

Ugaritic Onomastics (9)

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[After a brief survey of recent studies on Ugaritic names (§1), the previously unnoticed match between an Egyptian name in the Ugaritic texts in syllabic spelling and its alphabetic equivalent is established (§2). Then, several recently published names are discussed, for which some meanings are proposed, and additional syllabic equivalents are identified (§3). A set of names whose components are interchangeable is also presented (§4): this includes a discussion of reversible names (§4.1), reversible names with and without enclitic *-m* (§4.2), Ugaritic names reversed in other Semitic names (§4.3) and the vocalisation of the Ugaritic PN *ilmlk* (§4.4). Finally, a few names occurring only in syllabic spellings are considered (§5), followed by a short overall evaluation (§6).]

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1. Recent Work

Although published nearly half a century ago, F. Gröndahl's *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* still remains a valuable reference work¹, while of course there has been considerable progress in the meantime in terms of analysis and of the discovery of new Ugaritic names in excavated texts². Since the preceding instalment of this series on Ugaritic personal names³, several papers have been published in respect of abbreviated names⁴ and of endings to personal names⁵. Other articles have dealt with aspects of prosopography⁶. In addition, the publication of T. Richter's comprehensive glossary (BGH) in 2012 and especially of his *Vorarbeiten zu einem hurritischen Namenbuch. Erster Teil: Personennamen altbabylonischer Überlieferung vom Mittleren Euphrat und aus dem nördlichen Mesopotamien* (Wiesbaden 2016)⁷ marks a further step forward in the interpretation of Hurrian names.

1. Not forgetting, of course, Kinlaw's study of the syllabic names, which appeared in the same year.

2. See especially RSOu 18 (2012), KTU³ (2013) and DUL³ (2015), all published relatively recently.

3. Watson 2012a; previous studies: Watson 1990a, 1990b, 1993, 1995, 1996, 2002.

4. Van Soldt 2007.

5. See Van Soldt 2010a, 2010b, 2012.

6. E.g. Dijkstra 2006 on the *nqdm*; Hawley, Pardee & Sauvage 2013 on *tab'ilu*; Van Soldt 2010b on landholders and 2015 on names of craftsmen.

7. This reference work reached me only after the article had been accepted for publication.

2. The PN *prḥn*

The Ugaritic name *prḥ* (KTU 4.134:7) was explained as the equivalent of Egyptian *p(3)-(n)-rḥ(.t)*, “He who belongs to the (sic) knowledge”, by Muchiki⁸. In fact, the correct equivalent to the Egyptian name is Ug. *prḥn*, with a final *-n*, which occurs in KTU 2.77:19. Furthermore, it has gone unnoticed that there is an exact syllabic equivalent to this name in a text from Ugarit, i.e. *bur₅-ḥa-nu-wa* (Ugar. 5, 36 [RS 20.182 A (+) B]:10', 13')⁹, which is a letter to Ramses II, via his envoy¹⁰. In a text from Bogazköy (Ḫattuša), a letter from Ramses II to Puduḥepa, the same name is spelled ^m*Pi-ri-iḥ-na-ua*, which Edel translates as “Der zu sehen versteht”¹¹. This means that the syllabic spelling for Ug. *prḥn* can now be identified as *bur₅-ḥa-nu-wa* and that both names correspond to Eg. *p(3)-(n)-rḥ(.t)*. “Burḫanuwa (line 10') is no doubt the well-known Egyptian messenger Pariḫnawa who travelled between the courts of Egypt and Ḫatti at the time of the Silver Treaty in 1258 and the royal marriage between Ramesses II and a Hittite princess in 1245”¹².

Egyptian name	peripheral syllabic spellings	alphabetic spelling (Ug.)
<i>p(3)-(n)-rḥ(.t)</i> “He who belongs to knowledge”	Bog. Akk. ^m <i>pi-ri-iḥ-na-ua</i> Ug. Akk. <i>bur₅-ḥa-nu-wa</i>	<i>prḥn</i>

Two other Egyptian names with syllabic spellings may be Ug. *pnū*¹³ = Eg. *p(3)-(n)-wn*, “He who belongs to the town” – syllabically, [*p*]a-na-i-na (PRU 6, 82 [RS 17.242]:25) and Ug. *pnmn*¹⁴ = Eg. *p(3)-(n-)mn(.w)*, “He who belongs to Min” – syllabically, [*p*]a-nu-me-na (Syria 16 [1935] 188-193 [RS 6.198]:7, 21), but there are several more¹⁵.

3. Alphabetic Personal Names

Additional syllabic spellings¹⁶ and, where possible, new meanings are proposed for the following names, listed here in alphabetic sequence.

ābky, “Cockerel” (KTU 4.723:13) – see perhaps Syr. *’bk’*, “*gallus*” (LS, 2); “cock” (SL, 4a); Aram. *’abbākā*, “the fighter”, whence “large cock” (DTT, 6b)¹⁷.

8. Muchiki 1999, 279. It is considered to be Hurrian by Gröndahl PTU, 245. See now DUL, 669; also Hess 1993, 123-124 §129.

9. For a recent edition of this text see Lackenbacher 1994.

10. Ugar. V, p. 331b; Yoyotte p. 112 n. 3; “le personnage qui apparaît dans [texte] 36 pourrait se confondre avec l’envoyé spécial de Ramsès II”, Nougayrol 1968, 112 n. 3.

11. Edel 1948, 16 §IX “Neue Belege für den Namen ^m*Pi-ri-iḥ-na-ua*”.

12. Singer 1999, 674.

13. KTU 4.350:8 as *bn pni*; see Muchiki 1999, 278.

14. KTU 4.131:7; 4.281:23; see Watson 1990b, 247; 2002, 236; Muchiki 1999, 279; Takács EDE II, 441-442.

15. See Muchiki 1999, 276-287.

16. Generally speaking, previously known spellings are given only in the footnotes. Nicolas Wyatt kindly helped me to track down some elusive references.

17. CS ²*abbVk-*, “kind of bird” (SED II No. 1, with additional cognates and discussion: “Scarcely attested, not fully reliable because of the semantic difference”). On *ābny* (KTU 2.87:1; 4.817:15; 5.33:1; 5.34:5), as possibly Hurrian see RSOu 18, p. 184.

abyy, meaning unknown (KTU 4.103:51), has the spelling ¹⁸*ab-bu-IA-PI* (RS 23.79 ii 15')¹⁸.

agin, meaning unknown (KTU 4.825 i 11), may be reflected in *a-ga-'u* (PRU 6, 86 [RS 19.82] ii 3; PRU 6, 92 [RS 19.173A]:9'). It is probably Hurrian.

aglyn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.159:7; 4.696:7; 4.825 i 10; as *bn aglyn*: 4.63 iii 19; 4.842:18), is reflected in two different spellings: *a-ḫal-i[a-na]* (PRU 3, 162 [RS 16.286]:8); *a-ḫal-ia-nu* (RS 22.399+:10) and *aḫ-li-ia-na* (PRU 3, 35 [RS 15.37]:5)¹⁹.

aḫt.āb, “Aunt” (KTU 4.147:23)²⁰, literally “Sister of the Father”²¹, corresponds to the Assyrian PN *aḫāt-abīša* (SAA I No. 31 rev. 27).

amril, “Ilu saw” (KTU 4.643:15)²², corresponds to Assyrian *amar-ili* (SAA I, 135:2; 136:2; 137:2; 138:2).

amy, meaning unknown (KTU 2.76:3), may be spelled *a-mu-ya* (RS 8.146:31)²³.

artyn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.53:4; 4.715:23)²⁴, is spelled SUM-*ta-PI* (PRU 3, 38 [RS 15.41:]1)²⁵.

atdn, meaning unknown (KTU 2.98:32), syllabically *attašenni*²⁶, is evidently Hurrian²⁷.

idly, “Birthing Woman” (KTU 4.383:7), corresponds to *i-da-li-ya* (PRU 3, 196 [RS 15.42+] ii 13)²⁸. The gloss is based on Aram. *'dlyt'*, “woman who gives birth” (DJBA, 81b), although the meaning is uncertain.

iglyn (KTU 4.631:17): see *aglyn*.

inū, meaning unknown (KTU 4.825 vii 5): see the female name *i-nu-u'-mi* (PRU 3, 60 [RS 16.141]:9, 12). If the equivalence is correct, it would rule out the meaning “Auge des Tages” proposed by Gröndahl (PTU, 32, 55, 144). See also, but less probably, fem. *i-nu-ya* (Ugar. 5, 81 [RS 21.230]:2, 12, 13 etc.).

išb^cl, “Man of Baal” (KTU 4.617 ii 34; 4.623:8; 4.785:18; 4.807 i 23) – this name has now been found on a jar from Khirbet Qeiyafa, as *šb^cl*²⁹.

18. Identified by Van Soldt (2010a, 309) and normalised as 'Abbuyāyi.

19. As noted by Van Soldt 2010a, 318 and n. 107.

20. Note the word-divider; cf. Watson 1990a, 127.

21. Gröndahl (PTU, 92) comments: “«Schwester des Vaters» oder verbal «Du bist ein Bruder des Vaters»? Beide Deutungen können die Ähnlichkeit des Namenträgers mit einem Familienmitglied ausdrücken”.

22. So Gröndahl PTU, 37, 41, 96, 99.

23. The spelling *am-ma-ia* (RS 88.2158:31'), from Lackenbacher RSOu 14, pp. 240, 244-245, cited in DUL, 73, may belong to *šmy*. See DUL, 164, where *am-ma-ya* (PRU 6, 2 [RS 19.80]:32) is cited.

24. Possibly also in KTU 4.214:6; see DUL, 107.

25. So Van Soldt 2010a, 311 n. 34.

26. From a personal communication by F. Malbran-Labat, it is known that this name occurs in the unpublished text RS 94.2363, as someone “qui était au service du roi hittite et qui a été chargé de faire parvenir un nombre important d'ânes et de personnes auprès de *Niqmaddu* (roi d'Ougarit)” (cited in RSOu 18, p. 152).

27. See Richter BGH, 67-68.

28. As noted by Gröndahl PTU, 304, 308, but not included in DUL, 17.

29. See Garfinkel, Golub, Misgav & Ganor 2015.

išdn, “Disciplined” (KTU 4.769:58, as *bn i[š]dn*) may have the spelling *iš-du-na* (PRU 3, 202 [RS 16.257+] iii 10)³⁰. The meaning is based on Akk. *išdu*, “foundation, base; discipline” (CDA, 133a) and is tentative.

iyb^cl, “Where is Baal?” (KTU 4.334:4) has an equivalent in Amorite *A-a-ba-la-ia* (*’Ayya-ba^clāya*), “Wo ist der Herr?”³¹.

iyrh, “Where is Yarih?” (4.147:18), modelled on the preceding name, is a contracted form of **iy-yrh*, with a shared consonant³².

urhy, “(The Deity is) True” (KTU 4.860:13 as *bn urhy*) – syllabically, *ur-ḫi-ia-na* (PRU 3, 119 [RS 16.204]:9); PRU 3, 100 [RS 16.368]:9) – Hurr. *urh-*, “(ge)recht, richtig/wahr sein etc.” (BGH, 497-498)³³.

gš, “Callous” (KTU 4.848:2), may correspond either to Syr. *gš*, “sting” (SL, 1069) or to Syr. *gws*, “wont to gore or butt as a bull” (CSD, 399b), here understood metaphorically.

myd, “Supported” (KTU 4.344:3)³⁴ may be reflected in *i-mi-da-nu* (Ugar. 5, 9 [RS 17.61]:16).

mṭmr “Ammishtamru” (KTU 1.113:13, 22; 1.125:7; 1.161:11, 25; 3.2:2; 3.5:2; 3.32:2; 6.23:2; 6.75:2)³⁵ – an additional unnoticed spelling may be *am-ša-ta-mar* (Ugar. 5, 88 [RS 21.07 A]:16)³⁶.

ntn, “Belonging to Anat”³⁷ (KTU 4.609:30; 4.847:15[?]; 4.37:1 as *bn ntn*), may have the spelling *ú-un-te-nu/na* (PRU 3, 89 [RS 16.135]: 5).

tm, “Olive Tree” (KTU 4.813:19), if it corresponds to Arab. *utm*, “wild olive tree” (DMWA, 590a; AEL, 1949). Alternatively, it may mean “Slow”, based on Arab. *atama*, “to hesitate”; “tarrying, delaying... slow” (AEL, 1949), possibly referring to a late birth.

tty, meaning unknown (KTU 2.104:3; 5.10:1), may have the spelling *uš-ta-PI* (PRU 6, 99 [RS 19.009]:2)³⁸, but see also the incomplete name *aš-ta-[]* (PRU 3, 137 [RS 15.190]:4)³⁹, although this may belong to *āttyn* and *āttyy*. Is *t* cognate with Aram. *št*, “to think, consider” (DNWSI, 895)?

b^cdy, “(The god is) My Support” (KTU 6.4:2) – see the Amorite PNN *Be-di-lu-um* (= Be^cdilum), *Bi-da-nu-um* (= Be^cdānum), etc.⁴⁰

30. Not given in DUL, 113; see Gröndahl PTU, 146, 328.

31. Streck 2000, 355 (although the Ug. PN is not mentioned).

32. On which see Watson 1969.

33. See already Gröndahl PTU, 229.

34. For the spelling with -y- cf. *mydṭmr* (KTU 6.23:2; 6.75:2) for *mṭmr* (KTU 1.161:11, 25 etc.); for the meaning see Gröndahl PTU, 108.

35. For syllabic spellings see DUL, 164.

36. Unless it is from *amšar-tamar*, as proposed by Gröndahl PTU, 205, 217, 260.

37. Cf. Gröndahl PTU, 52, 111.

38. As suggested in RSOu 18, p. 192.

39. Gröndahl PTU, 304, 323.

bbrū, meaning uncertain (KTU 4.393:11), may have the syllabic spelling BA(?)*-bi-ri* (PRU 3, 33 [RS 16.114]:2)⁴¹ and may correspond to (i) Akk. *bibrū*, “a bird” or bird-shaped “rhyton”⁴² or (ii) Akk. *bibi(r)ru(m)*, a disease of the foot (cf. CDA, 44a; CAD B, 219b), neither fully convincing.

bgrt, “Ailing” (KTU 4.93 iv 22 as *bn bgrt*)⁴³ – see Syr. *baggīr*, “*infirmus*” (LS, 58); “ill” (SL, 117) or alternatively, “Mature”, as in Aram. *bgr*, “to mature” (DJBA, 185b). The Punic name *bgrškn*⁴⁴ is too uncertain for comparison.

bri, meaning unknown (KTU 4.103:38, as *bn bri*) – see below on *pri*.

brqd, meaning unknown (KTU 4.377:15) – unfortunately, the syllabic spelling *bur-qū-da* (PRU 4, 183 [RS 17.319]:19) provides no indication of the meaning⁴⁵.

brsn (KTU 4.69 i 10) and *brzn* (KTU 4.66:6; 4.103:17; 4.436:2; 4.623:5, 7; 4.631:22; 4.785:22; 4.807 i 11; 4.834:10), meaning unknown, may have the spelling *ba-ri-sà-na* (Ugar. 5, 161 [RS 17.325]:19)⁴⁶. This would leave BUR-ZA-*nu* (PRU 3, 193 [RS 12.34+]:27 for *prsn* (KTU 4.425:10; as *bn prsn*: 4.69 i 21; 4.374:3; 4.377:6; cf. 4.798:12). However, the spellings may have to be assigned the other way round.

btl, “Young Man” (KTU 4.609:25), is a feasible meaning⁴⁷ if it corresponds to Akk. *batūlu*, *badūlu*, “boy, young man” (CDA, 41b)⁴⁸. Whether or not *btlyn* (KTU 4.72:3) can be explained in the same way is uncertain, especially as it occurs in a broken context.

dmtn, “Of (the parents’) Lineage” (KTU 4.50:11)⁴⁹, may be derived from Ug. *dm*, “blood”; cf. Mari Akk. *damtu*, “blood, lineage” (CDA, 55b)⁵⁰. However, see the following name.

dmyn, “Likeness (of parent)” (KTU 7.61:15) – Aram. *dmy*, “to be similar” (DJBA, 341b); “to resemble” (DTT, 313a) *dmyn*, “form, image” (DJBA, 343a); cf. Bab. *damtu*, “form, shape (?)” (CDA, 55b).

dq, “Child” (KTU 4.63 iii 13): to the cognates previously listed⁵¹ add Aram. *daqqā*, “pupil (lit. child)” (DJBA, 348)⁵².

40. Streck 2000 §2.36 p. 169; §5.7 p. 320 and 321 n. 5; §5.75 p. 351 (“Mein Rückhalt ist ...”). Less likely is “Remote”, based on Aram. *b^cd*, “to remove, place far away” (DJPA, 107).

41. See DUL, 210.

42. See Watson LSU, 162; 2012b, 103.

43. For another proposal see Watson 2002, 233.

44. CIS I 5829:2-3; cf. Benz 1972, 74.

45. Possibly derived from *brq* (“Lightning”)+ *hd* (“the god Haddu”), with syncope of the /h/.

46. As the son of *Yadlinu*, his name is probably also Semitic.

47. See Watson (2013, 29). It is uncertain whether the spelling BU-*ta-lu* (Ugar. 5, 7 [RS 17.36]:15) is relevant.

48. “The term designates an age group, that of adolescent males ... before marriage” (CAD B, 174).

49. For other proposals see DUL, 272.

50. Similarly, Catagnoli 2010, 469: “L’elemento onomastico *da-mu*, frequentissimo a Ebla, certamente va spiegato tramite un’equivalenza lessicale eblaita che si riferisce al “sangue”, uš_x(LAK-672) = *da-mu*. Tuttavia, nei nomi propri “sangue” deve alludere ad un fatto sociale. Una possibilità sarebbe di intenderlo come “stirpe”, l’insieme dei consanguinei.”

51. Watson LSU, 163.

52. The same may apply to *dqn* (see DUL, 275-276).

dwn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.309:5; 4.354:7 as *bn dwn*) – syllabically, *de₄-wa-an-na* (PRU 4, 182 [RS 17.319]:17), which is possibly preferable to *tu-a-nu* (PRU 6, 90 [RS 19.114]:7)⁵³ as a spelling.

gty, meaning unknown (KTU 4.764:6), syllabically: *gi-še* (PRU 3, 59 [RS 16.133]:6; Syria 15 [1934] 133 [RS 4.466+]:30).

gyn, “Pitcher” (KTU 4.44:28; 4.334:7; 4.340:8)⁵⁴ is a possible meaning in view of Syr. *gyn*, *gyn’*, “urceus” (SL, 229); “large jar” (LS, 114).

gzl, “Left-handed” (KTU 2.22:3; 4.63 i 5; 4.75 iii 4; 4.356:14; 4.389:2) – see Syr. *gāzēl*, “*sinistra manu promptior*” (LS, 111); “left-handed” (SL, 225; CSD, 67b), although the syllabic spelling *ḡu-ú-za-li* (PRU 4, 134 [RS 17.116]:35) may not favour this meaning. Comparable Ugaritic names are *ṭbḡl*, “Left-handed” (KTU 4.110:9), and *ṭpḡln* “Left(-handed)” (KTU 4.356:9), syllabically *š[a]p-ḡa-la-na* (PRU 3, 90 [RS 16.147]:6)⁵⁵, corresponding to Hurr. *šaphali*, “left” (Richter BGH, 352–353)⁵⁶.

glpn, “With (unusual?) foreskin” (KTU 4.849:2), is a possible meaning if it is cognate with Modern Arab. *ḡulfa*, “foreskin, prepuce” (DMWA, 681b), etc., see SED I No. 108.

glš, “Uncouth” (KTU 4.52:9 as *bn glš*), was explained by Gröndahl (PTU, 141) from Arab. *ḡaluša*, but in fact the correct Arabic root is *ḡaluṣa* and *ḡalaṣa*, “to be or become thick, gross, coarse, crude etc.” (DMWA, 681).

gyrn, “Eager” (KTU 4.277:3)⁵⁷ – Arab. *ḡairan*, “(very) jealous; zealous, fervid, eager” (DMWA, 690b; cf. AEL, 2316).

hrkn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.315:3 as *b[n] ḡrk[n]*): besides DUMU *ḡa-ra-ka₄-na* (PRU 3, 200 [RS 16.257+] ii 5)⁵⁸ see also *hur-ga-na/ni* (PRU 3, 203 [RS 16.257+] iv 29, 30; PRU 3, 137-138 [RS 16.86]:8'; PRU 3, 92 [RS 16.189]:6; PRU 3, 171 [RS 16.173]:10; PRU 4, 234 [RS 17.112]:17) although these could belong to the PN *ḡrgn*, which occurs about ten times⁵⁹.

ḡšbn, “Craftsman” (KTU 4.309:7), as *bn ḡšbn*, “Son of a Craftsman” – see Aram. *ḡšbn*, “craftsman” (Tal 2000 I, 298b).

ḡdmṭṭb is probably a metathetic form of **ḡdmṭṭb*, “Teshub is shining” (KTU 4.827:8), a Hurrian name, which has the spellings *ḡi-iš-mi-^dIM* (Ugar. 5, 27 [RS 20.22]:6) and *ḡe-eš-mi-^dIM* (Ugar. 5, 28 [RS 20.184]:1)⁶⁰.

53. Cited in Watson LSU, 163; it may be the Anatolian (Luwian) word *tewa* (Gröndahl PTU, 286, 295).

54. For other vessels as personal names see Watson 2012b, 102-106.

55. DUL, 911; Watson 1996, 105; Dietrich & Loretz 1967, 537; Gröndahl PTU, 130.

56. See the discussion in Watson 2015, 331.

57. Unless it is an allograph of *ḡyrn* (see DUL, 324, 412).

58. Cited in DUL, 363.

59. See DUL, 321 with yet another set of syllabic spellings.

60. As noted in RSOu 18, p. 33 and n. 24, although, as they mention, if correct, *ṭṭb* could be a new element in Ugaritic onomastics; see previously Gröndahl PTU 211, 232, 264. On Hurr. *ḡe/išm-* see Richter BGH, 157-158.

hlyn, “(The god) is my Maternal Uncle”, (KTU 4.64 ii 9; 4.692:10; 4.843:42), syllabically *ha-li-ia-na* (PRU 3, 139 [RS 16.131]:20), as in the Amorite PNN *hāliya* and *hālīhaddu*, “Mein Mutterbruder ist Haddu”⁶¹. Alternatively, but less probably, “Sweet One”, if it is cognate with Aram. *hly*, “to be sweet” (DJBA, 462b)⁶². Perhaps it is the masc. counterpart of the fem. name *ha-li-ia-tim* from Mari⁶³.

hnq(n), “Quarrelsome” (KTU 4.98:20; 4.232:25; 4.233:6), has the spelling DUMU *hi-na-qa-na* (RS [Varia 3]:1) and (PRU 4, 183 [RS 17.319]:16). This points to Arab. *hināq*, *hināqa*, “quarrel, fight, row” (DMWA, 264a) as a cognate⁶⁴.

hswn, “Garlic, Onion” (KTU 4.44:26; 4.232:32): this word, borrowed from Hittite by Akkadian, and also a loanword in Ugaritic, is ultimately Luwian, as argued by Simon⁶⁵.

hsyn, meaning unknown, perhaps “Strong One”, in the TN *pdr hsyn* (KTU 4.19:2) may have a syllabic equivalent in *ha-zi-ia* (PRU 3, 169 [RS 16.145]:21).

hzm[], “Mutilated” (KTU 4.825 ii 7) – syllabically *hu-za-mi* (PRU 3, 202 [RS 16.257+] iii 13, 14) – seems to correspond to Akk. *huzzumu*, “mutilated” (CDA, 123b)⁶⁶.

kbdn, “Moody” (KTU 4.841:11; 4.860:34), lit. “liverish”; cf. Syr. *kabdān*, “*jecore patiens*” (LS, 315; “suffering in the liver” (SL, 595)⁶⁷. Alternatively, “Honourable”, based on the Common Semitic root *kbd*⁶⁸.

kdy, “Worthy” (KTU 4.743:15), may be explained by Mish. Heb. *kdyy*, “worthy” (DJPA, 251b), but this remains uncertain.

klbr, meaning unknown (KTU 4.391:2) has an equivalent in *ki-il-pi-ib-ri* (PRU 3, 132 [RS 15.127]:17; PRU 6, 27 [RS 17.01]:10, 18)⁶⁹.

krby, “Blessed” (KTU 4.848:21 as *bn krby*), has the syllabic spelling DUMU *ki-ri-bu-ya* (PRU 3, 199 [RS 16.257+] A 20)⁷⁰.

61. Streck 2000, §2.14 A n. 1, p. 158; §2.118 A n. 1, p. 219; §3.12, p. 264; §3.18, p. 270; §3.21, p. 274; §3.40, p. 281; §5.17, p. 325; §575, p. 351.

62. For other suggestions see previously Watson 2012a, 332.

63. On this name see Charpin 1993, 188-189.

64. See also the Arab. verb *hnq*, III: “to quarrel, dispute, have a fight” (DMWA, 263b). The basic meaning in Semitic is “to choke, strangle” or the like, e.g. Akk. *hanāqu*, “to press, throttle” (CDA, 105b, etc.), but here it has the less literal meaning “to be angry” (see CDA, 105b: “NB stat. ‘is angry’”).

65. Simon 2015; see previously LSU, 87, 121.

66. The syllabic name was explained by Gröndahl PTU, 29, 140, but with no reference to the alphabetic name. Alternatively, it could be Hurrian; cf. Richter BGH, 158a.

67. See generally SED I, 126-127, No. 141; Watson 2015, 335.

68. See Benz 1993, 330.

69. See already Gröndahl PTU, 211, 225, 236; Dietrich & Loretz 1967, 535, 537-538.

70. Cf. Gröndahl PTU, 151, but with no reference to *krby*.

krny, meaning unknown (KTU 4.335:14; 4.611 ii 25)⁷¹ – to the syllabic spellings already quoted (DUL, 452) add DUMU *ku-u[r]-ni-i[a]* (PRU 3, 199 [RS 16.257+] A 6').

ktp, “Shoulder” (KTU 4.841:61, 75 as *bn ktp*)⁷² – syllabically: *ka-tù-pu* (PRU 3, 200 [RS 16.257+] ii 16).

ktt, “Scab” (KTU 4.382:48)⁷³, may have the spelling *kà-ti-tù* (PRU 4, 182 [RS 17.299]:2, 3, [8]), so a possible meaning is “scab”, based on Heb, *kēṭitā*, “scab, pad” (DTT, 681b).

kwn, “Able” (KTU 4.307:10; 4.692:7, 12 as *bn kwn*), based on Syr. *kwn*, “to be able” (SL, 609a): additional spellings are *ku-wa-nu* (Ugar. 5, 81 [RS 21.230]:43) and *ku-wa-na* (Ugar. 5, 64 [RS 21.64]:5')⁷⁴.

kzy, “Groom” (KTU 4.863:6), has the spelling *ku-za-ia'* (PRU 3, 47 [RS 16.150]:4)⁷⁵.

lbk, “Supple” (KTU 4.825:14) – Akk. *labāku*, “to be(come) soft, to be supple” (CDA, 173b), seems more apposite, perhaps, than either Arab. *labaka*, “to mix, mingle, confuse etc.” (DMWA, 856b) or Aram. *l'bak*, “to hold fast” (DTT, 689a)⁷⁶.

ldn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.222:14; 4.264:8; 4.839:6): the syllabic equivalent is *lu²-da²-na²* (RSOu 7, 2 [RS 34.169]:21')⁷⁷.

mkly, “Perfect One” (KTU 4.299:4), as in Syr. *mkly*, “*perfectus*” (LS, 326); “perfect” (SL, 759).

ml'n, “Rheumy-eyed” (KTU 4.63 iii 35; 4.785:13)⁷⁸ – Syr. *malāc*, “*cujus oculi gramiis obscurati sunt*” (LS, 393a); “one with rheum in the eyes” (SL, 774).⁷⁹

mlkytn, “Milku has Given” (KTU 2.15:2; 4.264:2), clearly reflected in *mil-ki-SUM* DUMU (RS 11.856:1)⁸⁰, corresponds to the commonly occurring Phoen. and Punic name *mlkytn* (Benz 1972, 139) with the same meaning, which is reversed in Phoen. and Punic *ytnmlk* (Benz 1972, 130), as discussed below.

mlš, meaning unknown (KTU 4.422 i 6; 4.624:7; 4.843:25; possibly also 4.412 iii 8; 4.526:4; 4.590:3) may be Anatolian if it corresponds to *mu-lu-zi* (PRU 3, 138 [RS 16.131]:4)⁸¹ and the vocalisation seems to rule out “Smooth(-skinned)”, based on Arab. *malīš*, *malīs*, “smooth, sleek slippery” (DMWA, 921)⁸².

71. See Syr. *kwryn*, “*fervidus*” (LS, 323a), “hot” (SL, 614a).

72. On Ug. *ktp* see Watson 2015, 332 (§2.3).

73. See Watson LSU, 170.

74. Gröndahl PTU, 280, 286.

75. The alphabetic name was overlooked by Van Soldt 2010a, 312 n. 41. See also Hess 1993, 97 §96.

76. However, see the Amarna PN *lu-pa-ak-ku* (EA 170:15), which is Anatolian, possibly Hittite; cf. Hess 1993, 104-105.

77. Identified in RSOu 18, p. 54. This rules out the suggestion made in Watson 2012a, 334.

78. Correct the entry “*ml?n*” to “*ml'n*” in DUL II, 541.

79. Possibly preferable to “Verkundet hat ‘Anu’”, as proposed by Gröndahl (PTU, 39), from *MLL*, “to give a sign, to announce” (cf. *ibid.*, 37, 65, 110, 158).

80. See DUL, 551, with further references.

81. Syllabic spelling of the alphabetic name previously unnoticed.

mmy, meaning unknown (KTU 4.69 vi 18; 4.715:16; 4.807:26; 4.819:9), is reflected in two different forms of the name: *ma-mi-ya* (RSOu 7, 3 [RS 34.0136] rev. 15) and *ma-ma-i* (RS 23.22+ v 16)⁸³.

mqwt, “Quarrelsome” (KTU 4.229:2) – this is a possibility, no more, if the underlying root is cognate with Aram. *qwt*, “to quarrel” (DJPA, 478b), *qtt*, “to vex, annoy” (DTT, 1347a). See also Heb. *qwt*, “to feel disgust” (HALOT, 1083). An alternative may be “Wanderer” – cf. Syr. *qwt*, “*circumvagatus est*” (LS, 651), “to wander about” (SL, 1326b) – once again, simply a proposal⁸⁴. See the PN *qty* discussed below.

mšhn/t, “With a Large Forehead” (KTU 4.340:22) – cf. Aram. *mšh*, “forehead” (root *šhh* “to glisten”) (DTT, 824).

mšrn, “Trustworthy” (KTU 4.30:13; 4.342:2; 4.425:13; 4.615:3; 4.753:4): the syllabic spellings *me²-sa-ra-na* (PRU 6,145 [RS 19.08]:2), *me-sa-ra-ni* (PRU 6,146 [RS 19.077]:3) *me-sa-r[a]²-nu* and *mé-ša-r[a-nu]* (Ugar. 5, 161 [RS 17.325]:18)⁸⁵ – indicate a meaning cognate with Syr. *mšrn*, “constant, trustworthy” (CSD, 309); cf. Akk. *mīšaru*, “justice” (CDA, 212a) and Heb. *mēšārīm*, “order” (HALOT, 578b).

nbq, “Medlar” (KTU 4.93 iii 3)⁸⁶ – Syr. *nbq*, “*nespila*” (LS, 412); “medlar” (SL, 885); Arab. *nabiq*, “the fruit of the lote-tree; a drupe” (AEL, 3027); Modern Arab. *nabq*, *nibq*, *nabaq*, *nabiq*, “a Christ’s thorn (*Zizyphus spinatus*); lotus fruit; lotus blossom” (DMWA, 940a).

nbrn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.825 vii 3), may have the spelling *na-bu-ru-mi* (PRU 3, 200 [RS 16.257+] ii 51), but this is uncertain.

ndrg, meaning unknown (KTU 1.81:18), is reflected in DUMU *ni-da-ra-gi* (PRU 3, 199 [RS 16.257+] i 11)⁸⁷.

nklb, “Nikkal (and) Inbu” (as *bn nklb*: KTU 4.93 iv 20; 4.122:19; 4.260:9; 4.432 (i) 16; 4.708:4; 4.834:6; 4.839:3), probably an abbreviated form of *nkl-w-ib*, as in KTU 1.24:1⁸⁸.

nmlh, meaning unknown (KTU 4.841:71 as *bn nmlh*), has the spelling *na-ma-li-ḥi* (PRU 3, 45-46 [RS 16.140]:4).

nz^cn, “Foreigner” (KTU 4.588:4; as *bn nz^cn*: KTU 4.335:16)⁸⁹, may correspond to *na-ze* (RA 38, 1941, 10-11 [RS 11.787] iv 10).

82. Alternatively, “Born Prematurely”; cf. Arab. *’mlš*, “she brought forth her foetus or offspring prematurely” (AEL, 2736). Gröndahl (PTU, 28-29, 155) prefers “Sohn des Dolmetschers”, from the root *LYŠ*.

83. See Van Soldt 2010a, 313 and n. 65 and his discussion p. 314.

84. Instead, Gröndahl (PTU, 178) refers to Arab. *muqawaḍa* (from *qwd*), “Austausch”. No other suggestions have been made.

85. “Possibly compare also the name *Mesarānu* ... which has no Ugaritic parallel other than *mšrn*” (Van Soldt 1991, 318 n. 128). For the Mari name *me-šar* (Mīšar), “Giustizia!”, see Catagnoli 2010, 462.

86. See previously Watson 2003, 246.

87. Syllabic spelling of the alphabetic name previously unnoticed; cf. Gröndahl PTU, 34, 306.

88. See Gröndahl PTU, 16, 100, 166-167 (with further references) and 245.

89. For the meaning, based on Arab. *nazīr*, “stranger” (DMWA, 955a), see Gröndahl PTU, 286.

pdgy, meaning unknown (KTU 4.634:17 as *bn pdgy*)⁹⁰, may be reflected in DUMU *pu-du-ḫi-ši* (PRU 3, 195 [RS 15.09] A 8)⁹¹.

pdm, “Gauche” (KTU 4.748:3; 4.643:13): while this name may be Hurrian⁹², it could equally be cognate with Arab. *fadm*, “clumsy in speech, sluggish, etc.” (DMWA, 700; AEL, 2352-2353).

pdn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.393:3; 4.649:8; as *bn pdn* KTU 4.75 iv 14), may have the spelling *pa-t[u]-nu* (Ugar. 5, 54 [RS 20.23]:20).

plkn, “Broad” (KTU 4.825 ii 12) – cf. Akk. *palkû*, “wide, broad” (CDA, 262a), unless of course it is a derivative of Ug. *plk*, “spindle”, meaning “spinner”, as a profession.

plšn, “Inquisitive” (KTU 4.63 iii 34) – DUMU-*pa-la-ši* (PRU 3, 195 [RS 15.09] A 11), based on Syr. *plš*, “*perquisivit*” (LS, 577); “to inquire carefully into” (SL, 1203b)⁹³.

pqr, “Wanton” (KTU 4.147:2; 4.224:7; 4.286:6; 4.841:7 as *bn pqr*), spelled *pa-aq-ru-na* (PRU 3, 199 [RS 16.257+] ii 39, 40; *pa-ag-[]* (PRU 3, 147 [RS 16.171]:5), may be cognate with Aram. *pqr*, “to be irreverent, act promiscuously” (DJBA, 926-927).

prū, meaning unknown (KTU 4. 297:2; 4.350:7 as *bn pri*)⁹⁴ – *pi-ra-e* (PRU 4, 168 [RS 17.337]:4, 10, 14).

psś, meaning unknown (KTU 4.371:12 as *bn psś*), is perhaps the masc. form of fem. *pí-ši-ša-ya* (Ugar. 5, 54 [RS 20.23]:19)⁹⁵.

ptry, “First Child” (KTU 4.724:10; 4.755:4 as *bn ptry*) – ^f*pa-ṭar-ra-PI* (RS 24.299:4')⁹⁶ – cf. Heb. *peṭer*, **piṭrāh*, “first-born” (HALOT, 925) and Aram. *ptr*, “first child” (DJPA, 429a).

pzy, “Glutton” (KTU 2.71:2)⁹⁷ – Syr. *pzy*, “*gulosus*” (LS, 561); “greedy” (SL, 1177b).

qbr, “Burier” (KTU 4.680:15), seems the only possible meaning for this new name reflecting a profession. The verb *qbr*, “to bury”, is Common Semitic. Derivatives are Akk. *qēbiru*, “burier” (CDA, 287b); Syr. *qwbr*, “a grave-digger, sexton” (CSD, 487a); Aram. **qābôrā'āh*, “gravedigger” (DJBA, 978a) etc.

qlpy, “Scabby” (KTU 4.858:12), syllabically *q[i]l-pi* (Ugar. 5, 7 [RS 17.36]:15) – Syr. *qlpy*, *qlpyt'*, “tetter” (SL, 1374b); “scab, scurf” (CSD, 508); “*scabies*, *exanthema*” (LS, 670); Aram. *qlpy*, “scab” (DJPA, 495b).

90. See also KTU 1.91:18.

91. On which cf. Gröndahl PTU, 34, 246.

92. See Dietrich & Loretz 1969, 212-213.

93. For other proposals see Gröndahl PTU, 34, 172; DUL, 662.

94. Previously *pa-ri-[ia²-n]a* (PRU 3, 156 [RS 16.253]:4); see DUL, 667.

95. See Gröndahl PTU, 56, 305.

96. Identified by Van Soldt (2010a, 312 and n. 47), who vocalises as Paṭarrāyu.

97. Unless Hurrian: see Watson 1990a, 123; similarly, perhaps, *bn. pṣ[n]* (KTU 4.495:2), which is not listed in DUL, 679.

qṭy, “Wanderer” (KTU 4.37:4; 4.103:19; 4.236:2; 4.787:9) – Syr. *qṭy*, “*circumvagatus est*” (LS, 657); wandering about” (SL, 1350a)⁹⁸.

rḡdn, “Flagon” (KTU 3.10:2; 3.31:2) – Aram. *rḡwd*, “jug, barrel” (DJBA, 1093-1094); Arab. *rāqūd*, “large jug” (DMWA, 353b)⁹⁹.

snb, meaning unknown (KTU 4.311:3) – an overlooked spelling is *ZA-ni-bi-[ia/na²]* (Ugar. 5, 86 [RS 20.176]:23) which, if the correct equivalent, may exclude some of the meanings previously proposed¹⁰⁰.

spyy, “Fearful” (KTU 4.754:19 as [*bn*] *spyy*), may correspond to *sí-pa-ya* (Ugar. 5, 27 [RS 20.22]:5, 6) or *sí-pá-ya* (*ibid.* lines 19, 14, 21, 27, 29, 32)¹⁰¹. It looks like a gentilic, but no place name *spy* is known. It may perhaps be explained by Aram. *spy*, “to be afraid” (DJBA, 825).

sst, “Medlar” (KTU 4.63 i 14): the syllabic spelling *sà-as-sá-at* (PRU 4, 239 [RS 17.232]:15), may point to Syr. *sasāh*, *sastā*, “*mespilus*” (LS, 487), “medlar” (SL, 1025b).

šbt, “Ornament” (KTU 4.858:13) – Syr. *šbt*, “*ornamentum*” (LS, 620); “an ornament, decoration, embellishment” (CSD, 473). For a spelling see perhaps the incomplete name DUMU *zi-b[i-...]* (Ugar. 5, 12 [RS 17.150+17.34]:28).

šhrn, “Blushing” or “Blushes Easily” (KTU 4.628 ii 4), is based on Syr. *šhr*, “*erubuit*” (LS, 626); “to blush, be ashamed” (SL, 1284a)¹⁰².

šlhn, “Affluent” (KTU 4.858:8) – Heb. *šlh*, “to succeed, be successful” (HALOT, 1025-1027); Aram. *šlh*, “to prosper” (DJBA, 964b); “to be successful, prosperous etc.” (DJPA, 465a); Syr. *etpa*. “*progressus est*” (LS, 629). See the Punic name *šlh*, “Prosperous”¹⁰³, an element also found in various compound names¹⁰⁴.

šmy, “Watcher” (KTU 4.617 i 4, ii 7, as *bn šmy*), if cognate with Syr. *šmy*, “to observe” (SL, 1293a).

ššb, “Suckling (?)” (KTU 4.611 ii 1), is a remote possibility if it is a form of Akk. *šizbu*, *šizibu*, *zizibu*, “milk” and (*ša*) *šizbi*, “suckling” (CAD Š/3, 148-152; CDA, 378b), but it remains quite uncertain.

šḡl, “Land Worker” (KTU 4.825 vii 6) – this name has never been discussed, but could be composed of *šd*, “land” (DUL, 797-798) and *-ḡl*, the Ug. equivalent of the Hurrian professional *-uḫlu*¹⁰⁵; cf. Ug. *šdy*, “land labourer” (DUL, 799).

98. It has been compared with Akk. *qaṭū*, “to approach” (CDA Q, 201a; cf. AHW, 912b); however, this verb is not a loan from Aramaic according to Abraham & Sokoloff 2007, 46-47 #183.

99. For other PNN named after containers see Watson 2012b, 102-106.

100. See Muchiki 1999, 277; Watson 2002, 235; 2004, 124; 2012a, 337; DUL, 752.

101. Possibly preferable to the spellings proposed in Watson 1990a, 122.

102. For a less nuanced version see Gröndahl PTU, 188.

103. References in Benz 1972, 177.

104. See Benz 1972, 400, with discussion, but no reference to Ugaritic.

105. See Watson 2010, with discussion.

šdrn, meaning unknown¹⁰⁶ (KTU 4.370:11; 4.748:2), may have its syllabic equivalent in *ZI-ZA-ru-wa* (PRU 4, 284 [RS 19.68]:33-34)¹⁰⁷.

škn, “(With) Drooping Eyelids” (KTU 4.839:8; 4.860:37) – cf. Aram. *škn*, “a person with drooping eyelids” (DJBA, 1145b, < *škn* “eyelid”); Aram. *š^ekanyāh*, “one having abnormally long eye-brows” (DTT, 1575b) < *š^ekînā*, “eyelid” (DTT, 1573b). However, the spelling *šu-ka-na-na* (PRU 3, 155-156 [RS 16.243]:5)¹⁰⁸ seems to indicate “Dove”: cf. Akk. *sukannīnu(m)*, *šukannunu*, NB *sikinūnu*, “dove, pigeon” (CDA, 326b; AHW, 1055a); “turtledove” (CAD S, 353-354).

šml, meaning unknown (KTU 4.66:5; 4.412 ii 6 as *bn šml*), syllabic spelling *šu-mu-li* (PRU 3, 199 [RS 16.257+] A 22’)¹⁰⁹.

šmym, “Name of Yammu” (KTU 4.714:5), can be compared with the Amorite names *su-mu-ia-ma-am* and *su-mi-ia-ma-am*, “Descendant of Yam(a)m”¹¹⁰.

šrbx, “Royal” (?) (KTU 4.739:6 as *bn šrbx*) – may have the spellings *ša-rup-ši* (PRU 3, 195 [RS 15.09+] B i 17 and *ša-ru-up-ši* (PRU 3, 58 [RS [Varia 8] “15.Z”]:3), indicative of the Hurr. PN *šarrupše* (Richter BGH, 357b).

šrny, meaning unknown (KTU 4.658:41 as *bn šrny*), has the spelling *šu-ru-na-PI* (RS 25.132 i 8’)¹¹¹.

ššy, meaning unknown¹¹² (KTU 4.313:7), corresponds to *ša-ša-na* (PRU 3, 202 [RS 16.257+] iii 52)¹¹³ and like *ttv* (KTU 4.63 iv 5; 4.389:12 as *bn ttv*) and possibly *tdvy* (4.755:6 as *bn tdyv*) is Hurrian.

štk, meaning unknown (KTU 4.232:16 as *bn štk*), has the spelling *šu-ták-na* (PRU 3, 102 [RS 15.109+16.296]:22), so far unnoticed.

tān, “Sticky-eyed (?)” (KTU 4.232 i 4; 4.368:20; 4.692:3)¹¹⁴: the overlooked syllabic spelling *tu-a-ni* (PRU 6, 90 [RS 19.114]:7) may perhaps indicate a passive form of a verb cognate with Akk. *tē’ū*, “covered, gummed up (of eyes)” (CDA, 405b).

tūzn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.727:12), may have the syllabic spelling *ta-ú-zi* (PRU 3, 37 [RS 15.81]:12, 14), which would suggest that the final *-n* in *tūzn* is not a radical, so ruling out the meaning “She gave ear”, based on *ūzn*, “ear”¹¹⁵.

106. See Watson LSU, 180.

107. Cf. the unexplained Emar PN *zuzaria*[...] (Pruzsinszky 2003, 271).

108. Identified in RSOu 18, p. 54. See Gröndahl PTU, 255, although the alphabetic name in question had not yet been discovered.

109. Possibly meaning “left-handed” if a direct loan from Akk. *šumē/īlu*, “the left” (CDA, 383-384).

110. On the Amorite name see Streck 2000, 301 and 171.

111. See Van Soldt 2010a, 313 and n. 55. For the Emar PN *šūru*, “Bull”, see Pruzsinszky 2003, 98.

112. For possible meanings see Watson 2012a, 343.

113. See also *šu-zi-ia-wa* (PRU 3, 195 [RS 15.09 B] ii 6).

114. See previously and inconclusively, Watson 1995, 228, with further references.

115. See Watson 1993, 220-221.

tb^c, “Demanding” (KTU 4.763:1, 3), based on Aram. *tb^c*, “to demand, claim, solicit” (DJBA, 1191b), although it could be passive, with a meaning such as “(The child that the parents) sought”. The possible syllabic spellings *ta-ba*-’-*e* (Ugar. 5, 59 [RS 20.248]:3) and [*t*]*a-ba*’-’-*e* (Ugar. 5, 64 [RS 21.64]:3) still leave the matter unresolved¹¹⁶.

tbtr, “Scribe” (KTU 4.830:7): this could be a form of Akk. *tupšarru(m)*, “scribe, scholar”, which also occurs as *tupšarru(m)* (CDA, 415b; CAD T, 151-162)¹¹⁷, but, it is the only complete word on the tablet.

tby, meaning unknown (KTU 4.159:5)¹¹⁸, is spelled *ta-bi-ia-nu* (PRU 3, 98 [RS 16.249]:29)¹¹⁹.

tdū, “(Born in) Spring” (KTU 4.825 i 22; vii 7; 4.850:2)¹²⁰, has never been analysed, but it may correspond to Syr. *tēdē*, “vernalis” (LS, 816); “vernal, of spring” (SL, 1624b). See next entry.

tdyn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.696:5) and *ttyn* (KTU 4.631:3; 4.825 vii 9), have the spelling DUMU DA-*te-e*[-*y*]*a*⁷ (PRU 3, 199 [RS 16.257+] A 9’)¹²¹. This may be a form of Hurr. *tata*’*e*, “Liebling”¹²². See previous entry.

tgh, “(DN) Reared him” (KTU 4.85:7 as *bn tgh*), has the spelling *ti-i-ḫi* (PRU 3, 102 [RS 15.109]:32)¹²³; see also *ti-ḫa-a* (PRU 3, 73 [RS 16.371]:26), which is a female name.

tgtyn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.57:9), may have the syllabic spellings *tu-ḫe-ša-an-ni* (PRU 4, 203 [RS 18.20+] rev. 9’)¹²⁴ or more probably *te-ḫi-iš-ia-na* (PRU 3, 199 [RS 16.257+] ii 20) and seems to be Anatolian.

tkwn, “Jewel” (KTU 4.103:53; 4.556:4)¹²⁵, indicated by the syllabic spellings *ta-ku-an* (PRU 4, 183 [RS 17.319]:18) and *ta-gu-a-nu* (PRU 6, 80 [RS 19.111]:6) and the possible cognates Aram. *tkwn*, “jewellery” (DNWSI, 1214)¹²⁶ and Heb. *ḥkūnāh*, (HALOT, 1730-1731).

tlmū, “Great, Powerful” (KTU 4.85:4; 4.343:7; 4.377:7; 4.678:4) – this is now the generally accepted meaning, based on syllabic spellings and Hurr. *talm-*, “great”¹²⁷, and it also occurs as a PN in Emar, as *talma*’*e*, “Großer, Mächtiger”, with the ending /=*a*’*e*/¹²⁸.

116. For a different proposal, see Watson LSU, 180.

117. For the interchange of /b/ and /p/, /d/ and /t/ and of /t/ and /ṭ/ and /š/ in Ugaritic personal names see Gröndahl PTU, 22-23 (§§35, 41 and 42).

118. See also *dby* (KTU 4.64 iv 10 as *bn dby*).

119. For a possible explanation from Hurrian see Watson 2012a, 339.

120. KTU 4.825 vii 7 and 4.850:2 are not in DUL; see RSOu 18, pp. 26 and 80 respectively.

121. Gröndahl PTU, 263.

122. See Pruzsinszky 2003, 240, 248 n. 221; Richter BGH, 451-453.

123. Watson 2012a, 339.

124. Already cited in Watson LSU, 181, with possible meanings. See Richter BGH, 457-458.

125. See previously Watson 1993, 219; 2012a, 339; DUL, 855.

126. On this word see the discussion by Greenfield 1985 (but with no reference to Ugaritic).

127. See now Richter BGH, 432-434, with discussion and references.

tlmn, “Beloved Brother” (KTU 4.868:7), if correctly explained by Akk. *talīmu*, *talimmu*, “favourite brother” (CDA, 396a), also used in personal names (cf. CAD T, 94-96)¹²⁹. See previous name.

tyn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.631:11, 12), has a close equivalent in syllabic *ti-ya* (PRU 4, 190 [RS 17.316] rev. 9’)¹³⁰.

tbrn, “Navel” (KTU 4.103:16; 4.356:1, 14; 4.432 ii 12; 4.807:44; 4.841:18; 4.860:3), as proposed by Kühne¹³¹, based on Heb. *ṭabbūr*, “navel” (HALOT, 367b), Aram. *ṭabbūrā*, “navel” (DJBA, 492b; also as *ṭybbwr*) and *ṭibbūr*, *ṭibbūr*, “(rounded, arched,) navel, umbilicus” (DTT, 529b)¹³².

trd, “Worried” (KTU 4.428:3; 4.807:46), if cognate with Aram. *ṭrdā*, “trouble, preoccupation” (DJBA, 503a).

try, “Anxious” (KTU 1.142:2 as *bn try*) – the spelling *ta-ri-ia-nu* (PRU 3, 199 [RS 16.257+] ii 17) may point to a word cognate with Syr. *tr*, “possessed, frantic” (SL, 552a). A less probable cognate is Akk. *ṭarru*, “bearded” (CDA, 413b)¹³³.

tgb, “Hidden” (KTU 4.867:1), previously unknown, may be cognate with Aram. *šgb*, “veil; hidden” (Tal 2000 II, 870).

tlbwn, “Foxy” (KTU 4.841:17; 4.842:12; 4.846:15), has the spelling *ša-la-bi-ya-na* (PRU 6, 70 [RS 17.050]:5)¹³⁴, although such a meaning would only be possible if it were a direct loan from Akk. *šēlebu* (etc.), “fox” (CDA, 366a). The Ugaritic form is *ṭlb*, “Fox” (KTU 4.425:3)¹³⁵.

tnn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.556:1; 4.727:20; 4.853:23), may be Hurrian¹³⁶ although a remotely possible spelling is *ša-na-an-ti* (PRU 3, 94 [RS 16.245]:3), which may be the fem. form of this name.

trk, “Gift (of Baal)” (KTU 4.98:21 as *bn trk*)¹³⁷, may correspond to *ši-ri-ki* (Ugar. 5, 85 [RS 20.236]:18)¹³⁸.

128. Pruzsinszky 2003, 240 and 247; see Richter BGH, 433b. These equivalences exclude any comparison with Syr. *tlm*, “urceolus” (LS, 825); “small jar” (SL, 1650b); “small jug, pitcher” (CSD, 614).

129. Alternatively, “{tlmn} est nouveau, mais on connaît {tā-li-[m]u-nu} (RS 11.839:1 [PRU III, p. 194]); le rapport avec l’élément d’origine hourrite /talmi/, bien connue et qui signifie « grand », est donc incertain” (RSOu 18, p. 131).

130. See, perhaps, Richter BGH, 456a.

131. “Ug. belegt ist der PN (*bn*) *tbrn* ... der nicht, wie F. Gröndahl, PTU, 202 u.a. erwägt, mit arab. *ṭabar* “Axt” zusammenhängen kann, da dieses Wort aus gleichbedeutendem pers. *tabar* entlehnt ist” (Kühne 1974, 163 n. 33).

132. This word is not included in SED I.

133. A previous proposal (Watson LSU, 182) can therefore be rejected. See also the PN *tryn* (KTU 4.55:11; 4.103:10) with the same meaning.

134. Cited in RSOu 18, 68.

135. Also as *ṭl* (KTU 4.63 iii 1; 4.359:3), *ṭln* (KTU 4.63 ii 26; 4.214 i 3; 4.374:5; 4.378:8; 4.633:7) and *ṭly* (KTU 4.133:3); cf. DUL, 880. See the discussion in Streck 2000, 348 n. 2, with additional cognates, and cf. SED II No. 237.

136. See Watson LSU, 183, Gröndahl PTU, 254, DUL, 909-910.

137. See Gröndahl PTU, 200, 234.

138. See Akk. *šerku*, “gift” (CDA, 367b). Similarly, the Ug. PN *trkn* (KTU 3.8:2).

tr̥tyn, meaning unknown (KTU 4.848:7), has the spelling *ši-ri-iš-ya-na* (PRU 3, 199 [RS 16.126B+] A i 18')¹³⁹.

tr̥yn, meaning unknown (KTU 3.13:5; 4.81:5; 4.631:14; 4.636:1), has the unnoticed spelling *šu-ra-ia* (PRU 4, 111 [RS 17.315]:7, 9, 13).

ybrk, “May (God) Bless” (KTU 4.336:6; 4.377:31), has an exact counterpart in Punic *ybr^ck* with the same meaning (Benz 1972, 127, 291).

yḥšr, “The divine prince lives” (KTU 4.243:11; 4.746:6; 4.839:4): the syllabic spelling *ya-ḥi-šar* (PRU 3, 86ff. [RS 15.119]:4 etc.) shows that the name is West Semitic¹⁴⁰.

yḥmn, “(The god) protects” (KTU 4.849:5)¹⁴¹, seems to be an alternative of the name *yḥmn* (KTU 4.41:2; 4.609:19, 33; 4.647:3)¹⁴², both having the spelling is *ia-aḥ-me-nu* (RA 38, 1941, 4-6 [RS 11.856]:13)¹⁴³.

yny, meaning unknown (KTU 4.44:22; 4.55:30; 4.825 vii 17; 5.1:2), is spelled *ia-na-at* (Ugar. 5, 97 [RS 20.20]:9), which may be a fem. form of this unexplained name.

ypth, “May (the god) Open (her womb)” (KTU 4.868:6), is an abbreviated form or hypocoristic of *ypthd*, “May Hadad Open (her womb)” (KTU 6.68:1), which in turn corresponds to the Amarna names *ia-ap-ti-iḥ-Addu* (^dIM) (EA 288:45) and *ia-ap-ti-ḥa-da* (EA 335:9) with the same meaning¹⁴⁴.

yqm, “(The god) Raised Again” (KTU 4.841:52 as *bn yqm*)¹⁴⁵, from Ug. *qm*, “to stand up, get up, rise” (cf. DUL, 692) – equivalent to names such as Heb. *yāqîm*, “(Yahweh) raised again” (HALOT, 431a) or *y^eqamyāh* (HALOT, 431a)¹⁴⁶.

znān, “(Easily) Offended” (KTU 4.63 ii 44)¹⁴⁷ – previously unexplained – may perhaps be cognate with Akk. *zenû*, *zanû*, Ass. *zanā’u(m)*, “to be angry, offended” (CDA, 446a), a verb also borrowed in Hebrew as *znḥ*, “to be angry, hate” (HALOT, 275b)¹⁴⁸.

4. Names with Transposable Components

4.1. Reversible Names

The components of names in Semitic can be interchanged¹⁴⁹. This applies to Phoenician and Punic¹⁵⁰, for example, both *gd-n^cm* and *n^cm-gd’* occur¹⁵¹, to names in the Emar texts¹⁵², and to Amorite¹⁵³ and

139. See already RSOu 18, p. 79 and Van Soldt 2010a, 318 and n. 113.

140. See RSOu 18, p. 53, which also includes discussion of the syllabic name.

141. See the brief discussion in RSOu 18, p. 80.

142. For the interchange between /h/ and /ḥ/ in personal names see Gröndahl PTU, 20-21 §§28-29.

143. DUL, 946-947; Gröndahl PTU, 58, 64, 135. An alternative meaning may be “(The god) sees”; cf. Aram. *ḥmy*, “to see” (DJPA, 468a; DNWSI, 381), in which case the -n would be an affirmative.

144. See Hess 1993, 86 (§84), 210, with further references.

145. RSOu 18, pp. 65-66; PN not included in DUL.

146. See also Huffmon 1965, 259.

147. A possible syllabic spelling is perhaps *za-an-na-an-ti* (PRU 3, 196 [RS 15.42] ii 14); cf. Gröndahl PTU, 34, 271, 290.

148. See also KAHAL, 145b.

Amarna names¹⁵⁴. Several examples can be found in Hebrew as well¹⁵⁵. It is also a feature of Ugaritic. As Gröndahl noted: “Eine feste Folge von Subjekt und Prädikat existiert bei ugaritischen Nominalsatznamen nicht”, and her examples include: *abi-milku* and *mlk-bn* (< *mlk-ābn*); *rašap-abu/i* and *āb-ršp*; *aḥi-milku* and *milku-aḥi/u*; *ummi-ḥibi* and *ʿttr-ūm*¹⁵⁶.

Other examples of such pairs in the alphabetic names are: *āb-rm* (KTU 4.352:2; 4.433:4)¹⁵⁷ and *rm-ib* (KTU 4.734:4); *āb-ršp* (KTU 4.63 i 35; 4.75 iv 6) and *ršp-āb* (KTU 4.63 iii 45; 4.103:5; 4.129:10 etc.) with the spelling *rašap-abu/i* (PRU 6, 83 [RS 17.430] iv 5 etc.)¹⁵⁸; *ān-šrm* (KTU 4.204:2) or *in-šr* (KTU 4.110:10)¹⁵⁹ and *tr-in* (KTU 4.286:4); *il-ʿnt* (KTU 4.617 i 43; 4.623:11) and *ʿn-il* (KTU 4.159:3); *il-bd* (KTU 4.783:7)¹⁶⁰ and *bd-il* (KTU 4.75 ii 2)¹⁶¹; *il-dn* (KTU 4.775:6; 4.813:21, 37) and *dn-il* (KTU 1.17-1.19 *passim*); *il-ḥu* (KTU 1.16 i 46 etc.) and *hy-il* (KTU 4.427:14; 4.497:2; 4.554:4) and possibly *hyl* (< *hyil*: KTU 4.200:8; 4.214 ii 1), spelled *ḥa-ya-ilu* (RS 8.146:32); *il-rb* (KTU 3.3:11; 4.63 iii 41; 4.63 iv 15) and *rb-il* (KTU 4.134:3; 4.635:27; 4.744:5); *il-rp* (KTU 3.20:7) and *rp-il* (KTU 4.102:24; 4.194:12)¹⁶²; *il-šdq* (KTU 4.215:4; 4.226:9; 4.628:1; 4.704:6; 4.843:38) and *šdq-il* (KTU 4.63 iii 4; cf. 4.340:17; 4.383:9; 4.754:2); *il-šn* (KTU 4.79:3; 4.609:36), and *šn-l* (< *šnīl*: KTU 4.398:4), syllabically *šu-na-AN* (PRU 4, 184 [RS 17.319]:24; PRU 4, 231 [RS 17.244]:4); *il-ym* (KTU 4.116:13) and *ym-il* (KTU 4.75 v 14; 4.183 ii 2; cf. 4.588:2) and finally *tṭ-md* (KTU 4.7:21; 4.103:12, 27) and *ma-at*-^dU (PRU 3, 204 [RS 16.257+] e. II 4)¹⁶³. These can be set out in a table, as follows:

sequence A-B	meaning	sequence B-A	meaning
<i>abi-milku</i>	My Father is Milku	<i>mlk<ā>bn</i>	Milku is our Father
<i>ābrm</i> <i>a-bi-ra-mi/u</i>	The Father is Exalted	<i>rmib</i>	Exalted is the Father

149. In what follows, hyphens are inserted merely for clarity.

150. See Benz 1972, 217, 220-222, 224.

151. Benz 1972, 249 n. 39; he also mentions (p. 222) *ʿršt-bʿl* and *bʿl-ʿršt*; *bʿl-ʿzr* and *ʿzr-bʿl*; *gd-mlqrt* and *mlqrt-gd*; *mlqrt-ʿzr* and *ʿzr-mlqrt*. To these can be added Phoen. and/or Punic *ʿršt-bʿl* / *bʿl-ʿršt*; *bʿl-ḥlš* / *ḥlš-bʿl*; *bʿl-ḥm* / *ḥm-bʿl*; *bʿl-ḥn* (ʿ) / *ḥn-bʿl*; *bʿl-yḥn* / *yḥn-bʿl*; *bʿl-yt* / *yt-bʿl*; *bʿl-ytn* / *ytn-bʿl*; *bʿl-skr* / *skr-bʿl*; *bʿl-rm* / *rm-bʿl*; *bʿl-šlm* / *šlm-bʿl*; *bʿl-šmʿ* / *šmʿ-bʿl*; *bʿl-tm* / *tm-bʿl*; *brk-bʿl* and *bʿl-brk*; *brk-mlqrt* and *mlqrt-brk*; *ḥn-šd* / *šd-yḥn*; *mlkrm* / *rmlk* (< *rm-mlk*); *mlk-ytn* / *ytn-mlk*; *mlqrt-ʿms* / *ʿmš-mlqrt*; *mlqrt-pls* / *pls-mlqrt* and *šd-ytn* / *ytn-šd*.

152. E.g. *baʿlu-taḥanna* versus *iaḥanni-ʿilī* and *igmil-dagān* as against *ilī-igmil*; see Pruzsinszky 2003, 133 and n. 633 (“Beachte ... die ungewöhnliche, umgekehrte Stellung der Elemente in *Ilī-igmil*”).

153. Less clearly as *ʿannu-hitalal*, “ʿAnnu preise!” and *hitlal-ʿerra*, “Preise den Erra!” (Streck 2000, 240).

154. E.g. *baʿlu/haddu-ši-ip-ṭi* (EA 292:3; 293:3; 294:3; 295:3) and *ši-ip-ṭi-baʿlu/haddu* (EA 330:3; 331:4; 332:3; 333:5, 9) discussed by Hess 1993, 53-54 §45 and 143-144 §152.

155. For instance, *ʿlīpeleṭ* (and *ʿlīpāleṭ*) (HALOT, 56b) and *paltīʿel* (HALOT, 931b), *šidqīyyāh* (HALOT, 1007a) and *yôšādāq* (HALOT, 403b), *šʿpatyāhū* (HALOT, 1627b) and *yôšāpāt* (HALOT, 404a). See also n. 191.

156. Gröndahl PTU, 45-46 §74.

157. For the syllabic spellings see DUL, 13. Note also *ibrm* (KTU 4.607:20), although this may be Hurrian; cf. DUL, 13.

158. See DUL, 737 for additional references.

159. For the meaning see Richter BGH, 88.

160. Note the Assyrian PN *ilu-biʿdi* (DINGIR-bi-iʿdi) in SAA I, 134 [171:15] rev. 23.

161. However, *ilbd* (KTU 4.593:9; 4.783:7) and *bdil* (KTU 4.75 ii 2) may not be a complementary pair; for the second name see Benz 1972, 283-285 and DUL, 213 (with further references and syllabic spellings).

162. Possibly < *rpī-il*; both readings are uncertain; see Ribichini & Xella 1991, 167.

163. Ribichini & Xella 1991, 169; see also Emar *Madi-Te*, discussed in Pruzsinszky 2003, 236.

<i>ābršp</i>	The Father is Rashap	<i>ršpāb</i>	Rashap is the Father
<i>aḥi-milku</i> <i>āḥmlk</i> <i>ā/iḥmlk</i>	My Brother is Milku	<i>milku-aḥi/u</i>	Milku is my Brother
<i>ānšrm</i> <i>inšr</i>	God King	<i>trīn</i>	God is King
<i>il^cnt</i>	My God is Anat	<i>^cnil</i>	Anu is my God
<i>ildn</i>	Ilu is the Judge	<i>dnīl</i>	The Judge is Ilu
<i>ilrb</i>	Ilu is Great	<i>rbīl</i>	Great is Ilu
<i>ilrpi</i>	Ilu is a Healer	<i>rpīl</i>	Healing is Ilu
<i>ilšdq</i>	Ilu is Just	<i>šdqīl</i>	Just is Ilu
<i>ilšn</i>	My God is Sin	<i>šn<ī>l</i> <i>šu-na-AN</i>	Sin is my God
<i>ilym</i>	My God is Yammu	<i>ymīl</i>	Yammu is my God
<i>ummi-ḥibi</i>	My Mother is Hebat	<i>^ctrūm</i>	Athtar is my Mother
<i>tīmd</i>	Teshub is Wise	<i>ma-at-^dU</i>	Wise is Teshub

These fourteen examples¹⁶⁴ indicate that the recently published alphabetic name *ūmāb*, “(My) Mother (is) a Father (for me)”¹⁶⁵ (KTU 4.851:4), is the reverse of the syllabic name *a-bu-ū-mu*, “(My) Father (is) a Mother (for me)” (PRU 4, 189 [RS 17.314]:27), a correspondence so far unnoticed. This is much as in the case of the alphabetic name *mtnb^cl*, “Gift of Ba’al” (KTU 4.115:11; 4.754:130)¹⁶⁶, the components of which are reversed in the spellings ^dIM-*ma-tin* (PRU 3, 104 [RS 15.09+] A 35) and ^dU-*ma-te-ni* (Ugar. 5, 95 [RS 2001]:6)¹⁶⁷. Similarly, *āḥmlk* (KTU 4.261:15; 4.609:33; 4.711:7; 4.727:7, 9)¹⁶⁸ inverts LUGAL.ŠEŠ (*milku-aḥu*) (PRU 3, 104 [RS 15.09+] A 5; PRU 3, 102 [RS 15.138+]:4).

4.2. Reversible Names with and without Enclitic -m

Another pair resolves the dilemma as to whether Ug. *b^clmtpt* (KTU 4.214 ii 5) is to be analysed as *b^cl+mtpt* or as *b^cl-m+tp^t*¹⁶⁹. The corresponding name with the reverse sequence is *tp^tb^cl*¹⁷⁰. By applying the principle that such names are identical¹⁷¹, it is clear that *b^clmtpt* = *b^cl-m + tp^t*, i.e. *b^cltp^t* with an enclitic

164. To these can be added, perhaps, *ibn* (KTU 4.658:13 < *ibbn* ?) and *bnīb* (KTU 4.261:23); *ūmy*, “Where is the Mother?” (KTU 4.96:8) and *i-ya-um-mi* (Ugar. 5, 2 [RS 17.21] *passim*; Ugar. 5, 3 [RS 17.33] *passim*) as well as *rpiy* (KTU 4.141 ii 14), also *rpiyn* (KTU 4.232 (i) 8), and *yrpū* (KTU 4.617 i 22; as *yrpī* in KTU 4.344:18). Note also *b^clrm* (KTU 4.370:9) and *ym.b^cl* (4.321:3), with a word-divider, on which see Watson 1990a, 127.

165. The reading is uncertain, as noted in RSOu 18, p. 82, where the translation “(ma) mère (est) un père (pour moi)” is suggested, “signalant une situation familiale particulière ou une protection spéciale de la part d’une déesse”, although the syllabic spelling proposed here is not mentioned there.

166. Also as Punic *mtnb^cl* (Benz 1972, 145, 356-357).

167. See already Gröndahl PTU, 147, but with no comment on the reversal.

168. Spellings include *a-ḥi-LUGAL*; cf. DUL, 37.

169. As Gröndahl (PTU, 200) puts it: “entweder *b^cl + mtpt* oder *b^cl + -m* (emphat. Partikel) + *tp^t*”. In other words, the question is whether or not the *-m-* is enclitic.

170. KTU 2.40:3; 4.74:2; 4.81:2; 4.102:13; 4.103:34, 56; 4.384:10; 4.425:12; 4.554:2; 4.775:13 etc. Syllabic spellings *ši-pi-īl^dIM* (Ugar. 5, 159 [RS 17.86+]:14); *ši-ip-ti-^dIM* (RSOu 7, 30 [RS (Varia 26)]:1; RSOu 7, 31 [RS 34.134]:40) etc.; cf. DUL, 913. Note also Alalakh *ši-ip-ti-^dIM* (AT 66:13; cf. Hess 1993, 143).

171. For Amarna names with exactly the same switch see n. 154.

–*m* on the the first element¹⁷². Confirmation comes from the Punic name *b^clšpt^l*¹⁷³, without an enclitic –*m*. Similarly, if Ug. *b^clm^cdr^l*¹⁷⁴ is compared with the frequently occurring Phoenician and Punic name *c^zrb^cl^l*¹⁷⁵, it is once again clear that the –*m* in *b^clm^cdr^l* is also enclitic and the name should be analysed as *b^cl–m + c^zdr^l*. The same applies to Ug. *b^clmšlm* (KTU 3.2:4; 3:29:5)¹⁷⁶ vis à vis Punic *šlmb^cl* (CIS I 6011a)¹⁷⁷, which is confirmed by the Ug. name *b^clšlm* (KTU 4.293:2; 4.332:10; 4.679:5)¹⁷⁸.

4.3. Ugaritic Names Reversed in Other Semitic Languages

Continuing with comparison across languages, Ug. *yp^cb^cl* (KTU 4.116:9) and *yp^cmlk* (KTU 4.609:12) can be matched with Amorite ^dUTU-*ia-pu-ḥa-at* (*šamaš-yapu^cat*), “Šamaš ist herrlich”¹⁷⁹, with its components in the reverse order. Likewise, the sequence in Ug. *y^ld* (KTU 4.322:2; 4.377:21), syllabically *ia-aš-ad-du* (PRU 3, 157 [RS 16.254 C+]:4 etc.), is inverted in the Amorite name ^d[UT]U-*ia-aš-ḥa* ([*šam*]aš-*yaš^ca*), “Šamaš ist hilfreich”¹⁸⁰. Furthermore, Ug. *b^clytn* (KTU 4.628:2) transposes the components of the Amarna name SUM-^dIM (*yantin-ba^clu/haddu*) in EA 123:37¹⁸¹. Closer to home, Ug. *pls^bl* (KTU 6.1:1) and *plš^bl* (KTU 4.366:3)¹⁸² invert Phoen. and Punic *b^clpls*¹⁸³ much like Punic *plsm^lqrt* (only CIS I 6051:3)¹⁸⁴ and *mlqrtpls*, which is much more common¹⁸⁵. Ug. *išpš* (KTU 2.28:2(?); 4.65:12; 4.131:11; 4.219:6; 4.384:14; 4.425:13; 4.611 ii 16; 4.680:4; 4.775:21; 4.817:10; 4.832:2), also as DINGIR.^dUTU (RS 11.872:30; Ugar. 5, 7 [RS 17.36]:17) switches the components of UTU-[DIN]GIR-*a-a* (*šamaš-ilāⁱ*) in SAA I 193:2. A less specific set is Ug. *ḥn^ll* (KTU 4.332:8), Punic *ḥnw^l* (CIS I 3982:3) and *ḥnb^cl* (over 300 times) as against Phoen. and Punic *b^clyḥn* (5 times)¹⁸⁶.

4.4. The Ugaritic PN *ilmlk*

The vocalisation of the alphabetic name *ilmlk*¹⁸⁷ is a matter of debate¹⁸⁸. This name is written as DINGIR.LUGAL (PRU 4, 203 [RS 18.20+] rev. 15, etc.)¹⁸⁹, DINGIR-*mu-lik* (PRU 6, 82 [RS 17.242]:16)

172. For the interchange between *b^cl* and *b^clm* see Watson 1992, 247; Del Olmo Lete 2015, 117. Note the enclitic –*ma*– in the Ebla name *i-ti-ma-il* (Yiddin-ma-³il), “Il dio veramente ha dato”, cited by Catagnoti 2010, 464.

173. CIS I 297:4-5; 1302:5; 3879:5-6; 4074:5; cf. Benz 1972, 100.

174. KTU 4.172:3; 4.266:3; 6.16:1; for syllabic spellings see DUL, 207.

175. For references see Benz 1972, 167-170.

176. I.e. analysed as *b^cl + –m + šlm*. For syllabic spellings see Watson 2012a, 328.

177. Benz 1972, 180, 417-418.

178. For the syllabic spelling see Watson 2012a, 328.

179. Cf. Streck 2000, 316.

180. See Streck 2000, 317.

181. See Hess 1993, 165-16 §178, with additional parallels.

182. For the Emar PN *pilsu-dagān*, “Blick des Dagān” (cited in Watson 1995, 227), see now Pruzsinszky 2003, 185.

183. References: Benz 1972, 97.

184. See Benz 1972, 176.

185. CIS I 3565:3; 4064:5; 4377:3-4; 4912:5; 5526:3-4; 6000b:2 etc.; cf. Benz 1972, 141.

186. See Benz 1972, 94.

187. KTU 1.6 vi 54; 1.16 vi 59; 2.88:31; 3.21:11; 3.35:8; 4.98:24; 4.115:9; 4.133:2; 4.165:13; 4.261:10; 4.382:28; 4.607:16; 4.616:2; 4.69:8; 4.866:10; 5.18:9.

188. See Wyatt 2015, 401 and n. 7; Watson 2012a, 326.

189. As Van Soldt (1991, 21 n. 182) explains: “The second element, lugal/*mlk*, presents serious problems; for lugal both readings *malku* and *milku* are attested. On the basis of the vocabularies, however, the reading *malku* will be used”. Similarly, “In view of a number of syllabic spellings with –*a*–, I prefer the vocalization Ili-malku to the more traditional Ili-milku” (Van Soldt 1999, 35 n. 52).

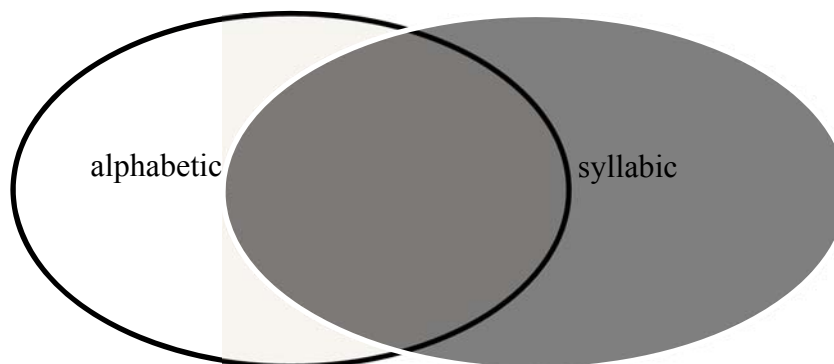
and DINGIR-*mil-ku* (PRU 4, 294 [RS 19.70]:8)¹⁹⁰, leaving its vocalisation uncertain. In view of the principle discussed above (§4.1), namely that the components of a name can be reversed, irrespective of whether it is alphabetic or syllabic, then *ilmlk* (*il-mlk*) corresponds to *mi-il-ki-lu* (PRU 6, 40 [RS 17.360]:26), an equivalence so far unnoticed. This is corroborated by the Amarna names *ili-milki* (EA 151:45; 286:36) and its inverted form *milk-ili* (EA 249:5, 6, 16, 30; 250:32, 36, 39, 54, 56; 254:27, 29; 267:4), on which Hess notes: “the semantic interpretation of *i-li-mil-ki* is the same as that of *mil-ki-li*. *Mil-ki-li* thus contains a divine attribute”¹⁹¹. All this is strong evidence that Ug. *ilmlk* is to be vocalised as *Ilmilku*, confirmed by the spelling DINGIR-*mil-ku* (PRU 4, 294 [RS 19.70]:8), already mentioned¹⁹².

5. Syllabic Names

The recently published name *a-šur-ki-na* (RS 94.2617 verso 4)¹⁹³ has no clear alphabetic counterpart¹⁹⁴. The name *lu-la-i-nu* (PRU 3, 170 [RS 8.279]:10'), which does not seem to have an alphabetic equivalent, may perhaps be explained as Akk. *lulânû*, “weakling” (CDA, 185a)¹⁹⁵. Another unexplained name, DUMU *qu-ṭu-bi-ia* (PRU 3, 194 [RS 11.839]:13), may correspond to Ug. *qzb*, which is equivalent to Heb. *qeteb*, the name of a demon (HALOT, 1091-1092; cf. DUL, 711).

6. Evaluation

As is well known, there is an overlap of the alphabetic and syllabic names found on the Ugaritian tablets, as shown by the following Venn diagram:



The total number of different names in the Ugaritic corpus is about 2,600¹⁹⁶. There are approximately 1,730 alphabetic names¹⁹⁷ of which about 690 have syllabic spellings. This means that roughly 1,040 are

190. See DUL, 55 for full references.

191. Hess 1993, 113. See also Heb. *'elimelek* (HALOT, 56a) and *malki'el* (HALOT, 593a), both meaning “My God is King”.

192. On the Ugaritic god Milku see Del Olmo Lete 2014, 137, 166-167 and DUL, 548.

193. RSOu 18, p. 208.

194. However, see perhaps *trkn* (KTU 3.8:2).

195. Note also the PN *Lulāyu* (*lu-la-ie-e*) in a Middle Assyrian letter from Tell Taban (line 2: Shibata 2015, 140).

196. Van Soldt 1991, 39-41; 2003, 683. These names belong to about 6,000 persons.

without syllabic equivalents. Conversely, there are syllabically spelled names that have no known alphabetic equivalents in the tablets found so far. Why some names have syllabic spellings while others do not remains unclear, but presumably the practice was intended for speakers of other languages¹⁹⁸. Of particular interest is the set of alphabetic and/or syllabic names whose components can occur in reverse, several with equivalents in other Semitic languages¹⁹⁹. The presence of a word-divider in a few Ugaritic names (see above) may indicate that the scribes, at least, were aware that elements of names could be transposed. Furthermore, the meanings of quite a number of names are still unknown, in spite of nearly nine decades of study. Undoubtedly, the Ugaritian personal names remain of considerable importance and interest and further research on them is certainly required.

7. Abbreviations

AEL	E. W. Lane, <i>An Arabic-English Lexicon</i> , vols 1-8 (London 1863-1893).
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , vols I-III (Wiesbaden 1965-1981).
ARTU	J. C. de Moor, <i>An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit</i> (Nisaba 16; Leiden 1987).
AT	Number of tablet from Alalakh.
BGH	T. Richter, <i>Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen</i> (Wiesbaden 2012).
CAD	I. J. Gelb <i>et al.</i> (eds), <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , vols 1-21 (Chicago 1956-2010).
CDA	J. Black, A. George & N. Postgate (eds), <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> (Wiesbaden 2000 ²).
CIS I	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum pars prima: inscriptiones phoeniciae</i> (Paris 1881).
CSD	J. Payne Smith (ed.), <i>A Compendious Syriac Dictionary: Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith</i> (Oxford 1903).
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).
DMWA	H. Wehr & A. Cowan, <i>A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic</i> (Wiesbaden 1971).
DNWSI	J. Hoftijzer & K. Jongeling, <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> , 2 vols (Leiden 1995).
DTT	M. Jastrow, <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, and Midrashic Literature</i> , vols I-II (New York 1950).
DUL	G. del Olmo Lete & J. Sanmartín, <i>A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition</i> (English Version Edited and Translated by W. G. E. Watson), 2 vols (HdO I/112; Leiden 2015 ³).
EDE II	G. Takács, <i>Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian</i> , vol. 2 (Leiden/Boston/Köln 2001).
HALOT	L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (translated by M. E. J. Richardson), 5 vols (Leiden/New York/Köln 1994-2000).

197. If identical names with endings such as *-m*, *-n*, *-t*, *-y* or *-yy* are excluded, as well as those with variant spellings and reversible forms, then the number must be reduced considerably.

198. Here, new syllabic spellings may have been identified for the following 45 names: *āgin*, *āmy*, *inū*, *ūmāb*, *‘mtmr*, *‘myd*, *‘ntn*, *btl*, *dwn*, *gty*, *hzm*[], *krny*, *ktp*, *ktl*, *kwm*, *kzy*, *mlš*, *nbrn*, *ndrg*, *nmlh*, *nz^cn*, *pdgy*, *pdn*, *plšn*, *pqr*, *prū*, *prhn*, *psš*, *qlpy*, *snb*, *spyy*, *šbt*, *šdrn*, *šml*, *šrbx*, *ššy*, *štk*, *tān*, *tūzn*, *tby*, *tgh*, *tyl*, *try*, *yny* and *znān*.

199. This seems to be a feature shared in particular by Ugaritic and Phoenician/Punic, to be added to those collected by Del Olmo Lete 1996, 15-33.

- HUS W. G. E. Watson & N. Wyatt (eds), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (HdO I/39; Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999).
- KAHAL W. Dietrich & S. Arnet (eds), *Konkise und aktualisierte Ausgabe des Hebräischen und Aramäischen Lexikons zum Alten Testament* (Leiden/Boston 2013).
- KTU M. Dietrich, O. Loretz & J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (AOAT 360/1; Münster 2013³).
- LS C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Edinburgh/Berlin 1895).
- LSU W. G. E. Watson, *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic* (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 19; Sabadell 2007).
- PRU 3 J. Nougayrol, *Palais Royal d'Ugarit III. Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales* (MRS 6; Paris 1955).
- PRU 4 J. Nougayrol, *Palais Royal d'Ugarit IV. Textes accadiens des archives sud* (MRS 9; Paris 1956).
- PRU 6 J. Nougayrol, *Palais Royal d'Ugarit VI. Textes en cunéiformes babyloniennes des archives du grand palais et du palais sud d'Ugarit* (MRS 12; Paris 1970).
- PTU F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (StPohl 1; Rome 1967).
- RSOu 7 P. Bordreuil (ed.), *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville. Les textes de la 34^e campagne (1973)* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit VII; Paris 1991).
- RSOu 14 M. Yon & D. Arnaud (eds), *Études ougaritiques, I: Travaux 1985-1995* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit XIV; Paris 2001).
- RSOu 18 P. Bordreuil & D. Pardee (eds), *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville***. Textes 1994-2002 en cunéiforme alphabétique de la Maison d'Ourtenou* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit XVIII; Lyon 2012).
- SAA I S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I. Letters from Assyria and the West* (SAA I; Helsinki 1987).
- SED I A. Militarev & L. Kogan, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Vol. I. Anatomy of Man and Animals* (AOAT 278/1; Münster 2000).
- SED II A. Militarev & L. Kogan, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Vol. II. Animal Names* (AOAT 278/2; Münster 2005).
- SL M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon. A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake/Piscataway 2009).
- Ugar. 5 Text from Ugaritica V.
- Ugaritica V J. Nougayrol et al. (eds), *Ugaritica V. Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ougaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit. Commentaire des textes (première partie)* (BAH 80; MRS 16; Paris 1968).
- UVST J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (HSS 32; Atlanta 1987).

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