be best provisionally to equate it with the common Aramaic verb ܢܝܘܢ, 'resemble' and translate, 'you resemble the'. Such an etymology would not raise insuperable philological difficulties, nor would it prejudice the inclusion of the proper meaning of grm when that becomes known.

t^cy

The noun t^c, 'offering' is common in several texts listing the various offerings presented by the people (cf. CTA 24, 32, 34, 36). There is a verb related to it which occurs in one tablet.

CTA 32:16,24

hw.t^c.nt^cy

'This is the offering we present'.

tny

Because of the number of messages that are sent from one to another in Ugaritic tales it is not surprising that the verb 'repeat' is a common verb. The regular Imperative form is tny which serves for

1. CML p.152b
2. UT 19.2662
3. WUS item 2851

m.s. (CTA 16:vi:28) and m.p. (CTA 2:i:16) subjects. The form is used when a joint deity is addressed and this is probably also to be parsed as a singular (CTA 3:iii:9, vi:22, 4:viii:31, 5:ii:9). tnt is the l.s. Perfect form in CTA 2:iv:8

Of the preformative tenses, ytny is a 3.s.m. Preterite (CTA 4:vii:30) and atnyk as a l.s. Imperfect is attested twice (CTA 3:iii:19)(CTA 1:iii:13).

That the participle form is mtn (CTA 3:iv:75, 4:i:20) suggests that the verb is one in the Intensive theme.

There is a by-form tnn, which also means 'repeat' but perhaps this is to be parsed^{as} a reduplicated form of the root tny. It occurs once in the form tnnth (CTA 16:v:8).

A detailed analysis of passages like this shows that there is still considerable uncertainty about the translation of a great many Ugaritic words. Almost all of them could be parsed in more than one way and still give reasonable sense. Because of these uncertainties it would not be wise to construct long lists of verbs arranged under precise grammatical categories but for reference a table of forms discussed in this analysis has been prepared below. From this table, together with the foregoing discussion, several general trends may be noticed.

Both long and short forms of III-/y/ verbs are attested after the conjunction ^{conjunction} w . It has been thought that there may be a Hebrew type of Waw-consecutive construction in Ugaritic (1) but after all the texts have been scrutinized it has become clear that such an idea is not really substantiated, certainly not with any degree of consistency. That there should be no such feature in Ugaritic is not really surprising for the precise rules of the Hebrew construction ^{are} ~~is~~ something peculiar to Massoretic Hebrew grammar. That is not to say it has no historical precedent but it is so thoroughly developed in Biblical Hebrew that it is best considered a feature peculiar to that language. (2)

Gordon isolates two possible occurrences of the construction in the administrative literature (3) but the examples he cites may be otherwise interpreted and are not compelling evidence. The first one occurs in a conditional sentence and in such sentences the verb of the apodosis is an important clue to the correct translation of the

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1. UT 9.5
 2. So Driver PKVS p. 85, n. 1.
 3. UT 9.5

sentence as a whole. If it is Imperfect then the sentence is probably a simple future conditional one of the pattern 'If X happens then Y will happen'. But if it is Perfect then it tends to follow the pattern 'If X had happened then Y would have happened'. The verb in the apodosis of this particular sentence is w.likt. Because it is Perfect and, moreover, the verb in the protasis is also Perfect it may be better to translate the whole sentence as an unfulfilled past condition.

UT 1013:16ff.

w.hm.ht,^cl.w.likt,^cmk

'Now if the Hittite had attacked,
I would have written to you'.

This interpretation fits in well with the rest of the tablet. Another argument against interpreting this particular verbal form as a type of Waw-consecutive is the separation of the ^{conjunction} by the word divider.

The second ~~example~~ may also be alternatively explained.

Gordon's translation seems incontestable but the grammatical comment is not completely convincing.

UT 1006:17ff.

^cdttn,ksp.iwrkl,w^ctb.lunthm

'until they return the silver to PH and go back to
their

Gordon assumes that tb is a 3.p. Perfect which becomes virtually Imperfect with the /w/. But it may equally well be an Infinitive. Hebrew has two common constructions for subordinate clauses introduced by the preposition ^cd, 'until'. Either the verb of the clause following ^cd is in the Infinitive or it is in the Indicative, in which case it is usually introduced by ^cd|sr although sometimes the Indicative also follows ^cd. It would seem very possible that here in Ugaritic ^cd is followed first by the Indicative and then, to avoid exact repetition,

with the Infinitive. That the Waw-consecutive exists in Ugaritic must for the present be regarded as an extremely tentative proposal.

It has been suggested that the fully written forms of the III-/y/ verbs may be Subjunctive⁽⁴⁾ but it is interesting that in subordinate clauses which are introduced by subordinating prepositions both long and short forms occur. If there was such a separate mood in Ugaritic and its usage corresponded to that of the Akkadian Subjunctive then it could clearly not be distinguished by its spelling. If the fully written forms are held to be Subjunctive it must be asked why so often short forms are found in marked subordinate clauses.

If there is a Subjunctive in Ugaritic the forms that conceal it are probably those with suffix /-n/. The Akkadian Subjunctive⁽⁵⁾ in /-ni/ as opposed to the one in /-u/ has always been considered an Assyrian form⁽⁶⁾ but it is now clear that what the Assyrians did was to revive an older usage. Subjunctives in /-na/ are attested in Old Akkadian and also in the Mari dialect.⁽⁷⁾ That it should appear at Mari is especially interesting because it is one of the places that represents Western Akkadian dialect,⁽⁸⁾ and some Ugaritic /-n/ forms may reflect this morpheme. This is not to say that every /-n/ form in Ugaritic is Subjunctive. In fact most often the /-n/ seems to include a pronominal suffix, and even when the object is expressed independently elsewhere in the sentence, it may simply be an energetic form. But where it does occur in subordinate clauses it is at least a reasonable possibility that it may then be parsed as a Subjunctive.

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4. Goetze J.A.O.S. viii (1938) p.293
 5. Or Modus Relativus (GAG parag. 83)
 6. Op.cit.
parag. 83b
 7. GAG 83c
 8. The two other centres are Alalah and Ugarit.

But by far the most certain outcome of this enquiry has been to show that III-/y/ verbs in the Preformative conjugation are used with Preterite and Present significance regardless of whether the -y is preserved. This raises questions about whether the forms with ^{out} -y are necessarily to be vocalized in a different way from those with -y. In order to be able to answer these questions more satisfactorily, the consistency of Ugaritic spelling will be examined first of all in parallel passages in the mythological texts and then in Place Names from the administrative literature. This will indicate if other words containing -y are also occasionally spelled without it, and if there is spelling inconsistency, what importance this has for Ugaritic phonology.

THE VERBAL FORMS

<u>ROOT</u>	<u>qtł</u>	<u>qtłt</u>	<u>qtłn</u>	<u>qtłm</u>	<u>yqtł</u>	<u>tqtł</u>	<u>'qtł</u>	<u>ngtł</u>
'ky							iky	
'dy	ad					tud		
'ny A	any							
'ny B	any							
'py					yip			
'tw	at(m)	atwt				tit (?)	ity (?)	
'tw (?)		itłt						
bky	bk(m)	bkt			ybk	tbk(n)		
bny	bn	bkyt			ybky	tbky(nh)/(k)	abky	
	bny	bnt			ybn	tbn(n)	abn	
bnw		bnwt (ñ)						
bgy								ibgyh
gly						tgl		
					ygly	tgly		

<u>ROOT</u>	<u>qt1</u>	<u>qtlt</u>	<u>qtln</u>	<u>qtltm</u>	<u>qt1</u>	<u>tg1</u>	<u>'qt1</u>	<u>ngt1</u>
d'y	diy(m)					tdu		
dwy	di/u							
dry A	dw							
dry B	dry					tdry	adr (?)	
hgw	hg							
hdy					yhdy	thdy		
hwy						thw		
hry	hr(y)					[th]r(n)		
why	hry							
wly					yh	twth		
wpy							awl	
wqy	qym					tppp		
wry						tqh		
zgw						tgyn(h)		
hdy						tr		
						tzg		
					yhd	thdy		

<u>ROOT</u>	<u>atl</u>	<u>atlt</u>	<u>atln</u>	<u>atltm</u>	<u>vatl</u>	<u>tatl</u>	<u>'atlt</u>	<u>ngatl</u>
hwy	hy(m)	hwt			yh		ahw	
sthwy		hyt			yhwy	ts <thwy< th=""> <td>ahwy</td> <td></td> </thwy<>	ahwy	
hky					ysthwy(n)	tntk (?)		
hny		hnt (N)						
hpw					ynpn			
hzy		hzt (N)						
hdy								
try								
yey					yr	tr (?)		
kwy (?)								nkyt(N)
kyy (?)								
v.'ky								
kly		kit			ykl	tkl	akl	
ksy		kst (N)			ykly	tkly	akly	
					yks	tkS		
						tksynn		
						tliyn		
						tluan		

<u>ROOT</u>	<u>qtł</u>	<u>qtlł</u>	<u>qtlm</u>	<u>yqtl</u>	<u>tqtl</u>	<u>'qtl</u>	<u>nqtl</u>
m'gy	m'g	m'gt	m'gy	y'mg	t'mg	'm'g	m'gtl
	m'gy	m'gyt		y'mgy(n)	t'mgy'n		
				y'mgy(h)			
				y'mgy(k)			
ng					tgh		
ngw	ng						
ndy				y'd (?)	t'd		
				y'dy			
nsy				ysy			
				y'ns			
npv	npv		npyn (H)				
nqy			nqn (?)	y'q			
c ^c ly	c ^c l			y ^c l(m)	t ^c l(n)		a ^c l
	c ^c ly						
s ^c ly				y's ^c ly	t's ^c l		
					t's ^c lynh		
c ^c ny	c ^c n			y ^c n(n)	t ^c n		n ^c n
	c ^c ny(h)			y ^c ny	t ^c ny&n)/(nn)		

<u>ROOT</u>	<u>qtl</u>	<u>qtlb</u>	<u>qtlm</u>	<u>qtl</u>	<u>qtlm</u>	<u>qtl</u>	<u>qtl</u>	<u>qtl</u>	<u>qtl</u>
g'zy			g'ztm		g'ztm				
g'ly	g'ly	g'lt (H)	g'ltm	g'ly	g'ltm	g'ly	g'ly	g'ly	g'ly
py									ipy/h(H?)
phy	ph	pht					yph(n)/(h)		tph(n)/(nm)
	phy								
pty							ypt		
sly							ysly		
spy	sp (H)	spyt (H)							
	spy(m) (H)								
qny		qnyt (H)					yqny		tqny
qry	qrym/y (H)						yqry		tqry
s'y	sly (H)								
slw									
snw	sn (?)	snt (?)							
		snwt (H)							
sqy	sqy						ysqy(nh)		tsqy(n)/(nh)

aslw

aqny

aqry(k)

<u>ROOT</u>	<u>qt̄l</u>	<u>qt̄lt</u>	<u>qt̄ltm</u>	<u>vat̄l</u>	<u>tat̄l</u>	<u>'qt̄l</u>	<u>not̄l</u>
s̄sqy	s̄sqy			yssq	tssqy		
srh	srh			yst	tst	istynh	nst
sty	st(m)	stt			tsty(n)		
tky	sty(m)						
stky						isttk	
twy					ttwy		
t ^c y	t ^c (H)						nt ^c y
tny	tny	tn̄t		ytny		atnyk	

SIGLA (H) = only attested as a nominal form

(?) = particularly difficult to translate with confidence.

Parallel Passages

Within the Ugaritic mythical literature there are a number of duplicate passages. It is known that certain passages of the texts were repeated verbatim from one or two colophons directing the reader to return to a certain section and read it again (e.g. whn.bt.ytb.lmspr, 'We shall go back to the passage (beginning) "And behold the house"!').⁽¹⁾ Even when a passage is not repeated verbatim there is enough parallel material for an examination to be made of the consistency in the spelling of particular words. Clearly inconsistent spellings can always be explained as scribal errors and therefore this investigation will primarily be concerned with neatly written documents.

Ilimilku was one of the very best scribes at Ugarit. We may identify him from his autograph at the end of one of the tablets from the Baal cycle:

'The scribe was ilmik from šbn,
 a pupil of atnorln,
 chief priest and pastor from t^cy.^(1b)

He has left his mark on one other tablet and generally his handwriting has been described by Herdner⁽²⁾ as 'écriture fine', 'serée', 'menue' or 'soignée'. It is not 'grande' or 'grosnière' like that of the other scribes.

1. CTA p. 92 n. 5.

- 1a. CTA 19 iv edge (CML p.67b) and similarly CTA 4:42f. (CML p. 99a)
- 1b. CTA 16:vi:53-56. For a full discussion of the translation of this passage see M. Dietrich and O. Loretz UF iv (1972), pp. 31-3, where t^cy is said to mean 'collate' (presumably cognate with še'û in Akkadian and š'h in Hebrew).
- 2. Quoted from the palaeographic descriptions of the Ilimilku tablets in CTA.

While his handwriting commands our unqualified respect his spelling is often questionable. The tablet which he signed originally contained about 310 lines. At present only about 180 lines are preserved and some of these are partly damaged, but in the part that is legible at least twenty spelling inconsistencies have been observed. That is to say that three or four per cent of the words seem to be spelled wrongly which is a disturbingly large percentage of 'error'. But it must be remembered that it is not always clear whether an error really is an error or whether our present understanding of Ugaritic spelling habits is incomplete. (3)

To avoid prejudice it seems best to refer to this type of inconsistency as spelling variation. There are a few important passages in Ugaritic literature where the same words recur without any apparent change of meaning and these will be examined to discover what kind of spelling norms were maintained at Ugarit.

A. THE LEGEND OF KRT

The legend of Krt is preserved on three separate tablets. In the first of them (CTA 14) El reveals himself to the hero and gives him detailed instructions for a planned assault on the town of Udm, where he is to find his destined bride. The tablet closes with the narration of the event and the details of this narration correspond more or less word for word with the original directions given by El in the vision. The two parts of the narrative can conveniently be called the VISION and the EVENT. If they are set out side by side the difference between them can be seen at a glance (v. Plate I). The whole narrative is best divided into five parallel

3. Types of scribal error in the Old Testament have been ~~the~~ described by F. Delitzsch, Die Lese- und Schreibfehler... (1929); more recently S. Segert discusses Ugaritic errors in the same way (AO lxii (1964) p. xxx.

episodes and the variants may be numbered serially. The five episodes are:

1. the preparation - in which Krt washes, paints himself red, eats, drinks and makes a sacrifice on the pinnacle of the temple tower.
2. the expedition - which lasts for seven days and involves a vast army of people.
3. the siege - which also lasts for seven days.
4. the message - which Pbl, king of Udm, sends to persuade Krt to leave the city.
5. the reply - by Krt to the message, saying he will refuse Pbl's bribe.

Of course most of the variants indicate appropriate changes of person and tense for the VISION is full of second person forms corresponding to third person forms in the EVENT but these will not be discussed. What is important is to see if the spelling of individual words is constant where there appears to be no change of meaning.

Episode 1 - the preparation

	VISION (ll.62-84)		EVENT (ll.156-172)	
1.	amt	63	amth	157
2.	qh.im[r.bydk]		lqh.imr.dbh.bydn	
	imr.d[bh.bm].ymn		lla.klatnm	169f.
	lla.kl[atn]m	66ff.		
3.	^c llzr.[mg]dl		w ^c ly,lzr.mgd1	165f.
	w ^c llzr.[mg]dl	73f.		
4.	šmm	76	šmnh	168
5.	bn.dgn	78	bndgn	170
6.	wyrd	79	yrd	171

The most trivial of these examples is 5 where the word divider is omitted in the EVENT. This happens frequently in Ugaritic especially between two closely related nouns. In this example the two nouns are linked in the construct relationship and the omission may be compared to the freedom of the Hebrew scribes with regard to the writing of maggeph. In 6 the introductory copula is omitted in the EVENT with apparently no change of meaning. Possibly when the copula is included it gives a slightly softer nuance but the change of meaning is so slight it need not be considered important.

In example 1 a letter /h/ is added to amt in the EVENT. This /h/ may be interpreted in two ways. Either it is the 3.s.m. pronominal suffix or it is used like the Hebrew he locale. Certainly 'washing to the elbow' or 'washing to his elbow' were equally possible expressions in Ugaritic, for there is general freedom of choice when it comes to using pronominal suffixes with parts of the body. If the /h/ is locative then the variant amt would be construed as an adverbial use of the accusative case. Both expressions would mean literally 'to the elbow'. But in 4 there is another example of a movable /h/ and there the /h/ must be construed as locative since there can be no question of a pronominal suffix with šmm, 'heaven'. In these circumstances it is difficult to resist the conclusion, although the terminology is ugly, that in Ugaritic /h/ is used to 'grammaticalize'⁽⁴⁾ the locative use of the accusative case, that is to say it is not to be isolated as a consonantal bound morpheme but to be explained as an artificial

4. The terminology is used by E. Y. Kutscher in Leshonenu xxxi, 1960, pp. 33-36.

spelling device to distinguish a special use of the bound morpheme /-ā/.

The other two examples are concerned more with words than with letters. The sentence of 2 in the VISION could be called an extended colon (5) of the pattern abc-bdc-bc. The poet has four items of information to convey:

the verb	-	take
the object	-	an animal
an epithet	-	sacrificial
an adverb	-	manually

These four ideas are conveyed by the first six stressed words, which contain two semantically equivalent pairs. The object and the adverb are emphasized by being repeated in the third colon. But in the EVENT these same ideas are expressed a little differently. There the poet uses a bi-colon of the pattern xyz-yz where $x=a$, $y=b+d$ and $z=c$. The information and the emphasis seem to be the same but the poetic structure has changed.

The one scribal error which is universally accepted as an error is 3. Technically the text may not be at fault because it is just possible to translate 11.74f.: 'Go to the top of the tower, yea, go to the top of the tower!' or 'Go right to the top of the tower!' or 'Go to the top of the tower, and on the top of the tower.....!'.

5. v. S. E. Lowenstamm, 'The Expanded Colon in Ugaritic and Biblical Verse' JSS xiv, 1969, pp.176-196.

All these are improbable suggestions because such verbatim repetition in parallel cola is rare. In proposing to delete l.73 it is assumed that the scribe has written a dittograph but it is not a standard dittograph. The position of the /w/ means that it is really the first phrase and not the second which is to be removed. It is best to understand that l. 74 is an attempt to correct the wrongly written l.73 (the ^{conjunction} had been omitted) but why the wrongly written line was not erased by the scribe cannot be adequately explained. Fortunately the meaning of the text has not been obscured at all.

Episode 2 - the expedition

	VISION (ll.85-109)		EVENT (ll.176-195, 207-211)
7.	<u>hpt.dbl.spr</u>		<u>omitted</u>
	<u>tnn.dbl.hg</u>	90f	
8.	wlrbt	93	wl.rbt 181
9.	yhd	96	ahd 184
10.	wysi	100	wybl 189
11.	lm.nkr	102	lnkr 191
12.	mddth	103	mddt 191
13.	kirby	103	kmirby 192
14.	km.hsn	105	khsn 193
15.	rb ^c ym	106	rb ^c .ym 208
16.	mk.špšm	107	ahr.špšm 209
17.	rbm	109	rbt 210
18.	wl.udm	109	wudm 211

In the EVENT this episode is interrupted by ll. 195-206. These lines tell the first of two extra episodes not mentioned in the original speech of El. Krt actually breaks his seven days journey after three days to perform a sacrifice to Ashtarte of Sidon.

The interruption draws attention to the motif of seven days which occurs again in connexion with the siege of Udm. Because the extra episode has no parallel in the VISION it is not relevant to this discussion.

The variant use of the word divider in 8 and 15 is of the same class of variant as 5 except that in these examples it is the VISION that omits them and the EVENT that preserves them. Examples 11, 13 and 14 show that the prepositions /l/ and /k/ are freely interchangeable with the corresponding two-syllable forms /lm/ and /km/. A similar freedom of usage is seen in Biblical Hebrew verse between the inseparable prepositions with their separable counterparts. In 18 the preposition /l/ is repeated before both place names in the VISION but in the EVENT the meaning of the first preposition is sustained and the one preposition does duty for both names. This type of variation is not at all surprising. The omission of the 3.s.m. suffix /h/ in 12 is interesting for there are several other places where a 3.s. suffix is necessary in translation but is not specifically indicated in the text. This may mean that the omission is idiomatic or that the suffix was indicated only by a vocalic morpheme. Clearly it would not be appropriate to emend the text here but mddt and mddth must be regarded as free variants. If the pronominal morpheme was vocalic, as it is in Hebrew, it would not be surprising to find it only sporadically written in an essentially consonantal script.

The ~~omission~~ omission of the two phrases describing the army and its size in 7 is without significance for there is nothing to suggest that the army which Krt actually took with him was in any



way different from that described by El. Similarly the picture of the blind man with his begging bowl is the same in both passages although a different word (ybl, 'he carried') is used in the EVENT from the one used in the VISION (ysi, 'he held out') as noted in 10. These passages, like example 2, confirm the impression that the scribe is trying to convey the same idea in both passages but does not feel bound by a particular form of words.

The difference between yhd and ahd in example 9 is not so obvious. There seems to be no question of a textual error and both words appear to mean 'a solitary man'. The obvious spelling of the word meaning this in Ugaritic would be yhd, cognate with Hebrew יחיד. But, again basing the argument on Hebrew usage, this word would hardly be completely interchangeable with one ahd, cognate with אחד meaning the numeral 'one'. An alternative explanation is that the spelling ahd exemplifies some external influence on Ugaritic phonology. Such an influence may well have come from the scribes' knowledge of Akkadian in which all initial /y/ sounds have become /'/. The Aramaic cognate would also begin with /'/' (cf. Syriac ܐܝܚܕ) and this too may have had its influence on the phonetics of Ugaritic.

The seven day motif is concluded with three different phrases:

mk.špšm.bšb ^c	107
ahr.špšm.bšb ^c	195, 209
hn.špšm.bšb ^c	118

All of these phrases mean 'at sunset on the seventh day' but the words used vary slightly. It is difficult to determine precisely the meaning of the particle mk in Ugaritic but it may be relevant to consider that it may interchange with hn and ahr (16 and 28 - see below)

In example 17 grammatically rbt (f.s.) is preferable to rbm (m.p.) when used with a town name. The m.p. form could be justified by explaining that the town was thought of in terms of its inhabitants. But it is better to explain the /m/ as a poor writing of the letter /t/ followed by the word divider. The horizontal stroke of the /t/  has been written too short so that when followed by the word divider it appears as , /m/. This explanation would mean that the extra word divider after the /m(!)/ is to be deleted as an erroneous dittograph.

Episode 3 - the siege

	VISION 11.110-123		EVENT 11.212-227	
19.	wgr.nn (<u>word divider</u>)	110	grnn	212
20.	wgr.nn (<u>conjunction</u>)	110	grnn	212
21.	šrn	110	šrnn	213
22.	htbh ..	112	htb ..	214
23.	bgrnt	112	wbgrnt	215
24.	bnk	113	bnpk	216
25.	bbqr	113	wbmqr (<u>conjunction</u>)	216f
26.	bbqr	113	wbmqr (/bm/ > /bb/)	216f
27.	ymš	115	hmš	220
28.	whn.špšm	118	mk[.]špšm	221
29.	<u>tiqt</u>	120	<u>tiqt</u>	223
29a.	nqht	121	nhqt	224 (6)

In this episode we see more errors involving the word divider (19) and the ^{conjunction} (20,23, and 25). It is interesting to observe that the longer energetic suffix /nn/ could be written

6. This is a misprint in CTA. The tablet certainly reads nhqt. The museum authorities in Paris, Damascus and Aleppo have been most helpful in allowing me to collate tablets in their collection, which assistance I am glad to acknowledge.

independently (19) and that it could alternate with the shorter energetic suffix /n/ (21). It is probable that whether the long, the short or the zero suffix was used there was no great difference in meaning or in syntax. Another example of the omission of a 3.s. suffix pronominal is 22, and 28 shows that the particles hn and mk are interchangeable (^{see above} example 16).

In this episode there are two certain errors but errors which have a ready explanation. The omission of /p/ in 24 has arisen because of the juxtaposition of two similar signs ~~⌘~~ /p/ and ~~⌘~~ /k/. It should be described as a kind of haplography not involving words but only letters. If the wrongly written word had coincidentally formed another Ugaritic word it is possible that serious ambiguity could have arisen in determining which word the scribes really meant to write but because bnk, although in theory it could mean 'your son', is quite inappropriate to the context here, there is no doubt at all the bnpk is the correct reading. This error is very similar to 17 where /t/ followed by a word divider was read as /m/. There however the error was dittography and it involved not a letter but a letter constituent. A direct parallel to 17 is 27 where the letter ~~⌘~~ /h/ is wrongly written twice and so is confused with ~~⌘~~ /y/. Again because this erroneous form is unintelligible in its context no serious confusion is caused. The Ugaritic reader would notice the error as easily as an English reader of modern times would recognize an /o/ for a badly written /u/ or an /m/ for an /n/.

Example 29 shows that an emphatic voiceless consonant in a word may alternate with the corresponding unemphatic voiced

consonant. Here /q/ :: /g/ but it would not be surprising to find similar alternation like /t/ :: /d/ or /s/ :: /z/. Something similar has happened in 26 where /m/, a nasalized bi-labial, has become /b/, an oral voiced bi-labial under the influence of the preceding /b/. This process may be a kind of partial progressive assimilation. When such variants have a ready phonological explanation it seems likely that the text in which they occur had an oral rather than a literal tradition.

Episode 4 - the message

	VISION 11.123-136		EVENT 11.265-280
30.	wng.mlk,lbty.		rhq[.]mlk[.]lbty
	rhq.krt,lhzry	131ff	n[g.]krt[.]lhz[ry] 279ff
31.	wng (conjunction)	131	rhq 279
32.	ytna	135	y[t]n[t] 277
33.	ilwušn(<u>no w.d.</u>)	135	il[.]ušn 278
34.	ilwušn (conjunction)	135	il[.]ušn 278

The omission of the introductory conjunction (31) is the same as the previous examples (cf. 6, 20 and 25) but the omission of the word divider in 33 is unexpected. There is a definite pause after il because ušn heads a new phrase. Clearly the scribe has been pressed for space. There are sixteen signs in l.134 and fifteen in l.135 whereas the average length of the lines in this tablet is twelve signs. This has led to the omission of the word divider here and of another one in l.134 (wudmtrrt).

Example 30 is interesting in that not only is the whole bi-colon displaced in the EVENT but the order of the two main verbs

within it is reversed. The climax of the speech of Pbl is that Udm is a gift from the gods and this is the one reason he gives for Krt to move off. In the EVENT he mentions the divine interest in the city before telling Krt to depart but in the VISION El mentioned it last of all. In ll. 131-136 and 275-280 there are three closely interlinked sentences and it matters very little in which order they are written. If the semantic structure of this particular sentence in the VISION is described as $abc-a^1b^1c^1$, then in the EVENT it is $a^1bc-ab^1c^1$. There is no question here of any change of meaning and there is probably no different stylistic effect since the passages are so widely separated in the narrative as a whole. It is more probable that the scribe varied his form of expression quite spontaneously. This is born out by the usage of 'fixed pairs' of words in Ugaritic; while so often the order in which they occur in parallel cola is the same it is not infrequent to find the order reversed.

The change from /t/ to /a/ in 32 may be loosely described as dittography, but in fact the sign \blacktriangleright /a/ does not include the long horizontal stroke of \blacktriangleleft /t/. It may not be a scribal mistake at all, for it may well be that the suffixed feminine morpheme /t/ was not always pronounced consonantly in Ugaritic. It could have had a graphemic status similar to that of ta marbuta in written Arabic. If this were so a scribe who tended to write phonetically would be pre-disposed to writing a phonemic vowel /ā/ as /ʔ/ or as /h/ in the later period instead of the historically correct spelling with /t/. But before this stage is reached there was almost certainly a period when the vowel was not indicated at all.

Episode 5 - the reply

	VISION 11.137-153		EVENT 11.282-300	
35.	btrbst	141	btrbs	286
36.	sph	144	sbh	290
37.	dk.n ^c m	145	dkn ^c m	291
38.	thgrn[]dm[],		<u>omitted</u>	
	aslw.bsp. ^c nh	148f		
39.	lkrt	152	lkrk,t	298

11.227-264 have been omitted from this study. They disrupt the sequence of events as envisaged by E1 and the tablet at this point is badly damaged. From what remains it appears to give a full description of the king's reaction to Krt's siege of his city. It includes a speech by Pbl to his wife and another to his messenger.

In example 35 a feminine noun trbst instead of the more common masculine form trbs. But this example should not be considered as strong evidence for the possible non-^h pronunciation of the feminine /-t/ in Ugaritic. There are several nouns in Semitic which have both a masculine and a feminine form without any change of meaning and this could well be an example of this common Semitic phenomenon. (7)

Example 36 shows an interchange of similar consonants. Here the alternation is between voiced and unvoiced consonants, which is a variation of the alternation noted in 25 and 29. One of the 'inseparable prepositions' is separated in 37 as happened also in 8, and a phrase which appears superfluous to the main action of the story is omitted in 38 as happened in 7. The error in 39 has clearly arisen through dittography of letter constituents; the final

7. v. Moscati CGSL 12.34.

part of the sign ~~st~~ /r/ has been inadvertently repeated and appears in the text as ~~st~~ /k/. This has filled the line - and the lack of space may be the reason for the abbreviated writing - so that the final letter of the word /t/ has had to be written ~~at~~ the beginning of the next line. Could the scribe have realized his mistake but failed to delete the erroneous /k/? It seems more probable that the error was caused by his having just written the phrase Šh.bkrk in 1.290. The error would then have probably gone unnoticed but it further suggests that this text was composed from memory rather than from an exemplar. (8)

B. THE SERPENT TEXT

When a well known passage like this story of Krt reveals such spelling inconsistencies it is pertinent to enquire if other repetitive passages also exhibit similar features. One such repetitive text is RS 24.244 (9) which will be referred to as the Serpent Text. It is written in eleven sections and each section repeats a simple formula. This formula appears to be an incantation to relieve a snake bite and a different deity is invoked at each repetition. What is interesting is that, although the basic formula remains the same, in various places many words are spelled differently. The formula itself is composed of ten cola and may be reconstructed in its basic form thus:

-
8. See further on this theme M. Lichtenstein in JANESCU ii, 1970, pp.94-100.
9. The editio princeps of this text is in Ug. V pp. 564-74 but the text was first noted and studied by M. Astour in JAOS lxxxvi (1966) pp. 277-84.

- a. tqru.lšpš.umh
- b. špš.um.ql.bl
- c. ^cm. DIVINE NAME
- d. mnt.ntk.nhš
- e. šmrr.nhš.^cqšr
- f. lnh.mlhš.abd
- g. lnh.ydy.hmt
- h. hlm.ytq.nhš
- i. yšlhm.nhš.^cqšr
- j. y^cdb.ksa.wytb

The transliteration, which is extremely tentative, probably follows these lines:

- a. She will call to Shapash her mother,
- b. Shapash, Mother, fall down I pray thee(?)⁽¹⁰⁾
- c. Before DIVINE NAME.
- d. The snake has bitten my limb.
- e. the writhing serpent has poisoned me
- f. May the charmer destroy it for us,
- g. may he destroy the poison for us
- h. If the snake bites him,
- i. he shall feed the writhing serpent
- j. Let him bring his chair and sit down.

This is a reconstructed text which has been made to conform to correct spelling and punctuation rules as they are understood for Ugaritic. In fact, no single section of the text itself

10. Understanding the particle bl with its asseverative meaning (CML p.165a. line 7). The problem is to understand why this particle should follow the verb.

corresponds exactly to this reconstructed form; because no two sections are exactly the same, this form must serve as a norm of comparison.

The variant readings for each section are arranged on the accompanying table.

Most of these variant readings (32 out of 41) are concerned with the omission or the addition of the word divider. Such an 'error' is without significance in a repetitive text like this. All the word dividers have been correctly written in Section I so that every help has been given to the reader in his initial reading. The extra word divider in q[.]sr (VII i) - the restoration appears certain - is anomalous and bizarre. It can only be supposed that the scribe hesitated in the middle of writing a word because of some distraction. Clearly the large rough hand shows the scribe was not an expert. It is probably noteworthy that these errors involving the word divider are concentrated towards the end of the tablet when the scribe's hand would naturally be growing tired.

TABLE

VARIANT READINGS IN THE SERPENT TEXT

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
a	qrit		u m h	tqrulspš		tqrulspš	tqrulspš	tqrulspš	tqrulspš	tqrulspš	tqrulspš
b	qlbl	qlbl	bl'm		qjlbl	qlbl'm	qlbl	spšumql	qlbl	qlbl'm	qlbl'
c		'mb'l									
d		mnty				n'knhš					
e		'qšrlnh								nhs'qšr	
f						mlhšabd	mlhšabd	mlhšabd			
g										ydyhmt	
h						y'tqnhšys'lam			hlmytq		O M
i	nhs'					nhs'qš	ys'lmnhš				T T E D
						'q.sr					
j		ydb			ksawytb	y'dbksa			y'dbksa		

Where there is a significant change in the text it seems to have been made intentionally. The two most important examples are the change of verb in the first section, which is grit instead of the usual gru, and the omission of the last three lines of the formula in the last section. It is assumed that the very first line of the tablet is an invocation to a female deity, variously described as the 'Daughter of the Spring (^cn)', the 'Daughter of the Stone (abn)' and (an epithet added later) the 'Daughter of the Sky and the Sea (šmmwthm)'. She is then described as 'one who calls to špš' and she asks her to intercede with El; for this epithet the feminine Participle [is used] of the verb qr'. In the prayers in the next section, where she is asked to intercede with other gods, the Imperfect tense is used and it is translated 'she will call'.

At the end of the tablet it is assumed that the charmer's mission has been accomplished and so the lines h - j, which ask him to come and do his work, are naturally omitted from the sequence as inappropriate.

The other errors in the text involve the omission or addition of a letter and these are clearly careless slips. They are as follows:

IIc	mnt < y >
IIj	y < ^c > db
IIIa	u < m > h
VIb	qlb < l >

The extra /y/ on mnt is certainly to be explained as the 1st. singular possessive pronoun which may easily be omitted with parts of the body in Semitic. It is directly comparable with the variant readings amt

and amth for 'his elbow' and mddt and mddth 'his beloved' in the text CTA 14, discussed previously (^{see above} . examples 1 and 12).

The other three errors cannot be explained as omissions because of haplography since the letters which are omitted are not adjacent to letters of a similar shape. The text seems to have been written by a scribe who was not very careful. Ilimilku's texts are far neater and the spelling in them is much more consistent. The scribe appears to have become tired when he came to write the middle section of the tablet but was more vigilant for the last three sections. Still he never perpetuated an error from one section to another and none of the errors can be explained by visual carelessness.

K The text was almost certainly copied either from memory or from
X dictation. It must have been common at Ugarit to copy texts from memory rather than simply to copy from an exemplar. Without an exemplar the scribe is obliged to spell from memory and this will naturally produce a number of phonetic spellings which, although they differ from what is historically more correct, do not change the meaning.

C. PARALLEL PASSAGES IN CTA 6

The well written tablet of Ilimilku, CTA 6, brings more lines of repeated verse pertinent to this discussion. The first repetition occurs in the passage which describes the destruction of Mot by the goddess Anat. She is said to have ripped him open with a sword, winnowed him in a sieve, burned him with fire, ground him with millstones and then sown him in a field. In the parallel passage Mot complains of the treatment he has received before Baal. The relevant texts are:-

CTA 6:ii:30-35

Anat's destruction of Mot

I

- a. bhrb, tbq^cnn.63
- b. bhtr.tdry, nn
- c. bišt.tšrpnn,
- d. brhm.tthnn.
- e. bšd, tdr^cnn.

CTA 6:v:13-19

Mot's complaint to Baal

II

- a'. ^clk, pht.dry.bhrb.
- c'. ^clk, pht.šrp.bišt,
- d'. ^clk.[pht.th]n.brhm
- b'. ^clk.]pht[.dr]y.bkbrt
- e'. ^clk.pht.[]l[]bšdm.
- e''. ^clk.pht, dr^c.bym.

These passages are clearly parallel but not exactly parallel as the VISION and the EVENT were parallel in CTA 14. Because the second passage does not follow the first exactly it has been proposed that the text should be emended.⁽¹¹⁾ Such an emendation does not seem justified. Mot appears to complain of Anat's action in a slightly confused way; he never claims to have been 'ripped open' (bq^c) with a sword (hrb) as may have been expected from I a but to have been 'winnowed' (dry) first with the sword and then with a sieve (kbrt) (v. II a', b'). Anat did in fact winnow him (Ib) but she did it with a different kind of sieve (htr). The emendation of the text is proposed because the sieve of the second passage appears to have assumed the role of a sword. In fact there is every possibility that dry in Ugaritic, like zrh in Hebrew, means not only to 'winnow' but may also be used pregnantly to mean to 'shred and scatter'. This would be the usage in the first line of Mot's complaint with

11. An amended text is proposed in CML p.112b where Driver restores bhtr.^clk.pht.bq^c after dry of line a'.

the basic meaning of the word occurring in the fourth line of the quotation.

Now the parallelism becomes clear. The burning and grinding actions (lines c and d) are described similarly in both passages. The couplet about shredding and scattering (lines a and b) is split in Mot's speech by the burning and the grinding. The sowing described originally in one line (e), is later described by Mot in a couplet (lines e' and e''). The second line of this couplet is unfortunately broken but enough remains to make the outlines of the reconstruction certain. It is clear that there is no serious attempt by Mot to describe Anat's actions in any way differently from the way in which they were first narrated. Too much should not be made of the different order of events. It is true that it raises questions about whether it was Mot's shredded flesh or the burned ashes of his body that had to be scattered but these details are hardly crucial to the interpretation of the story. If they had been the concern of the writer he would have done better to record the story in prose and not verse. Clearly these variations show the importance of oral tradition in the Ugaritic speaking community.

The second occasion on which this tablet repeats itself is after the death of Mot in a passage announcing that Baal is alive. There are two couplets describing the appearance of Ltpn and the heavy rains.

CTA 6:iii: 3-14

wlm.it.zbl.b^c[1.ars]

bhlm.lt^opn.il.dpid

bdrt.bny.bnwt

šmm.šmn.tntrn

nhlm.tlk.nbtm

wid^c.khy.aliyn[.]b^cl

kit.zbl.b^cl.ars

X bhlm.lt^opn.ildpi[d]

bdrt.bny.bnwt

šmm.šmn.tntrn

nhlm.tlk.nbtm

šmh.lt^opn.il.dpid



to be omitted ?

CTA 6:iii:4-6

bhlm.ltpn.il.dpid, bdr̄t.bny.bnwt,
 sm̄m.sm̄n.tn̄tr̄n, nh̄lm.tlk.nbtm,
 'During a vision of Ltpn, the kindly god,
 During a dream of the creator of creatures,
 The sky did rain down oil,
 The valleys flowed with honey'.

These couplets are repeated a few lines later (ll.10-13) but there are no spelling variants at all. They are interesting, however, because during the early studies on this text it was suggested that one of the passages should be deleted.⁽¹²⁾ The argument was that the scribe had copied it twice because both l.3 and l.9 end with the phrase zbl.b'l.ars. After l. 9 the text should have continued sm̄h ltpn.il.dpid but the scribe's eye was carried back by mistake to l.3 and so ll.4-7 were repeated as ll.10-13. It would be a case of homoio teleuton and clear evidence that the scribe was copying from an exemplar. It could be explained that he was copying possibly from dictation but such a mistake would not have occurred had he been copying from memory. In fact most modern commentators⁽¹³⁾ have preferred to retain the text for this is a moment of climax in the story and just the kind of place for formulaic repetition.

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12. See H. Bauer, Die Alphetischen Keilschrifttexte von Ras Schamra (Berlin, 1936) p.45.
13. The original text is accepted in CML, UT and CTA.

CTA 3E:13-17

idfk.lttm.p]nm ,

[^cm.i]l.mbk.nhr[m.

qr]b.[ap]q,[thm]tm.

tg]d[d.]i[l.]

wtbu,[qrš].m[l]k.ab[.šnm.]

msr,[t]bu.dcm.qn[.....

CTA 4E:20-26

idk.lttm.pmm,

^cm.il.mbk.nhrm

qrb.apq.thmtm

tg]y.d[d.]il.

wtbu,qrš.mlk.ab.šnm,

lp^cn.il.thbr.wtql,

tšthwy.wtkbdh,

CTA 6:i:32-38

[idfk.lttm[.]pmm

^cm,[il.]mbknhrm

qrb,[a]pq.thmtm.

tg]y.d[d.]il.š

wtbu,qrš.,mlk.ab.šnm.

lp^cn.il.thbr.wtql,

tšthwy.wtkbdmh,

CTA 17:vi:47-51

[ltnn.pn]m.

^cm.il.mbk(!).nhrm,

[qrb.ap]q.thmtm

tg]y.d[d.]il,

[wtbu.qr]š.mlk.ab.(?)šnm ,

[lp^cn.il.t]hbr.wtql.

tšth,[wy.wtkbd]nh

The other repetition of any significance in this tablet is a passage that is taken up on at least two other tablets of the Baal cycle and on one from the Danel epic. It is the formula which describes the actions one deity will perform when entering into the presence of another. A typical example of it is found in:

CTA 6:i:32-38

[id]k.ltt[.]pnm.`m,[il.]mbknhm.qrb,[a]pq.thmtm.
tgly.dd,il.wtbu.qrš.,mlk.ab.šnm.
lp^cn,il.thbr.wtql,tšthwy.wtkbdnh,

'Then you should set your face towards EL, towards the source of the rivers among the fountains of the deep, You will penetrate EL's territory⁽¹⁴⁾ and enter the royal shrine of the Father of years, You will bow at the feet of EL, you will fall down, worship and honour him'.

This version can be compared with CTA 4:iv:20-26, 3E:13-17 and 17:vi:47-51. All these texts are given on Plate III and the following variants should be noted.

- a. mbk CTA 17 reads mbr
- b. tgly CTA 3E reads tgl
- c. wtkbdnh CTA 4 reads wtkbdh

The error (a) can easily be explained as a dittograph of a letter constituent and so is comparable to ~~p~~reviously cited examples from CTA 14 (examples 17, 27, 39). The first pair of short horizontals of ~~sk~~ /k/ has been repeated so that the letter has become confused

14. Assuming dd is the same word as šd, 'field' (so CML, p.149b, s.v. and UF 19.721).

with ~~tr~~ /r/. The mistake is not a serious one because it is so obvious and would not give rise to any misunderstanding. The fact that a simple suffix instead of an energetic one was used with wtkbd in (c) suggests that the energetic form was virtually the same in meaning as the simple form. Certainly there is no other evidence in CTA 4 to suggest that the suffix is in any way less emphatic there than in CTA 6 or CTA 17. This would add weight to the suggestion that the energetic and the double energetic forms were virtually synonymous (v.s. example 21).⁽¹⁵⁾

Neither is there any evidence to suggest why the short form of a III-weak verb, tg1, is used in CTA 3E instead of the long form elsewhere. If only the formula was preserved in full at this point it would have been possible to see whether the other III-/y/ verb tsthwy was also shortened to tsthw. As it is, it would be difficult to argue that this different spelling indicates a change in the final vowel. For if there had been a change in the final vowel, and it was shared also by the other verbs in the passage, it was not important enough to change the spelling of tbu. With this verb in all three passages the final letter is always /u/. It is preferable to regard this shortened verb form as another example of the free spelling variations of the Ugaritic scribes, which reflect no change of meaning.

15. See further UT 6.17 and 9.11.

IV

Town Names

It was in the excavations of 1938 and 1939 that clay tablets recording names of towns from the kingdom of Ugarit were first discovered. One group of such texts was particularly important for historical purposes because it listed the names of those Ugaritic communities which were liable to pay a share of the tribute required from their country by the Hittite king, Suppiluliumas, and these tablets were quickly published by Virolleaud.⁽¹⁾ He was able to vocalize some of the names with the help of other tablets, written in Akkadian, in which these same names occurred again. Since that publication many more place names have come to light in more recently discovered town-lists and boundary descriptions. It is common for these names to appear both in Ugaritic and Akkadian texts and so it is possible to vocalize a high percentage of them.⁽²⁾ This present enquiry is primarily concerned with those names which, in their Ugaritic spelling, occur with a final /-y/.

There are two distinct ways in which to explain /-y/ in a place name. It may be interpreted either as the last radical of the name or as a gentilic suffix appended to the name. If it is a gentilic suffix the word as a whole ceases to be the name of a

1. Syria xxi (1940), pp.123 - 151.

2. The basic sources for all Ugaritic names discussed in this chapter are CTA, PRU II, PRU V, and Ug. V; for the Akkadian texts, PRU III, PRU IV and Ug. V.

place but rather describes a person from that place and it may often function just as a personal name. If a name is attested only in gentilic form the place name may easily be reconstructed by omitting the /-y/. It is reasonable to suppose that a common name will occur in both gentilic and non-gentilic forms in the administrative literature. The form in a particular text will depend on whether that text is primarily concerned with people or with places

The Ugaritic names that are generally considered to end in /-y/ are listed on the following table.⁽³⁾

3. This table is based on the list of place names in /-y/ given in UI p.520, with a few minor corrections.

TABLE 1

The Place Names Ending in /-y/.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Group</u>
ubr ^c (y)	C	ddmy	B
agn(y)	C	hzp(y)	A
agny	A	hry	B
addy	A	hrnmy	A
uhnp(y)	A	wry	A
ayly	D	zlyy	B
ulm(y)	A	hbt(y)	A
ilstm ^c (y)	A	hlyb(y)	C
alty	D	hldy	D
andy	D	hly	D
apsny	A	hpty	D
ar(y)	C	yny	D
arny	D	y ^c by	B
uſkn(y)	A	y ^c ny	D
atlg(y)	A	y ^c rt(y)	A
utly	A	ypr(y)	A
bir(y)	A	yrnly	A
bq ^c t(y)	A	knkty	B
bsr(y)	C	knknny	A
gbl(y)	A	kn ^c ny	A
gb ^c ly	D	knpy	D
gny	A		
gn ^c (y)	C		

<u>Name</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Group</u>
mid _h (y)	A	ri _{sy}	A
m(a) _{hd} (y)	A	rkby	D
mgdly	D	rqd(y)	A
mld(y)	A	sbn(y)	A
m ^c _{qb} (y)	A	sly	A
m ^c _{rb} (y)	C	slmy	D
m ^c _r (y)	A	sm(n)g(y)	C
msbt(y)	A	smn(y)	C
mril(y)	A	sql(y)	A
mtny	A	tky	D
snry	A	trzy	B
s _g y	B	tlhny	D
s _d my	B	tlrby	D
^c _{ky}	D	t _{mr} (y)	D
^c _{ly}	B	t ^c _n y	D
^c _{nmk} (y)	C	t _{ng} ly	B
^c _{nqpat} (y)	A		
^c _{rgz} (y)	A		
^c _{rm} (y)	A		
qmy	B		
qmz(y)	A		
qry(y)	A		

This list of names found in UI p.520 has been supplemented by the names of towns from the texts in Ug.V. A detailed analysis shows that almost half of them are used in the /-y/ forms only when the context shows them to have had gentilic significance; that is to say they are used as epithets of personal names or function themselves as personal names. These names did not, therefore, really end in /-y/ and need be treated only briefly here. They are listed as belonging to Group A.

GROUP A

Names of which the /-y/-forms seem to have gentilic significance.

<u>Ugaritic</u>	<u>Akkadian</u>	<u>Ugaritic</u>	<u>Akkadian</u>
agny		midh(y)	
addy		m(a)hdy	mahadi
uhn(y)	uhnappu	ml(y)	
ulm(y)*	ullami	m ^c qb(y)	maqgabū
ilstm ^c (y)	ilistami	m ^c r(y)	mu'ari
apsny	apsunaya	msbt(y)	masibat
ušk(y)	uškani	mril(y)	mara'el
atlg(y)	atallik	mtny	
utly		snr(y)	sinaru
bir(y)	biru	^c nqpat(y)	inuqapat
bq ^c t(y)	baqat	^c rgz(y)	
gbl(y)		^c rm(y)	arimi
gny*		qmz(y)	qemanuzi
hzp(y)	izpi	qrt(y)*	
hrmy		rišy	
wry	ura(?)	rqd(y)	raqdu, riqdi
hbt(y)*	huppati	šbn(y)	šubbani
y ^c rt(y)	iarti	šly	
ypr*	iaparu	šql	suqalu
yrml(y)			
kn ^c ny			

*NOTES

ulmy

That this is to be equated with Akkadian

URU ul-la-mi^{KI} is almost certain for this is the regular spelling

of the name (PRU III) (p.81)16.143:5; (p.48)16.166:5; (p.50)16.257:6).

But in a boundary list (PRU IV (p.66) 17.62:12) there is a town mentioned ^{URU}ul-mu-PI which could be read as ulmuwa as (Nougayrol does) or as ulmuya (if PI = ya at Ugarit as it does at Tell el Amarna).(4) Because of the gemination of /l/ and the separating vowel between /l/ and /m/ in the first name, and because Ugaritic ulm(y) is not mentioned in conjunction with the same towns mentioned in R.S.17.62, ulmuya is considered to be a different place from ullami.

gny It is possible that this name is to be equated with ^{URU}ga-an-a; but this is usually considered to be a variant writing of ^{URU}gan-na-a, which corresponds with Ugaritic gn^c(y) (v.i.). Because gny occurs only twice it may simply be a variant writing of gn^cy.

hbt(y) huppati is to be distinguished from huppata'u and huppataya (v.i. s.v. hpty)

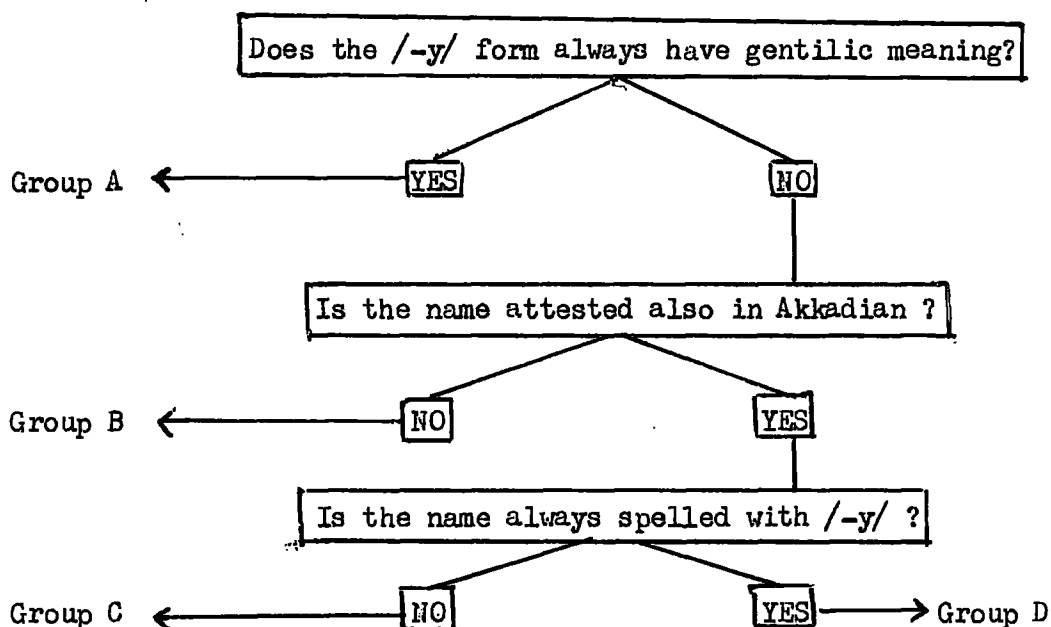
ypr The form ypry is implied but not actually attested in UT 2004:17.

grt(y) This name may correspond to the common Akkadian name which is written URU^{KI}; for both the Ugaritic and the Sumerian words may be interpreted as 'The Town'. It may perhaps be a familiar, local name for Ugarit.

sq1 There is no evidence for any /-y/ form, although it is included in Gordon's list.

(4) See R. Labat, Manuel d'Epigraphie Akkadienne (Paris, 1963) item 383.

Of much more interest are those names which, although spelled with /-y/ do not seem to be really gentilics in that they indicate a place rather than a person. Apart from the names which, as yet, have no Akkadian counterpart (Group B) all other names are examined in detail and are divided according to whether the name is always spelled with /-y/ (Group D) or whether a form without /-y/ is also attested (Group C). This classification system can be most conveniently represented by a diagram thus:



When considering these names two special points must be remembered. Firstly the Ugaritic dialect of Akkadian reflects Western rather than Eastern Semitic phonology. For example, Western words containing /^c/ would normally be spelled with a vowel /e/ in middle Babylonian. But at Ras Shamra an /a/ vowel is normally preserved as can be seen from the spelling of words like Mu'ari which has not become Mu'eri although it is spelled in Ugaritic as m^cr. Similarly ideograms were used not only to represent Akkadian words but also Western Semitic words. So 𐎠𐎵, SIG₅, which is the common ideogram for Akkadian damāqu, 'be good',

also stands for Ugaritic n^cm, 'be kind';⁽⁵⁾ IGI, also seems to be used for cⁿ as well as ēnu, 'eye'.⁽⁶⁾ Such examples show that the scribes were not rigidly bound by traditional spelling customs but were ready to experiment with new writings the more accurately to represent the language they spoke. If this were true when they were writing a language with a well established spelling tradition, which was to them a second language, surely their spontaneity would be sustained when they came to write their own language which, apparently, had yet to secure its place in the world of writing?

Secondly, there has been a suggestion that when a name sometimes ends in /-y/ the /-y/ form is always a gentilic.⁽⁷⁾ But these /-y/ forms occur in lists of places and this idea supposes that the scribe switched from a series of non-gentilic forms to a gentilic form and then switched back again. The theory lacks conviction because similar scribal habits are not attested elsewhere. It is true that very often in Semitic languages a place name is used to describe not only the place but also people from that place but this is a feature of prose narrative and not of statistical lists.

5. As in the personal name Iakuna^camu.

6. Similarly A.ŠA represents Ugaritic gt rather than Akkadian eglu in place names compounded with this element (v. UI p.62)

7. so UI 8.52

Group B contains just twelve names:

GROUP B

Names of which the syllabic spelling is not yet known.

ddmy	sgy
hry	sdmy
zlyy	qmy
y ^c by	tky
kmkty	trzy
knkny	tngly

NOTES

ddmy CTA 32:12,29. The text is an exhortation to the chiefs of various localities to take part in a ritual. Gordon describes the name as a gentilic but because there are other non-gentilic forms in the long series of names it is perhaps better to consider that this is the spelling of the place name itself.

hry UT 2074:13. The text is a list of thirty-nine town names.

zlyy UT 159:3 is a list of towns which are to provide various amounts of silver. The other occurrences of the word seem to be gentilics following personal names, CTA 89:2,4,11.

y^cby CTA 65:8, is a list of towns with the number of days' work they are to contribute.

kmkty UT 2119:11,12,16, in a list of people (?) with their localities.

knkny

GTA 5:v:13

pnk.altn.tk.ḡr, knkny

'do not set your face towards the Hill of K.!'

This is the only reference to this place and it may well be a mythological locality. It is possible to derive the name from kknt, a variant of knkn (?), 'burial urn'.⁽⁸⁾ If this is the true etymology the name is really gentilic.

sgy

UT 1084:15

^cšrm.yn.tb.w.ttn.hmš.k[b]d, yn.d.l.tb.b.gt.sgý

'twenty measures of good wine and sixty-five

large measures of not such good wine in G.S.'

The name occurs again in UT 2048:7, a text describing the location of armouries.

šdny

UT 1081:13

krm.uhn.b.šdny

'the vineyard of U. in S.'

Despite the phonetic correspondence the traditional site of Sodom precludes its being equated with šdny.

qny

GTA 67:3, UT 2015:16,17, 2040:24, 2046:rv.5,

2074:16

miscellaneous town lists.

trzy

UT 2118:7

list of people with their localities.

8.

See .UT 19.1268.

tngly

UT 171:9

list of people who are to contribute (or receive)
pots (of grain ?)

UT 2168:10

list of people and their dependants.

In UT 171:9 it is preferable to translate the word as a personal name but in UT 2168:10 it appears to be a common noun. The title of the tablet, bnšm...watth.wn^crh, appears to mean '(a list of) apprentices (9) with their wives and children' and several names are qualified by the phrases w.atth or w.bnh. The name ^cbdyrh is qualified with glt but this is hardly a feminine gentilic (cf. UT 19.2711) since he is a man and the supposed gentilic would be of feminine form. It is more likely to mean something like 'his two children'. Could there possibly be a noun gl, glt cognate with Hebrew ^cwl, 'suckle'. The phonetic equation Proto-Semitic /^c/::Ugaritic /^g/ appears occasionally to be a valid one.⁽¹⁰⁾ If it could be accepted in this case the word would mean 'baby'. The personal name tngly may possibly mean 'the twin' or 'the man who is the father of twins' and would be the word occurring in the mythological fragment UT 2001: 8 where some kind of personal noun is intended.

9. Virolleaud translates this word simply 'homme' (PRU V. p.148a), but its usage in Ugaritic is fully discussed by G Gordon in UT 19.486, especially p.374a.

10. This equation is accepted by Driver for words like gnb :: كنب 'grapes (CML p.128, paragraph 2) but not mentioned by Gordon in his discussion (UT, Chapter V).

GROUP C

Names which sometimes end in /-y/ but in which the /-y/ does not
always appear to be of gentilic significance.

<u>Ugaritic</u>	<u>Akkadian</u>	<u>Ugaritic</u>	<u>Akkadian</u>
ubr ^c (y)	ubura	hlby(y)	halba
agm(y)	agimu	m ^c rb(y)	mahrāpa
ar(y)	ari, aruya (?)	^c nmk(y)	inumaka
bsr(y)	basiri	šm(n)g(y)	šammīqa
gn ^c (y)	ganna	šmn(y)	šamna

ubr^c(y)

ubr ^c	UT 1033:4
ubr ^c y (gentilic)	CTA 91:10, UT 2039:7 (ubr ^c ym)
ubr ^c y (pl.name)	CTA 65:1, 68:4, rv.3, 71:28, 119:iii:1, UT 1010:12, 2015:20, 2040:20, 2058:i:14, 2073:12
URU _{u-bur-a}	PRU III (p.138)10:044:3', (p.139)11.790:3', (p.190)11.800:1

It seems that the spelling without /-y/ is the exception.
Unless the letter is concealed on the edge of the tablet UT 1033,
it must be assumed that the scribe omitted it because of lack of
space.

agm(y)

agm	CTA 71:49, UT 2004:31, 2058:ii:2, 2074:28 this name usually occurs in lists in conjunction with the name hpty.
agmy	CTA 122:3, UT 1039:17 these two examples are clearly gentilics with personal names. UT 2076:2,11 <u>t[t.bn]šm[b.a]gmy...arb^c.bnšm.b.ag[m]y</u>

If these two restorations are correct these two examples are clearly place names following a preposition. In fact almost certainly one of them is wrong since the same name does not usually occur twice in a list like this. Both restorations are questionable since from the cuneiform it can be seen that equally possible names are slmy, (1.2) and agny or alty. Perhaps it would be better to include agny in Group A.

URU_{a-gi-mu/mi/mi} PRU III (p.191)11.841:13, (p.189)11.790:20,
(p.40)15.173:1',3'.

ar(y)

ar CTA 71:48, 68:5, rv.5, 83:2, UT 1010:10, 1035:4
1181:11, 2001:3, 2033:3, 2015:22,23,24, 2040:4,
2073:4, 2074:4, 2107:16.

ary (gentilic) CTA 81:15, 99:1, 87:12,13,14,15, 118:4,10, 131:14,
UT 1134:5, 2071:3,6.

ary (pl. name) CTA 69:3, 71:8, 159:4, UT 1081:18, 1137:6, 2040:3

URU_{ar-ri} PRU III (p.193)12.34:18, PRU IV (p.166)17.129:7,
(p.217)17.143:24, (p.230)18.01:8, (p.239)17.369B:1,
(p.139)17.459:rv.3', (p.137)18.06:8'.

URU_{ar-ru-PI(=ya)} PRU IV (p.72)17.335:14, (p.77)17.368:rv.4'.

Although this name was formerly read as Arruwa there is a possibility that PI could be read as /ya/ at Ugarit as it is in the Amarna correspondence. ⁽¹¹⁾ There is considerable doubt that ar and ary are the same place in view of their occurrence together in the same list from time to time (cf. CTA 71, UT 2040).

¹¹,

See R. Labat, Manuel d'Epigraphie Akkadienne
(Paris, 1963) item 383.

bsry

bsr UT 2004:23, 2058:ii:16, 2067:3, 2076:39.

bsry (gentilic) CTA 99:rv.i, 87:6, UI 1060:6

(pl. name) CTA 71:45

bsr[.....]l

a list of town names followed by numerals. Here the restoration bsr[y] must be regarded as tentative since elsewhere the town name is spelled without the /-y/.

URU_{ba-si-ri}

PRU III (p.189)11.790:29'

a list of town names followed by numerals.

gn^c(y)

gn^c UT 2015:14

gn^cy (pl. name) CTA 71:51, 67:11, UI 1084:23, 2040:17, 2074:26

In CTA 67:11 t]n^cy would be an equally possible restoration. The traditional reading is g]n^cy.

gn^cy (gentilic) UT 1161:13 (gn^cym

URU_{gan-na-a} PRU III (p.190)11.830:1

URU_{ga-an-a} PRU III (p.189)11.790:18, (p.190)11.800:21, (p.191)11.841:17.

It is possible that the two syllabic spellings reflect different places corresponding to the two Ugaritic names gn^c(y) and gn(y) (v.s. Group A). If they are the same place then it is worth considering the possibility the gny is simply a variant spelling of gn^cy.

hlb(y)

- hlb UT 1180:2, 2004:22
hlby (gentilic) UT 1087:4, 2101:6
(pl. name) UT 2058:ii:21, 2075:25
URU hal-ba PRU III (p.125)15.147:5, PRU IV (p.87) 17.349B:10.

A very common gentilic following personal name is URU hal-pi which may denote the same place as URU hal-ba.

m^crb(y)

- m^crb UT 1061:3
m^crby (gentilic) UT 2113:26 (possibly the town name is meant here)
(pl. name) CTA 71:57, UT 1084:8, 2033:5, 2040:8, 2073:8
2074:8.
URU ma-a'-ra-pa PRU III (p.193)12.34:26.
URU ma-ah-ra-pa PRU III (p.104)15.109:30,32
URU ma-ra-ba PRU IV (p.236)17.248:5
URU ma-ra-ba PRU III (p.193)12.34:30, (p.104)15.109:35,
(p.187)16.125:3, (p.150)16.188:7, rv.6,
(p.151)16.201:5,7, (p.65)16.247:6, (p.48)16.248:11
URU ma-ra-pa-a PRU IV (p.236)17.248:3 (gentilic?)
URU GIŠ.ŠU(ma^crabu) PRU III (p.189)11.790:10

^cnmk(y)

- ^cnmk CTA 66:9, UT 2058:ii:24 (^cn[mk]), 1181:7
(^cnmk[])
^cnmky (gentilic) -
(pl. name) CTA 71:52, UT 159:6, 1081:3,9, 1098:28,
2040:26, 2074:38.
URU IGI-ma-ka PRU III (p.190)11.800:9

GROUP D

Names which always end in /-y/ but where the /-y/ ending does not seem always to have had gentilic significance.

<u>Ugaritic</u>	<u>Akkadian</u>	<u>Ugaritic</u>	<u>Akkadian</u>
ayly	ayali	y ^c ny	yaniya
alty	alašiya	knpy	kannabiya
andy	ammiza	mgdly	magdala
arny	araniya	^c ky	akka
gb ^c ly	gibala	rkby	rakba
gll.tky	galilitukiya	šlmy	šalma
gt.hldy	hulda	tlhny	silhana
hly	hili (?)	tlrby	šalirba
hpty	hupataya	tnry	šamra
gt.yny	yana	tn ^c y	šanna (?)

ayly

ayly (gentilic)	-
(pl. name)	UT 2026:2
	šd.snrym.dt. ^c qb.b.ayly
	'the fields of S. which are in the hills of A.'
	UT 2118:14
]n.b.ayly
	'[PN](who lived) in A.'
a-ia-li	PRU IV (p.66)17.62:20
	eqli hursāni ša a-ia-li
	'the fields of the hills of A.'
	PRU IV (p.68)17.339:9' (text restored)
DARA	PRU IV (p.51)17.340:rv.4'

alty

alty (gentilic) UT 1095:2

1.abrm.alty

'for the forces of A.'

(pl. name) CTA 32:21,29, UT 1090:8, 2008:8 (alt[])

URU_{a-la-si-ia} PRU IV (p.122)17.353:10, (p.103)18.114:2.

The translation proposed for UT 1095:2 is an alternative to that proposed by Virolleaud who, in the original edition, proposed 'Abram the Alasian'. The form with the extra /y/ seems to be adjectival and so the place name would presumably be written with only one /y/, alty. Akkadian transcriptions show that the name always ended in /ya/ and the supposed name *alt has so far been attested only as a bound form in the personal names altn and altt. It is possible for a place name to be gentilic in form and this may be such a name.

amdy

amdy (gentilic) -

(pl. name) CTA 67:11, CTA 70:6 (t(!)mdy) 71:43, UT 2040:16, 2058:29, 2077:6

The emendation in CTA 70:6 to amdy is supported because of the proximity of the name h^clb.prm which is usually associated with it.

URU_{am-mi-za} PRU III (p.199)11.790:7', (p.190)11.830:2

URU_{am-mi-sa} PRU III (p.190)11.800:20

URU_{am-mi-za-u} PRU III (p.191)11.841:10

The varying transliteration of Ugaritic /d/ as either /š/ or /z/ suggests that it was a voiced dental but the question of its articulation is a matter of discussion.⁽¹²⁾ The diaeresis shown by the spelling ^{URU}am-mi-za-u would normally indicate an intervocalic /' / but it is just possible that it could have indicated a final long vowel somewhere between /a/ and /u/, (v.i. s.v.hpty)

arny

arny (gentilic) CTA 81:5, UT 145:7, 1085:11.
 (pl. name) CTA 65:2, 71:27, 119:ii:1, UT 2040:10, 2058:11, 2074:10.
^{URU}a-ra-ni-ia PRU IV (p.215)17.288:8,10,18,22.
^{URU}a-ra-ni-PI(=ya) PRU III (p.188)10.044:3'.

gb^cly

gb^cly (gentilic) CTA 79:16, 87:27,28, 99:5, UT 2055:2.
 (pl. name) CTA 71:6
 mlk,gb^cly
 'the king of G.'
 UT 1052:2
 Here a group of town names occurs in the middle of a list of personal names and this may be another instance of the gentilic form.
 UT 2040:6, 2074:6
^{URU}gi-ba-la PRU IV (p.72)17.335:19

12. For a full discussion ^{see} E. Ullendorff, JSS vii (1962), pp. 116ff.

gll.tky

gll.tky (pl. name) UT 2042:23'

URU ga-li-li-tu-ki-ia PRU VI 78:9

Because of the new evidence from PRU VI it is unlikely that gll and tky can still be thought of as two associated towns. The Akkadian spelling clearly suggests that it is one town with a double name and so Virolleaud's earlier opinion must be revised.

hldy

gt.hldy (pl.name) UT 2013:10

URU hu-ul-da PRU III (p.133)15.132:7, (p.143)16.138:19.

hly

hly (pl. name) UT 1081:12

krm.n^cmn.b.hly

'the vineyard of N. in H.'

URU hi-li(?) PRU VI 94:1', 2'

From this very fragmentary writing the identification of this name with Ugaritic hly cannot be regarded as certain.

hpty

hpty (pl. name) CTA 71:49, UT 2004:30, 2058:ii:3, 2076:12, 2077:8

URU hu-pa-ta-u PRU III (p.191)11.841:14

URU ha-pa-ta-PI PRU III (p.190)11.800:15

URU hu-pá-ta PRU III (p.189)11.790:21

hu-up-pa-ti PRU III (p.148)16.178:11

Such variety in the way a name is transliterated into Akkadian is unusual. Nougayrol has suggested that ha-pa-ta-PI is a variant spelling of hu-pá-ta. An alternative view is to transliterate the latter name hu-ba-ta, and consider it as a variant of hu-up-pa-ti, or hu-ub-bá-ti and these two would correspond to Ugaritic hbt(y)(q.v.) which occurs only as a gentilic in the /-y/ form. ha-pa-ta-PI then would correspond to a different Ugaritic town, hpty.

yny

yny (gentilic) CTA 131:30 (caption for a list of personal names).

(pl. name) CTA 112:2 (although all names in this list may equally well be people), UT 2071:5,6, 2076:20.

gt.yny (pl.name) UT 1043:10

URU ya-na PRU VI 119:2

Because of the lacuna in the only Akkadian tablet where this name occurs the identity of yana with yny is uncertain. It might be a personal name here like alyana. Perhaps yny is a variant spelling for y^cny (q.v.).

y^cny

y^cny (pl. name) UT 1098:26, 1129:14, 2075:12

URU ia-'a-ni-ya PRU IV (p.66)17.62:19, (p.51)17.340:rv.3'

knpy

gt.knpy (pl.name) UT 1098:17, 1129:10.

ka-an-na-bi-ia PRU III (p.79)16.239:7.

ka-na-bi-ia PRU III (p.85)16.250:11

21

mgdly

mgdly (gentilic) UT 2044:11 (assuming that prš is a personal name).

(pl. name) UT 1081:10

mgdly.g^lp^{tr}.tⁿ.krmm

'at (?) M. under the supervision of (?) G.

there are two vineyards.'

If this were a gentilic form here, it would naturally follow another proper name whereas it precedes it.

URU_{ma-ag-da-la} PRU IV (p.66)17.62:6', (p.70)17.366:16'.

These two tablets are duplicates.

^cky

^cky (pl. name) UT 2059:25

w.anyk.t^t,by.^cky

'and your ship is placed (?) in A.'

URU_{a-ki-ya} PRU VI 79:18, 81:6'

Both these examples are certain gentilics following personal names.

It is possible that the place indicated is Acre which would normally have been spelled with a final vowel /a/. In Tell el Amarna letters it is spelled URU_{ak-ka}. (13)

rkby

rkby (pl.name) CTA 119:ii:35, UT 2042:15, 2071:7, 2077:1

URU_{ra-ak-ba} PRU III (p.190)11.800:22

13. J. A. Knudtson, Die El-Amarna Tafeln II,
(Leipzig, 1915), p. 1571.

slmy

slmy (gentilic) UT 147:6, 1082:1, rv.9, 1060:4
 (pl. name) CTA 69:2, UT 1181:10, 2015:rv.2, 2058:ii:31,
 2119:26

URU_{sa-al-ma} PRU IV (p.67)17.62:23.
 URU_{sal-ma} PRU IV (p.51)17.340:rv.6'

tlhny

tlhny (gentilic) CTA 81:17, 87:17.
 (pl. name) CTA 66:5, 71:11, 1181:6.

URU_{si-il-ha-na} PRU III (p.38)15.41:2.

tlrby

tlrby (pl.name) CTA 66:4, CTA 71:12, 1081:21, 1181:5.
 tlrbh CTA 66:2

qrht.d.tsslmn,tlrbh

'towns which you shall make to pay at T.'
 apparently an example of he-locale attached to a
 name which ends in /y/ with the /y/ elided.

URU_{sa-lir_x-bi-ia} PRU VI 100:1 (restoring a personal name in the
 lacuna),
 PRU VI 138:19.

Both these occurrences seem to be gentilics.

URU_{sa-lir_x-ba-a} PRU VI 105:3'
 URU_{sa-lir_x-ba} PRU VI 134:7
 URU_{sal-lir_x-ba-a} PRU VI 95:4

tmry

tmry (gentilic) CTA 94:8,10, UT 1081:4 (perhaps a place name)

(pl. name) CTA 69:4, 71:20, UT 1181:13, 2058:36.

URU šá-am-ra-a PRU VI 77:7

Ibrizazu Bitahuli uššab Naziyanu Šamra KIMIN

'I. lives in B. and N. lives in S.'

Because of the virtual repetition of the verb, although this name follows a personal name, it is hardly a gentilic.

PRU VI 105:8

URU šám-ra-a(?) PRU VI 111:6 (text restored).

tn^cy

tn^cy (pl. name) CTA 70:11, UT 1167:12 (in theory [g]n^cy is also a possible restoration here but in view of the proximity of andy - as in CTA 70 - [t]n^cy is preferred).

URU šan-na-a PRU III (p.190)11.800:31.

Since Ugaritic /t/ can be represented in Akkadian as /š/ there is the possibility of seeing these two names as identical. But it seems preferable to transcribe the name here as URU šám-na-a and treat it as the reflex of Ugaritic šmn(y) (q.v.) There are two objections to reading ŠAN as /šan/ here. The syllable is more frequently written as /ša-an/ and ŠAN is obviously to be read /šám/ in Šamūna and Šamra corresponding to Ugaritic šm(n)g(y) and tmry.

Summary

One of the results of this analysis¹ has not ^{which might have been expected} appeared. Given the possibility that matres lectionis were used in some measure at Ugarit, it seemed reasonable to suppose that a /y/ that was not consonantal might indicate a vowel /e/ or /i/. But there is little evidence from these names to support such an idea. It seems to have been considered seriously enough for the editors of PRU VI to suggest vocalizing names that were known to have /-y/ forms in Ugaritic, like hly and tlrby with a final vowel /-i/, like Hili ⁽¹⁴⁾ and Sal(1)irbi.⁽¹⁵⁾ Because of the very fragmentary state of the tablet on which Hili is written the final syllable is very much in doubt. Indeed it is not certain if the last preserved sign is the last sign of the word and it may well be that this is a completely different place. Sal(1)irbi is almost certainly a wrong vocalization, for it probably had a final vowel /-a/. Akku ⁽¹⁶⁾ should also end in /-a/; the standard shift from Ugaritic /a/ to Hebrew /o/ explains the Hebrew vocalization ḥakkō, and there is the added weight of the Tell el Amarna (and also the Egyptian Hieroglyphic) spelling mentioned above (s.v.).

That the sporadic writing of /-y/ indicated /-ī/ was perhaps suggested by a few chance correspondences. It was noted that bsr(y) could be likened to Akkadian basiri but a closer

14. PRU VI, p.146b.

15. ibid p.147b.1.15 (s.v. Sal(1)irbi)

16. ibid p.146a (and pp.78, 81).

examination shows that the Ugaritic /-y/ forms were used only in clearly gentilic forms whereas the Akkadian word is not gentilic. In fact basiri corresponds to Ugaritic bsr and bsry, the gentilic form, would have probably been written in Akkadian as *baširiya or the like. The word ar(y) was similarly seen to correspond to ari but the two Ugaritic forms do not seem to be variant spellings of the one name. It is more reasonable to suppose that ar and ary correspond to the two Akkadian words āri and aruya.

The only other name that could be said to suggest a final /-i/ is ayly corresponding to ayali. This name is always vocalized with /-i/ and always ends in /-y/ but the explanation is hardly that the /-y/ is a mater lectionis. That the name was known to mean 'City of the Deer' seems clear from the fact that it is written ideographically with the sign DĀRA (for DĀRA.BAR), ayyālu 'deer'. A proper name so obviously derived from a common noun in current usage would naturally be inflected with a case ending appropriate to its syntax. This seems to be an explanation of the words huršāni ša a-ia-li (RS 17.62:20), the only example which clearly shows the final vowel /-i/, and where the word ayyālu naturally falls into the genitive case. An alternative explanation is that the Akkadian /-i/ is a nisbeh ending, distinguishing the common noun 'deer' from its related adjective and to be translated 'deer-like'. Such a morpheme could easily be represented in Ugaritic by /-y/, corresponding to a nisbeh termination /-īya/.

That /-y/ does not regularly correspond to /-i/ can easily be seen from the following table which lists all those

names that end in /-i/ according to their Akkadian spellings together with the corresponding Ugaritic forms. These hardly ever end in /-y/.

TABLE II

Names which end in /-i/

<u>Akkadian</u>	<u>Ugaritic</u>	<u>Akkadian</u>	<u>Ugaritic</u>
ari	ar(y?)	nanu/i	nnu/a
baširi	bsr(y?)	napšati	
ašri ba'ala		naqabi	
bekani		nidabi	ndb
bita huliwi		paništa/i	
dumatki		pašarati	
galilitukiya	gll.tky	pugulu/i	
halbi	h _l b	qamanuzi	qm _n z
h _l .qarradi	h _l b.krd	qidsi	qds
h _l .rapš _i	h _l b.rpš	riqdi	r _q d
huli (?)	h _l y	suksi	
huliwi		sa'i	
hurba hulimi	hrb.g _l m	šuppani	tp _n
ilištami	ilštm ^c	šurašu/i	šrs
išqi		ullami	ulm
izpi	h _z p	uškani	uškn
kangaki		zamirti	
mulukki	mlk		
mu'ari	m ^c r		

When a name is gentilic it will obviously end in /-y/ and this usually corresponds to an Akkadian ending vowel + /ya/, and apparently any town name may be inflected with such a morpheme. It is interesting that a town name which itself ends in /y/ does not take an extra /y/ in the gentilic form. The only names in /-yy/ are ata zlyy and ^{altay; zlyy} seems to be spelled with /-yy/ whether it is a gentilic or a place name. Since the Akkadian equivalent is not yet known it is not at all clear how this name should be pronounced.

Some of the names that end in /y/ in non-gentilic contexts clearly end in consonantal /y/ which is represented in Akkadian either by the ligature ~~𐎶𐎶~~ /ia/ or by ~~𐎶𐎶~~ /ya/.

There are six such names:

al ^u ty	alašiya
ar ^u ny	araniya
gll.tky	galilitukiya
h ^u pty	hapataya
y ^c ny	ya'anaya
knpy	kannabiya

All these names naturally occur in Group D.

But there is no suggestion of any consonantal articulation of the /-y/ of the other names in Group D. With the exception of Hili all the other names end in the vowel /a/ and often the syllabic script, by using an extra final vowel sign, suggests that the vowel is a long one. As for Hili it was attested only twice in adjacent lines of a very fragmentary tablet. It was included in the list only provisionally until a better reading is established.

If the ten names of Group C are brought into the discussion, with the exception of agm(y), ar(y) and bsr(y) already mentioned, it is noteworthy that the other seven also end in /a/, according to the Akkadian transliterations. There are in fact nineteen Ugaritic names which end in /y/ in non-gentilic contexts and, where the Akkadian vocalization is known, which can be shown to end in the vowel /a/. They are as follows:

TABLE III

Names ending in /-y/ which are spelled in Akkadian transliterations

/-a/.

<u>Ugaritic</u>	<u>Akkadian</u>
ubr ^c (y)	ubura
amdy	ammiza
gb ^c ly	gibala
gn(y)	ganna
h _l b(y)	halba
h _l dy	hulda
yny	yana
mgdly	magdala
m ^c rb(y)	mahr _a pa
^c ky	akka
^c nmk(y)	inumaka
rkby	rakba
slmy	salma
sm(n)g(y)	samm _i qa
smn(y)	samna
t _l hny	silh _a na
t _l rby	salirba
tmry	samra
tn ^c y	samna

There are problems about describing these /-y/ forms simply as gentilics ⁽¹⁷⁾ because they occur within lists of places which are required to perform some sort of feudal duty to the palace. If a gentilic form were used in such lists it would naturally be a plural form since the feudal obligation was required from all the residents in a particular locality. Some alternative solution is therefore required.

It is here assumed that the /-y/ forms conserve an archaic spelling tradition of which the best known parallel example is the spelling of the Hebrew personal name Sarah. This occurs in two forms, $\eta\tau\eta$ and $\prime\tau\eta$ ⁽¹⁸⁾ and the final /-y/ is accepted by Gesenius as a feminine morpheme. ⁽¹⁹⁾

17. v. UT 8.52.

18. The change in spelling seems to be interpreted in the Bible as a change of name, even though no folk etymology is given. When the /-y/ form first occurs it is linked with the meaning $\eta\tau\eta$, 'barren' (Gen. xi.30) but after the birth of Isaac Sarah's position is ennobled and the name $\eta\tau\eta$, 'princess' is more appropriate (Gen. xvii. 15f., esp. v.16b $\eta\tau\eta$ $\eta\tau\eta$). It was Hoeldeke who first suggested that the two words were really the same (ZDMG xiii, (1888), p.484) and the question has been discussed from an Akkadian viewpoint by K. Tallqvist, Assyrian Personal Names (1917), p.193.

19. GKC parag. 80 l.

The /-y/ in Ugaritic could also be a feminine morpheme since some town names are known to be feminine (20) or it could represent some other morpheme /-ay/. Whatever its meaning the original pronunciation as a diphthong /-ay/ has contracted to /-ā/, as is shown by the Akkadian transliterations of these names. (21)

The Ugaritic spellings which omit the historically correct /-y/ are more accurately representing the spoken form of these words. In Hebrew the letter /-h/ was used to indicate the final /ā/ of feminine nouns but the only occurrence of one of these names with /-h/ is tlrbh (CTA 66:2) instead of the usual tlrby (v.s.). (22) It seemed preferable when considering this word not to assume that Ugaritic could, like Hebrew, use the /-h/ as a vowel marker but to interpret this /-h/ as he-locale; although it was probably also pronounced /-ā/ the /-h/ was written not so much to indicate the long vowel as to mark in the script the important directional connotation of the accusative case ending. (23)

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20. udm.rbt.wudm.trrt (CTA 14:iii:134; and similarly iii:108.; iv:210f.;vi:276f.) Gordon accepts the fact of an Ugaritic feminine morpheme /-y/ because of its frequent occurrence in the names of Ladies, (UT 8.54) but these could also be interpreted as hypocoristic forms.
21. Diphthongs are generally reduced in Ugaritic as is seen from the spelling bt for *baytu (v. UT 5.18).
22. That the /-y/ disappears from this word before the suffix /-h/ seems to prove that it was not pronounced as a consonantal /-y/, otherwise it would have stayed.
23. This view summarizes the opinion of E. Y. Kutscher, in Leshonenu xxxi (1966), pp. 33-6.

CONCLUSION

It seems that when /-y/ is used in the spelling of Ugaritic names in a non-gentilic context this /-y/ does not necessarily indicate a termination /ya/. There are nineteen names used in this way which correspond to an Akkadian transliteration of the name ending simply in /-a/. This /-y/ is therefore explained as an archaic or conservative writing coming from the time when the name was pronounced with a final diphthong, and not a final long vowel. For those names which exhibit alternative spellings, one with and the other without the /-y/, it is the form without the /-y/ that more accurately represents the spoken form of the word. It is not possible to conduct a similar investigation for personal names that end in /-y/ because the /-y/ in personal names can always be interpreted as a hypocoristic ending and these forms can occur in all kinds of different contexts. (24)

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24. The subject of Ugaritic personal names has been the subject of an exhaustive study by F. Grondahl, Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit (Rome, 1967). She says: "Gewöhnlich sind die Kurznamen mit hypokoristischen Suffixen versehen." (p.49, parag.79).

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Conclusions

When Brockelmann wrote his monumental comparative grammar of the Semitic languages ⁽¹⁾ the earliest evidence of the Canaanite branch to which he could refer was the one represented by the Canaanite glosses in the Tell el Amarna tablets:

'Unsere älteste Quelle für die Sprache dieser Semiten [Kana^canäer] sind einzelne Glossen in den mit Keilschrift in babylonischer Sprache geschriebenen Briefen.'⁽²⁾

These odd words could clearly reveal something of the phonology of Canaanite of the mid 2nd. millennium but they could not indicate very much about grammatical features like the inflexion of the verb. All that could be inferred in this connexion was from the distinctly western style of the Akkadian in the letters which was only of indirect significance.⁽³⁾ The earliest Western Semitic text he could quote was the Moabite Stone, which was dated to the 9th. century and came from Transjordan rather than Canaan.⁽⁴⁾ For a genuinely Canaanite inscription he had to turn to Hezekiah's building inscription from Jerusalem which was from the 8th. century. The earlier Gezer inscription (10th. century) was found unfortunately just too late for his consideration;⁽⁵⁾

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1. Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen, (1908).
 2. ibid. paragraph 10.
 3. F. Böhl, Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe... (Halle, 1922)
 4. GVG paragraph 11
 5. GVG paragraph 12 (p.9) and KAI No, 189.
 6. KAI No. 182.

Since Brockelmann's work very many more documents written in the Western Semitic linear alphabet have been discovered; many of them are Aramaic but the languages of the others may be described as Hebrew or Phoenician (7) and these may be arranged in descending order of antiquity thus:

	<u>KAI</u>	<u>date discovered</u>
1. Karatepe bilingual	26	1946
2. Siloam inscriptions	189	1880
	190	1924
	191	1899
3. Limassol - Baal Lebanon	31	1877
4. Samaria Ostraca	183-8	1908-10
5. Zendjirli - Kilamuwa	24	1902
6. Byblos - Siptbaal	7	1935
7. Byblos - Elibaal	6	1884
8. Byblos - Abibaal	5	1905
9. Gezer Calendar	182	1908
10. Byblos - Abdo	8	1945
11. Byblos - Yehimelek	4	1920
12. Byblos - Ahiham - sarcophagus	1	1924
	graffito	2
	spatula	3
		1924
		1938

7. Apart from these there are one or two, not included in KAI from Jordan and these are best described as Ammonite; v. Bulletin of the Department of Antiquities, Jordan i (1951) plate XIII and BASOR cxciii (1969) 2-19.

A number of short inscriptions have been found on arrow-heads sherds and jar-handles, some of the earliest of which have come from Lachish ⁽⁸⁾ but because of their brevity and lack of vocalization they can tell us little more than the Tell el Amarna glosses could. The Ugaritic tablets have filled a void in the history of alphabetic writing and they are a primary source for understanding the possible inflexion of the mid 2nd. millennium language of Canaanite.

What has become clear from the survey of spelling variation in Ugaritic is that variation exists not only from tablet to tablet and scribe to scribe but within one particular tablet and with particular words. This was first noticed with unusual spellings like nbš for npš but it seems to be true also for words containing y. The survey of the verbal forms revealed a number of variations within one root. An important example was the occurrence of yip in the Krt text (CTA 14:ii:83, iv:174) where it clearly meant both 'let him bake' and later, 'he baked'. On both occasions the apocopated form of the verb was used which suggests that the verbal form indicated by the apocopated spelling has both Jussive and Preterite significance. Alternatively it may mean that there are two different vocalizations for this one written form which would correspond to the two different meanings.

A study of the root bky shows that it is not necessarily the apocopated form that is used to indicate the Preterite, for in CTA 14:i:26 ybky clearly means 'he wept'. Similarly ymgy clearly means 'he arrived' in CTA 1:v:16 so that the full form is hardly specially used in this meaning in one particular tablet. The position

8. v. O. Pufnell in Lachish II (1940) 49-54 and IV (1958) 128-139

is further complicated because the full spelling also has Imperfect significance in CTA 14:i:39 which means that there is no spelling difference between the Preterite and the Present ('what ails Keret... kybky'). A further difficulty is that the apocopated form may be used as an Imperfect without necessarily having Jussive significance, as exemplified by ymg 'he will arrive' (CTA 14:iv:197) It is of incidental interest that ymg also means 'they will arrive' in CTA 12:i:36 and ymgy means 'they arrived' in CTA 6:i:60.

Other ~~pair~~ pairs of verbal forms can be seen to illustrate a similar pattern of complete unpredictability of whether the full form or the apocopated form will be used.

$\text{r}^{\text{c}}\text{l}$	CTA 6:i:57	he ascended
	CTA 10:iii:12	he will ascend
$\text{t}^{\text{c}}\text{l}$	CTA 10:iii:28	she ascended
	CTA 13:20	she will ascend
$\text{wt}^{\text{c}}\text{n}$	CTA 17:vi: 25	and she answered
	CTA 15:iv:26	and she shall answer
$\text{wy}^{\text{c}}\text{n}$	CTA 16:iv:10	and he answered
$\text{wy}^{\text{c}}\text{ny}$	CTA 16:i:24

If different roots are used the examples could be multiplied but the hopelessness of trying to make one form fit one function is clear.

Given that there is such uncertainty in the spelling of Ugaritic III- y verbal forms it seems best to assume that the pronunciation of these forms was such that either the spelling with -y or the one without it was adequate to indicate the correct pronunciation. We assume that in the Ugaritic verb, as Gordon, Hammershaimb, Mistleitner and Segert all agree, there were at least two moods distinguished. They may be called the Indicative and the Apocopated. The term mood is used because the obvious function of the Apocopated form is a Jussive.

The indicative was inflected with final -u like yaqtulu. The apocopated form naturally lost this -u and would be pronounced yaqtul. The Indicative of the III-y verb should in theory have been pronounced yabkiyu, which would naturally be spelled ybky but because many verbs apparently in the Indicative are spelled with the short form ybk Segert has suggested that a phonetic contraction could have taken place and so in fact, the Indicative could have been pronounced yabkī. So the alternatives are these: either Ugaritic possessed two forms yabkiyu and yabkī (ybky and ybk) the one simply being a fuller form of the other and both signifying the Imperfect, or it possessed just one, which would have to be the second, since it is only that one that could be spelled with or without the -y. In this case the -y would appear not to be a mater lectionis exactly since that ^{term} would imply the deliberate use of a -y to indicate a vowel /i/. Rather it represents a conservative writing of the -y that used to be written before the phonetic contraction took place.

As for the apocopated form, that too should in theory be yabkī but it is possible that with III-y verbs a ^{further} contraction took place. Segert has suggested that y^c_n could be vocalized either ya^c_{anī} or ya^c_{an}. So forms of the pattern ybk could be vocalized yabkī or yabk (probably with a hurried short vowel between C₂ and C₂). Again it is possible to assume either that both forms existed in Ugaritic, the one being a younger version of the other, or that there was just one form. The apparent interchangeability of full forms for short forms where the short form seems almost mandatory (as in CTA 2:i:15 al.tšthwy) suggests that if there is just one form that

that form will be likewise yabkī .

In order to explain these divergent spellings it is suggested that there were two differently pronounced forms of the preformative conjugation of the III-y verb corresponding to the two forms of the strong verb which are generally regarded to have existed. The indicative, which ^{probably} corresponded to the usual meaning of the Hebrew Imperfect, probably preserved the -y as a consonant. It could be vocalized yabkiyu. and spelled ~~maxxixky~~ as ybky . The apocopated form differed from it and was pronounced yabkī . It was of course used with Jussive significance, as the apocopated form was in Hebrew and was normally spelled ybk.

But it has been shown that there are a number of occasions when the fully written form occurs and where the context suggests a Jussive meaning. These forms may well actually be ^{di} Indicatives, for clearly the exact meaning of the context will never be known and in any case there is only a slight shift of emphasis from Imperfect Indicative (Future) to Jussive nuance. But because of a sentence like al.tšthwy , where al would almost certainly be followed by the short form, the possibility must be considered that here we have a y conserved which was not actually pronounced .

When the preformative conjugation is used to express actions which have been completed in the past the apocopated form of the III-y verb is very often used. Now it is well known that in Biblical Hebrew, actions which were sure to happen in the future, or at least were conceived as such, were not uncommonly described with the verb ordinarily used to indicate actions completed in the past; the so called perfectum propheticum (9) ^{was employed for the purpose.} Similarly Akkadian shows that the precatative particle lu is normally followed by the Preterite tense

to indicate a wish for the future.⁽¹⁰⁾ It is reasonable then to assume that the form that was used to express the Jussive in Ugaritic may perhaps ~~also~~ be used also as a form to express actions in the past. In the strong verb of course there would be no difference in the spelling of the two forms but the III-y verb would naturally use a form without -y. In fact this is what usually happens; the frequency of wy^cn and wt^cn for 'he/she answered' is conspicuous and this is certainly the most common form. But there are a number of examples from several different roots where the full form is written and the most obvious translation of the word is a preterite. It may be possible to explain these forms as variant spellings of the 'Jussive'; otherwise if they are necessarily explained as Imperfect Indicatives then the Imperfect must be seen as a tense of almost universal significance which is really the proper characteristic of the Infinitive Absolute.

Such an interpretation fits in well with the use of the waw-consecutive in Hebrew which, to indicate past action, is normally waw followed by the Jussive rather than the Imperfect. In Hebrew there are one or two exceptions⁽¹¹⁾ and the strong waw may be followed by an Imperfect so that the occasional full spellings in Ugaritic may indicate the occasional departure from the norm, if they cannot be variant spellings. But in any event, it seems reasonable to assume that in Ugaritic the Jussive form (not necessarily with prefixed w) was the normal form to indicate past narrative.

(10) GAG 81c

11. e.g. Isaiah vi.i

. v. GKC 111b.

A new translation of Ugaritic ¹mythological literature has recently been prepared by A. Caquot, M. Sznycer and A. Herdner (12) Unfortunately it became available too late to be used as a basic source of reference in this thesis but it is interesting to see how many of the translation problems that have been referred to previously are approached in this book. It is the first time that a translation of Ugaritic literature based on Miss Herdner's collation of the tablets (published in CTA) has appeared. In future it would be appropriate to refer to this new translation as the norm from which one may develop an overall understanding of the obscurer passages in the myths. Because of its importance it has seemed appropriate to include here the new suggested translations for those passages which have been quoted in Chapter II and where there are significant changes. The authors have, it will be observed, translated all yqt forms that refer to past events as historical present tenses but it is clear from their translations that they understand them as referring to the past.

When the new translation is quoted here, an asterisk has been added to the translation in Chapter II above.

(12) Les éditions du Cerf, (Paris, 1974). Textes Ougaritiques, Tôme 1.

p.51 CTA16:i:8

TO p.550: la citadelle sainte, elle gé^hmira

The problems of translating hl are fully discussed in note h., except that Gordon's suggestion that it may be a place name is not quoted.

p.52 CTA 3:v:43

TO p.176 (Mais) il gémit en criant

Note w. explains any as cognate with Hebrew nh.

CTA 4:iv:47

TO p.204 similarly

p.53 CTA14:ii:83

TO p.516 qu'il fasse cuir

By giving the verb a factitive nuance it is, presumably, being parsed as D rather than G.

CTA 14:iv:174

TO p.528 : il fait cuir

p.54 CTA 1:ii:16

TO p.305 Viens, et moi-même je [te le] dévoil[erai]

On p.166, note 1 by is derived from Arabic ḡaḡā 'be divulged' (of a secret).

CTA 3:Ciii:25

TO p.166 similarly

CTA6:ii:12

TO p.259 "Toi, Môt, donne-moi mon frère"

At translation which agrees with Driver against Gordon

p.54 CTA 12:ii:7,24

TO p.344

In note c, it is said: "nous nous abstenons provisoirement d'en proposer une traduction" and there is interesting speculation about taking bl not as a particle but as an Imperative form of ybl, 'bring'.

p.55 CTA 4:iv:32

TO p.204

Comment ! La Dame Athir [at Ya] m'est arrivée!

Comment! La Génitrice des di[eux] est venue !

CTA 15:iii:17f.

TO p.541

Ils bénissent, les dieux, ils s'en vont,

Ils s'en vont, les dieux, vers leurs tentes

p. 58 CTA 14:iv:20

TO p.530

No translation is given; note w rejects, as we have, the parsing of itt as a feminine of *it.

p.59 CTA 6:i:19

TO p.254

jusqu'à être rassasiée de pleurs

This has become in the new translation a narrative sentence, because the direct speech is ended in l.9. If it had been continued then second rather than third person verbs would have been used.

CTA 14:ii:60

TO p.512

....pleurer

Because of the uncertainty of the restoration of the previous word a complete translation is impossible

p.60 CTA 14:i:31

TO p. 508

Tout en pleurant

p 60 CTA 16:i:14 TO p.551

il donne de la voix en pleurant

CTA 16:ii:103 TO p.559

et ta porte sera-t-elle (livrée) à ceux qui pleurent le disparu ?

Unfortunately no notes are provided to support this new, vivid translation

CTA16:ii:116 TO p.559

les pleurs

p 61 CTA 14:ii:39 TO p.510

Qu'as-tu, Keret, à pleurer

Note y discusses whether mat is a contraction of mh at (Ginsberg), my at (Gray) or m' + t (deictic) (Driver)

CTA 14:i:26 TO p.507

Il entre dans sa chambre, il pleure

CTA 16:i:12 TO p.551

il pleure et il se désole

CTA 19:iii:146 TO p.452

il pleure, et il (l')enterre

p.62 CTA 19:iv:177 TO p.455

ils pleurent Aqhat

CTA 19:iv:173 TO p.454

similarly

CTA 16:i:25 TO p.552

"Mon fils, ne pleure pas."

the -n is not taken as an objective pronominal suffix but as an energetic form solely.

CTA 16:i:30 TO p.553

Elle pleurera et se lamentera sur moi

CTA 15:v:12 TO p.545f

[Sur]Keret, vous pleurez^{er} [selon] le langage des "taureaux"

In note h, p.546, the new translation is justified by the conjectural restoration [km]rgm

p 63 CTA 6:i:16 TO p. 254

Elle le pleure

CTA 16:i:6 TO p.550

Elle te pleurera, père, la montagne

p.63 CTA 19:iii:111 TO p. 450

pour pleurer et l'enterrer

For lines 126 and 140, see TO pp. 451 and 452 respectively. In all instances the verbal form is understood as being in a purpose clause.

CTA 4:v:80 TO p.208

bâtis une demeure d'argent et d'or

Line 95 is similarly translated on p.209.

CTA 2:iii:7 TO p. 122

Ko]thar-Kha[sis est al]lé bâ[tir]

The new translation is justified in note h; the verbs are interpreted as perfects because Attar is seen as passing on El's words rather than supposing that El speaks directly to Ktr-hss.

p. 64 CTA 2:iii:10 TO p.123

[En hâte] sa[demeu]re se bât[it]

Rather than continue the direct speech into these lines, the translators prefer to see this as another example of an Action-Result sequence (see M. Held, JBL LXXIV (1965) pp.272-282).

CTA 4:v:115 TO p.210

Qu'en hâte la demeure soit bât[ie]

CTA 4:vi:16 TO p.212

est construite sa demeure

This will be one of the few uses of the energetic form with a passive verb in Ugaritic. Previously the word has been thought to be active.

CTA 4:vi:36 TO p.213

Tu as bâti ma demeure en argent

In note i "j'ai bâti" is quoted as an alternative translation.

CTA 4:viii:35 TO p.221

J'ai bâti

CTA 3:Ev:28 TO p.175

[ré]jouis-toi, oui, réjouis-toi de l'élév[ation] de ton pal[ais]

Note n says that it is also possible to translate in the negative, as we have done above, p.64.

CTA 4:vi:62 TO p.206

Qu'on bâtisse une maison pour Ba^cal comme (en ont) les dieux

CTA 4:v:89 TO p.209 (=1.90)

On va te bâtir une maison comme (en ont) tes frères

The Future tense rather than the precative is used here although the shorter form of the III-y verb is used which implies that the translators are regarding the apocopated form as an alternative to the full form for expressing future actions.

p.65 CTA 19:iii:118f TO p.450

"Que <Ba^cal>recrée les ailes des rapaces
Que Ba^cal recréé ces oiseaux."

The verbs are regarded as occurrences of the root bny, 'create',
regarded as separate from bny, 'build' (see TO p.440, note g.).

CTA 3:C iii:23 TO p.165

Je connais l'éclair que ces cieux ignorent

The root byn is preferred to explain these forms (see TO p.165, note k)
as was suggested when the passage was discussed above (p. 65)

p.66 CTA 3 6: 26 TO p.166

Viens, et moi, je te le dévoilerai

If it is correct here to see the Ugaritic word for 'to reveal a secret'
then the motif is similar to that in the speech of Ut Napištim to
Gilgamesh (Gilgamesh XI,10) who says, "I will tell you a divine secret".

p.67 CTA 4:iv:23 TO p.204

Elle atteint les pavillons d'El

p.7.0 CTA 19:iii:120 TO p.450

Ils ont battu des ailes et se sont envolés

They take the verb as a perfect followed by an "infinitif de narration"
(see p.450 note u), not an Imperative. The suggestion of a root tp
is new, although the semantic development from "flap the wings" to
"help" (Hebrew גָּרַעַן) is not clear. Line 134 is similarly
translated on p.451.

CTA 16:vi:6f. TO p.569

Elle vole

p.71 CTA 16:ii:82 TO p.557

Depuis combien de mois est-il ma[lade] ?

Depuis combien(de mois) est-il souffrant, Kere[t] ?

Line 85 is similarly translated on p. 557

p.72 CTA 6:v:13 TO p.266

C'est à cause de toi que j'ai connu le van qui m'a vanné

Note f draws attention to the conjectural restoration of Ginsberg, which
is followed in the main translation; the literal translation of the
actual words on the tablet is given as 'la dispersion par la fer'.

p.7.3 CTA 14:ii:91 TO p.517

Khupthu qu'on ne peut compter

Thaninu qu'on ne peut dénombrer

These names are explained as two categories of troops in note b.

p.74 CTA 5:vi:19 TO p.251

il tranche (sa) double tresse au rasoir

They follow the suggestion of deriving the verb from Arabic hadda, 'cut' (see note h).

CTA 5:i:15 TO p.241f.

Oui ma gorge est la gorge des lions au désert

Ou la gueule du narval dans la mer

The suggestion of equating Ugaritic thw with Hebrew/תח revives an old idea; unfortunately the Hebrew word is not used to mean 'desert' without heavy mythological overtones.

p.75 CTA 3:C:17 TO p.165

que vers moi tes enjambées s'allongent

With Dahood they emend twth into tpth from root pth, 'open'; this effectively eliminates any root why from Ugaritic.

p. 76 CTA 12:i:35 TO p.342

Ba^cal s'en va chasser, il s'avance vers les confins de la steppe

The new etymology for yh from nhw (Arabic nahā) seems much more satisfactory than those previously suggested (see note q).

p. 79 CTA 19:iv:204 TO p.456

Elle se teint en rouge avec le coquillage mar[in] dont l'exécration
(couvre) mille arpents dans la mer

Similarly CTA 3:B iii:1 (TO p.162) and CTA 3:D iv:89 (TO p.172). No notes are given to explain the interesting translation of tpp.

p. 81 CTA 2:i:18 TO p.129

Livre, q̄el, celui que tu protèges, celui que la foule attend

It is of particular interest that the two words dtqh and dtqyn should be explained as from different roots. It suggests that there was some kind of paranomasia, or at least assonance, within Ugaritic poetry. Certainly it seems better to derive dtqyn from the hollow root qwy but it is hard to see why Driver, who first suggested this root, did not apply it here. For 1.34 see p. 131 for a similar translation.

p. 83 CTA 10:ii:11 TO p. 283

Elle déploie ses ailes et explore en volant

Note m' supposes a hollow root twr to explain this word, instead of Driver's wry. It is a much more satisfactory etymology even though the word is not used in Hebrew with birds.

p.83 10:ii:28, TO p.285

Elle marchera tout autour

Note q says that the form tr is again understood as an 'infinitif de narration'.

p.84 CTA 4:v:83 TO p.209

Elle remue les jambes et parcourt la terre

They also have here shown that it is preferable to understand this example of tr as similar to the others and do not propose a second root. The problems are discussed in note i , p.174 (CTA 3: E iv: 13). For CTA 17:vi:46 see p. 434.

p.88 CTA 10:ii:20 TO p.284

Salut, ma soeur ; Que (tes jours) se prolongent

They restore nar|k at the end of the sentence. The translation of hwt as a formula of greeting appears to be new.

p.90 CTA 6:vi:45f TO p.270

Les Mânes (sont) en-dessous de toi, Shapash

This translation was advanced with caution in Chapter II (see above. p.90)

p.91 CTA 22:A:12 TO p.472

Alors] un vail[lant] empoignera

Note d explains that yhpn is taken as a denominative from *hpn 'wrist', but in view of the broken context the translation cannot be regarded as certain.

p.92 CTA 3:E v:30 TO p.175

Oui, je les prendrai dans ma droi[te]

A completely different translation, taking al as an asseverative, ahdhm from ahd not hdw and restoring by[mn]y is here proposed, which means that the root hdw is effectively removed for the present from Ugaritic.

p.94 CTA 16:ii:89 TO p.558

comme des femmes affligées

The translators have arrived at the derivation of nkyt from nky as was suggested with extreme caution in Chapter II; this root should now therefore be introduced into the Ugaritic language.

p.97 CTA 3:D iii:36 TO p.167

Nai(sic!) -je pas abattu le favori d'EL, Yam ?

N'ai je pas achevé Nahar, le dieu des grands^es (eaux) ?

Note h explains that rbm is understood as an ellipsis for rbm < mm/mym >

CTA 6:v:24f. TO p.267

[^cA]nat j'extermin[erai tes hommes]

j'exterminerai les multitudes [terrestres]

[^c]nt is taken as a divine name rather than the particle.

p.98 CTA 10:iii:25 TO p.287

elle le couvre de...

CTA 5:vi:16 TO p. 250

Il couvre ses reins d'un sac

Note f confirms what was suggested above (p.98) that what is being described in this passage is dressing in a ceremonial garment.

p.101 CTA5:vi:5 TO p.250

Nous sommes arrivés au (plus) agréable des terrains de pâture

No attempt is made to translate the dual ending -ny.

p.104 CTA 16:i:37 TO p.553

myriades.

[At]tends que se cache la dame Shapash et que brille la lumière des

They prefer not to accept the first part of Herdner's restoration, [t?]mt[n?] and so the first word is translated as an Imperative rather than a Jussive.

p. 105 CTA 5:vi:18 TO p.250

il se taillade la peau avec une pierre

Rejected here are explanations of the verb from ndy (Akk. nadû) and wdy (Arab. wadā, 'wander'); instead they accept wdy (Arab. wadā, 'cut') suggested first by Aistleitner, supporting Ginsberg's early ideas about ceremonial laceration being here described.

p.106 CTA 4:vi:32 TO p.213

Le foyer quitte la demeure

They^{appears to} derive the verb from ndd.

p.107 CTA4:iii:5, 9:rv:7 . not translated in TO, see p.100.

p. 109 CTA 4:i:24 TO p.194

Hayin monte à la forge, Khasis (tient) en mains les tenailles

Confirming the traditional interpretation.

p.116 CTA 2:i:26, TO p.130

l'un des dieux doit répondre aux tablettes des messagers de Yam
Confirming that a change must here be made to the translation of Driver,
already suggested in Chapter II; whether ahd means 'one' or 'I see' is
still not clear.

p.118 CTA 4:i:23 TO p.194

un cadeau qui séduise la Génératrice des dieux
The new Arabic etymology suggested for mgz can hardly be said to be
satisfactory, since there is such a large semantic difference between
'make obscure' and 'make attractive, deduce' without an intermediary step.

p.121 CTA 19 :i:31 TO p.443

s'incline, se penche, le fruit.

p.125 CTA 23:29 TO p.374

El ! Comme les femmes sont belles.

Si les deux femmes s'écrient...

They understand this passage in a completely new way, suggesting that it
is a ceremonial 'apostrophe' before the climax of the ceremony.

p.126 CTA 14:iii:149 TO p.526

Je me reposerai dans la limpidité de ses yeux

Confirming that Driver's translation is, as yet, the only one with philological
support.

p.128 CTA 19:iv:220 TO p.457

El qui possède le pavillons

Confirming the preference already expressed above for qny, 'own' to qny, 'create'

p.131 CTA 18iv:23 TO p.439

pour verser (son)sang sur les genoux comme (le fait)un criminel, un assassiⁿ
To justify this new translation, some remarks on the unusual word order are
required.

p.132 CTA 3:D iv:77, TO p.171

Vous, vous êtes lents

Confirming that Driver's translation needs to be changed.

p.137 CTA 16:vi:44 TO p.572 (line numbered 40)

tu as laissé choir ta puissance sous les coups du malheur

No notes are provided for this interesting new translation, unfortunately.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

There are so many articles which seek to understand particular Ugaritic words and sentences in new ways that any grammatical bibliography must be highly selective. The year 1955 was an important one for Ugaritic research for that was when Professor Driver completed CML (published 1956) which was the first anthology of Ugaritic texts with full grammatical notes and an English translation since Gordon's early and quickly outdated Ugaritic Literature. Driver's chronologically arranged bibliography drew attention to the ever increasing pace of Ugaritic research. The next important landmark was the publication by Mlle. Herdner of CTA. Her independent collation of most of the better known tablets corrected many previous misunderstandings and in this thesis her readings are adopted as normal whenever possible. When a text which is not in CTA is quoted the preferred reading is that of Virolleaud, the original editor, but for convenience the text is numbered according to UF. Herdner's bibliography is comprehensive for relevant work published until 1960. After that Deller's Keilschriftbibliographie (published annually in Orientalia) maintains an accurate record of pertinent research work. The more recently published Ugaritistische Bibliographie (1) edited by M. Dietrich^{et al.} has also been an invaluable tool. All these general bibliographies have been indispensable. In addition to those works cited in footnotes, the following studies have been of particular help.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The titles of Periodical Publications have been abbreviated in this thesis in accordance with the style suggested in Orientalia (Keilschriftbibliographie); other abbreviations have been taken from The Assyrian Dictionary (ed. I.J. Gelb et.al.) vol.9 (L) (Chicago,1974). The titles of other books that are often mentioned have been abbreviated thus:

- CGSL S.Moscatti et al., An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages (Wiesbaden, 1964).
- CML GR Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends (Edinburgh, 1956).
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- VDRS E. Hammershaimb, Das Verbum im Dialekt von Ras Shamra, (Copenhagen 1941).
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Wherever possible texts are quoted from CTA; those not published there are quoted from PRU but the convenient enumeration system suggested by Gordon in UT is followed. The Ugaritic alphabet is transliterated :
 a i u b g d ḏ h w z ḥ ḫ ṯ z y k l m n s š ' ḡ p s q r š t ṭ

The quotations from this book in English have been made by Professor Thacker and I understand that a revised edition in German is shortly to be published by Segert.