

# Terms Related to the Family in Ugaritic

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*Abstract:* Ugaritic words for the clan and the family home, members of the family, infants and children, marriage and childbirth, domestics and inheritance are listed, together with their cognates in other Semitic languages and their equivalents in Afro-Asiatic, Indo-European and other language groups. This information helps to determine which of these terms connected with the family are inherited and which are borrowed. A table sets out the results and conclusions are given.

*Keywords:* Afro-Asiatic, comparative Semitics, etymology, family, Indo-European, kinship terms, loanwords, society, Ugarit, Ugaritic.

## Introduction

The survey presented here belongs to a series of studies on semantic fields in Ugaritic,<sup>1</sup> complementing research by other scholars who use the list compiled by M. Swadesh.<sup>2</sup> It focuses on terms connected with the family and the overlap with the Swadesh list only affects the words for “woman” and “man”.

## 1. Previous studies

There has been no full-scale presentation of Ugaritic terms connected with the family, here taken in its widest sense. The book on marriage and family life by A. van Selms (1954) is restricted to data from the literary and mythological texts in alphabetic Ugaritic, with a focus on legal aspects. Nonetheless, it was a welcome pioneering attempt. It was followed by A. F. Rainey’s study (1965)

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<sup>1</sup> See Watson 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2011, 2012.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Kogan 2005, 2010.

which discussed the family unit, inheritance, adoption, marriage, patriarchy and other relationships. M. C. Korpel (1990) listed various Ugaritic terms, particularly in relation to biblical Hebrew and J.-P. Vita dealt with the family and the collective in his study of the society of Ugarit (1999), especially §3 “The Family and the Collective”. Some aspects of family life are also considered in my outline of daily life in Ugarit (2001) and there have been several shorter discussions.<sup>3</sup> In his book on patrimonialism, J. D. Schloen (2001) considers the family in his discussion of households,<sup>4</sup> but only occasionally considers etymology.

## 2. The family

Here the focus is on etymology and the interconnections of these terms in other languages and language families. The words are grouped by topic, with the terms in alphabetic sequence within each section, complete with equivalents in a range of languages. There are 85 or so entries. All the terms discussed (with cognates and corresponding terms in other languages) are given in a table. One would expect terms relating to the family to be Semitic, so it remains to demonstrate here whether this is the case. Unless significant, only samples of the Semitic equivalents will be provided.<sup>5</sup> For comparative purposes, there is reference to Egyptian, Greek and Hittite as representative of the Afro-Asiatic and Indo-European language groups as well as to Hurrian and other languages.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See Fensham 1962 and Muntingh 1967. Also De Moor / Spronk 1987, 187-188 (section 51: love, marriage, childbirth; section 52: social relations, family) and Korpel 1990, 225-264.

<sup>4</sup> Esp. section V: “Houses and Households in Late Bronze Age Ugarit” (Schloen 2001, 317-357).

<sup>5</sup> Dictionaries such as AHW, CSL, DUL and HALOT can be consulted for additional cognates in Semitic, although they do not always supply meanings and/or page references to other dictionaries. Conclusions are only proposed when the evidence is clear-cut..

<sup>6</sup> Note the following additional language abbreviations: AA: Afro-Asiatic; CS: Common Semitic; ES: East Semitic; IE: Indo-European; (N)WS: (North-)West Semitic; OSA: Old South Arabic.

## 2.1. The clan and the family

*inšt*, “relatives” (DUL, 84).<sup>7</sup>

– CS: Akk. *nišūtu*, *nišūtu*, *nišuttu*, “relative(s) (by consanguinity of marriage)” (CDA, 256a)<sup>8</sup> and Aram. *š*, “mankind, men” (DNWSI, 120 mng. 2). The word is Semitic.

*umt*, “clan, family” (DUL, 75).<sup>9</sup>

– CS: Heb. *ummāh*, “tribe, small group of people” (HALOT, 62a); Aram./Syr. *wmh*, *wmt*, “people, nation” (LS, 17; DJPA, 39b); Akk. *ummatu*, “main contingent, unit etc.” (CAD U/W, 116-118); Arab. *ummat*, “a collective body (of men or other living beings)” (AEL, 90).<sup>10</sup>

– AA: \**um-* “people”, e.g. Rift \**im-*, “people, crowd” (HSED §131).

*m*, “ancestry, kin” (DUL, 163).<sup>11</sup>

– CS: Heb. *am*, “(paternal) relationship, clan” (HALOT, 837-839); Arab. *mm*, “a company men, of a tribe; a numerous company” (AEL, 2149a).<sup>12</sup>

– AA: \**am-*, “relative, friend”, e.g. Dahalo *ame*, “uncle” (HSED §1065).

*bt*, “family” in KTU 1.14 i 7; 1.127:31; 2.70:24; “dynasty” in KTU 1.39:13; 1.53:8; 1.81:7, 8; 1.102:1; 1.109:33; 1.115:3, 7, 9; 1.123:29. See on Ug. *bt*, “home”, below.

*dr*, “generation, (family) circle” (DUL, 279-280).<sup>13</sup>

– CS: Ph. *dr*, “group of individuals belonging together, family” (DNWSI, 258-259); “generation; family” (CSL, 74-75); Heb. *dôr*, “descent, generation” (HALOT, 217b-218a). The closest in meaning is Phoenician.<sup>14</sup>

– AA: \**dar-*, “dwelling place” (HSED §658) may be remotely related.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>7</sup> KTU 1.6 vi 41; 4.38:5; 4.47:5; 4.99:3; 4.416:9; 4.610:48.

<sup>8</sup> For other cognates see under Akk. *nišū*, “Menschen, Leute” in AHw, 798a.

<sup>9</sup> KTU 1.6 iv 19; 1.14 i 6; 1.19 iv 35, 40; 1.63:10 (in broken context); 1.131:12. In PRU 3, 79ff.:22, *um-ma-ti* is used with reference to fields and may mean “clan”; cf. Huehnergard UVST, 107.

<sup>10</sup> See Malamat 1979, 532-533.

<sup>11</sup> Wyatt (RTU, 256 with discussion) prefers “maternal uncle”. Texts: KTU 1.17 i 27, 45; 1.17 ii 17; 4.230:4.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Akk. *ummānu*, “populace etc.” (CAD U/W, 102b-108a).

<sup>13</sup> KTU 1.10 i 5; 1.10 iii 6; 1.15 iii 19; 1.19 iii 48; 1.19 iii 56; 1.19 iv 6; 1.39:7; 1.40:25, 33, 42; 1.41:16; 1.65:2; 1.162:26.

<sup>14</sup> More remotely, see also Akk. *dūru*, “(city) wall” (CDA, 62b).

<sup>15</sup> Although it may be loan from Arabic.

*md'*, “family” (DUL, 525), in KTU 4.387:12 and 4.609:4.<sup>16</sup>

– CS: Heb. *modā'*, *môdā'*, “relative” (HALOT, 550); Syr. *mwd'h*, “acquaintance” (LS, 297) and *bny mwd't*, “familiar” (LS, 90); Akk. *mūdū*, “acquaintance” (CDA, 214b).<sup>17</sup> The word is Semitic ( $\sqrt{WD'}$ ).<sup>18</sup>

*phr*, “family” (DUL, 669-670), occurs only in mythological texts.<sup>19</sup>

– CS: The only cognate is Akk. *puḫru(m)*, “assembly, gathering (of clan, family, people, land)” (CDA, 277; cf. AHw, 876b). The root in Akkadian is *paḫāru*, “to gather” (CDA, 261a), so it is a loanword in Ugaritic.<sup>20</sup> However, cf. OSA *ḫr*, “to gather together, muster” (DOSA, 402).

– AA: Although not connected with Eg. *phr*, “to surround enclose etc.”,<sup>21</sup> see perhaps Cushitic *fagár-a*, “assembly, company” and Chadic *f'àgàrù*, “fait d'entrer dans une case en grand nombre”.<sup>22</sup>

*qbs*, “clan” (DUL, 693).<sup>23</sup>

– CS: Heb. *qibbûs*, “collection” (HALOT, 1061),<sup>24</sup> borrowed in Aram. as *qybws*, “collection (of arrows)” (DJPA, 489a). The verb is  $\sqrt{QBS}$ , as in Heb. *qābas*, “to collect, assemble” (HALOT, 1062-1063) and perhaps Eth. *qabša*, “to draw together” (Dillmann 1865, 483b). It is a (West) Semitic word.

*šbrt*, “clan, community” (DUL, 778), in KTU 1.3 v 37 and 1.4 iv 49.

– CS: The meaning is based on Heb. *šibburîm*, “heaps” (HALOT, 999b). The root is  $\sqrt{SBR}$ , “to pour into a heap” as in Syr./Aram. *šbr*, “to heap up”,<sup>25</sup> cf. Arab. *šubrat-*, “a quantity collected together” (AEL, 1645). An alternative meaning is

<sup>16</sup> Unless it is a PN; cf. Gröndahl PTU, 143.

<sup>17</sup> For  $\sqrt{YD'}$  see HSED §2573.

<sup>18</sup> A connection with Gk *îdeîn*, “to behold, recognize” < IE *\*uied-*, “to see, know” (EDG 1, 577) cannot be completely excluded.

<sup>19</sup> KTU 1.2 i 14, 15, 20, 31; 1.4 iii 14; 1.15 iii 15; 1.23:57; 1.39:7; 1.47:29; 1.118:28; 1.148:9; 1.162:17.

<sup>20</sup> It was also borrowed by Aramaic etc. As Kaufman (1974, 83) notes: “The Akkadian is very probably the origin of Syr. *pwḫr'*, Mand. *pwḫr'*, *pwr'*, ‘banquet’ (in Mandaic also ‘assembly (?)’). ... The Aramaic distribution is also indicative of a loan”.

<sup>21</sup> EDE II, 503-505, with discussion. Heb. *bḫr*, “to ally oneself” (HALOT, 120a) may be remotely connected.

<sup>22</sup> As quoted in EDE II, 504, section 4, NB1.

<sup>23</sup> KTU 1.15 iii 4, 15; 1.79:7 (*bt qbs*, “house of the clan”); 1.161:3, 10. Cf. also *qbst*, “assembly” (KTU 1.163:17). Note the spelling *qbz*, “assembly” (KTU 1.133:13), on which see Tropper UG, 93.

<sup>24</sup> The precise meaning is uncertain.

<sup>25</sup> See DJPA, 475b; Jastrow 1903, 1260, DNWSI, 958.

“domestics, (household) staff”, based on Akk. *šubru*, “(domestic) servants, labourers” (CDA, 339).<sup>26</sup> The word seems to be Semitic.

*šph*, “family, clan, descendants” (DUL, 835)<sup>27</sup> also as *tph* in KTU 1.48:2, 13 (DUL, 925). It occurs in the polyglot vocabulary as *šap-ḥu* in a broken context (UVST, 183).

– NWS: Ph. and Pun. *šph*, “clan family” (DNWSI, 1181; CSL, 329) and Heb. *mišpāḥāh*, “extended family, clan” (HALOT, 651a). A West Semitic word of obscure origin.<sup>28</sup>

## 2.2. The family home

*bt*, “home, house, family unit” (DUL, 245-250).<sup>29</sup>

– CS: Heb. *bayit*, “house, dwelling etc.” (HALOT, 124-129); Ph./Pun. *bt*, Neo-Pun. *byt*, “house, dwelling place etc.” (CSL, 58-60); Akk. *bītu(m)*, *bētu(m)*, “house” (CDA, 46b-47a); OSA *byt*, “house (family, community)” (DOSA, 41).<sup>30</sup>

– AA: *\*bayit-*, “house”, as in Chadic (Sura) *bit*, “hut, shelter” (HSED §253). The root is *\*bay-*, “(to) build” (HSED §252).

*ḥzr*, “mansion” (DUL, 382).<sup>31</sup>

– CS: Heb *ḥāšēr*, “settlement; court, enclosure” (HALOT, 345); Akk. *ḥašāru(m)*, *ḥašīrum*, *ḥiṣārum*, “sheepfold” (CDA, 110a).<sup>32</sup>

– AA: *\*ḥaḥar-*, “fence, enclosure”, as in Chadic *\*ḥažar-*, “fence” (HSED §1214).

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<sup>26</sup> See Watson 2007c, 48.

<sup>27</sup> KTU 1.6 i 30; 1.14 i 24; 1.14 iii 40, 48; 1.14 vi 33; 1.16 i 10, 21, 23, 30; 1.16 ii 43, 49; 1.73:16; 1.103+:13, 29; 2.47:13, 16.

<sup>28</sup> Kogan 2010, 42 No. 62, esp. n. 129. Cf. Tropper UG, 109, 139.

<sup>29</sup> KTU 1.1 iv 6; 1.2 iii 19; 1.3 ii 29, 31; 1.3 v 3; 1.4 iv 40; 1.4 vii 14; 1.14 iii 28, 38; 1.14 iv 21; 1.16 i 2; 1.16 vi 3; 1.19 i 32; 1.23:36; 1.82:12; 1.100:70; 1.114:17; 3.2:14; 3.9:4; 4.102; 4.727; 4.750:13; 5.11:5; 9.432:30; 9.434:17, 21 etc. See Tropper UG, 200 §33.323.4c.

<sup>30</sup> Borrowed in Egyptian; cf. Hoch 1994, §113 and 144.

<sup>31</sup> KTU 1.4 iii 29; 1.4 iv 42, 51; 1.4 v 28; 1.13:21; 1.14 iii 29; 1.14 iv 42; 1.15 ii 23; 1.19 iv 10; 1.100:68; 1.114:18.

<sup>32</sup> Tropper UG, 93: “Wohnstatt” (with additional cognates).

*mškn*, “residence” (DUL, 591).<sup>33</sup>

– CS: Heb. *miškān*, “abode” (HALOT, 646-647); Aram./Syr. *mškn*, “tent, dwelling place” (LS, 776; DJPA, 334b); Akk. *maškanu*, “place, site, settlement, etc.” (CDA, 202).<sup>34</sup> The root is *ŠKN*, “to dwell”, as in Ph. *škn*, “dwelling” (CSL, 319).

– AA: \**sikun-*, “(to) dwell, sit”, e.g. Chadic \**sikun-*, “sit, rest”, etc. (HSED §2240).

*mṯb*, “mansion, residence” (DUL, 604).<sup>35</sup>

– CS: Heb. *mōšāb*, “habitation” (HALOT, 561-562); Aram. *mwtbn*, “residence” (Jastrow 1903, 752a); Akk. *mūšabu*, “dwelling, domicile, abode” (CDA, 220b). Once again, this is a Semitic term; see on Ug. *tbt* below.

*mžll*, “shelter, roof” (DUL, 608-609).<sup>36</sup>

– CS: Aram. *mṯll*, “roof” (DNWSI, 618) is the closest cognate. See also Akk. *mašallu*, “sleeping place, shelter” (CDA, 200a); Arab. *mazīllu*, “a place of (continual) shade” (AEL, 1917); Aram./Syr. *mṯlh*, *mṯlt*, *mṯllt*, “shelter, booth” (LS, 275).<sup>37</sup> The root is *ZLL/TLL*, a denominative from *zl*, “shadow”.<sup>38</sup>

– AA: \**čal-/čil-*, “shadow” (cf. HSED §503).

*tbt*, “family seat, mansion” (DUL, 898-899).<sup>39</sup>

– CS: Heb. *šebet*, “seat” (HALOT, 1409) and Akk. *šubtu*, “seat, dwelling” (CDA, 379b). Borrowed as Eg. \**atba*, “shelter, hut, residence” (Hoch 1994 §31). See on Ug. *mṯb* above.

*inš*, “people” (DUL, 84).<sup>40</sup>

– CS: Arab. *ʿanisa*, “a chosen, select, particular, or special, friend or companion” (AEL, 113-114). See on Ug. *inšt*, above.

<sup>33</sup> KTU 1.15 iii 19; 1.17 v 32-33. The meaning of RS Akkadian *maš-ka-ni* in PRU 6, 47:5, in connection with fields, is uncertain; cf. UVST, 181.

<sup>34</sup> Borrowed as Eg. *mškt* (*ma<sub>4</sub>-ša-ka-ta*), “dwelling-place” (see Hoch 1994, §210; EDE III, 637)

<sup>35</sup> KTU 1.3 iv 49, 50; 1.3 v 39-43; 1.4 i 12-14, 16, 18; 1.4 iv 52-55, 57; 1.13:11; 1.15 iv 22; 1.15 v 6. For *mu-ša-bu* in the polyglot vocabulary see UVST, 135.

<sup>36</sup> KTU 1.3 v 40; 1.4 i 12, 17; 1.4 iv 52, 56; 1.117:6. See Mazzini 1999, 32 n. 26.

<sup>37</sup> Also DJPA, 302b; DJBA, 660b.

<sup>38</sup> For discussion see HALOT, 1027b-1028a and 1024a-1025b (< *šēl*, “shadow, protection”).

<sup>39</sup> KTU 1.1 iii 9; 1.3 vi 15; 1.5 ii 16; 1.6 vi 28; 1.14 i 23 etc.

<sup>40</sup> KTU 1.39:22; 1.41:27; 1.46:8; 1.87:6, 44; 1.90:7; 1.105:26; 1.106:2; 1.112:5; 1.123:31; 1.132:14-15; 21, 24; 1.171:5; 1.173:7; 2.81:7.

### 2.3. Members of the family

*ab*, “father, ancestor” (DUL, 2-3).<sup>41</sup>

– CS: Heb. *’ab*, “father” (HALOT, 1-2); Ph. *’b*, “father” (DNWSI, 1-3; CSL, 1-2); Aram./Syr. *’b*, “father” (LS, 1; DJPA, 31; DJBA, 72); Akk. *abu(m)*, “(natural) father, ancestor, forefather etc.” (CDA, 3a); Arab. *’ab*, “father” (AEL, 10-11), etc.<sup>42</sup>

– AA: \**’ab-*, “father”, e.g. Chadic \**’ab-*, “father” (HSED §2) and Eg. *3b.t*, “Familie” (Wb. 1, 7.8).<sup>43</sup>

*ad*, “father” (DUL, 15) only in mythological texts.<sup>44</sup>

– IE: Hitt. *atta-*, “father”, which is onomatopoeic in origin (EDHIL, 225-226); Gk *ἄττα*, “father” (EDG 1, 165).

– Other: Sum. *adda*, *ad*, “father”; Hurr. *attai*, “father” (GLH, 63);<sup>45</sup> cf. Eg. *it*, “father, forefathers, ancestors” (DLE I, 50). This does not appear to be a Semitic word.

*adn*, “noble father” (DUL, 18-19), in KTU 1.24:33:

<i>adnh yšt. lb. mznm.</i>	her father sets the core of the balance,
<i>umh kp mznm</i>	her mother, the pans of the balance. <sup>46</sup>

– CS: Heb. *’ādōn*, “lord, master” (HALOT, 12-13); Ph. *’dn*, “lord”, Aram. *’dn*, “lord, husband”, (DNWSI, 15-17); Aram. *’dwn*, “master” (DJPA, 35b) etc.<sup>47</sup>

– AA: Chadic \**’dVn-*, “elder (father, uncle)”.<sup>48</sup> See on Ug. *ad* above.

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<sup>41</sup> KTU 1.1 iii 24, 26; 1.2 i 10, 16, 33, 36; 1.2 iii 19, 21; 1.3 iv 40; 1.3 v 8, 10, 35; 1.4 iv 21, 24; 1.6 i 36; 1.14 i 37, 41, 43; 1.14 ii 6; 1.14 iii 32, 47; 1.14 iv 6; 1.14 vi 13, 32; 1.16 i 3, 6, 12, 17, 19; 1.16 ii 40, 42, 45; 1.16 vi 27-28; 40; 1.17 i 23; 1.17 vi 49; 1.18 i 5, 26; 1.19 i 32; 1.19 ii 10; 1.19 iii 15; 1.19 iv 29; 1.24:9, 19-20, 27; 1.40:33, 41; 1.82:9; 1.92:15, 24; 1.114:14; 1.117:3; 1.123:1; 2.16:11; 4.147:13; 4.258:14; 7.45:3, 4.

<sup>42</sup> See Del Olmo Lete 2004, 44.

<sup>43</sup> Hoch 1994 §2. See Del Olmo Lete 2004, 37-38.

<sup>44</sup> KTU 1.23:32, 43; 1.172:23.

<sup>45</sup> I.e. Hurr. \*[áta’-i] “father” (Fournet 2013, 253).

<sup>46</sup> For text and translation see Pardee 2010, 26 and 34.

<sup>47</sup> Del Olmo Lete 2004, 45.

<sup>48</sup> Stolbova 2002, 288 §3. See Kogan 2010, 11-12 No. 5.

*adrt*, “noblewoman” (DUL, 22), only in KTU 4.102:4:<sup>49</sup>

[*at*]t. *adrt. b. bt. arttb* a high-ranking [wo]man<sup>50</sup> in TN

– CS: Heb. *’addîr*, “mighty, magnificent” (HALOT, 13b-14a); Ph. “great, mighty, grand, illustrious, splendid” (DNWSI, 18-19; cf. CSL, 6-7); Aram. *’dyr*, “mighty” (DJPA, 35b).<sup>51</sup>

– AA: \**’ader-*, “master, lord”, e.g. Agaw \**’adir-*, “master, lord” (HSED §19).

*adt*, “lady” (DUL, 23).<sup>52</sup>

– CS: Ph. *’dt*, “lady” (CSL, 8); Palm. *’dt*, “lady, spouse” (DNWSI, 16-17). See above on Ug. *adn*.

– AA: Eg. *jd.t*, “womb, vulva”.<sup>53</sup>

*agrt*, “mistress” (DUL 27-28)<sup>54</sup> only in KTU 1.19 iv 51:

*agrtm bat d ddk* our employer has come to your tent

– CS: Akk. *āgirtu*, “(female) hirer, mistress” (CDA, 6b); cf. Heb. *’agār*, “to hire” (HALOT, 11) and Aram. *’gr*, “employer” (DJBA, 81a). The verb is  $\sqrt{’GR}$ , “to hire” (see also DNWSI, 10-12).

*aḥ*, “brother” (DUL, 34-36).<sup>55</sup>

– CS: Heb. *’āh*, “brother” (HALOT, 29); Ph./Pun. *’h*, “brother” (DNWSI, 28-32; CSL, 10); Aram./Syr. *’h*, “brother, kinsman” (LS, 10; DJBA, 102b; DJPA, 45a); Arab. *’aḥ*, “brother” (AEL, 33); OSA *’h*, “brother; ally” (DOSa, 12-13); Akk. *aḥu(m)*, “brother” (CDA, 8).

– AA: \**’aḥ-*, “brother”, e.g. Chadic \**ah(ya)-*, “uncle, brother” (HSED §23).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The obverse and reverse should be inverted: cf. Vita 1997, 706.

<sup>50</sup> Or a “high-status wife” (Schloen 2001, 324).

<sup>51</sup> See Del Olmo Lete 2004, 45; Kogan 2010, 12-13 No. 6.

<sup>52</sup> KTU 2.11:1, 5, 15; 2.12:2, 7, 12; 2.22:4; 2.24:2, 5, 10; 2.25:2; 2.33:1, 3, 4, 19; 2.56:1; 2.68:1, 4, 8, 15; 2.82:2; 4.13:36; 4.69 iii 13; 4.344:7; 4.410:7; 4.422:3; 4.494:4; 4.616:4; 4.769:7. See Van Selms 1954, 6 and Diakonoff / Kogan 1996, 27 (§20).

<sup>53</sup> For additional material see EDE I, 83.

<sup>54</sup> Yamashita 1975, 43: “hired woman”; cf. Akk. *agirtum*, “hired maid-servant” (CDA, 6b) and Ug. 472, 615.

<sup>55</sup> KTU 1.6 ii 12; 1.6 vi 14; 1.14 i 9; 1.16 i 53, 55; 1.16 ii 17; 1.19 iv 34; 1.22 i 5; 1.24:35; 2.14:18; 2.14:3, 10, 15, 18; 2.38:2-3; 2.41:18, 20, 22; 3.4:4-5; 4.103:5; 4.123:23; 5.9 i 8 etc.

<sup>56</sup> See discussion in EDE I, 159 under *h*, “placenta” and Del Olmo Lete 2004, 49-50.



*aḥt*, “sister” (DUL, 41).<sup>57</sup>

– CS: Heb. *’āḥôt*, “sister; blood relation” (HALOT, 31b); Aram./Syr. *’ḥh*, *’ḥt*, “sister, kinswoman” (LS, 10; DJBA, 106a; DJPA, 46a); OSA *’ḥth*, “sister” (DOSA, 13). Borrowed as Eg. \**’aḥita*, \**’aḥātī*, “sister”, in a female PN (Hoch 1994 §26).

– AA: See previous entry.

*almn*, “widow” (DUL, 58) only occurs in literary texts.<sup>58</sup>

– CS: Heb. *’almānāh*, “widow, wife whose husband is dead” (HALOT, 58); Ph. *’lmt*, “widow” (CSL, 20; DNWSI, 63); Aram. *’rmlh*, “widow” (DNWSI, 109); Akk. *almattu(m)*, *alamattu*, “widow” (CDA, 13a); Arab. *’armalat*, “having no husband, a widow, one whose husband has died” (AEL, 1160). The word is Semitic; see below on *ulmn*.

*ary*, “kin” (DUL, 111-112).<sup>59</sup>

– CS: Renfroe (1992, 84) noted: “The comparison with Arabic  $\sqrt{’ry}$  appears questionable, the semantic weight of that root apparently resting on the notion of ‘tying, joining, making fast’ rather than communal feeding”. He suggested instead Akk. *ayyaru*, “young man” (CDA, 32b) which may be a West-Semitic loan-word, although this would require metathesis, which is not mentioned.

– AA: \**’ar-*, “husband”, e.g. Omotic \**’ar-*, “husband” (HSED §49) and Eg. *iry*, “fellow, companion, mate, accomplice” (DLE I, 39).

– IE: the set includes Hitt. *arā-*, “friend” from *arā*, “right, proper(ly)”, derived in turn from Sanskrit *áram*, “fittingly” and *ṛtá-*, “truth, order” (EDHIL, 198-199) as well as Gk *ἄραρισκω*, “to fit together, construct, equip” (< IE \**h<sub>2</sub>er-*, “fit”), with its derivative *ἄρθμός* “friendship” (EDG 1, 123).<sup>60</sup> The word is probably non-Semitic,<sup>61</sup> possibly a *Kulturwort*.

<sup>57</sup> KTU 1.3 iv 39; 1.10 ii 16, 20; 1.10 iii 10; 1.16 i 28, 31-32, 38, 51; 1.16 vi 35, 51; 1.18 i 24; 1.24:36; 1.82:36; 2.21:3; 4.75 vi 2; 4.147:13; 4.360:11; 4.410:54; 4.658:46; 5.10:1; 5.11:12; 9.433:24.

<sup>58</sup> KTU 1.14 ii 44; 1.14 iv 22; 1.16 vi 33, 46, 50; 1.17 v 8.

<sup>59</sup> KTU 1.3 v 37(!); 1.4 i 8; 1.4 ii 26; 1.4 iv 50; 1.4 v 29; 1.4 vi 44; 1.5 i 23; 1.6 i 41; 1.12 ii 47; 1.17 i 19, 21; 1.17 ii 15. See Watson LSU, 137.

<sup>60</sup> See Arbeitman 1996, 15-74; esp. 29-47; see Watson LSU, 137 and Tropper UG, 193.

<sup>61</sup> “The word has no Semitic etymology, and I feel this term was borrowed from Egyptian *iry*, ‘companion’” (Ward 1961, 32).

*att*, “woman, wife” (DUL, 129-131), occurs in all genres.<sup>62</sup>

– CS: Akk. *aššatu(m)*, *ašti*, *alti*, “wife” (CAD, 29a),<sup>63</sup> Heb. *’iššāh*, “woman, wife” (HALOT, 93);<sup>64</sup> Ph./Pun. *’št*, “woman” (DNWSI, 116, 118); “wife, woman” CSL, 37); Aram. *’št*, “wife” (DNWSI, 119); OSA *’t*, (plur. *’ntm/n*), “female, woman, wife” (DOSA, 23); Arab. *’untā*, “female; feminine, of the female, or feminine, sex, or gender” (AEL, 112).<sup>65</sup>

– Other: Hurr. *ašte*, “femme” (GLH, 62); see Fournet 2013, 253.

*um*, “mother” (DUL, 69-70).<sup>66</sup>

– CS: Akk. *ummu*, “mother” (CAD U/W, 120-131a); Heb. *’ēm*, “(natural) mother, stepmother, grandmother” (HALOT, 61b); Ph. *’m*, “mother” (CSL, 23); Arab. *’ummu*, “mother” (AEL, 89-90); OSA *’mhw*, “mother” (DOSA, 19),<sup>67</sup> all from CS *’imm-* (cf. UG, 284 §52.5a).

– AA: The equivalence with \**’am-*, “woman” (HSED §34) is incorrect. Instead, Takács (EDE I, 123) notes that “Sem. \**’am-at-* is clearly a fem. reflex of AA \**’Vm-* ‘child’, cf. Eg. *jm.tj*, [unless < \**rm*] ‘Zögling’ (Wb I 78, 16) = ‘foster-child (of king)’ (FCD 18)”.<sup>68</sup>

– IE: Gk *ἄμμά*, *ἄμμία*, “mamma, mother; nurse” (EDG 1, 88), like Hitt. *anna-*, “mother” (EDHIL, 174) is probably onomatopoeic in origin.

*b’l*, “husband” (DUL, 206-209) occurs in all genres.<sup>69</sup>

– CS: Heb. *ba’al*, “owner, husband” (HALOT, 142-143); Ph. *b’l*, “husband” (CSL, 51-52); Akk. *bēlu(m)*, “lord, proprietor (of)” (CDA, 42); Aram. *b’l*, “to have sexual intercourse” (DJPA, 109a). Borrowed as Eg. *b’r*, “lord, master” (Hoch 1994 §115).<sup>70</sup>

<sup>62</sup> KTU 1.2 i 10; 1.2 iii 22; 1.3 i 14; 1.3 iv 40; 1.14 i 12, 14; 1.14 ii 49; 1.14 iv 27; 1.14 v 13-14; 1.15 ii 21; 1.15 v 23; 1.16 i 5, 19; 1.16 ii 10, 42; 1.16 iv 4, 8, 12; 1.17 i 39; 1.17 v 15; 1.19 iv 46; 1.23 *passim*; 1.82:29; 1.94:29; 1.115:8; 1.127:26; 1.140:1, 5, 7, 9, 36; 1.174:7; 2.25:5; 2.33:28; 3.4:9; 4.102 *passim*; 4.153:3-5; 4.205:13; 4.295:16; 4.339 *passim*; 4.349:2; 4.360:9; 4.369:19; 4.386:19; 4.417:3, 9, 10, 11; 4.419:3, 6; 4.611:10; 4.625:20; 4.632:21; 4.644:4, 9; 4.696:4; 5.11:6 etc. See Vita 1999, 476 §3.1.3.

<sup>63</sup> From \**antatum*; cf. AHw, 83b.

<sup>64</sup> See the discussion there.

<sup>65</sup> Probably there is no connection with AA \**’us-*, “woman” (HSED §141).

<sup>66</sup> KTU 1.6 vi 11, 15; 1.14 i 9, 15; 1.19 iii 29; 1.23:33; 1.24:34; 1.82:9; 1.100 *passim*; 2.11:1; 2.13:2, 5, 6, 11; 2.16:2, 10, 18; 2.30 *passim*; 2.31:46; 2.34:8; 2.72 *passim*; 2.82:1; 4.96:8; 4.351:1; 4.237:2; 4.405:4; 5.10:3.

<sup>67</sup> See Del Olmo Lete 2004, 56-57. For Emar see Pentiuć 2001, 89.

<sup>68</sup> See Eg. \**’ummi-*, *’imma*, “mother”, in personal names (Hoch 1994 §10).

<sup>69</sup> KTU 4.360: 2, 6, 7, 11; see Schloen 2001, 326-327 for discussion.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. also EDE II, 166.

– AA: \**ba'il-*, “man” (HSED §182; cf. §184), e.g. Cushitic *bīl-o*, “master, lord”.<sup>71</sup>

*b'l att*, “husband” (lit. “owner of a woman/wife”) or “newly-wed” (KTU 4.153:2-5).

– CS: It corresponds to Heb. *ba'al iššāh*, “husband” (HALOT, 143a) and Old Assyrian *bēl aššatim*, “husband” (CDA, 42b mng. 3).<sup>72</sup>

*mt*, “man, husband” (DUL, 598-599).<sup>73</sup>

– CS: Heb. *mt*, “men, people” (HALOT, 653b); Akk. *mutu(m)*, “husband; man” (CDA, 225b).

– AA: \**mut-*, “man”, as Chadic \**mut-*, “man” (HSED §1806); Eg. \**mt*, “phallus” (EDE III, 691-698).

*mtrḥt*, “wife, consort” (DUL, 601), in KTU 1.14 i 30 and 1.24:10.

– NWS: Ph. and Pun. *mtrḥ*, “consort, bridegroom, spouse” (DNWSI, 710).<sup>74</sup>

*ybm*, “brother-in-law” (DUL, 950-951), in KTU 1.6 i 31 and 1.16 ii 32.

– CS: Heb. *yābām*, “(deceased) husband’s brother” (HALOT, 383); Aram./Syr. *ybm*, “brother-in-law” (LS, 294; DJPA, 234a; DJBA, 522b). Borrowed as Akk. *yabāmum*, “father-in-law” (CDA, 440a).

*ybmt*, “sister-in-law” (DUL, 951).<sup>75</sup>

– S: Heb. *yēbāmāh*, “brother’s widow; sister-in-law” (HALOT, 383); Aram./Syr. *ybmh*, “sister-in-law” (LS, 294; DJPA, 234b; DJBA, 522b). See previous entry.

*yly*, “kith” (DUL, 963) only in KTU 1.12 ii 50-51:

<i>šr. alyh. mzah</i>	the chief of his brothers found him,
<i>wmzah. šr. ylyh</i>	and find him did the chief of his relatives

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<sup>71</sup> For further AA equivalents, see EDE II, 166 §1.

<sup>72</sup> See Virolleaud PRU 2, p. 97; DUL, 130, 207.

<sup>73</sup> KTU 1.17 vi 35-36; 1.23:40 etc. See Van Selms 1954, 62.

<sup>74</sup> For RS Akkadian *terḥatu*, “bridewealth” (cf. AHw, 1348b) see Vita 1999, 475-476. Note that Akk. *marḥītu*, “Gattin, Gemahlin” derives from *reḥū* (cf. AHw, 611b) and is not relevant. See Tropper UG, 477. For OSA *trḥ*, “recompense”, see DOSA, 536.

<sup>75</sup> KTU 1.3 ii 33; 1.4 ii 15; 1.10 iii 3; 1.17 vi 19, 25; 1.3 iv 22; note the (mis)spelling *yymt* in KTU 1.3 iii 12 (cf. Tropper UG, 156). Note that *ybnt*, “creature” (DUL, 951-952), in KTU 1.3 iv 40 may be a variant of *ybmt*, “sister-in-law” or is to be read *bnt*, “creature”.

– CS: Here *yly*, “relatives” means “members of the same clan”, derived from an unattested root cognate with Arab. *wly*, “to be near”.<sup>76</sup> The word seems to be Semitic.

## 2.4. Infants and children

‘*l*, “suckling, infant” (DUL, 157-158)<sup>77</sup> as ‘*l umt*, “sibling” in KTU 1.19 iv 35, 40.

– CS: Heb. ‘*wl*, “suckling” (HALOT, 797b); Aram. ‘*l*, “foal” (DNWSI, 843); Syr. ‘*yl*, “colt, foal” (LS, 516); Arab. *ḡwl*, “to suckle” (of pregnant woman), ‘*wl*, “to feed, nourish” (AEL, 2201).

– AA: Eg. *ḥ’3* [‘*h’l*], “child, boy”, is from Proto-Eg. \*‘*l*, with secondary reduplication of Proto-Eg. /‘-/ , as Old Eg. /ḥ’/.<sup>78</sup>

*bḥr*, “lad” (DUL, 219) only in broken context in KTU 1.15 v 22:

*ln bḥr [yml]k*      over us a lad [will ru]e

– CS: Heb. *bḥwr*, “young (fully grown, vigorous, unmarried) man” (HALOT, 118b); Akk. *bē’ru(m)* etc., *ausgewählt*” (AHw, 122); cf. Akk. *bēru*, *be’ru*, *ba’ru*, “elite troops” (CAD B, 211).

– AA: \**baḥar-*, “(to) choose”, as in Chadic \**baHar-*, “(to) choose” (HSED §187).

*bkr*, “first-born, eldest (son)” (DUL, 220).<sup>79</sup>

– CS: Heb. *b<sup>e</sup>kôr*, *b<sup>e</sup>kâr* etc., “first-born, oldest offspring” (HALOT, 131); Akk. *bukru(m)*, “son, child” (CDA, 48a). The root is *BKR*, “to bear early fruit, give birth to first-born son” (HALOT, 130b).

– AA: \**bakVr-*, “young animal”, as in Berber \**bVkr-*, “lamb, kid” (HSED §196). Eg. *bk3*, “to be pregnant”, is “traditionally identified with Sem. \**bkr* “(to be) first-born”... Not too probable, but should not be excluded”.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> “This root, extensively attested in Arabic, manifests a range of meanings from ‘family member’ to ‘family member with certain responsibilities’ to ‘person with certain responsibilities’” (Renfroe 1982, 73 – see there for further details and discussion). See previously Van Selms 1954, 124.

<sup>77</sup> Syllabic *ú-lu* (PRU 6, 117:2, 3, 5; 120:3) is too uncertain; cf. UVST, 159.

<sup>78</sup> See EDE I, 331, with discussion but no reference to Ugaritic.

<sup>79</sup> KTU 1.14 iii 40; 1.14 vi 25; 1.82:9; the verb *bkr* is used in KTU 1.15 iii 16.

<sup>80</sup> Takács EDE II, 338 section 3.

*bn*, “son” (DUL, 224-227).<sup>81</sup>

– CS: Heb. *bēn*, “son” (HALOT, 137-138); Ph./Pun. *bn*, “son” (DNWSI, 168-172; CSL, 47-49); Akk. *bīnu(m)*, *binnu*, “son” (CDA, 44b)<sup>82</sup>; Arab. *ʾibn*, “son” (AEL, 262-263); OSA *bn*, “son” (DOSA, 47).

– AA: *\*bin-*, “man, male relative”, e.g. Chadic *\*bin-*, “brother” (HSED §288).<sup>83</sup>

*bt*, “daughter” (DUL, 244-245).<sup>84</sup>

– CS: Heb. *bt*, “daughter” (cf. HALOT, 165-166); *bt*, “daughter” (DNWSI, 170-171; CSL, 60); Akk. *bintu*, *bittu(m)*, “daughter” (CDA, 44b); OA *buntum*, “daughter” (CDA, 48b),<sup>85</sup> Arab. *bint*, “daughter” (AEL, 262); OSA *bnt*, “daughter” (DOSA, 47).

– AA: see previous entry.

*btlt*, “girl” (cf. DUL, 250).<sup>86</sup>

– CS: Heb. *b<sup>e</sup>tūlāh*, “virgin” (HALOT, 166-167a); Syr./Aram. *btwlh*, “virgin” (LS, 99b; DJBA, 116a);<sup>87</sup> Akk. *batūltu*, “adolescent, nubile girl” (AHw, 115; CAD B, 173; CDA, 41b). Note also Akk. *batūlu*, *badūlu*, “boy, young man” (CDA, 41b).

– IE: see Gk βᾶταλος, “a lewd man, hermaphrodite, catamite, lascivious” (EDG 1, 205).<sup>88</sup>

– AA: “A comparison between Eg. *bt* [“shepherd” < “young boy”] and Sem. *\*batūl-* should not be excluded” (EDE II, 345 §6).

<sup>81</sup> There are too many occurrences to list here; see WL, 40-47.

<sup>82</sup> Also Akk. *būnu*, “son”, in lexical texts (CDA, 48b).

<sup>83</sup> For Eg. *bnn*, “to beget etc.” see EDE II, 224-227, esp. 226 §2.

<sup>84</sup> KTU 1.3 i 23; 1.15 iii 6, 24; 1.16 i 29; 1.18 i 16, 17; 1.19 i 49; 1.23:45; 1.112:6; 2.2:9; 2.31:64; 2.72:16; 3.4:7; 4.80:15; 4.102:22; 4.360:3, 5; 4.519:4; 4.659:2; 6.24:2 etc.

<sup>85</sup> Also Akk. *būnatu*, “daughter”, in lexical texts (CDA, 48a).

<sup>86</sup> KTU 1.3 ii 32-33; 1.3 iii 11; 1.3 iv 21; 1.3 v 19, 29; 1.4 ii 14, 23, 38; 1.4 iii 7, 24, 33, 39; 1.4 iv 18; 1.4 v 20, 25; 1.6 ii 14; 1.6 iii 22, 23; 1.6 iv 6, 21, 26; 1.7:13, 25; 1.10 i 1; 1.10 ii 10, 15, 21, 26, 35; 1.10 iii 2, 9; 1.11:4, 7; 1.13:19; 1.15 ii 27; 1.15 iii 19; 1.17 vi 25, 34; 1.18 i 14, 20, 22; 1.18 iv 4, 5, 12, 16; 1.19 i 5; 1.19 ii 43; 1.19 iii 48; 1.25:7; 1.92:29; 1.101:15.

<sup>87</sup> Also DJBA, 251a; DNWSI, 205. See also Syr. *btl*, “to ravish” (LS, 99b), a denominative verb.

<sup>88</sup> Unless connected with Gk σπᾶταλη, “debauchery etc.” (cf. EDG 2, 1377).

*ġlm*, “boy, youth” (DUL, 319-320).<sup>89</sup>

– CS: Ph. ‘*lm*, “man” (DNWSI, 862; CSL, 246); Heb. ‘*elem*, “young man” (HALOT, 835); Arab. *ġulām*, “a young man, youth, boy, or male child” (AEL, 2286-2287).<sup>90</sup>

– AA: \**ġulum-*, “young man”, Chadic \**hulum-* < \**ġulum-*, “man” (HSED §1018). The connection with ‘*l*, “child” (see above) is uncertain.

*ġlmt*, “damsel” (DUL, 320).<sup>91</sup>

– CS: Heb. ‘*almāh*, “marriageable girl; young woman” (HALOT, 35b-836a); Ph. ‘*lmt*, “girl, young woman” (DNWSI, 862; CSL, 246). See previous entry.

*ġzr*, “lad, youth” (DUL, 329).<sup>92</sup>

– WS: Heb. ‘*ozēr*, “hero” (HALOT, 811).<sup>93</sup> Most probably a Semitic word.

*kdd*, “child” (DUL, 430-431)<sup>94</sup> in KTU 1.19 iv 12 and 16:

<i>ybk l aqht ġzr</i>	They wept for Aqhat the lad,
<i>ydm' l kdd dnil mt rpi</i>	shed tears for the child of D. man of healing

– ES: Aram. *ki-da-de*, “child” (DNWSI, 488)<sup>95</sup> and Akk. *kudādu(m)*, *gudādu(m)*, “very small, tiny” (CDA, 164b).<sup>96</sup>

– AA: \**kat-*, “(to) be small”, as in Chadic *kat-*, “small” (HSED §1438); cf. also Eg. *ktt*, “small, trifling, a trifle” (FCD, 287).<sup>97</sup>

<sup>89</sup> KTU 1.2 i 19; 1.3 ii 4; 1.4 ii 29; 1.4 vii 52; 1.6 vi 8; 1.16 i 50.

<sup>90</sup> Note that the Heb. verb ‘*lm*, “to be strong” (Jastrow 1903, 1084a) may be denominative.

<sup>91</sup> KTU 1.14 iv 41; 1.15 ii 22; 1.24:7; 1.119:8. See Van Selms 1954, 108-110 and Wyatt RTU, 418 n. 10.

<sup>92</sup> KTU 1.3 i 20; 1.23:14, 17; 1.141:1; 1.169:1; 1.175:14; 4.102:3, 16, 18-20; 4.349:1.

<sup>93</sup> More uncertain are Pun. ‘*zr*, “young man” (DNWSI, 837) and Eg. ‘*d3*, “youth” (DLE I, 83). Arab. *ġazir*, “much, abundant” (AEL, 2255) does not seem relevant.

<sup>94</sup> First proposed by Gordon UT §19.954; cf. Van Selms 1954, 94 and Watson 1986, 12.

<sup>95</sup> See there for discussion.

<sup>96</sup> As *qudādu* or *kudādu* or *gudādu* in CAD Q, 293b (“small child”), but see AHW, 925b. It only occurs in lexical texts and as a PN, and perhaps the fluctuation in spelling indicates a loanword.

<sup>97</sup> Also “der Kleine, Junge” (GHwB, 890b; cf. Wb V, 147.2-17). Note also Eg. *s3t ktt*, “a small daughter” (FCD, 287).

*mknt*, “posterity” (DUL, 543) only in KTU 1.14 i 11:

<i>krt ḥtkn rš</i>	Kirta: his offspring destroyed
<i>krt grdš mknt</i>	Kirta: ruined his posterity

– CS: It was Wyatt who proposed that *mknt* means “posterity”, from the verb KWN.<sup>98</sup> The alternative meaning is “family seat” (DUL, 543); cf. Heb. *mekônāh*, “place, site” (HALOT, 579b); Ph. *mkn* and Pun. *m’kn*, “base, place” (CSL, 176); Mand. *mkn*’, “lodging” (Drower / Macuch 1963, 243a). This would also belong in the semantic set discussed here. Either way, the word is Semitic.

*mr*, “son” as *mr mnm*, “someone” in KTU 1.123:22.

– ES: A loan from Akk. *mār mammanama*, “somebody”, lit. “son of somebody”.<sup>99</sup>

– AA: \**mar-*/\**mara-*’, “man”, as Chadic *maar*, “uncle” (HSED §1740). Also Eg. *mr.t*, “bondsmen”.<sup>100</sup> The Semitic reflexes may go back to AA \**m-r*, “man”, which is “not impossible provided we assume that the coll. Eg. *mr.t* may have actually signified \*‘‘people, men (of someone)’’ (EDE III, 380).

Ug *mšš*, “suckling” (DUL, 589) only in KTU 1.15 ii 27:

<i>td yšb ḡlm</i>	She will bear Y., the
<i>ynq ḥlb a[ḡ]rt</i>	he will suck the milk of Athirat,
<i>mšš ḡd btl[t] [...]</i>	squeezing the breast of Virgin [X] <sup>101</sup>
<i>mšnq[t...]</i>	the wet-nurs[e of goddesses?]

– CS: Heb. *māšāš*, “to slurp, lap” (HALOT, 624b); Aram. *mšš*, “to suck” (DJPA, 326a). Related forms are Heb. *māšāh*, “to wring out, slurp” (HALOT, 621); Akk. *mazā’u(m)*, *mazû*, “to press, squeeze” (CDA, 205b); Arab. *mazza*, “he sucked it” (AEL, 2710).<sup>102</sup>

– AA: \**maç-*, “(to) press, squeeze”, as Hausa *māša*, “to press, squeeze” (HSED §1703).

– IE: Gk μύζω, ‘to suck’ (EDG 2, 975).

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<sup>98</sup> Wyatt RTU, 180 and n. 11.

<sup>99</sup> See AHW, 601; CAD M/1, 201; CDA, 199a; cf. CDA, 195a.

<sup>100</sup> “Hörige, Untertanen” (Wb II 106, 11-20); cf. EDE III, 378-382, esp. 381.

<sup>101</sup> Usually restored as *nt*, but Wyatt (RTU, 209 n. 149) argues convincingly for *rhmy*.

<sup>102</sup> See Vernet i Pons 2011, 222-223.

*mt*, “infant” (DUL, 604), in KTU 1.5 v 22 and 1.69:2.

– AA: \**mič*-, “son, child”, e.g. Chadic \**mič*-, “son, child” (HSED §1769) and Eg. *ms*, “child”.<sup>103</sup> A loan from Egyptian. See on Ug. *mtt* below.

*pġt*, “girl” (DUL, 666).<sup>104</sup>

– CS: The only equivalent is the female Heb. PN *pû’āh*, “Splendid” (HALOT, 918b) which cannot apply to Ug. *pġy*, “boy” (see below).

– AA: \**po*’-, “(to) give birth”, as in Chadic \**pway*-/ \**pwaH*-, “(to) give birth” (HSED §1993). See Eg. *p’*t**, “mankind” (EDE II, 421-422) and Eg. *p’*p**’, “gebären, geboren werden” (Wb I 504, 3-5); “to deliver (baby), drop a calf” (DLE I, 147); “gebären (Kind), werfen (Kalb)” (GHWb, 274).<sup>105</sup>

– IE: *παῖς*, “child, boy, son, slave, servant” and more rarely “girl, daughter”, from IE \**peh<sub>2</sub>-u-* (EDG 2, 1142-43). Whatever the etymology, the word appears to be non-Semitic.

*pġy*, “boy” (DUL, 666)<sup>106</sup> only in KTU 4.349:4:

<i>pġt. aġt</i>	one girl
w. <i>pġy. aġ&lt;d&gt;</i>	and one boy

For discussion see previous entry.

*rġm*, “girl”, derived from “womb” (DUL, 737), in KTU 1.6 ii 27 and 1.13:2.<sup>107</sup>

– CS: Heb. *raġ<sup>a</sup>māh*, “female slave” (cf. HALOT, 1218); Moab. \**rġm* (as pl. *rġmt*), “female slave” (DNWSI, 1071).<sup>108</sup> Also Syr. *raġmā*, *rāġem<sup>t</sup>ā*, “(female) friend” (LS, 724).

– AA: \**riġim*-, “uterus, pregnancy”, e.g. LEC \**riHim*-, “pregnant”, as Oromo *riimaa*, “pregnant” (HSED §2118). Also East Chadic \**ruma*, “child”, e.g. Bidiya *rumai*, “young girl” and cf. East Cushitic \**rum*-, “uterus, be pregnant” (Stolbova 2002, 292 §13).

<sup>103</sup> For a whole range of equivalents and discussion see EDE III, 551-556, esp. 553 on *√msy*, “to give birth”, where Takács notes that AA \**m-č*, “child” derives from the same root.

<sup>104</sup> KTU 1.15 iii 7-12; 1.16 ii 5; 2.3:23; 4.102 *passim*; 4.349:3. As a PN (meaning “Girl”) in KTU 1.19 i 34; 1.19 ii 1, 6; 1.19 iv 28, 36, 48, 50, 55. See Van Selms 1954, 107-108.

<sup>105</sup> See EDE II, 426-427, with discussion of various etymologies (but no mention of Ug.

*pġt*).

<sup>106</sup> Arab. *fāġiya*, “henna blossom” (DMWA, 722a), seems inappropriate here.

<sup>107</sup> See Van Selms 1954, 110.

<sup>108</sup> For discussion see SED I No. 231.



*šgr*, “youngster” (DUL, 780).<sup>109</sup>

– CS: Heb. *šā’ir*, “the youngest one; plur.: servants” (HALOT, 1041); *šā’ôr*, “small” (HALOT, 1041a); Aram. *z’r*, “small” (DNWSI, 337-338); OSA *šgr*, (adj.) “small, unimportant” (DOSA, 427); Arab. *šağīr*, “small, little; a youngling” (AEL, 1692); Akk. *šeḫru(m)*, *šaḫru(m)*, “small; young” (CDA, 335b); *šeḫḫeru(m)*, *šaḫḫeru(m)*, “tiny”, plur. “little children” (CDA, 335b). A Semitic word.

*šgrt*, “girl” (DUL, 781), in KTU 1.15 iii 16 and 1.24:50.

– CS: Akk. *šeḫḫertu(m)*, “young girl” (CDA, 335b), *šeḫertu(m)*, “little girl” (CDA, 335) and *šuḫartu(m)*, “girl” (CDA, 340a). See previous entry.

*šrš*, “offspring”, lit., “root” (DUL, 845) only in KTU 1.17 i 20.<sup>110</sup>

– CS: Ph. *šrš*, “stock, root” (CSL, 332); Heb. *šoreš*, “root”, used metaphorically (HALOT, 1660); Akk. *šuršu(m)*, “root” (CDA, 388b)

– AA: \**čer-*, “root”, with reduplication and partial reduplication in a whole range of languages (cf. HSED §551).

*yld*, “son; child” (DUL, 963).<sup>111</sup>

– CS: Heb. *yeled*, “boy, male child” (HALOT, 412b); Syr. *yld*, “child” (LS, 301); Akk. (w)*ildu(m)*, *mildu*, “offspring, young”, child” (CDA, 438a; AHw, 1496; CAD I/J, 71); Akk. *līdu(m)*, *līdu*, “child, offspring” (CDA, 182a); Arab. *walīd*, “a new-born child, a young infant, a boy” (AEL, 2966).

– AA: \**walad-*, “boy, child”, as in Chadic \**wadal-*, “brother, young man”, with metathesis (HSED §2520)<sup>112</sup> and Eg. *jd* [< \**ld*], “Jüngling” (OK, Wb I 151, 8-11), “boy” (FCD, 34; cf. EDE I, 240).

*ynq*, “suckling” (DUL, 971), in KTU 1.15 ii 26 and 1.23:24.<sup>113</sup>

*ynqm b ap zd. atrt*      sucklings at the breast of Athirat

– CS: Aram. *ynq*, “(small) child” (DNWSI, 462); Syr./Aram. *yānēq*, “child” (LS, 304; DJBA, 538b); Heb. *yōnēq*, “suckling, child” (HALOT, 402b); Akk. *ēniqu*, “suckling, unweaned child” (CDA, 73).

<sup>109</sup> KTU 1.6 v 4; 1.9:18; 1.22 i 4; 1.107:9, 12.

<sup>110</sup> It occurs in broken context in KTU 4.414:4, possibly a list of towns.

<sup>111</sup> KTU 1.18 iv 39; 1.23:53; 1.103+2; 1.124:3. It may occur in a polyglot vocabulary (cf. UVST, 133).

<sup>112</sup> √*WLD*, “to give birth”, cf. HSED §2540.

<sup>113</sup> KTU 1.15 ii 26; 1.23:24, 59, 61.

– AA: \**nik*-/ \**nuk*-, “(to) lick” (HSED §1872); Eg. *snq*, “to suckle”, causative of unattested \**ynq*, “to suck” (cf. EDE I, 211).

*ytm*, “orphan” (DUL, 989), in KTU 1.16 vi 49; 1.17 v 8.

– CS: Heb. *yātôm*, “orphan” (HALOT, 451); Ph. *ytm*, “orphan” (DNWSI, 478; CSL, 131-132); Arab. *yatīm*, “orphan” (DMWA, 1105b); Aram./Syr. *ytm*’, *ytm*, “orphan” (LS, 312; DJBA, 547b; DJPA, 248b).<sup>114</sup> This word is Semitic; see next entry.

*ytm*, “orphan girl” (DUL, 989) only in KTU 1.82:22 in broken context.

– CS: Syr. *ytmh*, *ytm*’, “orphan (f.)” (DJPA, 248b; Jastrow 1903, 604).<sup>115</sup> A Semitic word; see previous entry.

## 2.5. Matrimony

*āgzt*, “wedding” (DUL, 31) only in KTU 1.24:3:

*hrhb. mlk. āgzt.* (I sing of) Ḫ. king of weddings

– ES: The word is a loan from Akk. *aḫuzzatu*, “marriage gift; marriage-like protection” (CDA, 9a).<sup>116</sup>

*kl*, “daughter-in-law; bride” (DUL, 441).<sup>117</sup>

– CS: Heb. *kallāh*, “bride, daughter-in-law” (HALOT, 477b-478a); Akk. *kallātu(m)*, “daughter-in-law, bride” (CDA, 142b); Palm. *klh*, “daughter-in-law” (DNWSI, 510). Cf. OSA *kl*, “to give in marriage” (DOSA, 247).

– AA: \**kal*-, “female in law”, as in Chadic *kaly*-, “woman” (HSED §1419).

*mhr*, “dowry” (DUL, 536-537), in KTU 1.24:19 and 1.100:74-75.

– CS: Heb. *mohar*, “bride-money” (HALOT, 554a); Aram. *mhr*, “dowry” (DNWSI, 601),<sup>118</sup> Arab. *mahr*-, “he gave a woman a dowry” (AEL, 2740); OSA

<sup>114</sup> Cf. perhaps Akk. (w)*atmu(m)*, *watnu*, *atamu*, “hatchling”, in the transferred meaning of human offspring (CDA, 437b).

<sup>115</sup> Arab. *yatīmat*, “orphan girl” is cited in DUL, 989.

<sup>116</sup> For another suggestion (with references) see Watson LSU, 76 n. 96.

<sup>117</sup> KTU 1.3 i 26; 1.4 i 15; 1.4 iv 54; 4.80:4, 13, 19; 4.786:5; 6.24:2. Cf. Vita 1999, 476 §3.1.3.

<sup>118</sup> As noted there: “properly, the price paid for a wife to be the head of her family”. See also Akk. *māru*, “to buy” (cf. CDA, 199a), borrowed from Aramaic *mwr*, “to exchange” (DJBA, 649a etc.).

*mhr*, “(to) fix a date of payment” (DOSA, 267-268); borrowed as Eg. *mhr*, “Kaufpreis, Brautpreis” (cf. EDE III, 468). The word is Semitic.

## 2.6. Domestic

*amt*, “maid” (DUL, 74).<sup>119</sup>

– CS: Ph. *'mt*, “maidservant” (CSL, 25); Heb. *'āmāh*, “slave, maid and concubine” (HALOT, 61b); Akk. *amtu*, *andu*, “maid, female slave” (CDA, 15-16); Arab. *'ama*, “female slave, handmaid” (AEL, 103); OSA *'mt*, “maidservant” (DOSA, 19), etc.<sup>120</sup>

– AA: \**'am-*, “woman” (HSED §34): “Sem. \**'am-at-* is clearly a fem. reflex of AA \**'VM-* ‘child’, cf. Eg. *jm.tj* ‘Zögling’” (EDE I, 152 with additional material).

*'bd*, “slave, servant” (DUL, 139-141).<sup>121</sup>

– CS: Heb. *'ebed*, “slave (villein), servant, dependant in position of trust” (HALOT, 774-775); Ph. *'bd*, “slave of a person” (CSL, 235); OSA *'bd*, “servant, slave (of individual, tribe or god)” (DOSA, 349). Akk. *abdu*, “servant, slave” (CDA, 2b) is a loan from W. Semitic as is Eg. \**'abdi*, “servant” (as a PN).<sup>122</sup>

– AA: \**'abod-*, “slave”, as Chadic \**bawad-* < \**baHwad*, “slave” (HSED §1029).

*glm*, “page-boy, servant” (DUL, 319).<sup>123</sup> See on Ug. *glm* above.

<sup>119</sup> KTU 1.4 iii 21-22; 1.4 iv 61; 1.12 i 15-16; 1.14 ii 3, 10; 1.14 iii 25, 37; 1.14 vi 22; 2.70:12, 19; 4.230:9; 4.659:7; 9.425:20.

<sup>120</sup> See Del Olmo Lete 2004, 58 under /*aMaW-*/.

<sup>121</sup> KTU 1.2 i 36; 1.3 i 2; 1.4 iv 59, 60; 1.5 ii 12, 19; 1.14 iii 23, 35, 49, 51; 1.14 vi 6, 19, 34; 1.15 iv 10; 1.16 iii 13; 1.82:41; 2.11:4, 18; 2.12:5, 15; 2.19:11; 2.23:6; 2.24:4; 2.33:2, 24; 2.40:9; 2.41:14; 2.47:14; 2.50:21; 2.64:12, 20; 2.68:3, 17; 2.75:5; 2.81:5; 4.35 ii 2; 4.71 iii 10; 4.75 vi 3; 4.87:2; 4.99:1; 4.95:9; 4.126:13; 4.183 ii 19; 4.320:1; 4.362:5-6; 5.9:19; 9.434:4, 20, 22 etc. See Vita 1999, 466-467 §1.6.6 and Loretz 2003.

<sup>122</sup> Hoch 1994 §69; however, see also Eg. *'bd*, “Diener” (GHWB, 136b) as a foreign word.

<sup>123</sup> KTU 1.3 iii 8; 1.10 ii 3; 1.14 i 40; 1.14 iii 51.

*n' r*, “boy, lad, page” (DUL, 616).<sup>124</sup>

– WS: Heb. *na' ar*, “young man, fellow, servant, attendant” (HALOT, 707b); Ph. *n' r*, “young man, attendant” (CSL, 217; DNWSI, 739-740).

*n' rt*, “maidservant” (DUL, 617), in KTU 4.102:17; 4.275:9

– WS: Heb. *na' rāh*, “young (un)married girl, attendant” (HALOT, 707-708).

*mšnqt*, “wet-nurse” (DUL, 593), in KTU 1.15 ii 28 (cited above).<sup>125</sup>

– CS: Akk. *mušēniqtu*, “wet nurse” (CDA, 222a); Heb. *mēnēqet*, “wet-nurse, nurse” (HALOT, 577b); Syr. *mynqny*, *mynqnyt*, “wet nurse” (LS, 17). This is simply the Š participle of *ynq*.

*šbrt*, “domestics” – see discussion above.

## 2.7. Inheritance

Unlike the syllabic texts, there is no mention of adoption<sup>126</sup> and term *nhl* does not mean “heir” nor does *nhl*t mean “(inherited) property”, as previously thought.<sup>127</sup> The only certain entry in this field is the following:

*yrt*, “heir” (DUL, 83), in KTU 1.14 i 25 and 1.92:29.

– CS: Heb. *yōrēš*, “heir” (HALOT, 441 mng 2); Syr./Aram. *yrrwt*, “heir” (LS, 310; DJPA, 245a). Also Akk. *yāritu*, “heir” (CDA, 440b), borrowed from Aramaic. The verb is  $\sqrt{YRT}$  (see DUL, 982-983).<sup>128</sup>

## 2.8. Various

Here several lexical items loosely connected with the family, some of which are abstracts, are listed and discussed briefly.

*aḥd*, “single man” (DUL, 33), in KTU 1.14 iv 21; see below on *yḥd*.

<sup>124</sup> KTU 1.107:8,11; 1.175:16; 2.33:29; 4.102:8; 4.179:3; 4.339:3, 25; 4.360:5; 4.367:7; 4.419:4; 4.360:5; see Cutler / Macdonald 1976. Kogan 2012, 42 No. 33, notes that the origins of Sem. *n' r* are obscure.

<sup>125</sup> However, the reading may be *mšnq*, “suckling” (cf. Wyatt RTU, 209-210 n. 150).

<sup>126</sup> See Van Soldt 2010, 107-111.

<sup>127</sup> As shown by del Olmo Lete 2012.

<sup>128</sup> For Emar see Penttuc 2001, 139-140, cf. 183. It is uncertain whether Ug. *mrt* in KTU 2.34:32 means “estate” (DUL, 579) or “(wine) must”, but in either case it would be Semitic.

*ulmn*, “widowhood” (DUL, 58)<sup>129</sup> only in KTU 1.23:9:

*bdh ḥt ulmn* in his hand the sceptre of widowhood

– CS: Heb. *’almānūt*, “widowhood” (HALOT, 58b); Akk. *almānūtu*, “widow(er)hood” (CDA, 13a); Aram. *’rmlw*, “widowhood” (DNWSI, 109). See on Ug. *almn* above.

*gr*, “guest” (DUL, 306).<sup>130</sup>

– CS: Heb. *gēr*, “protected citizen, stranger” (HALOT, 201a); Ph. *gr*, “giver of hospitality” (DNWSI, 232 mng 3); Arab. *ḡār-*, “a neighbour, one who seeks protection etc.” (AEL, 483).<sup>131</sup>

– AA: *\*gir-*, “(to) live”, e.g. Chadic *\*gir-*, “(to) be, exist” (HSED §932). These equivalents are weak.

*ḥtk*, “offspring” (DUL, 375-376)<sup>132</sup> and *ḥtk*, “progenitor” (DUL, 375).<sup>133</sup>

As Van Selms (1954, 94) noted: “A word from a root hitherto unknown in other Semitic languages is *ḥtk*. When parallel to *ab*, ‘father’ it should be vocalised as an active participle: *ḥātiku*; in other instances it must be normalised *ḥatku*, meaning ‘scion’”. Currently, there are four explanations for these words, all from Semitic but none is completely convincing:

(a) “circumcised” and “circumciser” respectively, derived from the unattested Ug. verb *\*ḥtk*, “to cut”.<sup>134</sup>

(b) “carer”, based on Akk. *etāku*, “to be on guard, alert” (cf. CDA, 83b) and cf. Arab. *ḥataka*, “to examine carefully”. As Healey (1980, 408) comments: “we may think of *ḥtk* as a *fā’il*, “the one who cares for”, meaning the father *and* the son, the latter because it is a normal duty of a son to care for his father, as is clear from KTU 1.17 I 25-33”.

(c) “scion” and “father”, i.e. “he who has to obey the *patria potestas*” (the son) and “he who exerts the *patria potestas*” (the father).<sup>135</sup>

<sup>129</sup> The nominal form is not clear; for discussion see Tropper UG, 272 §51.46b.

<sup>130</sup> KTU 1.15 iv 23; 1.19 iii 47; 1.40:35; 5.22:38; 4.658:1. For  $\sqrt{GR}$  (N), “to lodge, take refuge, be protected” see DUL, 305-306; Tropper UG, 646.

<sup>131</sup> Late borrowing in Egyptian from West Semitic as Eg. *\*gēru*, “visitor, alien, vagabond” (Hoch 1994, §428, §429, §473).

<sup>132</sup> KTU 1.10 iii 34; 1.14 i 10; cf. 1.81:9.

<sup>133</sup> KTU 1.6 iv 11; 1.16 ii 15.

<sup>134</sup> Proposed by Ullendorff 1962, 341: “It seems to me possible, therefore, that *ḥtkk* in parallelism to *abk* might be ‘thy circumciser’ (and ‘the circumcised’ in the two passive passages)”. Cf. AA *\*ḥVtik-*, “(to) cut, divide” (HSED §1392).

(d) “family (of the father)”, based on \**h*tk, “to exercise paternal power”.<sup>136</sup> Essentially, this is a variant of (c).

*hllt*, “childbirth” in KTU 1.17 i 42:

*y*smst ‘rš *hllt*      the charm of the bed of childbirth<sup>137</sup>

– WS: Cf. Heb. *ḥalḥālāh*, “(birth) pangs” (cf. HALOT, 318a). Akk. *ḥīlū*, “labour pains, birth pangs” (CDA, 116a) is obviously cognate. This word is Semitic.

*h*snm, “dependents” (DUL, 409).<sup>138</sup>

– IE: Hitt. *ḥāšša-*, “descendant” (EDHIL, 323).<sup>139</sup> No other explanation is viable.

*h*tn, “marriage relationship, wedding” (DUL, 413), in KTU 1.24:32.<sup>140</sup>

‘mn. nkl *h*tny.      with Nikkal is my wedding

– CS: Aram./Syr. *h*tn, “to become a son-in-law” (LS, 264; DJBA, 491a); *h*tnw, *h*tnwt’, “marriage” (LS, 264; Jastrow 1903, 514); Akk. *ḥatnūtu*, *ḥatanūtum*, “marriage relationship” (CDA, 112a). The root may be *HTN*, “to protect”, as in Akk. *ḥatānu*, “to protect, shelter” (CDA, 112a).<sup>141</sup> However, cf. Arab. *ḥitān-*, “celebration at the time of a marriage or circumcision, etc.” and Arab. *ḥutūnt-*, “marrying, taking to wife, a woman” (AEL, 704), from *ḥatana*, “the making of a

<sup>135</sup> “Because *h*tk occurs as a kinship term which may denote a father as well as a son, it has correctly been concluded that two differently vocalized nouns must be involved” (De Moor 1969, 179), i.e. \**ḥatūku*/\**ḥatku*, “the son” and \**ḥatīku*, “the father”. See Wyatt (RTU, 398 n. 27) and Tropper (KWU, 47-48) for the homonym *h*tk, “(to) rule”.

<sup>136</sup> Given as “la famille (de la perspective du père)” in the glossary, Bordreuil / Pardee 2004, II, 164. Translated as “family (of the father)”, in Bordreuil / Pardee 2009, 315.

<sup>137</sup> See Dijkstra / De Moor 1975, 180; they wonder whether the reading should be *hlllt*, as in Hebrew.

<sup>138</sup> KTU 4.137:1, 8, 10; 4.162:1, 2; 4.163:2, 4, 13; 4.173:1, 6, 8; 4.174:2; 4.179:2, 7; 4.542:1. For possible Semitic etymologies see DUL, 409.

<sup>139</sup> As identified by Liverani 1969 (he translates: “familiari”); cf. Watson LSU, 121. However, McGeough (2007, 118-119) argues that as it occurs in military contexts, it must have a meaning in that semantic field.

<sup>140</sup> Note in Ugaritian Akkadian: PN<sub>1</sub>: *ḥa-at-nu* PN<sub>2</sub>, “PN<sub>1</sub> the son-in-law of PN<sub>2</sub>” (PRU 3, 142b:5); cf. UVST, 130-131.

<sup>141</sup> For Emar cf. Pentti 2001, 79-80.

feast, or banquet, to which people are invited, on account of a wedding” (AEL, 703) and cf. OSA *h̄tn*, “celebration” (DOSA, 212-213).

*m̄tt*, “young lady” (DUL, 606), in KTU 1.14 iii 39 and 1.17 v 16. A loan from Eg. *mst*; see on Ug. *m̄t* above.

*šgr̄t*, “infancy” (DUL, 781) only in KTU 1.10 iii 26:

[ ] *šhp. šgr̄t* [ ] the colostrum of his infancy

– CS: Heb. *š<sup>e</sup>‘irāh*, “youth” (HALOT, 1041b); Akk. *šeḫrūtu*, “(time of) youth” (CDA, 335b); also Akk. *šeḫru*, “(time of) youth” (CDA, 335b). See on Ug. *šgr̄* above.

*šb*, “elderly man” (DUL, 801).<sup>142</sup>

– CS: Heb. *šāb*, “aged” (HALOT, 1318); Akk. *š̄bu*, “elder” (CDA, 370b). The word is Semitic.

*tin̄tt*, “womankind” (DUL, 855) only in KTU 1.17 vi 40:

*qštm [kl] mhrm.* the bow [is an instrument of] warriors:  
*ht. t̄šdn. tin̄tt [bh]* will womankind now hunt [with it]?<sup>143</sup>

– CS: cf. Akk. *tenīšu*, “mankind” (CAD T, 344a); Akk. *tēnēštu*, “people, population, personnel” (CAD T, 340-342), pl. *tēnēšētu*, “mankind” (CDA, 404a); Aram. *n̄sh, n̄št*, “womenfolk, people”; Arab. *ta n̄l̄*, “it (a noun etc.) was, or became, or was made, feminine” (AEL, 112 mng 5).<sup>144</sup>

– AA: \**‘i-nas-*, “man”, as in Agaw \**‘anVš-*, “in-law” (HSED §108).

*tar*, “avenging relative” or the like (DUL, 891-892), in KTU 1.14 i 15 and 1.18 i 25.

– NS: Arab. *tā’r*, “he revenged or avenged, his blood, by retaliating his slaughter”, etc. (AEL, 327-328); OSA *t̄’r*, “(to) wreak vengeance, take blood revenge” (DOSA, 539).<sup>145</sup> Clearly, this is an Arabic-Ugaritic isogloss.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> KTU 1.1 ii 3; 1.3 ii 6; 1.172:6, 26. The root is *š’B*.

<sup>143</sup> For the restoration here see Tropper UG, 742 §81.21a.

<sup>144</sup> See Tropper UG, 270 §51.45w.

<sup>145</sup> EA Akk. *šāru*, “hostile, enemy” (CDA, 362a) is unlikely to be related.

*yhd*, “bachelor” (DUL, 960).<sup>147</sup>

– CS: Lit. “one”; cf. Heb. *yāhîd*, “only (son/daughter)” (HALOT, 406-407);  
Aram./Syr. *yhyd*, “lone, unique” (LS, 300; DJPA, 238b); Akk. (*w*)*ēdu(m)*,  
“single, sole; alone; only (child); a single (person)” (CSA, 438a); Arab. *waḥîd*,  
“(a man) alone, by himself, apart from others, solitary, lonely” (AEL, 2928).  
The Semitic root seems to be *WHD*.

### 3. Conclusions

The information collected above on Ugaritic terms connected with the family can be set out in a table (in simplified form):<sup>148</sup>

Ug. word	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans			non-Semitic equivalent			
		Akk.	Arabic	(N)WS	Egypt.	IE Hitt./Gk	Hurr.	AA
<i>ab</i>	father	<i>abu</i>	<sup>ʾ</sup> <i>ab</i>	<sup>ʾ</sup> <i>b</i>	<i>3b.t</i>			<sup>ʾ</sup> <i>ab</i>
<i>ad</i>	father	–	–	–	<i>it</i>	ἄττα	<i>attn</i>	–
<i>adn</i>	father	–	–	<sup>ʾ</sup> <i>d(w)n</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>adrt</i>	lady	–	–	H <sup>ʾ</sup> <i>dyr</i>	–	–	–	<sup>ʾ</sup> <i>ader</i>
<i>adt</i>	lady	–	–	* <sup>ʾ</sup> <i>dnt</i> PPm <sup>ʾ</sup> <i>dt</i>	<i>jd.t</i>	–	–	–
<i>agrt</i>	mistress	<i>āgirtu</i>	<i>ağara</i>	HA <sup>ʾ</sup> <i>gr</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>ağzt</i>	wedding	<i>aḥuzzatu</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–
<i>aḥd</i>	singleton	–	–	A <i>aḥd</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>aḥ</i>	brother	<i>aḥu</i>	<sup>ʾ</sup> <i>aḥ</i> OSA <sup>ʾ</sup> <i>ḥ</i>	<sup>ʾ</sup> <i>ḥ</i>	–	–	–	<sup>ʾ</sup> <i>aḥ</i>
<i>aḥt</i>	sister	<i>aḥatu</i>	OSA <sup>ʾ</sup> <i>ḥth</i>	HA <sup>ʾ</sup> <i>ḥt</i>	<sup>ʾ</sup> <i>aḥita</i>	–	–	<sup>ʾ</sup> <i>aḥ</i>
<i>almn</i>	widow	<i>almattu</i>	<sup>ʾ</sup> <i>amkāt</i>	H <sup>ʾ</sup> <i>lmh</i>	–	–	–	–

<sup>146</sup> Not included in Renfroe 1992. There seems to be no connection with words for “flesh” such as Heb. *šēʿer* or Ug. *šir* – see SED I No. 238 for discussion.

<sup>147</sup> KTU 1.14 ii 43; 1.14 iv 21; 4.750:5-7, cf. 8-11; 4.224:7.

<sup>148</sup> Abbreviations for table: A = Aramaic; AA = Afro-Asiatic; E = Ethiopic; H = Hebrew; IE = Indo-European; (N)WS = (North-)West Semitic; OSA = Old South Arabic; P = Phoenician; Pm = Palmyrene; Pu = Punic; S = Syriac; Sb = Sabaeen.



TERMS RELATED TO THE FAMILY IN UGARITIC

Ug. word	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans			non-Semitic equivalent			
		Akk.	Arabic	(N)WS	Egypt.	IE Hitt./Gk	Hurr.	AA
				P 'lmt A 'rmlh				
<i>amt</i>	maid	<i>amtu</i> <i>andū</i>	'ama OSA 'mt	'mt	<i>jm.tj</i>	–	–	'Vm
<i>ary</i>	kinsman	[ <i>ayyaru</i> ]	'ry	–	<i>iry</i>	<i>arā</i> ἀρθμός	–	'ar
<i>aṭṭ</i>	wife woman	<i>aššatu</i>	'untā	H 'šh	–	–	<i>ašte</i>	–
<i>inš</i>	people	–	–	A 'š	–	–	–	–
<i>inšt</i>	relatives	<i>nišūtu</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–
<i>ulmn</i>	widowhood	<i>almānūtu</i>	–	H 'lmmwt A 'rmlw	–	–	–	–
<i>um</i>	mother	<i>ummu</i>	'ummu OSA 'mhw	'm	<i>jm.tj</i> 'ummi 'mma	<i>anna</i> ἀμμά	–	'Vm
<i>umt</i>	clan	<i>ummatu</i>	'ummat	H 'mh SA 'wmh	–	–	–	'um
'bd	servant	<i>abdu</i>	–	'bd	'abdi	–	–	'bd
'l	offspring infant	–	'ayyil ḡwl	H 'wl A 'l	<i>h'3</i> < *'l	–	–	–
'm	ancestor	–	'mm	H 'm	–	–	–	'am
<i>b'l</i>	husband	<i>bēlu</i>	<i>b'r</i>	H <i>b'l</i>	<i>ba'lu</i>	–	–	<i>ba'il</i>
<i>b'l</i> <i>aṭṭ</i>	husband	<i>bēl</i> <i>aššatim</i>	–	H <i>b'l</i> 'h	<i>ba'lat</i>	–	–	<i>ba'il</i>
<i>bḥr</i>	lad	<i>be'ru</i>	–	H <i>bḥwr</i>	–	–	–	<i>bahar</i>
<i>bkr</i>	eldest	<i>bukru</i>	–	H <i>bkw</i> r	<i>bk3</i>	–	–	<i>bakVr</i>
<i>bn</i>	son	<i>bīnu(m)</i> <i>binnu</i> <i>būnu</i>	'ibn OSA <i>bn</i>	H <i>bn</i>	–	–	–	<i>bin</i>
<i>bt</i>	daughter	<i>bintu</i> <i>bittu(m)</i> <i>būnatu</i> <i>buntum</i>	<i>bint</i> OSA <i>bnt</i>	H <i>bt</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>bt</i>	home,	<i>bītu</i>	OSA	HPu <i>byt</i>	<i>bt</i>	–	–	<i>bayit</i>

Ug. word	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans			non-Semitic equivalent			
		Akk.	Arabic	(N)WS	Egypt.	IE Hitt./Gk	Hurr.	AA
	family		<i>byt</i>	A <i>bt</i>				
<i>blt</i>	virgin	<i>batūltu</i> <i>batūlu</i> <i>badūlu</i>	–	HAS <i>btwlh</i>	* <i>bt(3)</i>	βάταλος	–	–
<i>dr</i>	generation	–	–	P <i>dr</i> (H <i>dwr</i> )	–	–	–	<i>dar</i>
<i>gr</i>	guest	–	<i>ġār</i>	HP <i>gr</i>	<i>gêru</i>	–	–	<i>gir</i>
<i>glm</i>	lad	–	<i>gulām</i>	‘ <i>lm</i>	–	–	–	<i>gulum</i>
<i>glmt</i>	lass	–	–	H ‘ <i>lmh</i> P ‘ <i>lmt</i>				<i>gulum</i>
<i>gʒr</i>	youth	–	–	HP ‘ <i>zr</i>	‘ <i>d3</i>	–	–	–
<i>hṭk</i>	circumciser carer father family	<i>ḥatāku</i> <i>etāku</i>	<i>ḥatak</i> <i>ḥataka</i>	<i>hṭk</i>  * <i>hṭk</i> * <i>hṭk</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>hṭk</i>	circumciser carer son family	<i>ḥatāku</i> <i>etāku</i>	<i>ḥatak</i> <i>ḥataka</i>	<i>hṭk</i>  * <i>hṭk</i> * <i>hṭk</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>hʒr</i>	mansion	–	<i>ḥaḍr</i> Sb <i>mḥḍr</i>	[H <i>hʒr</i> ]	–	–	–	<i>ḥaḥar</i>
<i>hlṭt</i>	childbirth	<i>ḥīlū</i>	–	H <i>hlḥlh</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>ḥsnm</i>	dependents	–	–	–	–	<i>ḥāšša-</i>	–	–
<i>ḥtn</i>	wedding	<i>ḥatnūtu</i>	<i>ḥitān-</i> OSA <i>ḥtn</i>	AS <i>ḥtnwt</i> ’	–			
<i>kdd</i>	child	<i>kudādu</i>	–	A <i>kidade</i>	<i>ktt</i>	–	–	<i>kat</i>
<i>klt</i>	bride d.-in-law	<i>kallātu</i>	OSA <i>kl</i>	H <i>klh</i> P <i>klh</i>	–	–	–	<i>kal</i>
<i>md</i> ’	family	<i>mūdū</i>	–	H <i>m(w)d</i> ’ S <i>mwd</i> ’ <i>h</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>mhr</i>	dowry	–	<i>mahr</i>	HA <i>mhr</i>	<i>mhr</i>	–	–	–
<i>mknt</i>	posterity fam. seat	–	–	KWN <i>mkn(h)</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>mḫrt</i>	assembly	–	OSA	P <i>mḫrt</i>	–	–	–	–

TERMS RELATED TO THE FAMILY IN UGARITIC

Ug. word	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans			non-Semitic equivalent			
		Akk.	Arabic	(N)WS	Egypt.	IE Hitt./Gk	Hurr.	AA
			<i>fḥr</i>					
<i>mr</i>	son	<i>māru</i>	<i>mar</i> <sup>ʿ</sup>	A <i>māri</i> <sup>ʿ</sup>	<i>mr.t</i>	–	–	<i>mar mara</i> <sup>ʿ</sup>
<i>mrṯ</i>	estate	–	<i>mawraṯ</i>	H <i>mwrš(h)</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>mšš</i>	suckling	<i>mazû</i>	–	HA <i>mšš</i>	–	μύζω	–	<i>maç</i>
<i>mšknt</i>	residence	<i>maškanu maškattu</i>	–	H <i>mškn</i>	<i>mškt</i>	–	–	<i>sikun</i>
<i>mšnqt</i>	wet-nurse	<i>mušēniqtu</i>	–	H <i>mynqt</i> S <i>mynqnyt</i> <sup>ʿ</sup>	<i>snq</i>	–	–	–
<i>mt</i>	husband	<i>mutu</i>	–	H <i>mt</i>	<i>mt</i>	–	–	<i>mut</i>
<i>mrḥt</i>	wife	<i>terḥatu</i>	[OSA <i>trḥ</i> ]	P <i>mrḥ</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>mṯ</i>	infant	–	–	H <i>mšh</i>	<i>ms</i>	–	–	<i>mič</i>
<i>mṯb</i>	residence	<i>mūšābu</i>	OSA <i>muṯb</i>	H <i>mwsb</i> A <i>mwtbn</i>	<i>ʾatba</i>	–	–	–
<i>mṯt</i>	girl	–	–	–	<i>mst</i>	–	–	<i>mič</i>
<i>mzll</i>	shelter	<i>mašallu</i>	<i>mazillu</i>	S <i>mṯlh</i> A <i>mṯll</i>	–	–	–	<i>čal</i>
<i>nʿr</i>	lad	–	–	nʿr	<i>nʿr</i>	–	–	–
<i>nʿrt</i>	maid	–	–	H nʿrh	–	–	–	–
<i>pḡt</i>	girl	–	–	–	<i>pʿpʿ</i>	παῖς <i>peh<sub>2</sub>-u-</i>	–	<i>poʿ</i>
<i>pḡv</i>	boy	–	–	–	<i>pʿpʿ</i>	παῖς <i>peh<sub>2</sub>-u-</i>	–	<i>poʿ</i>
<i>pḥr</i>	family assembly	<i>puḥru</i>	OSA <i>fḥr</i>	H <i>bḥr</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>qbš</i>	clan	–	<i>qabaða</i>	H <i>qibûš</i> E <i>qabša</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>rḥm</i>	girl	–	–	H <i>rḥm</i> S <i>rḥmt</i>	–	–	–	<i>rumai</i>
<i>šbrt</i>	clan domestics	<i>šubru</i>	–	H <i>šbrym</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>šgr</i>	youngster	<i>šeḥru</i>	<i>šaḡṯr</i> OSA <i>šgr</i>	H šʿyr A zʿr	–	–	–	–

Ug. word	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans			non-Semitic equivalent			
		Akk.	Arabic	(N)WS	Egypt.	IE Hitt./Gk	Hurr.	AA
<i>šgrt</i>	girl	<i>šeḫertu</i> <i>šeḫertu</i> <i>šuḫartu</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–
<i>šgrt</i>	youth	<i>šeḫrūtu</i> <i>šeḫru</i>	–	H <i>š'yrh</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>šb</i>	old man	<i>šību</i>	–	H <i>šb</i> AS <i>s'b</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>špḫ</i> <i>tpḫ</i>	clan	–	–	P <i>špḫ</i> H <i>mšpḫh</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>šrš</i>	offspring	<i>šuršu</i>	–	<i>šrš</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>tinṭ</i>	women	<i>tenīšu</i> <i>tēnēštu</i>	<i>ta'nīṭ</i>	A 'nšt'	–	–	–	'inas
<i>tar</i>	avenger	–	<i>ta'r</i> OSA <i>t'r</i>	–	–	–	–	–
<i>tbt</i>	mansion	<i>šubtu</i>	–	H <i>šbt</i>	'atba	–	–	–
<i>ybm</i>	b.-in-law	<i>yabāmum</i>	–	<i>ybm</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>ybmt</i>	s.-in-law	–	–	<i>ybmh</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>yhd</i>	bachelor	<i>wēdu</i>	<i>waḥīd</i>	<i>yḫyd</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>yld</i>	child	<i>ildu</i>	–	H <i>yeled</i>	<i>jd</i>	–	–	<i>walad</i>
<i>yly</i>	kinsman	–	WLY	–	–	–	–	–
<i>ynq</i>	suckling	<i>ēniqu</i>	–	<i>ynq</i>	<i>snq</i>	–	–	<i>niḳ</i>
<i>yrt</i>	heir	<i>yāritu</i>	–	H <i>ywrš</i> AS <i>yrwt</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>ytm</i>	orphan	–	<i>yaṭīm</i>	H <i>ytwm</i> S <i>ytm</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>ytmṭ</i>	orphan	<i>watmum</i>	<i>yaṭīmat</i>	A <i>ytmh</i> <i>ytmṭ'</i>	–	–	–	–

The eighty or so words discussed here can be grouped by the language to which they belong: Semitic, Hamito-Semitic (which simply means that they have good equivalents in Afro-Asiatic) and various language groups. The remainder are outright non-Semitic loanwords.

- Semitic: *adt*, *agrt*, *aḡzt*, *aḫd*, *almn*, *amt*, *aṭt*, *inš*, *inšt*, *ulmn*, 'bd, b'l *aṭt*, *bḫr*, *dr*, *gr*, *ḡzr*, *ḫtk*, *ḫllt*, *ḫtn*, *md'*, *mhr*, *mknt*, *mpḫrt*, *mṭ*, *mšnqt*, *mṭḫt*, *mṭb*, *n'r*,

*n'rt, p̄hr, qbs, šbrt, šgr, šgrt, šb, šph (tph), tintt, tar, tbt, ybm, ybmt, yhd, yly, yr̄t, ytm, ytm̄t* (total 46).

- Hamito-Semitic: *ab, adrt, aḥ, aḥt, umt, 'l, 'm, b'l, b'lt, bkr, bn, bt, bt, ḡlm, ḡlmt, ḥzr, kdd, klt, mr, mšknt, mšnqt, mt, mẓll, rḥm, šrs, yld, ynq* (total 27).
- Common to a range of language groups: *um, btl̄t, mšš* (total 3).
- Non-Semitic (as loans): *ad, ary, ḥsnm, p̄gt, p̄gy, m̄t, m̄t̄* (total 7).

More than half of the vocabulary (46), therefore, has cognates only in Semitic and most of the rest also occur in Semitic. No more than seven words have been borrowed, including four comprising two paired sets of masculine and feminine nouns. In effect, then, the Ugaritic vocabulary within the broad semantic field of the family, its members, its servants and its homes is very largely Semitic and was probably inherited.<sup>149</sup>

In terms of the type of document in which they occur, the distribution is as follows:

- Literary and religious texts only: *ab, ad, adrt, adt, agrt, aḡzt, aḥd, aḥ, aḥt, almn, ary, ulmn, umt, 'l, b'l, b'lt aṭt, bḥr, bkr, btl̄t, dr, ḡlm, ḥtk, ḥzr, ḥllt, ḥtn, kdd, klt, mhr, mknt, mp̄hrt, mr, mrt̄, mšš, mšknt, mšnqt, mtrḥt, mt, m̄t, m̄tb, m̄t̄, mẓll, p̄hr, qbs, rḥm, šbrt, šgrt, šb, šrs, tph, tintt, tar, tbt, ybm, ybmt, yld, yly, ynq, yr̄t, ytm, ytm̄t*. (total 60)
- Economic texts only: *adrt, ḥsnm, md', n'rt, p̄gy*. (total 5)
- Literary and economic texts only: *inšt, 'm, gr, ḡlmt, ḡzr, klt, n'r, p̄gt, šgr, yhd*. (total 10)
- Literary texts and letters only: *inš, šph*. (total 2)
- All genres: *ab, aḥ, amt, aṭt, um, 'bd, b'l, bn, bt* (“daughter”), *bt* (“house”). (total 10)

Evidently, most of these terms only occur in the literary (religious and mythological) texts, whereas only a few are exclusive to the economic texts.<sup>150</sup> This means that our picture of domestic life in Ugarit comes principally from the mythological texts and may not reflect reality.

<sup>149</sup> Surprising equivalents, if correct, are Hittite *atta* and Greek *ἄττα* for Ug. *ad*, “father” (though they may simply be onomatopoeic or baby talk), Greek *βῆταλος* for Ug. *btl̄t*, “girl” and the possible connection between Greek *παῖς* and Ug. *p̄gy* “boy” (and Ug. *p̄gt*, “girl”). However, all these remain very conjectural.

<sup>150</sup> Although some terms such as *aḥ, amt* and *'bd* in the letters are fossilised forms, originally they did have concrete meanings.

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### Abbreviations used

AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , vols. I-III (Wiesbaden 1965-1981).
AEL	E. W. Lane, <i>An Arabic-English Lexicon</i> , vols. 1-8 (London 1863-1893; repr. New York 1955).
CAD	I. J. Gelb <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago 1956-2010).
CDA	J. Black / A. George / N. Postgate (eds.), <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> (Wiesbaden 2000 <sup>2</sup> ).
CSL	R. S. Tomback, <i>A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages</i> (Missoula 1978).
DJBA	M. Sokoloff, <i>A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic</i> (Ramat Gan / Baltimore 2002).
DJPA	M. Sokoloff, <i>Dictionary of the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period</i> (Ramat Gan 1990).
DLE I	L. H. Lesko, <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian</i> , vol. I (Providence 2002 <sup>2</sup> ).



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- DOSA J. C. Biella, *A Dictionary of Old South Arabic. Sabaean Dialect* (Chico 1982).
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