Ugaritic Onomastics (1)

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[After the list of selected Ugaritic personal names, with new meanings and unnoticed syllabic spellings (1) there will be brief discussion of PNN with and without an *-n* (2) and with and without a word-divider (3). The next two topics are the use of *ah-* (4) and a possible alternation of tense in a PN using a verb form (5). At the close come comments on orthographic variants in certain names (6).]

In spite of its shortcomings F. Gröndahl's *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Rome 1967) remains a classic[1]. It is now over twenty years since her dissertation was published and during that period not only have additional texts been discovered but, it need hardly be said, our understanding of Ugaritic personal names has progressed a little, even if not very rapidly. The notes provided here are intended as a further contribution to this difficult topic and many of the proposals set out are no more than suggestions for consideration and evaluation[2].

1. Selected personal names

In the following list of alphabetic names unnoticed syllabic spellings will be indicated and, where available, cognates and possible meanings will be provided[3]:

abdl "Person with a deformity(??)" (4.188 7). Cf. Akk *apišalu*, "(Deformed person)" AHw, 1544a; CAD A/2, 170b: "Literally 'from (the country) Apišal,' probably referring to a deformity".

abršn, m.u. (4.45 8; 4.645 3); *a-bi-ir-ši* PRU 3 58(RS15.Z) 7; *a(?)-bir*x(BUR₅)-*ša-nu* PRU 6 82 1; cf. ib-ri-šu-? ibid 166 int 3; cf. Akk. *burrušu*, "hair growing in patches" (PN) (CAD B, 332); or *aprušu*, "a (medicinal) plant" (AHw, 61a; CAD A/2, 192a). The name may even be analysed as Hurr. *abr*, "lord" + *šn*, "brother" .

abšti, "Where is *t*.?" (4.720 5 (*bn* ...)); *a-bi-iš-ta-e* PRU 3 194(RS11.787) 2; 203(RS16.257+) iv 5; cf. [*a-b*]*i-iš-*[*t*]*a?-i*[36(RS11.718) 5'; this syllabic/alphabetic equivalence is not cited either by Gröndahl (PTU 218.258) or by Kinlaw, Personal Names, (208). The name is Hurrian: *abiš* "where?" + *tae*, m.u.; cf. *awištae* (NPN 208[4]; 260). Contrast Sivan, GAGl, 152 (<*abi* + *yiš*..).

agr, "Hireling" (4.243 33). Cf. Akk *agru*, "hired man, hireling" CAD A/1, 151ff; alternatively, "hirer", Akk. *agīru* ibid 151 (not in PTU); cf. *agršn*, 4.760 2(...*b*[*n*]); [4.753 22] = *agr* + *šn*;

adnnᶜm, "The Lord is pleasant" (4.171 5; [4.141 1]); *a-da-nu-um-mu* (RS16.262) 10; *a-da-nu-um-mi* ibid 9.13; This makes better sense than "The Lord is mother" (PTU 90); similarly for *adnᶜm* (4.141 2 26)[5].

awrt ġrn, "The Lord is life" (4.332 ii 11). Cf. EN^(ri)-*šu-hur-na* PRU 6 109A 5; Nuzi *erwi-šahurna/šuhurni* (PTU 225.248).

aḫġl, "Brother is deliverance" (4.297 5(... *t lrby*)). This name was omitted from the discussion of the Hurrian ending *ġl* in personal names by Dietrich and Loretz[6]. Cf. *iḫġl* (4.130 4).

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3. Note the following abbreviations: Benz, PNPPI: F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Rome 1972); Diakonoff - Starostin, H-UECL: I. M. Diakonoff - S. A. Starostin, *Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language* (Munich 1986); Huehnergard, UVST: J. H. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (Atlanta 1987); Kinlaw, Personal Names: D. F. Kinlaw, *A Study of the Personal Names in the Akkadian Texts from Ugarit* (unpub. thesis 1967); Sivan, GAGl: D. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables in Akkadian Texts of the 15th - 13th C. B. C. from Canaan and Syria* (AOAT 214; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1984). For Arabic I have used Wehr-Cowan, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* and to save space will not provide page references. Any proposals made only on the basis of Arabic are tentative only and will need to be verified. Note that m.u. stands for "meaning unknown".

4. Correct the reference to NPN 201 in PTU 218.

5. Note the entry *'dnᶜm* in R. Lawton, "Israelite Personal Names on Pre-Exilic Hebrew Inscriptions", *Bib* 65 (1984) 330-346, p. 333. Note, too, the shared -*n*- in both languages.

6. M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, *UF* 9 (1977) 341.

aḫtmlk, (2.11 4); most spellings point to the meaning "sister of the king": PRU 3 *a-ḫa-tu₄*-LUGAL 53 (RS15.89) 11; *a-ḫa-ti*-LUGAL ibid 8.18; NIN.LUGAL 182(RS16.146+) 1; 151 (RS16.197) 16; PRU 4 NIN.LUGAL 121(RS17.352) 6. However, in view of the spelling NIN-*mi[l-ki]* in PRU 4 123(RS17.35) 7, Cunchillos prefers "Sister of (the god) Milku"[7].

aktn, (4.357 14(*bn ...*)); *a-kut-te-nu* (PRU 6 50 3.9) or *ak-te-na Syria* 15 (1934) 138:19. Cf. Hurr *akt-* (verb, m.u.; GLH, p. 41); for a different explanation see PTU 216.261.

amtm, "Avatar" (4.363 4(... *tkyg'*)) [4.617 49 (*bn ...*)]); Cf. Hurr. *ammati*, "grandfather, forbear, ancestor", GLH, 47. The function of the final *-m* is not clear.

annḫb, "Hebat is Anani" (4.707 17); cf. *ᶜa-na-ni-ḫe₂-bi* PRU 3 62(RS16.158) 3.[7.10]. The two components are both divine names (cf. GLH, 49; PTU 231f.).

aqht, possibly an elative ("The Most Obedient")[8]; another elative may be *ašbḥ*, "The most praiseworthy" (4.232 21(*bn ...*)) on which cf. PTU 75.191.[9] However, as Fronzaroli has pointed out, *aqtal* forms need not necessarily be elative; they may be simply denotative[10]: "The obedient one", "The one who is praiseworthy"[11].

arnbt, "Doe" (4.412 2 7 (*bn ...*)) cf. *ar-na-ba-ti* PRU 6 82 23; Sivan, GAGl, 197 makes no reference to the PN[12].

aršm, "Young boy"(?) (4.153 2); cf. *arš* NPN 205b; *araš* NPN 204b; the meaning may be explained by Hurro-Urartian *arš-*, "young boy, adolescent"[13]; other explanations have also been put forward[14].

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7. J. L. Cunchillos, *Estudios de epistolografía ugarítica*, (Valencia 1989) 85 and n. 476. However, this leaves the spellings with LUGAL unexplained.

8. De Moor, *BO* 26 (1969) 106; the same explanation is provided, independently, by B. Margalit, "Ugaritic Lexicography IV: The Name AQHT", *RB* 95 (1988) 211-214. On *qht* cf. Baarda, *JSJ* 19 (1988) 215-229. For a different explanation of *aqht* ('*qt* + fem. *-t*: "objection, protest") see K. Aartun, "Herkunft und Sinn des Namens *Aqht* im ugaritischen Material" in H.L.J. Vanstiphout, et alii, ed., *Scripta Signa Vocis. Studies ... J. H. Hospers*, (Groningen 1986) 9-14. B. Margalit, *The Ugaritic Poem of AQHT. Text. Translation. Commentary*, BZAW 182, 1989 6f. Another possibility is Palest. Aram. *qhy*, "to be blunt, dull" on which cf. J. A. Lund, *JBL* 105 (1986) 99-103, with no reference to Ugaritic.

9. For cognates to Ug. *šbḥ* see A. Faber, "Semitic Sibilants in an Afro-Asiatic Context", *JSS* 29 (1984) 189-224, #20 (p. 204).

10. P. A. Fronzaroli, "La classe degli aggettivi denotativi nelle lingue semitiche e nelle lingue berbere" in A. Caquot and D. Cohen edd., *Actes du premier Congres international de Linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique. Paris 16-19 juillet 1969* (The Hague/Paris 1974) 30-39, esp. 32-38. Fronzaroli stresses the dynamic or ergative character of such denotative forms (p. 38).

11. See also Z. Ben-H'ayyim, "[On the Origin of the Form 'af'alu and its Complements]", *Tarbiz* 8 (1936-37) 113-118 [in Hebrew], cited and discussed by S. J. Lieberman, *BO* 43 (1986) 604 n. 144.

12. On the possibility of *-b* in *arnb(t)* as a marking the class of harmful animals in Semitic cf. I. M. Diakonoff, *Afrasian Languages*, Moscow 1988, 57.

13. Discussed (without reference to Ugaritic) by Diakonoff - Starostin, H-UECL, 36 # 71; also likely is a meaning such as "newborn son/daughter" as in the cognate languages (cf. ibid.).

14. PTU 61.101; Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, (Leiden 1965) 291f; cf. Benz, PNPPI, 276.

artyn, m.u. (4.53 4 (... *ary*); 4.715 23). This name was omitted from the discussion of SUM = *ar(i)* in texts from Ugarit[15] probably because none of the syllabic spellings SUM(=*ar(i)*)-*ta-ja* PRU 3 38(RS15.41) 1, *Ar-te-ja* (AT 138 15; 145 12) and *Artaja* (NPN 33) has a final -*n*.

iwrt ġrn (4.607 7); see under *awrt ġrn*.

ilabn, "Ilu is a stone" (4.226 3) should be added to the list of names with *abn* collected by Xella[16].

ilyqn "My god/Ilu has created" (4.607 24). This name can be added to the evidence collected by de Moor on creation in the Ugaritic texts[17].

illm m.u. (4.93 4 24 (*bn* ...)); cf. f/*i-la-la-[a]m*? PRU 6 149 ii 6; *ilulājum*, "a camel", AHw, 1563a, may be cognate.

ilṣy m.u. (4.103 47; [4.607 13]) - if equivalent to *il-ṣi-ya*, PRU 3 71f(RS16.356) 46 (Kinlaw, Personal Names, 65; PTU 108) then the verb is hardly *ᶜlṣ*, "to rejoice" as proposed by Sivan, GAG1 206; PTU, 108.308.

iġyn, "Little brother" (4.69 ii 16(... *bn*)); variant of *aḫyn*, *iḫyn*; cf. *i-ḫi-ja-nu* Ugar 5: 5 25.

irm "(With a) mole" (4.399 5); cf. *ir?-m[u?]* PRU 6: 70 5. See Akk. *erimu*, "mole, mark", CAD E, 294f. (AHw, 241a)[18]; unless to be explained by *irimmu*, "bead?, necklace?" CAD I/J, 177.

irn "(Wild) Goat"(?) (4.281 16 (*bn* ...)); cf. *i-ru-na* PRU 6 55 10'.20'[19].

uṣb (4.93 iv 5(*bn* ...); cf. *uz-zu-b[i?]* PRU 3 198(RS16.359 B) 3.

uštyn (4.219 4(*b[n]* ...): *uš-ta-a-nu* PRU 6 75 r4'; *uš-ta-ya* 99 22.

u(?)lṣy (4.245 ii 5([bn] ...); cf. *ilṣy*.

15. Dietrich-Loretz, *UF* 5 (1973) 82; but cf. UVST, 239.

16. P. Xella, "L'elemento '*bn* nell'onomastica fenicio-punica", *UF* 20 (1988) 357-392. On Ug. *abn* see Del Olmo Lete - Sanmartín, *AuOr* 6 (1988) 260.

17. J. C. de Moor, "El, the Creator", *FSGordon* 1980, 171-187. See PNPPI, 404f.

18. However, according to P. B. Adamson, "Anatomical and Pathological Terms in Akkadian: Part III", *JRAS* 1981, 125-132 (p. 129): "It [i.e. *irimmu* or *erimu*] is not mentioned in birth omens, and therefore may be assumed to have been totally absent or of microscopic size at birth".

19. See Xella - Capomacchia, *OrAnt* 18 (1979) 52; Pardee, *AfO* 33 (1986) 135f; Rendsburg, *JAOS* 107 (1987) 627f. For a possible connection with *arnbt* see note 12.

utly m.u. (4.348 14). Unless a gentilic[20] it may be the equivalent of Akk. *utullu* "herdsman", AHw, 1445b[21].

buly "Oversized"(?) (4.366 8 [*bn...*]); cf. Akk *ba'alu* "to be abnormally large" CAD B, 2; AHw, 93f.

byn m.u.; (4.86 30(*... cnqp[aty]*)); syllabically: *be-ja-nu[* PRU 3 (RS15.37) 15.

btl m.u. (4.609 25); cf. *pu-ta-lu* Ugar 5 7 15; the root may be common Semitic PTL, "to twist" or the name may be explained as a form of Hurrian **fa/ent-*[22].

gg m.u. (4.102 2; [4.17 19; 4.678 5]); the meaning "roof" (PTU, 127; Sivan, GAGl, 217) is unlikely. Apart from the non-Semitic names cited in PTU cf. *gigītu* PNf, CAD G, 67b and *gāgu*, "Halskette" AHw, 273a.1555a[23].

gdl, "Great" (4.240 2 (*bn ...*)); cf. Heb. *gadol*; and the PNN *gdl* in Ezra 2,47; Neh 7,58[24]; the root could also be "to twist" (e.g. Akk. *gidlu*, "string of garlic") - hence "Twister, Cheat"[25].

gdn m.u. (4.75 iv 12 (*bn ...*); 4.96 8 (*... bn umy*); 4.244 17; 4.658 18 (*... bn uss*)); Gröndahl, citing the syllabic spelling *gu-ud-da[-na]* Ugar 5 6 29, connects this name with Sem. GDD/GWD, "fortune"[26]. Another possibility is Akk. *gīdānu*, occurring only as a PN, of unknown meaning (CAD G, 65a) but this is contradicted by the syllabic spelling.

gdš m.u. (4.7 9(bn ...)); if this is cognate with Heb. *gadiš*, "heap", then another explanation is required for Ug. *grdš* in the literary texts (1.14 i 11)[27].

glln "Stone-like" (4.110 19); cf. the Akk. PN *galālānu*, "like a *g.* stone": CAD G,   11a (AHw,   273b, "Pebbly" ["Kieseliger"])[28].

gmz, "(gem)" (4.350 14 (*bn ...*)). Possible cognates are *gamesu*, "(a precious stone)" CAD G, 32b; AHw, 278b. Note the PN *gamiṣum* (CAD G, 34b).

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20. PTU 309; Richardson, *JSS* 23 (1978) 300f.

21. In another connection Illingworth, *Iraq* 50 (1988) 104 cites Nuzi *ut₂-tu-li* and *ut-tu₃-ul-li* (NPN 169).

22. See M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, "Hurritisch **fa/ent-* in ugaritischen Personennamen", *UF* 1 (1969) 211-213 (#4 under *BDL*) though this particular name is not discussed.

23. Huehnergard, *JAOS* 107 (1987) 714, n.2 rejects Sivan's meaning as "unlikely" but provides no alternative proposal. A remote possibility is a connection with Ug. *'gg*, "to sigh" on which cf. Del Olmo Lete - Sanmartín, *AuOr* 6 (1988) 260.

24. Also, *gdl apud* Lawton, *Bib* 65 (1984) 336.

25. Akk. *gudilu*, a class or type of man - CAD G, 119b - does not appear in AHw.

26. Similarly, PNPPI, 294f.

27. De Moor - Spronk, *UF* 14 (1982) 155.

28. For a discussion of Heb. *gll* ("idol"?) see M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel, 1-20* (AB 22; Garden City 1983) 132. Note the place-name URU*ga-li-li-tu-ki-ia* PRU 6, 78:9 cited by Sivan, GAGl, 218 and discussed by Astour, RSP II, p. 273.

gmḥ "Bull"? (4.51 3 ([*bn*] ...)); *gmḥn* (4.55 28 (*bn* ...); 4.214 iii 8 (*bn* ...)); cf. Akk *gumahu, gummaḫu* (Sum. lw) "choice bull" (CAD G, 132; AHw, 298).

gmš, "(Plant-name)" (4.611 18(bn ...); [4.713 2(bn ...)]); cf. *gammiš* (a plant) AHw, 279b; CAD G, 36f.

gpn (4.261 24 (*bn* ...); 4.339 20(...*bn tly*); possibly "humpbacked"[29]. Otherwise, "vine" (so PTU 30. 129; Kinlaw, Personal Names, 54) or to be explained as *gp*, "body" (Heb. *gûp*) + *n*[30]; cf. also *gpny* (4.125 17).

dqry m.u. (4.63 2 33; 4.108 4; 4.116 17); may be cognate with Akk *diqāru*, "(round-bottomed bowl)" cf. CAD D, 157ff.[31]; Phoen *dqrt*, "(deep) copper bowl"[32]. If so, then Ug. *dkrt* (1.4 vi 54) cannot be the same word[33] unless it is a variant spelling[34]. An alternative but less likely cognate is common Semitic *dqr*, "to pierce"[35].

ḏrr, "Offspring" (4.354 8 (*bn* ...)). This is plausible in view of Arab. *ḏurriya* with the same meaning[36].

hyabn, "She is a stone" (4.110 20); the element *abn* has been discussed above[37]. Contrast "Sie ist unser Vater" (PTU 45.87.133.163)[38].

wḏny m.u. (4.763 10); cf. *waš* NPN 275; Aram. PN *wšwnš* KAI 261 1.

ḥgln, "With a certain bodily characteristic" (4.7 6 (*bn* ...)); cf. Akk *ḫuggulu*, describing a characteristic bodily trait, attested only in PNN; CAD Ḫ, 224b (not in AHw)[39].

ḥyn, "Child"(?) (4.51 6 ([*bn*] ...); 4.55 24 (*bn* ...); 4.64 ii 4 (*bn* ...); 4.214 ii 3; 4.232 35; 4.763 2; [4.746 4]); cf. *ḥayanu*, "child", foreign word in Akk. - AHw, 309a; CAD Ḫ, 32b.

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29. See Huehnergard, UVST, 115 for discussion, though this PN is not mentioned.

30. Sivan, GAGl, 22. Kuehne, *UF* 6 (1974) 164f. discusses possible cognates to Ug. *gpn*, suggests the vocalisation **gapinu* and adds that it could "morphologisch von **gapnu* "Rebe gesondert, als Nomen des Bedeutungsfeldes "binden" für sich bestanden haben".

31. So already M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, *Die Keilalphabete* (Münster 1988) 188f., in their discussion of the PN *dqr*, "Topf" (5.22:2).

32. On which cf. Dothan, *IEJ* 35 (1985) 83.88.

33. De Moor, ARTU, 61 "the bowl goddesses" - cf. de Moor - Spronk, CARTU, 134 ("bowl"); de Moor, AOAT 16, 204. Del Olmo Lete, *MLC*, 536, translates "taza" and refers to Akk. *dakirû*, Arab. *zukratu*. According to Wehr-Cowan, DMWA, 379b, the Arabic word means "small (wine)skin". The Akk. term denotes "wood" (CAD, D, 35a) - cf. AHw, 151b: "etwa "Baum"". Most recently Margalit, *OLP* 19 (1988) 65.67.70 has proposed "barrel"; see also *The Ugaritic Poem of Aqht*, 178 n. 42.

34. For discussion (with no reference to the proper names) see Huehnergard, UVST, 60 §44.1

35. So already PTU 125, where the Heb. PN *deqer*, 1 Kgs 4:9 is also cited.

36. Unless to be explained by Hurr. *širura*, m.u., GLH, 137 or *zirir*, NPN 278.

37. See note 16.

38. J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew* (Sheffield 1988) 189 rightly comments that such a meaning is "not very likely".

39. The spelling *ḫe₂(?)-gi-li* in PRU 6 79 8 may be the reflex of a different word (*ʿgl*, "calf", perhaps?).

ḥrzn, various possibilities (4.759 1 (*bn* ...)); *ḥrz'n* (4.63 ii 23 (*bn* ...); 4.69 v 10 (*bn* ...); 4.93 i 5 (*bn* ...); 4.422 39 (*bn* ...); 4.711 3 ([*bn*] ...)); syllabically: DUMU-*ḫa-ra-ṣi-na* Syria 18 (1937) 246:11; if not the equivalent(s) of *ḫaruṣienni*, (so Kinlaw, Personal Names, 56) then perhaps cognate with Arab. *ḫaraza*, "to keep guard". A less likely cognate is Akk. *ḫurzīnum / urzīnu(m) / urzinnu*, "sycamore (?)" (AHw, 1437a).

ḥnzr, "Apple tree"(?) (4.64 ii 2 (*bn* ...); 4.69 i 14 (*bn* ...); 4.98 16 (*bn* ...). This could be the same word as *ḥnzr*, "boar" which occurs in the literary texts (1.5 v 9)[40] but it could also be the Hurrian name *ḫinzur*[41] (cf. ⁱ*Ḫinzuri*, etc., NPN 217a; cf. 61a), perhaps a loanword from Akk. *ḫinzuru* (AHw, 347b; CAD, Ḫ, 170)[42].

ḫpsry m.u. (4.129 2 (*bn* ...)); *ḫpśry* (4.124 2 (*bn* ...)); cognates: (a) Akk *ḫabaṣiranu* "(name of a star)", CAD H, 8; AHw, 303. (b) Hurr *ḫapzuri* "(name of part of the body)", GLH, 93.

ḫrd, "Child of dead mother" (4.230 12). If a PN then "posthumous child" - Akk. *ḫurd/t'u* AHw, 359a; CAD H, 205a - is a more likely meaning than "guard". Yet another possibility is Hittite *ḫardu-*, "descendant"[43].

ḫrs, "Itchy"(?) (4.695 5(*bn*...)); cf. Akk *ḫarāsu* CAD H, 92b; AHw, 323b; Heb. *ḥeres*, "scabies".

ḫrpn, "Premature child" (4.75 IV 6 ([*bn*] ...)) is just as likely as "autumnal child"; in both cases the underlying root would be *ḫrp*, "to be early"[44].

ṭlmyn m.u. (4.277 7). Generally considered a variant of *tlmyn* (2.11 3; 2.12 4; 2.16 1; 4.81 7; 4.226 4; 4.352 8; 4.379 2), explained by Hurr. *talmi-*, "large". However, Akk. *ṭullumu*, "to wrong someone" (AHw, 1394a) or *ṭulīmu* "spleen" (AHw, 1394a)[45] would account for the initial emphatic.

ybᶜ.bᶜl "May Baalu pour out (water)"(?) (4.224 6 (*bn* ...)). The verb may be *nbᶜ* (Heb. *nbᶜ*, "to flow"; Hifil: "to pour out, emit"); it need not necessarily be a by-form of *ypᶜbᶜl* as has been suggested[46].

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40. So PTU 22.28.140; for Ug. *h-nzr* cf. Del Olmo Lete, *MLC*, 552.

41. GLH, 106: "pomme".

42. See De Moor, *AOAT* 16, 185, though he does not refer to the Ug. PN. Note that Akk. *ḫinzūru* may be related to Syriac *hazūra*, "apple" (so CAD Ḫ, 170). It is also a month name and can denote a type of blue-green wool (AHw, 347b).

43. For a possible IE etymology of *ḫardu-* see A. Bernabé, *AuOr* 1 (1983) 40.

44. Cf. the PN *ḥrp*: Lawton, *Bib* 65 (1984) 338.

45. As a loanword; in Ugaritic "spleen" is *ḏḥl* (1.103 + 1.145:13).

46. Dietrich - Loretz - Sanmartín, *UF* 6 (1974) 28.

yḥlm, m.u. (4.118 9); cf. *j]a*(?)-*ḫal-li*(?)-*mi*(?) PRU 3 124(RS15.167+) 6. Evidently a verb form of the root *ḥlm* which perhaps denotes "to be strong", Heb. *ḥlm*[47].

ypᶜmlk, "May Malku/the king shine" (4.609 12); cf. *ya-pa*-LUGAL PRU 3 95-96 (RS16.246) 7.8.16.19.21.

yrt, m.u. (4.138 4); cf. DUMU-*ja-ar-ta-na* PRU 3 195(RS15.09) A 13; *ja-ar-ta-na* PRU 6 71 B ii 4'; cf. ᶠ*iarutte* NPN 219b; *ia-ru-ut-ti* EA 22 ii 30.

kbs, "Launderer" (4.682 9 (*bn...*)); DUMU-*ka-bi-iz/s-zi/si₂* PRU 3 202(RS16.257+) iii 38[48].

kky m.u. (4.321 3); cf. Aram. PN *kky* (HermopPap vii 2), possibly an Egyptian name[49].

kpln, "Jar" (4.412 ii 12 (*bn ...*)); cf. DUG *kap*(?)-*pa-al*(?)-*la-nu* PRU 6 158 5[50].

krb, "Clod"? (4.357 22); cf. *kur-ba-na* PRU 3 136(RS15.141) 4; *ki-ri-bu-ya* PRU 3 199(RS16.257+) i 20"; *k[i]-ri-ba*(?)-*nu* Ugar 5 98 5. These spellings seem to indicate Akk *ki/arbānu, kirbannu, kurbannu,* "clod (of earth)" CAD K, 401-404; AHw, 483f. *K/Girbanu* also occurs as a PN (MAD 3 150). However (a) Ug. *krb* lacks a final *-n*; (b) the Akk. word corresponds to Heb/Ug. *rgb* (cf. AHw, 483).

lgn, "Farm worker" (4.33 23 (*bn ... uškny*); 4.53 7 (*bn ...*); 4.700 8 (*bn*)); Akk. *lagīnu*, "(an agricultural profession)", CAD L, 37b (cf. AHw, 527a).

ldn, "Youngster" (4.222 14; 4.264 8); cf. Akk *lidānu* "young, brood, child of a slave girl", CAD L, 182; cf. AHw, 552a (also as PN).

lzn, "Jester"(?) (4.611 14 (*bn ...*)); cf. *aluzinnu*, "Spaßmacher, Clown", AHw, 39b-40a;[51] and *lezenu*, "to slander ridicule" (possibly *lezenu* is denominative from *aluzinnu* - so AHw). Similarly, perhaps, *lsn* (4.83 11) - note *lu-su*(?)-*nu* PRU 6 86 i 11 - and *ls'n* (4.33 5(*bn ...crm*[y]; 4.51 13(*bn ...crmy*).

lḫr, "Ewe" (4.69 3 20(*bn ...*)) cf. *la-aḫ-ra* Ugar 5 48 18; *laḫru*, "ewe", CAD L, 42ff.[52]; AHw, 528b.

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47. So BDB, p. 321; note the PN *ḥelem*, Zech 6, 14. In his entry for the Phoen. and Punic PN *ḥlm* Benz, PNPPI, 310 cites both the Ug. and the Heb. names but makes no suggestion at all as to meaning. Of course, the verb cannot be "to dream" which is *ḥlm* in Ugaritic.

48. On *kbs* see Ribichini - Xella, *Tessili*, 20-21; Pardee, *AfO* 34 (1987) 404.

49. Cf. Gibson, SSI 2, p. 143.

50. Sivan, GAG1, 236: type of jar.

51. Contrast CAD A/1, 392, discussion section.

52. For other alternatives cf. PTU, 281.

lmn, "Bad omen" (4.571 4 (*bn...*)); although a curious name for a child it may be explained by the *šumma izbu* texts, versions of which have been found in Ugarit[53]. Note Akk. *lumnu*, "ill portent", CAD L, 247-250; AHw, 564a.[54] See below under *šim*.

mdl, "Revealed"? (4.643 26; 4.289 5); cf. Arab. *madila*, "to reveal, disclose". However, note *mušal-* NPN 236.

mḫtn, "Match-maker" or "Marriage relative" (4.214 ii 13): ptc. D of *ḫtn*.

mly, "Maliya" (4.412 3 8 (*bn ...*)) - the name of a deity[55].

mrnn "Puppy-like" (4.75 3 13 (*bt ...*); 4.75 4 7([*b*]*n ...*); 4.278 11); *mu-[r]a(?)-nu* PRU 3 204 (RS16.257+) edge ii 2; cf. Akk *mi/uranu*, "puppy (etc)"[56].

mškn[, "Destitute, commoner" (4.335 28(*bn ...*). More probably related to Akk. *muškenu* with this meaning - CAD M/2, 272-276; AHw, 684a (so Sivan, GAGl, 245f.) than to Heb. *miškan*, "dwelling etc".

nḫḫy m.u. (4.687 2(*bn ...*)); cf. DUMU *ni-ḫe₂-ḫe₂*(?) PRU 3 198(RS16.359B) 1'; DUMU *ni-ḫe₂-ḫe₂* Ugar 5 12 34;[57] also, *ḫeḫ*, *ḫeḫuijā* NPN 215[58].

npl, "Offspring" (4.130 8); Akk *niplu*, "offshoot", AHw, 792a; CAD N/2, 247[59].

nrṯt m.u. (4.41 10); cf. *nu-ri-iš-ti* PRU 3 53(RS15.89) 12[60].

sdy, m.u.(4.55 23 ([*b*]*n ...*)); cf. *sa₃-d[u-j]a(?)-na* PRU 3 36(RS11.718) 10'.

sḫr, "Itinerant" (4.65 8(*bn ...*); 4.422 4([*bn*] *...*); 4.609 7); cf. either *saḫḫiru*, "tramp, vagabond", CAD S, 56; or *sāḫiru* "pedlar", CAD S, 60 (AHw, 1009 for both meanings). The same term occurs in Heb.

53. P. Xella - A. M. G. Capomacchia, "Tre testi ugaritici relativi a presagi di nascite", *OA* 18 (1979) 41-58; D. Pardee, "Ugaritic. The Ugaritic *šumma izbu* Text", *AfO* 33 (1986) 117-147.

54. Also a name for Mars: CAD L, 250.

55. On *mly* cf. I. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien* (AOAT 36; 1981) 214f; R. Lebrun, "Maliya, une divinité anatolienne mal connue", *Studia P.Naster Oblata*, II, *Orientalia Antiqua* (Leuven 1982) 123-130; (also, Watson *NUS* 35 [1986] 12).

56. Cf. *inr/irn*; (contrast PTU 159f: *mr + nn*). The intial *m-* may be explained as a prefix denoting the class of harmful animals as in Cushitic and Chadic, on which cf. I. M. Diakonoff, *Afrasian Languages*, (Moscow 1988) 57.

57. On *ḫe₂* cf. UVST 241.258 n. 191.

58. See also *naḫḫuḫu*, a container, CAD N/1, 136.

59. Also possible: *nappillu*, "caterpillar" AHw, 740a; CAD N/1, 312a; unlikely is Heb. *nepel*, "miscarriage".

60. *rišu/ītum*, "Rötung (eine Hautkrankheit)", AHw, 989b-990a.

sḫrn, "Itinerant" (4.348 6(*bn* ...); 4.631 10.20; [4.650 5]); cf. *sa-an-ḫa-ra-na* PRU 3 48(RS16.166) 14;[61] (PTU 29.184). See under *sḫr*.

slg, m.u. (4.12 13(*b[n]* ...)); cf. *sa₃-lu-uk-ki* PRU 3 194(RS11.787) 4[62].

slḫu m.u. (1.48 19); cf. PN *sulluḫu* CAD S, 369a (AHw, 1056b: "besprengt"); also, *su₂-lu-ḫu-um* UET 5 169 18; *su-lu-ḫu* ibid 427 16. Also possible is *sāliḫu*, a profession which may mean "sprinkler of water" (CAD S, 99).

sly, m.u. (4.617 11(*bn* ...)); cf. *sa₃-al-la-a* PRU 3 119(RS16.204) 16; note the PN *absly* in KAI 267:2[63].

sln, "Old" (4.311 14 (*bn* ...); 4.425 1 (*bn*]...); 4.86 6(... *bn* ʿt *t*[) (unless to be read *gln*)); cf. *si₂-il-a(?)-[na(?)]* PRU 3 102(RS15.138+) 23; Hurr. *sln*, "old"[64]. "Old" may seem a curious name for a child; an alternative is *sullunu*, "luxuriant" (CAD S, 369)[65].

snb, "Foundling" (4.311 3); Akk *sinbu*, "abandoned child", CAD S, 283 (cf. AHw, 1046b).

sny, m.u. (4.412 1 29(*bn* ...)); cf. *si₂-ni-ya* Ugar 5 159 3.

ss, m.u. (4.75 3 9(*bn* ...)); the spellings *sa₃-as-si* PRU 4 230(RS18.01) seal and *su-su* PRU 6 79 18 are mutually exclusive and would also exclude a connection with *sissu*, "wart, protuberance" (CAD S, 328).[66] Another possibility is Heb. *ss*, "moth".

ssg, m.u. (4.63 1 36); cf. *sassukku*, "bird of prey", CAD S, 196a; *zizagge* NPN 278 is cited in PTU 250.

spḫy, "Wastrel" (4.393 14); cf. PN *sappaḫu* "squanderer", CAD S, 165b; AHw, 1027a.

spyy, m.u. (4.754 19 ([*bn*] ...)); cf. *su₂-up-pa* PRU 4 232 (RS17.244) 10; *su₂-up-pi₂* ibid 14.19. Cognates: either *suppû* "to pray" or *suppû* "to abduct" (CAD S, 394-395).

srd, "Olive" (4.12 5 (*bn* ...)). From Akk alone there are several possibilities: *sardu*, "blessing, congratulations" (CAD S, 176); *sāridu*, "donkey driver, caravan leader" (CAD S, 176); *surdu*, "falcon" (CAD S, 407f; so already PTU 186) and *sirdu*, "olive" (CAD S, 311f). The syllabic spelling *si₂-ir-di-ya* PRU 6 38 3 is indicative of the last (*sirdu*).

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61. UVST, 226 quotes the PRU 6 passages.

62. See, perhaps, neo-Assyrian *suluk:anu/sulukannu*, "jar" (CAD S, 371). Terms for vessels are often used as proper names.

63. According to Gibson SSI 2, 120: *sly* means "to weigh"; he cites Arab. "to pay promptly, repay". However, Arab. *salā, saliya* means "to forget", II "to make forget; comfort, console, etc.".

64. Discussed briefly by me in NUS 16 (1978) 9; cf. CAD S, 265f; Benz, PNPPI, 366 comments that *sln* is a "common element in Berber names".

65. Or possibly, cf. Heb. *sillôn*, "thorn, barb" (Ezek 2:6; 28:24), on which cf. S. Garfinkel, VT 37 (1987) 428f.

66. Cf. PTU 186.250; Kinlaw, 100; UVST, 227.

ᶜbdḫgb, "Servant of 'The Guardian'" (4.69 1 23; RIH 77/2A+ 10.12 (... bn irpbn)). This PN was not mentioned in the recent discussion of ḫgb by Ribichini-Xella[67]. Spellings: ARAD (or IR3)-ḫa-gab₂ PRU 3 62(RS16.158) 5; 192(RS12.34+) 4; 124(RS15.167+) 19; 135(RS15.137) 6.13; PRU 6 30 (passim); 38 19; cf. I[R₃]-ḫa-ga[b₂] Ugar 5 58 3.

ᶜlby m.u. (4.277 6); cf. Heb. PN 'abi-ᶜalbon (2 Sam 23:31)[68].

ᶜṭl, "Loafer"? (4.31 8) - Arab. ᶜṭl, "be destitute, idle"[69].

ᶜmyd̠ t̠mr ((6.23 2; RIH 83/21) and ᶜmt̠tmr (1.161 11 (... mlk).25 (... mlk); 3.2 2; 3.5 2 - (both ...bn nqmpᶜ))[70]. Note especially Ḫa-am-mi-iš-ta-mar, ARM 14 87 r1.

ġs "Useless"? (4.321 1 (bn ...)) - Arab. ġuss, "worthless" is a possible cognate; less likely are Akk. ḫassum/ḫassajum "an Haarausfall leidend", AHw, 331a; ḫasu, "a person with a speech defect", CAD Ḫ, 129.

ġsmn, "Blear-eyed"? (4.75 i 4 (... [bn.]xln)); cf. ḫu-ṣa(?)-mi PRU 3 201 (RS16.257+) iii 13; cf. Heb. ᶜṣm II "to close eyes"; Arab ġasw, "to close one's eyes"; and Arab aġmaṣ "blear-eyed" (metathesis)[71].

pzy, "Rejoicing"(?) (2.71 2). see [p]i₂-iz-zi-ya PRU 6 23 17; DUMU-pi₂-zi 135 7; Hurr. pis- "to rejoice" GLH, 202; cf. pizu NPN 246[72].

pzn (4.495 2) - see under pzy.

pzry, "Hidden one"(?) (2.6 2); cf. pa-zi!-ra PRU 3 47(RS16.150) 5; ba-zi-ra-na ibid 50(RS16.277) 3.8; Akk. pazāru, "sich verbergen", AHw, 852; PN Puzzurum AHw, 885b.

pry, "Fruit" (4.350 7(bn ...)). See pa-ri-[ja(?)-n]a PRU 3 156(RS16.253) 4.

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67. Ribichini-Xella, *RSF* 15 (1987) 10; for the meaning of ḫgb cf. G. Del Olmo Lete, *SEL* 3 (1986) 58.

68. Usually corrected to 'abi'el as in 1 Chron 11:32; P. Kyle McCarter, *II Samuel* (Garden City 1984) p. 492, suggests reading 'byᶜl or 'bybᶜl. A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting, Part One, Section A*, (Leiden 1986) does not list ᶜlbwn.

69. However, Dietrich - Loretz, *Die Keilalphabete*, p. 157 prefer to read ᶜzl which they consider to be a spelling of ġzl, "Spinner" (4.617:7) in the short alphabet.

70. Also [1.113 13.22]; Bordreuil - Pardee, *Syria* 61 (1984) 11-14. In addition, cf. Sivan, GAG1, 42, n.1 and the references given there.

71. Note, too, Neo Aramaic ᶜmṣ, "close eyes, be blear-eyed" on which cf. Y. Sabar, *JSS* 27 (1982) 157(#6.3) and 165.

72. The Hurr. word is discussed by Diakonoff - Starostin, H-UECL, 17 (#4); it may even be Semitic in origin (ibid. 100, Addendum 5).

prmn, "Servant" (4.188 2; 4.356 6 (*bn* ...)) in view of Hurr *purame* with the same meaning (GLH, p. 205)[73], which also occurs as a PN in Nuzi (NPN 118). Alternatively, "Cut off" - cognates are Akk. *parāmu*, "to cut off"[74]; Arab. *prm*, "to divide, cut off"; Phoen. *prm* (as PN)[75]. If correct, the allusion is to the cutting of the umbilical cord.

prs, "Weaned child" (4.7156 (*bn* ...)); Akk *pirsu*, "entwöhntes Kind", AHw, 867a.

prṯ, "Flattered"(?) (4.144 2; 4.165 14; 4.417 11(... *mgdly*); 5.9 3 1; 6.11 2). Cf. *pur-š[i(?)]* PRU 4 240(RS17.369B+) 11'; Akk. *parāšu*, "schmeicheln", AHw, 832b.

pṯmn, "The restored one"(?) (4.7 19 (*bn* ...)); cf. *pu-uš-ma-na* PRU 3 123 (RS15.145) 7; Akk *p/bašāmu* "zurückerstatten(?)", AHw, 841b.

pṯpṯ, "Bedbug" (4.347 3); nA *pispisu*[76]; MidHeb *pišpaš*; Syr. *pašpeša*; Arab. *fasfas, fasfūsat*; Jewish PN *pišpaša*[77]. De Moor commented: "The irregular correspondence of Ug. *ṯ*, Hebr. *š*, Aram. *š* and Arab. *s* is no obstacle"[78].

ṣlpn "Dishonest" 4.309 29 (*bn* ...); cf. *ṣullupu*, "dishonest" (CAD Ṣ, 240; AHw, 1076b: D of *ṣalapu* = "Irrtum"), i.e. morally "slant". Alternatively, the name is a reference to the physical aspect of the person (cross-eyed or the like, perhaps).

ṣrtn "One who continually (repeatedly) breaks wind" 4.311 1 (*bn* ...); 4.412 2 34 (*bn* ...); cf. *ṣa-ri-ṭa₂-na* Ugar 7 pl.2 r.6'[79]; cf. Akk. *ṣaratu* AHw, 1085; CAD Ṣ, 107; *ṣāritu* "flatulent", CAD Ṣ, 112b; Arab. *ḍaraṭa*. Contrast PTU 313, where Arab. *ṣiraṭ* "road" is cited.

ṣrt ["With widespread roots" (4.609 22); cf. Akk *ṣurrušu*, "to grow shoots; branches" (CAD Ṣ, 260f) and note *kimti lurappiš ṣalati lupahhir pir'i lušamdil luṣarrišu papallu*, "May I enlarge my family, keep my clan together, extend my progeny so that they branch out widely"[80]. The name is figurative, therefore.

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73. In cognate languages the word means "natural child, son, etc." - cf. Diakonoff - Starostin, H-UECL, 16 (# 2). If the meaning is "servant", then it may be a hypocoristicon for "Servant (of DN)" as suggested in another connection by Illingworth, *Iraq* 50 (1988) 102.

74. For details see Watson, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 154.

75. Benz, PNPPI, 395.

76. As proposed by K. Watanabe, *Die adê-Vereidigung anläßlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons* (Berlin 1987) 204.

77. Note, in addition, the neo-Aramaic quadriradical *pšpš*, "to tear to pieces" etc. (Y. Sabar, *JSS* 27 [1982] 170).

78. De Moor, *BO* 26 (1969) 109. Note the similar Ug. PN *prġt*, "Flea" (4.128 7; 4.317 1) on which cf. PTU 28.174; Benz, PNPPI, 39 (on Phoen. *prš*) and the cognates listed in AHw, 855b-856a under *perš/sa'u(m)*, etc.

79. Cited, without translation in UVST, 214.

80. Borger, Esarh. 26 viii 25 (translation as in CAD S', 261).

qrdmn, "Villain" (4.658 20(*bn* ...)); cf. Ak *qardammu* "wicked, roguish", CAD Q, 129a[81]; AHw, 903a: "Böser, Feind" - von Soden refers to Ug. *qrdm* (with a query) but not to the PN *qrdmn* (which would be *qrdm* + *-n*).

rgln[, "With a strange foot(?)" (4.619 7); cf. *ri-ig]-lu* Ugar 5 137 i 10'; both Sivan and Huehnergard cite the syllabic spelling[82] but neither refers to the PN, a clear isogloss with Heb. *regel*[83].

rmn, "Pomegranate" (4.64 iv 7 (*[bn]* ..)). See PN DUMU *ri-im*(?)-*mu-na* PRU 6 54 9 - cited by Sivan, GAG1, 24.30.264, but with no reference to the alphabetic spelling. It is an isogloss with Hebrew *rimmon* (also in Aram. and Mand.)[84]. Note the Heb. PN *rimmon* (2 Sam 4:2.59). The other Ugaritic word for "pomegranate", *lrmn* (1.23 50), is cognate with Akk *lurmû, lurimtu* (etc.)[85].

rpty, "Disabled person"(?) (4.116 12); relevant, perhaps is *rapd/ṭum*, "ein Körperbehinderter", AHw, 956a[86].

rqn, "Slender" (4.549 1); cf. *ra-ga-na* Syr 15 (1934) 27, perhaps to be explained by *raqqu*, "thin", AHw, 958a.

rt, "Fruitful(?)" (4.69 iii 19 (*bn* ...)). Cf. Heb. (Moabite) PN *rut*, "Probably from /rwV/, cf. Arab. /raww/ "fertility, abundance (of fruits)"[87].

šim, m.u. (4.181 7(... *ilštmᶜy*)); perhaps "evil omen" - Arab. *šum* (root *šʾm*), "evil omen, calamity" - like the Ug. PN *lmn* discussed above.

šdrn, m.u. (4.370 11; [4.748 2]); cf. Arab. *šadara*, "be scattered, dispersed"; *šadra*, "particle". A connection with Hurr. *šidarni-*, "curse", (GLH, 229) is unlikely.

šmm, "Lame"(?) (4.232 9 (*bn* ...)); cf. Akk. *šamāmu*, "etwa 'Laehmen'" (AHw, 1154a).[88] See also *šmmn* (3.9 3.15; 4.43 2; 4.170 11; 4.222 19; 4.261 12(... *bn* ᶜ*dš*); 4.297 4 (... *gnᶜy*); 4.344 19(*bn* ...); 4.727 6;

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81. See also the comments by K. Deller - W. R. Mayer - J. Oelsner, *Or* 58 (1989) 282 (in their review of CAD Q).

82. Sivan, GAG1, 264; UVST, 14.72.176f.305.

83. It is remotely possible that the word is not Semitic; cf. Urartian *qú-re(-e)-le*, "foot" (on which cf. Diakonoff - Starostin, H-UECL, 57 # 141) - with metathesis.

84. BDB, 941.

85. J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *Iraq* 50 (1988) 81, comments: "The forms *rimmōn* and *rummān* provided respectively by Hebrew and Arabic, and of course the writings *lurmû, lurindu* etc., of various Akkadian texts, are further examples of the strange variety of names for the pomegranate found in the literatures".

86. Cf. Watson, *Or* 57 (1988) 237.

87. A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting. Part One. A Comparative Lexicon. Section A. Proper Names* (Leiden 1986) 192 (cf.324 #1480).

88. Contrast Benz, PNPPI, 421: *šmm* "to be troubled" makes little semantic sense for a name. Cf. perhaps Ug. *šmm* II "pierce" in sense of breaking infertility, opening the womb, although this nuance does not seem to be attested.

[4.350 14 (... *bn gmz*)]; cf. *ša-mu-ma-nu* PRU 3 201(RS16.257+) iii 8; 159(RS16.256) 16; *ša-mu-ma-na* ibid 8.14; 148(RS16.178) 3; *ša-mu-ma-na* PRU 6 38 (passim).

tnabn, m.u. (4.232 18 (*bn* ...)); it may include the element *abn*, "stone" (see above under *hyabn*)[89].

tqn, m.u. (4.277 11); in view of *il-taq-nu*[90] Gröndahl opts for "Order" (PTU 31f.34.96.201); cf. Akk. *taqānu*, "geordnet sein" (AHw, 1323b, with other cognates). Another possibility is Akk. *tiqnu*, "ordentliche Ausstattung; Schmuck" (AHw, 1360b). However, the nA name *Tuqunu*[91] may indicate *tuqqunu*, "geordnet, in Lagen gelegt" (AHw, 1372a) or *tug/nû* (also *tuqunu*), "ein Kopfbund(?)" (AHw, 1372a, also occurring as a PN). The name need not be Semitic, of course.

trn, "Bearded" (4.55 11; 4.103 10(*bn* ...)); *tu-ra-ni* PRU 6 38 17 points to Akk. *turānu* (u.H.), "ein Bärtiger"?, AHw, 1372b; less likely is *turunnu*, "ein Hahn", AHw, 1371b.

tškrġ, m.u. (4.391 3; [4.490 2]), clearly Hurr. *taškarḫ-i*, "une essence végétale, peut-être 'bois'", GLH, 259 [92]; cf. AHw, 1336b (under *tasgalḫu, taskarḫu*).

ṯby, "Turn back to me"(?) (4.222 11); *šu-bu-j[a]* PRU 6 72 10'; *ša₂-be-ya* ibid. 7'.

ṯgrb, m.u. (4.611 28(*bn* ...); [4.633 5(*bn* ...)]); cf. *šukrapu* NPN 259 (= *šukr-* + *-apu*).

ṯltḫ, "Arrow" (4.12 3), Akk. *šiltaḫu*, "Pfeil", AHw, 1236b.

ṯrry, "Luscious"(?) (lit. "Well-watered one") (4.85 9 (... *mṣbty*)) - cf. Ug. *ṯrrt* (1.4 iii 30 etc.) with the same meaning[93].

ṯrnq, "(plant-name)" (4.382 26(*bn* ...)); Akk. *šarnagu*, (a plant), AHw, 1187a.

2. It is generally accepted that the same PN can occur with and without a final *-n*[94]. It is also known that these two forms can be used with reference to the same *person*. The most famous example is *ytpn*, found twice as *ytp* (1.18 iv 7.16). Often, in the syllabically written texts, the final syllable (*-nu*[95]*/-na/ni*), which corresponds to alphabetic *-n*, is omitted. Not all such instances can be mistakes. A prime example is the spelling of *the same person's name* which fluctuates between *sinaru* and *sinaranu* in PRU 3

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89. For the element *tn* cf. PTU 260f.

90. PTU 327 refers to *Syria* 15 (1934) 133:14.15.

91. Written LAL!-*nu*(?) in ND 2645(IM 64093) 30 - cf. S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I* (Helsinki 1987) letter 171:30, p. 134, the footnote there and the copy, p. 260.

92. Ugaritica 5, p.459: Hurr. form of *taškarinnu?*

93. Contrast PTU 200 who prefers "to be small" (Akk. *šerru*).

94. See especially Gordon, UT #8.59; cf. PTU 27(#50).51(#84(a)).54(#91).

95. For an explanation of final *-nu* cf. E. Laroche, cited by J. L. Cunchillos, *Estudios de epistolografía ugarítica* (Valencia 1989) 84.

102ff(RS15.109+). In lines 5.22.25.31, etc. it is spelled si_2-na-ru, whereas in lines 21.23, etc. the spelling is si_2-na-ra-nu (and for the oblique case, si_2-na-ra-na in lines 16.19, etc.). The alphabetic spellings are snr (4.432 7(bn ...)) and snrn (4.69 vi 27(bn ...); 4.93 iii 4([bn] ...); 4.154 3; 4.425 14; 4.548 4)[96].

3. The sporadic presence of the word-divider in personal names is useful for analysis but makes it difficult to decide where they should be entered in modern lexica. Some occur only with a word-divider, others occur both with and without. A list of those noticed follows[97]:

abd.bᶜl (4.635 48 (bn ...)); adn.ṣdq (4.129 8); awr.ṯ g̱rn (4.332 ii 11); aḫt.ab (4.147 13); i.ṯ t[(4.358 3; - contrast 4.651 4); urḫ.ln (4.131 2); atn.prln (1.6 6 55); bn.ršp (4.170 9); bᶜl.šlm (4.332 10.19; contrast bᶜlšlm in 4.293 2); gl.bᶜlz (4.356 3); nr.n (4.188 12; contrast nrn in 4.35 1 22 etc.); ᶜbd.ḥmn (4.332 12); ᶜbd.pdr (4.269 7); ᶜbd.ršp (4.635 35); ᶜbd.šḥr (4.98 19); prt.wn (4.46 4); šmᶜ.rgm (4.332 12; contrast šmᶜrgm in 4.128 3; 4.609 10); tb.dn (4.12 7 (bn ...; contrast tbdn 4.354 4 (bn ...); and 4.704 3 (bn ...). Note that the word-divider is used several times in 4.332[98] (lines 10.11.12.12.19?) and may be a peculiarity·of the scribe.

4. Besides bn and bt note the atypical use of aḫ, "brother", as ršpab aḫ ubn, "R. brother of U." in 4.103 5.

5. The verb forms yqtl and qtl alternate in bᶜlyskn (2.17 8; 4.75 3 9) and bᶜlskn (4.214 1 15; 4.377 28). This phenomenon is known to occur in poetry[99] and must also have been generally acceptable.

6. Not discussed here but clearly of significance are the variant spellings of what appear to be identical names, for example, aḫyn, iḫyn and ig̱yn; ḥrzn and ḥrẓn; lzn and lṣn; ᶜmyḏ ṯ mr and ᶜm ṯ tmr[100]. Here, too, can be mentioned the replacement of ᶜbd- , "Servant/Worshipper of", in compound names by abd- as in Phoenician and Punic[101]. These names are abd.bᶜl (4.635 48 [bn ...]); abdḥr (4.33 36 (bn ... snry); [4.40 11 (bn ...)]); abdᶜn (4.12 9 (bn ...); 4.33 31 (bn ... ilštmᶜy); 4.233 5 (bn ...))[102].

96. Also [4.633 9(bn ...) and 4.761 2(bn ...)]. Yet another variant is śnrn (4.619 5). In view of the spelling si_2-in-na-ra-ma (with double n) in PRU 3 102(RS15.138+) 16, a very plausible cognate is Akk. sinnūru, "partial blindness" (CAD S, 285b; AHw, 1048) which quite likely is itself a variant of sinnurbûm with the same meaning. For a discussion of Sinaru/Sinaranu see PRU 3, 101-108 and M. Heltzer, *Goods, Prices and the Organization of Trade in Ugarit* (Wiesbaden 1978) 132-134. See already M. Liverani, *RSO* 38 (1963) 152. Note, in addition, bn kly (4.214 iii 6) who is followed in line 7 by bn klyn.

97. For bnil/bn.il; bncnt/bn.cnt see Dietrich - Loretz - Sanmartín, UF 6 (1974) 22; on ybᶜ.bᶜl/ypᶜbᶜl ibid. 28.

98. RS18.10 + 18.56 = DO 4760 = PRU 5, 84.

99. See, briefly, W. G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques* (Sheffield 1986) 279f; bibliography 282.

100. Not to mention all the names where s alternates with ś, e.g. ḫpsry and ḫpśry.

101. PNPPI, 258.371f. It is possible that abd corresponds to Akk. abdu "(profession, title of official)", CAD A/1, 51a; also AHw, 1541a.

102. See P. Bordreuil, *SEL* 5 (1988) 26, on the variants abdḥmn and yaḏrn in RIH 83/5:20 and RIH 83/10:1 for the PNN ᶜbdḥmn and yᶜḏrn as well as the variant abdᶜn for ᶜbdᶜn. Bordreuil also refers to abdḥr and ᶜbdḥr (ibid. 29 n. 16). He excludes confusion at the graphic level between 'a and ᶜ and concludes (p. 26): "C'est plutôt la conséquence d'une prononciation défectueuse du ᶜayin dont le coup de glotte a disparu ne laissant subsister que la coloration vocalique /a/ de CBD et de CD R", but makes no reference to Benz (see previous note). Note, too, his comments on the alternating endings -y and -yy on some Ugaritic personal names (pp. 27ff). Add aly (4.366 6) and alyy (4.753 3); by (4.181 5) and byy (4.170 25; 4.396 20); ky (4.110 6) and kyy (4.764 5).