Final -*m* in Ugaritic Yet Again

Wilfred G. E. Watson - Newcastle upon Tyne

[Further examples of final -*m* in Ugaritic are set out here in continuation of two earlier articles on this topic. In addition, some comments and corrections on previous entries are provided.]

Here, additions and amendments are provided to the two previous articles on final -*m* (FM) in Ugaritic.[1] Of interest, in particular, are the supplementary lines to 1.92 published by Dijkstra (see below) and the 'Linear C' examples, which are also included here. The new examples are numbered consecutively in continuation of the second article and to some extent the same sub-headings are used: (a) New Entries; (b) Uncertain New Entries; (c) Comments on Previous Entries; (d) Other Languages and (e) Discussion.[2] Some of the conclusions reached earlier will need modifying to take into account the new data.

(a) New Entries

(138) 1.2 III 20

lbum. ard. bn[p]*šny.*   (Like) a lion I will descend with my desire.

The text and translation are as in Smith (*UBC*, 211, 219). If FM is adverbial here, then the brackets around "Like" are unnecessary.[3]

(139) 1.3 III 15 (ll 1.3 IV 9.23-24.29)

št bᶜprm ddym   place love(?) in the dust

The difficult word *ddym* may be a loan from Egyptian *ddyt*, in which case "the final consonant of Ugaritic *ddym* may be either an enclitic mem[sic] or a dual/plural ending (marking abstraction?)".[4] It occurs also in ᶜ*prm.*

1. "Final -*m* in Ugaritic", *AuOr* 10 (1992) 223-252;"Final -*m* in Ugaritic Again", *AuOr* 12 (1994) 95-103. The first article listed 110 examples to which the second added a further 27 or so. For ease of reference the numbering is continued, starting with (138). See also W. G. E. Watson, "Aspects of Style in KTU 1.23", *SEL* 11 (1994) 3-8.

2. Additional bibliography: J. Tropper, "Zur Grammatik der ugaritischen Omina", *UF* 26 (1994) 457-472, esp. 468-469 (also on enclitic -*n*); C. H. Gordon, "*WM*- 'and' in Eblaite and Hebrew", in C. H. Gordon, G. A. Rendsburg, N. H. Winter, eds., *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language*, Vol. I (Winona Lake IN 1987) 29-30; C. Wallace, "*WM*- in Nehemiah 5:11", *ibid.*, 31-32; G. A. Rendsburg,. "Eblaite *Ù-MA* and Hebrew *WM*-", *ibid.*, 33-42; A. Archi, "Ebla and Eblaite", *ibid.*, 7-17, on Eblaite *ma-nu-ma* (nom. and perhaps acc.), *mi-nu-ma* (inanimate nom.; 13); C. H. Gordon, "Eblaitica", *ibid.*, 19-28 (on *en-ma*, adverb "so says" [p. 21]).

3. Cf. the Akk. ending -*iš*. Note also *bym. irtm. m*[   ][lpt]. *nhr. tlᶜm. ṯm hrbm. its.* (1.2 IV 3-4) where FM may occur a few times (on *irt, tlᶜ,* and *hrb* perhaps); cf. Smith, *UBC* 321, 331-332 for discussion and translation.

4. Smith, *UBC*, 204, n. 160 (with acknowledgement to R. Ritner). For fuller discussion see UBC, 204-205.

(140) 1.6 I 53

ly'db. mrḥ 'm. bn. dgn.	He cannot wield the javelin with Dagan's Son!
ktmsm	He has bent the knee!

As Good has shown, the analysis of *ktmsm* as a Gt form of *kms* + FM is correct.[5] If the stichometry above is accurate, the section ends with a single word line,[6] here with enclitic *-m*.

(141) 1.10 III 29-30

wt'l. bkm. barr	And she climbed onto the height, on Araru,
bm. arr. wbṣpn	on Araru and on Ṣapunu

In these five lines (i.e. 27-31) the preposition *b* occurs no fewer than eight times, but only once with FM (as quoted above). The explanation is that *bm arr* is a repetition form of *b arr*.[7]

(142) 1.15 II 20

The example in the final line (20) in the blessing formula (1.15 II 16-20) was not listed previously:

ks. yiḫd [il. b]*yd.*	Ilu took a cup in his hand,
krpn. bm [ym]*n.*	a carafe in his right hand,
brkm. ybrk. ['bdh].	he blessed his servant,
ybrk. il. krt [ṯ'.]	[he b]lessed [noble] Kirta,
[ym]*rm. n'm*[n.] *ǵlm. il*	[he fo]rtified handsome, Ilu's page

The use of FM here is probably because *brkm* and *ymrm* are repetitions of the same verbs as in the introductory couplet *ltbrk* [krt.] *ṯ'.* || *ltmr. n'mn* [ǵlm] *il* of lines 14-15; see example (90) previously.

(143) 1.17 V 3

whn šb' bymm

The syntax is anomalous here (*bšb' ymm* would be expected, as elsewhere, e.g. 1.17 I 15 and 1.17 II 39). If FM is present, then perhaps *šb'* means "(on day) seven", and *bymm*, "on that very day", but this would suppose a high degree of ellipsis.

(144) 1.19 I 12

aqht. y'n. kmr. kmr	Aqhat was humbled like a foal, yes like a foal

5. R. M. Good, "The Sportsman Baal", *UF* 26 (1994) 147-163 (esp. 154-155) following De Moor, AOAT 16, 203 (as mentioned by Good).

6. For lines of this type cf. J. C. de Moor, "The Art of Versification in Ugarit and Israel", *UF* 10 (1978) 187-217 (199; cf. 217, n. 45).

7. For the translation cf. F. Renfroe, *Arabic-Ugaritic Lexical Studies* (ALASP 5), Münster 1992, 57-59. For the spelling of Ṣapunu cf. N. Wyatt, "The Significance of ṢPN in West Semitic Thought. A contribution to the history of a mythological motif", in M. Dietrich-O. Loretz, eds., *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung. Band I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, Münster 1995, 213-237, esp. 228.

Here I follow Baldacci.[8] This difficult line has been translated in many ways. "He perceived the heart of darkness" (*UPA*, 157, 344);[9] "*Aqhatu* fue abatido como un esforzado" (*MLC*, 387); "they [two young men] are saying: 'How bitter, how bitter!'" (*ARTU*, 248). Part of the problem is to decide whether this line belongs to the following two as a unit:

*aqht. y'n. kmr. km*r*m*	A. was humbled like a *m.*, yes like a *m.*,
kap'. il. bgdrt	like a huge viper in the crevice??,
klb lḫth. imḫṣh	like a dog for his stick I struck him

or whether it concludes the previous section. Certainly the triple parallelism "like a foal(?)" ǁ "like a huge viper" ǁ "like a dog" is compelling (cf. 1.6 VI 16-22)[10] and the sequence *kmr kmrm* evokes *išt ištm* of example (80).[11] Difficult *mr* may be explained by Hamito-Semitic **mer-* "beast of prey".[12]

(145) 1.43:18.23

    l'ntm   for ᶜAnatu...

According to Pardee, who translates "for ᶜAnatu also", this is "the divine name plus adverbial -*m*, here with a quasi-conjunctival function".[13] However, as has been seen, FM never acts as a conjunction (but see discussion below). Del Olmo Lete translates "a las (dos) ᶜ*Anatāmi*" (*LRC*, 192). De Tarragon translates "les ᶜAnat", noting "[C]e -*m* indique-t-il un pluriel? Si le rite implique la participation de plusieurs représentations de ᶜAnat, cela est possible" (*TOug* II, 163 and n. 75).

(146) 1.92:13

    šbrh bm ymn   her club in her right hand

This is another example of *b* with FM.

(147) 1.92:17

    ḫssm [   ]   and(?) Ḫasis [...]

(148) 1.92:25

    [   ]*ḫ. mḫtrt. pttm*   [   ] with a chemise of linen

For these three examples from 1.92 I have followed Dijkstra's translation.[14]

(149) 1.100:6.12.17-18.23.28-29.33-34.38-39.43-44.49.55.

    yšlḥm nḫš ᶜqšr   Let him drive away / force feed the serpent

8. M. Baldacci, *La scoperta di Ugarit. La città-stato ai primordi della Bibbia* (Casale Monferrato 1996) 352 and n. 393.

9. It is untranslated in *CML²*, 114 and in *TOug* I, 442; see *ibid.* n. o where the meaning "dark" for *kmr* is mentioned.

10. Discussed recently by R. M. Good, "The Sportsman Baal", *UF* 26 (1994) 147-163.

11. "Final -*m* in Ugaritic", *AuOr* 10 (1992) 240.

12. See V. E. Orel - O. V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Materials for a Reconstruction*, Leiden 1995, #1760.

13. D. Pardee, "RS 1.005 and the Identification of the *gṯrm*", in J. Quagebeur, ed., *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the International Conference organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of April 1991*, Leuven 1993, 301-318 (303 and 309).

14. M. Dijkstra, "The Myth of Astarte, the Huntress (KTU 1.92). New Fragments", *UF* 26 (1994) 113-126 (117).

If understood as from the verb *šlḥ*, "to send (off)" or the like, then here the first word = *yšlḥ* + FM,[15] but it is usually parsed as a causative form of the verb *lḥm*, e.g. "qu'on gave" (*TOug* II, 8 and n.262, following Astour).[16]

(150) 1.133:2-4

    npšm npš. lbim thw.   my appetite is the appetite of lions in the desert

It is noteworthy that 1.133:2-4a has *npšm npš. lbim thw.* for the parallel passage 1.5 I 14-15a *pnpš npš lbim thw.*[17] Pardee, rejects the reading *m* at the end of line 2 (*npšm*) and reads simply *npš*[ ].[18] If the reading *npšm* is correct (as in *CAT*) then it would be equivalent to *pnpš*, i.e. the conjunction *p* = FM. However, FM does not seem to be used with this function in Ugaritic (see discussion).[19] Note also two further examples: (151) 1.175(=RIH 77/18):7 *yšḥmm* and (152) 2.71:9 *tšmᶜm*, both instances of FM on a verb form.

(b) Uncertain New Entries

(153) 1.16 II 25-26

    q[br] tṣr. trm   they surrounded the tomb like a wreath

Where *tr* (Heb. *tôr*),[20] "ring, plait, wreath" has adverbial *-m*.[21]

(154) 1.16 II 52

    bṯtm. t[nšq. rišh]   Abashedly, she [kissed his (fore-)head]

As restored and translated by Margalit.[22]

(155) 1.6 VI 48

    ilm hn mtm ᶜdk

15. Ch. H. Bowman - R. B. Coote, "A Narrative Incantation for Snake Bite", *UF* 12 (1980) 135-139 (136).

16. M. C. Astour, "Two Ugaritic Serpent-Charms", *JNES* 27 (1968) 13-36 (19: "he feeds the serpent"). Cf. D. Pardee, *Les textes paramythologiques de la 24ᵉ campagne (1961)*, Paris 1988, 209; *LRC*, 243; Xella, *TRU* 1, 233; etc. These passages are not mentioned by J. Tropper, *Der ugaritische Kausativstamm und die Kausativbildungen des Semitischen*, Münster 1990, 37.

17. M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, "Mythen als Schultexte. KTU 1.133; 1.152 und die Vorlagen KTU 1.5 I 11-22; 1.15 IV 6-8", *UF* 23 (1991) 91-102; they translate "Mein Schlund ist der Rachen der Löwen in der Wüste" but do not comment on FM in 1.133.

18. Pardee, *Les textes paramythologiques*, 254.

19. Pardee, *Les textes paramythologiques*, 159 remarks: "On ne devrait pas commencer un discours par la conjonction *p*, car celle-ci marque en principe une suite de la pensée (conclusion, phrase adversative, etc.)", following Gordon UT § 12.1. However, there are examples of *p* used in this way; cf. W. G. E. Watson, "The Particle *p* in Ugaritic", *SEL* 7 (1990) 75-86; "Ugaritic *p* Again", *UF* 26 (1994) 493-495.

20. See perhaps also Punic *tr* "necklace?" (*DNWSI*, 1229).

21. B. Margalit, "K-R-T Studies", *UF* 27 (1995) 215-315 (282-283). Note also his restoration *tġr*[m], "the gateway" (with enclitic *m*) in line 27 (*ibid.*, 281 and 283).

22. Margalit, *UF* 27 (1995) 287.

"diese Götter, O *Mt* sind deine Gesellschaft" is Aistleitner's rendering (*WUS* #849); cf. "Unto you (are come) gods; here (even) is Mot" (reading *'dk ilm hn mtm* as one line).[23] Alternatives are "en torno tuyo están los dioses, también los hombres" (*MLC*, 235);"'look! let the dead be your company!" (*ARTU*, 99); "behold! the dead (come) to you" (*CML²*, 81; similarly, *DLU* I, 71), "Voici, les morts (sont) *autour de* toi" (*TOug* I, 270), etc.

(156) 1.9 I 9

    yrmm (cf. *yrm* in 1.9 I 8) in a very broken text, but presumably there is an enclitic here.

(157) 1.16 VI 43-44

    k. ġz. ġzm. tdbr   When the raider raids, you talk.

    w <ġr> ġrm. ttwy   And (when) the invader invades, you're idle.

This is one of the suggestions made by Renfroe for this difficult text; if correct, the FM occurs twice in successive lines, each time on a participle.[24]

(158) 1.16 VI 47-48

    ltdy qšm. 'l. dl   You do not discharge the oppressor of the poor

"Analysis of *qšm* as participle + *m* (plural or enclitic) suggests comparison with Hebrew **qšh*, Aramaic *qšy*, Arabic *qsy*, all meaning "to be burdensome, hard, severe; to treat cruelly". These verbs are attested, at least in part, with the preposition *'l*".[25]

(159) 1.16 VI 50-51

    km aḫt. 'rš. mdw.   Rather, you have taken to the sick bed

Here, *km* = *k* + *m*, "Wahrlich",[26] or perhaps "Rather".[27]

(160) 1.16 VI 56

    'ttrt šm b'l

According to Lipiński "si le -*m* de *šm* représente la particule archaïque -*ma* de liaison qui se rencontre, par exemple, dans le nom *Bunuma-(H)addu*, "fils de Haddu", alors *šm B'l* voudrait dire "brebis (*š*) de Baal"".[28] However, the accepted version of this phrase is "'Athtartu, Name of Ba'alu" (e.g. *MLC*, 322; *CML²*, 102; *TOug* I, 573); or "'Athtartu, consort of Ba'lu" (*ARTU*, 222). Also, FM is never a conjunction in Ugaritic.

23. B. Margalit, *A Matter of 'Life' and 'Death'*, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1980, 194 and 199.

24. F. Renfroe, "The Foibles of a Feeble Monarch (KTU 1.16 VI:41-54)", *UF* 22 (1990) 279-284. For different solutions see S. Izre'el, "The Symptoms of King Krt's Illness", *UF* 8 (1976) 446-447; G. N. Knoppers, "Dissonance and Disaster in the Legend of Kirta", *JAOS* 114 (1994) 572-582 (580 and n. 62). An alternative translation of the first line is "Can you direct warriors like a warrior?" (*DLU*, 128, 161). On the verb *twy* see now W. G. E. Watson, "Comments on Some Ugaritic Lexical Items", *JNSL* 22 (1996) 73-84 (80).

25. Renfroe, *UF* 22 (1990) 280.

26. So already M. Dietrich-O. Loretz , "Kerets Krankheit und Amtsunfähigkeit", *UF* 17 (1985) 123-127 (127, n. 39).

27. Renfroe, *UF* 22 (1990) 281. However, cf. *DLU*, 217-218.

28. E. Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*, Leuven 1995, 134.

(161) 1.83:4

    mḫnm. ʿrp ym   .... the sea

The translation here is very uncertain. Caquot hesitantly suggests "..... *ont fait jaillir* la mer", noting that *mḫnm* "pourrait être un nom (verbal) muni de l'enclitique -*m*. Sa racine serait-elle alors celle de l'arabe *maḫana*, "tirer de l'eau"? Mais le *m*- initial pourrait être aussi bien un préfixe".[29]

(162) 4.370:45

    pslm ṣnr   the *ṣnr*-carver

This was translated "und dazu noch der *ṣnr* Schnitzer",[30] as another example of FM functioning as a conjunction. However, in a later article it was noted that the text seems to be broken off after the last letter and therefore here *pslm* is plural.[31]

Additional uses of FM are *lm* "to" (1.12 II 57, 1.15 IV 22; 4.223:9[32] and 7.1[=7.26]:2) and *km*, "like"(?) (7.114:4); *hm*, "truly"[33] and *kmm*.[34] Also, *bn. ṯmq. arbʿt ṯqlm šlmm*" PN: owes four, has paid two shekels" (4.226:10), where, according to Sanmartín, *šlmm* is either a mistake or has an enclitic -*m*.[35] Similarly, *ʿšrm* (4.392: 3) is either enclitic *m* or else a scribal error for *ʿšrt* or *ʿšrm* = "20", and there was a final error in the calculation.[36] The PN *bʿlmʿdr* (4.172:3) is either to be analysed as *bʿl* + *mʿdr*,[37] or as *bʿl+ -m + ʿdr*, with FM.[38]

(c) Comments on Previous Entries

(27) 1.5 I 24

    w/ḥmm ʿm. aḫy. lḥm   Eat food with my brothers!
    wštm. ʿm. aḫy. yn   Drink wine with my brothers!

29. *TOug* II, 29 and n. 41. See also *ARTU*, 182 and n. 2. Note also *yrgm* (1.102:86) and *ysiḥ*[m] (3.8: 9).

30. M. Dietrich-O. Loretz, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (I)", *BO* 23 (1966) 127-132(132: "*psl* - 'Schnitzer' + enklitischem '*m*'". On *psl* see C. Bonnet, "La terminologie phénico-punique relative au métier de lapicide et à la gravure des textes", *SEL* 7 (1990) 111-122 (121). On *ṣnr* see W. G. E. Watson, "Non-Semitic Words in the Ugaritic Lexicon", *UF* 27 (1995) 533-558 (544).

31. M. Dietrich-O. Loretz-J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (XI)", *UF* 6 (1974) 19-38 (35).

32. Tropper, *UF* 26 (1994) 469, n.50.

33. Cf. Dietrich-Loretz *UF* 23 (1991) 94-95. According to Aartun, *PU* I, 68, 70-71 *hm* = *hn* + *m* - citing Akk. *en-ma* and Arabic *'in-na-ma* and is used (a) for emphasis of single word - [but his example KTU 1.14 I 41-43: *mlk*[.] *ṯr abh yarš. hm. drk*[t] kab. adm, is poor] and (b) to emphasise a clause.

34. See Margalit, *UF* 27 (1995) 293; also Mari Akk. *kîma-ma* "tout comme"; cf. D. Charpin, "Un traité entre Zimri-Lim de Mari et Ibâl-pî-el II d'Ešnunna" in D. Charpin-F. Joannès, eds, *Marchands, Diplomates et Empereurs. Études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, Paris 1991, 139-166 (157).

35. J. Sanmartín, "Wirtschaft und Handel in Ugarit: Kulturgrammatische Aspekte", in M. Dietrich-O. Loretz, *Ugarit. Einostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung*. Band I. *Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, Münster 1995, 131-158 (145, n. 56).

36. G. del Olmo Lete, "The Ugaritic War Chariot. A New Translation of KTU 4.392 (PRU V, 105)", *UF* 10 (1978) 47-52 (48 n.7).

37. E. Lipiński, "Les racines *gzr* et *ʿdr* dans l'onomastique amorite", in M. Lebeau-P. Talon, *Reflets des deux fleuves*, Leuven 1989, 113-116 (114).

38. For other PN's with FM see *AuOr* 10 (1992) 246-249 (section N).

Here, *lḥmm* is an imperative + FM according to van Zijl.[39] The same must apply to *štm*.

(42) 1.17 I 15

    mk bšbᶜ ymm   See! It was on the seventh day.

To the previous discussion can be added the comment by Dietrich and Loretz: "Das nominale Prädikat des vorliegenden Nominalsatzes wird durch das enklitische -*m* (:-*ma*) gekennzeichnet".[40]

(52) 1.43:24.25

    pᶜnm

In my second article, the expression *pᶜnm* was discussed again and the meaning "barefoot" mentioned,[41] a suggestion first made by de Moor.[42] In addition, it can be noted that Pardee translates simply "on foot", and comments that the king was on foot in the cultic procession rather than riding in a vehicle as was usual.[43]

(61) 1.4 V 2-4

    wtᶜn. rbt aṯrt ym   Answer did "Lady Athirat of the Sea"
    rbt ilm...   The "Lady" to El...

This is the translation suggested by Zeeb; he comments: "Das -*m* kann auf verschiedene Weise gedeutet werden: Wenn man nicht annehmen will, es handle sich um ein Zeichen für nachfolgende direkte Rede, interpretiert man es wohl am einfachsten als -*m encliticum* mit hervorhebender Bedeutung".[44] In fact, direct speech follows (see next example). The usual rendering of these lines is "And Lady Athiratu of the sea answered: 'You are great, Ilu, etc.'".

(67) 1.19 III 46

    qr. my[m] mlk. yṣm.   The king cursed Qr-my[m]:
    y lkm. qr. mym.   Woe to you (sg.), Qr-mym!

Tropper remarks "Die EP [enklitische Partikel] -*m* besitzt in diesem Beispiel aber nicht notwendigerweise die Funktion eines Einleitungsmarkers der wörtlichen Rede. Sie findet sich nämlich strengenommen nicht am ersten Wort der Rede, und ihre Verwendung ist durch den vorliegenden Fluchkontext hinreichend begründet".[45] This is a good point. However, it can be noted that in the Amarna

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39. P.J. van Zijl, *Baal. A study of texts in connection with Baal in the Ugaritic epics*, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1972. 162; cf. *DLU* I, 144.

40. M.Dietrich O.Loretz, "Zur ugaritische Lexicographie (V)", *UF* 4 (1972) 27-35 (34).

41. Watson, *AuOr* 12 (1994) 101, with reference to Dietrich and Loretz.

42. De Moor, *AOAT* 16, 194; cf. *Targ* II, 163, n. 78 and *LRC*, 192, n. 103.

43. D. Pardee, "RS 1.005 and the Identification of the *gṯrm*" in J. Quagebeur, ed., *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the International Conference organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of April 1991* (Leuven 1993) 301-318 (303 and 310).

44. F. Zeeb - review of S. A. Wiggins, *A Reassessment of 'Asherah'. A Study According to the Textual Sources of the First Two Millenia B.C.E.*, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1993, in *UF* 25 (1993) 512-515 (513; quotation, 514, n. 5).

45. J. Tropper, "Die enklitische Partikel -*y* im Ugaritischen", *UF* 26 (1994) 473-482 (481-482).

tablets there is some flexibility in the positioning of enclitic -*mi* in a direct quote, i.e., it does not necessarily have to be after the first word.[46]

(70) 1.17 VI 39-40

qštm.[kl] *mhrm.*   The Bow is a warrior's [property].

The missing word would appear to be *kl* (KTU[2]), translated "pertenencia(s), apero(s)", which occurs in 2.38:21; 5.3:10 (so *DLU* I, 214).[47]

(71) 1.100: 64-65a

ydy. bʿṣm. ʿrʿr   He tears the leaves off a certain tree:
wbšht. ʿṣ. mt   from the branch of the tree of death.

This is Belmonte's translation; see next entry.

(72) 1.100:65b-67

ʿrʿrm. ynʿrn(!)h   He (Hôrānu) shakes the berries,
ssnm. ysynh.   he examines the clusters of the palm tree,
ʿdtm. yʿdynh.   he adorns the canes.
ybltm. yblnh   He brings the aforementioned products.

Normally rendered as abverbial endings, the four FMs here are considered to be dual endings by Greaves.[48] Belmonte, instead, takes (71) and (72) as a unit, with FM present only in the first and last lines (*ʿṣm* [= example (71)] and *ybltm*).[49]

(73) 1.100:73-76

tn km. <mhry.> nhšm.   Give as <my dowry> the Snake,
yhr. tn. km mhry   Snake give as my dowry,
wbn. bṯn. itmny   and Son of Serpent as my bride-gift.
ytt. nhšm. mhrk.   Hereby I give the Snake as your dowry,[50]
bn bṯn itmnk   Son of Serpent as your bride-gift.

46. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets*, III, 234ff. Note especially "The enclitic is attached in all these quotes [EA 112:7-9; 119:9; etc.] to the first word in the direct speech. It may be deferred to a later word when the latter is part of the first semantic phrase" (237-238, with an example from EA 34:8-10).

47. However, cf. Tropper, *UF* 26 (1994) 468: "Der Bogen [(ist) eine Waffe] von Kriegern".

48. S. W. Greaves, "Wordplay and Associative Magic in the Ugaritic Snake-bite Incantation RS 24.244", *UF* 26 (1994) 165-168.

49. J. A. Belmonte, "Los productos vegetales de KTU 1.100:64-67", *AuOr* 11 (1993) 114-115. On *ʿṣm* he notes: "Aquí tenemos una -*m* enfática, cf. también en el vocablo *ybltm* de las líneas 66-67" (115, n. 14).

50. A line may be missing here.

Following a proposal first made by Wyatt,[51] it is most probable that here *nḥšm* is *nḥš* with FM: "the Serpent",[52] and not a plural as universally accepted. If he is correct, then *bn bṯn* is also in the singular. Text 1.100 uses FM quite a number of times.

(80) 1.2 i 32

> *išt. ištm. yitmr.*   A fire, yes a fire they appear

Rainey translates "Fire, Fire! He sees a burnished sword",[53] whereas Smith's rendering is "A flame, two flames they appear" (*UBC*, 267; see also *DLU* I, 57).

Now, further comments on previous items: On *bʿlm* 1.148:3ff., discussed in section (J) of the first article, Pardee comments: "Cette traduction de *bʿlm* par "*Baʿlu* + numéro" s'inspire du "panthéon canonique" en syllabique, où l'on trouve DINGIR.IM + les chiffres II à VII".[54] Further references can be provided for *mrhqtm*[55] and *šlmm*.[56] Unusually, two personal names have the particle -*mi* instead of -*ma*:[57] *Baʿalmi-išlam*, written [md]U-*miš-lam*,[58] and [m]*Da-a-dá-mi*: "J'analyse ce nom propre en l'élément Dādu (sémitique de l'est et de l'ouest) et la particule -*mi*, marque du discours direct (cf. Idrī-mi). La traduction pourrait être quelque chose comme: '(je le déclare): il est le chéri!'".[59]

(d) Other Languages

Here are some brief indications of enclitic (and adverbial) -*m* (and -*ma*/-*me*/-*mi*, etc.) in other languages:[60] Phoenician,[61] syllabic Akkadian in Ugarit,[62] Amarna Canaanite,[63] Amorite,[64] New

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51. In his forthcoming translation of the Ugaritic texts (personal communication).

52. The multiple foreskins of David's dowry (2 Sam 18:25-27) may have influenced previous interpretations here.

53. A. F. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets. A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect used by the Scribes from Canaan*, Leiden 1996, II, 93, although the stichometry would be unusual.

54. D. Pardee, "RS 24.643: Texte et Structure", *Syria* 69 (1992) 154-170 (168 n.49).

55. R. de Langhe, *Le Muséon* 59 (1946) 107.

56. D. Schwemer in MemVolPorada.

57. Cf. Watson, *AuOr* 12 (1994) 103.

58. D. Arnaud, "Une lettre du roi de Tyr au roi d'Ougarit: Milieux d'affaires et de culture en Syrie à la fin de l'âge du Bronze récent", *Syria* 59 (1982) 101-107, lines 8.15.

59. Arnaud, *Syria* 59 (1982) 102, n. 10 (on line 11).

60. See Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* § 162 (pp.124-125) on instrumental *m* in Egyptian.

61. J. P. Healey, "The Kition Tariffs and the Phoenician Cursive Series", *BASOR* 216 (1974) 53-60 (56) on KAI 37B line 4: *lbʿlm ym*, "for those who have charge of the Sea", with enclitic *m* in a construct chain: "If our interpretation is correct this is the latest example of the survival of enclitic *mēm* in Phoenician. Another possible example of this usage is found in the Pyrgi Inscription. See *KAI* II, no. 277, l.10" (p. 60, n.14). For discussion cf. *DNWSI*, 621. Note also *qnm* and *mmm*, discussed briefly by F.Israel, "Rassegna critica sugli studi di lingua fenicia", in V. Brugnatelli, ed., *Sem Cam Iafet. Atti della 7ª Giornata di Studi Camito-Semitici e Indeuropei (Milano, 1° giugno 1993)* (Milan 1994) 95-98; on *qnʾm* "person" (*qnmy* = *qnʾm + my*), cf. *DNWSI*, 1014.

62. For example, the syllabic spelling -*ma* in *Ug.* V, 257, text 153 = RS 20.163 / KTU 10.1:1 (*ar-zi-ma*[) - it may be a form of FM or simply the plural -*ma*.

63. S. Izre'el, *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study*. With an Appendix on the History of Amurru by I. Singer (Atlanta 1992) I, 323-337. Also Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets*, III, 5-6, on adverbial -*um(ma)* and -*u(m)*; 227-248, on enclitic -*ma* and -*mi*.

64. E. Knudsen, "Amorite Grammar. A Comparative Statement", in Alan S. Kaye, ed., *Semitic Studies. In honor of Wolf Leslau. On the Occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday November 14th 1991*, Wiesbaden 1991, I, 866-885 (881-882, #3.4).

Assyrian,[65] Babylonian,[66] Hurrian,[67] Linear C,[68] Aramaic[69] and Hebrew.[70] On FM in Hebrew, Morag concludes: "The comparison of Hebrew with Ugaritic leads us to a simple conclusion: the latter has no scale of frequency between *km*, *bm* and *lm* which is comparable to the frequency relationships between *kemō*, *bemō* and *lemō* in Hebrew; Hebrew here discloses a graded isogloss while Ugaritic does not".[71] Mimation is a separate issue.[72]

(e) Discussion

There is no doubt about the widespread use of a final *-m* in Ugaritic and its equivalents in other languages. It is more difficult to assign a particular function for this particle (or particles) in every particular case. In respect of Ugaritic, two further conclusions emerge: (1) FM and mimation cannot co-occur.[73] (2) The use of FM as a conjunction was ruled out in the two previous studies but sporadic examples do seem to occur (75) = KTU 4.223:9,[74] (145) = KTU 1.43:8.23, (147) = KTU 1.92:17, (150) = KTU 1.133:2-4, (159) = KTU 1.16 VI 56 and less possibly, (162) = KTU 4.370:45.[75] Finally, and contrary to Aartun's assertion,[76] FM *may* occur with verbs in prose as well as in verse; possible examples are:1.169:10; 2.16:10-11 and 3.8:9.

65. Note the use of *-ma* in nA, e.g GÍR^MES ‖ GÍR^MES-*ma*; cf. K. Watanabe, *Die* adê-*Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons*, Berlin 1987, 138 lines 635 and 636.

66. W. Farber, "qanu'ummi qanu'um", *NABU* 1996, 80 on expressions with the form X-*mi* X (e.g. *ersetum-mi ersetum*, "Underworld, yes, underworld)": "Zumindest dürfte die das *-mi* ersetzende enklitische Partikel *-ma* in den späteren Texten darauf hinweisen, dass zu dieser Zeit nur noch ein Nominalsatz mit emphatische Betonung des Leitworts beabsichtigt war, der in unserer Übersetzung oft am besten durch einen Vokativ ('Feuer, ja, Feuer!' etc.) wiederzugeben ist". Cf. also K. A. Metzler, "Restitution der Mimation im altbabylonischen Atram-ḫasīs-Epos", *UF* 26 (1994) 369-372.

67. M. Dietrich-W. Mayer, "Sprache und Kultur der Hurriter in Ugarit", in M. Dietrich-O. Loretz, eds., *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung. Band I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, Münster 1995, 7-42 (12, 24-25, 26, 35, n. 107, 36).

68. F. C. Woudhuizen, "Tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit. Evidence of Maritime Trade in the Final Years of the Bronze Age", *UF* 26 (1995) 509-538: "-*ma* 'and' may occur as in Anatolian" (529).

69. E.g., '*tm* in *DAPT* I, 7, i.e. '*t*, "dark, sombre", cognate with Heb. '*ṭh*, Akk *eṭû*, with enclitic-*m*; cf. B. Margalit, "Studies in NWSemitic Inscriptions", *UF* 26 (1994) 271-315 (292). See also V. Sasson, "Once More *smr* and '*tm* in Balaam's Book from Deir 'Alla", *UF* 26 (1995) 435-442.

70. M. H. Pope, "A Resurvey of Some Ugaritic Hebrew Connections", *Maarav* 7 (1991) 199-206 (199).

71. S. Morag, "Graded Isoglosses in East Aramaic", in A. S. Kaye, ed., *Semitic Studies. In honor of Wolf Leslau. On the Occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday November 14th 1991*, Wiesbaden 1991,II, 1085-1099 (1085-1086).

72. On mimation cf. A. Dogopolsky, "Two Problems of Semitic Historical Linguistics", in Alan S. Kaye, ed., *Semitic Studies. In honor of Wolf Leslau. On the Occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday November 14th 1991*, Wiesbaden 1991, I, 328-339, esp. 328-333.

73. As noted by Tropper, *UF* 26 (1994) 469; cf. also Smith, *UBC*, 290. However, P. Fronzaroli, *La fonetica ugaritica* (Sussidi Eruditi 7), Rome 1955, 74 states: "Non è da considerare un fenomeno esclusivamente fonetico la caduta della desinenza *-m* suffissa ai nomi singolari per indicare l'indeterminazione. I casi citati da Gordon [= *UT* § 5.9] come esempi di persistenza saltuaria della mimazione riflettono in realtà due finali avverbiali, *-ma, -miC*".

74. "-*m* hier allerdings in der Bedeutung 'auch, ebenso'". Tropper, *UF* 26 (1994) 469, n. 50; cf. Wesselius, *UF* 12 (1980) 449.

75. The strongest candidate is example (150) where *-m* seems to correspond to the conjunction *p-*.

76. As reiterated by me in *AuOr* 10 (1992) 226.

Artículo-Recensión

El Ciclo de Baal revisado

Gregorio del Olmo Lete - Universidad de Barcelona, I.P.O.A.

A los quince años de la publicación del propio análisis, habérselas con un novísimo comentario del Ciclo de Baal es una buena ocasión para valorar tanto la propia obra como el trabajo ajeno, y en todo caso una oportunidad excelente para sopesar y contrastar las nuevas propuestas interpretativas que han ido apareciendo. En esta ocasión, el interés se ve acompañado de la satisfacción por la coincidencia básica con las tesis del autor, quien por su parte ha recogido con gran generosidad mis propias propuestas. Con fecha 21 de mayo de 1990 me comunicaba el Prof. M. Pope que su sucesor en Yale estaba a punto de concluir su 'comentario' sobre el Ciclo de Baal. Sorprende y satisface ver la prontitud con que la obra concluida ha visto la luz.

Era inevitable que las 'escrituras ugaríticas', tan próximas y por tanto tan 'manoseadas' por los biblistas, acabaran por entrar en su peculiar y tradicional modo de tratamiento: el comentario (p. XXVIII), género ya iniciado con el de B. Margalit al Poema de Aqht en la serie 'bíblica' paralela a la del presente (BZAW 182, Berlin 1989). Se prevé que un par de volúmenes más, según la sugerencia del propio autor, le seguirán hasta completar el entero Ciclo de Baal. Es sabido que el género tiene sus méritos (completa información, contraste de opiniones, actualización de cuestiones) y sus inconvenientes, entre los que sobresale una cierta inevitable redundancia impuesta por la repetición de obviedades e informaciones básicas sobre cuestiones introductorias ya adquiridas (tablillas, dioses del Ciclo, sus moradas, etc.; pp. XXIIss). Tratándose de textos fragmentarios como los aquí estudiados, el comentario, que en el fondo trata de ser siempre una 'explicación' de la traducción, se ve aquí reducido con frecuencia a una recomposición de fragmentos textuales inconexos. La integración general del sentido se pierde en la esfera de lo hipotético.

El prólogo resalta (pp. XXIVss) tres aspectos que el autor considera novedosos en este comentario del ciclo baálico: su alcance 'político', que engloba los demás niveles; la concepción matizada de la soberanía limitada de Baal; su significación como fondo sobre el que emerge la religión bíblica, del Antiguo y del Nuevo Testamento. En tal sentido, la cita de Apoc. 21:1-4 resulta una espléndida síntesis y asimilación de sus mitemas básicos. Me temo, con todo, que una revisión de síntesis previas pueda llevar a matizar esa pretensión de 'novedad'.

El libro se estructura de una manera nítida. Después de una larga Introducción (pp. 1-114), que analiza cuestiones generales sobre el texto, su gramática y hermenéutica, sigue el estudio de las dos 'primeras' tablillas del ciclo distribuido en columnas (ocho), sobre las que se aportan los datos de identificación física. Se organizan así otras tantas secciones que comprenden cada una: bibliografía, texto (transcrito), notas textuales con amplio y pormenorizado análisis epigráfico, traducción y texto vocalizado, y comentario. A su vez éste incluye, en primer lugar, el análisis del paralelismo y estructura prosódica del