FOLIA ORIENTALIA
VOL. LV — 2018
DOI 10.24425/for.2018.124688

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Terms for Occupations, Professions and Social Classes in Ugaritic: An Etymological Study

> "For the moment, we will have to define Late Bronze Age craftsmen, seen from the scribes' point of view, as a variegated group of specialized workers, dependent in varying degrees on the palace, interacting in the Mycenaean economy on several levels and having different social and professional statuses".
>
> (Bech Gregersen 1997, 49)

Abstract

After an introduction (§1), all the Ugaritic terms for occupations, professions and social classes are set out in a classified list together with their cognates in other Semitic languages and their equivalents in Afro-Asiatic, Indo-European and other language groups (§2). There are also sections on composite expressions (§3) proper nouns (§§4–5) and both syllabic Ugaritic and Ugaritian Akkadian terms in these categories (§6). A table sets out the results (§7), with statistics for distribution (§8) and language (§9) and finally there are some conclusions (§10).

Keywords

Afro-Asiatic, comparative Semitics, composite expressions, etymology, Hittite, Hurrian, Indo-European, occupation, profession, register, social class, Ugaritic.

1. Previous Studies

As yet, there is no comprehensive study of all the terms for professions, occupations and social classes in Ugaritic documented in the alphabetic script[1]. Recently, however, Vita (2018) has studied all the terminology related to job

[1] For reasons of space, professions in syllabic spellings without alphabetic equivalents are not studied here (but see §6).

categories and the work force in Ugarit[2]. Other surveys only deal with a selection of terms: Astour (1972) deals with a dozen words related to merchants and Yamashita (1975) discusses 37 terms that have equivalents in biblical Hebrew, not all of which are relevant[3]. Sanmartín (1995a) examines 33 lemmata: 32 alphabetic and one syllabic (*aškapu*) with no alphabetic equivalent and Sanmartín (1995c) considers *mrů*, *rb nkšy*, *rp sswt* and *škn*. Dietrich (2004, 681–683) discusses Ugaritic titles with Hittite equivalents and Watson (2010) discusses 10 terms. McGeough (2007, 88–122) comments on 8 social designations and 17 occupational designations (one syllabic) and 3 terms for cultic officials while McGeough – Smith (2011, 26–31) discuss 9 terms for "occupational categories"[4]. Other studies are by Dietrich – Loretz (1966a; 1969ab), Heltzer (1979; 1982; 1999), Liverani (1979), Xella (1988), Koitabashi (1998, 365–368), Vita (1999) and Van Soldt (2010b; 2015)[5]. For professions related to textiles see Ribichini – Xella (1985, 18–22); Van Soldt (1990, 352–354) and Vita (2010, 325).

Studies of isolated terms include Xella (1973) on *ġzrm*, Dietrich – Loretz (1977a) and Segert (1987) on *nqd*, Dietrich – Loretz (1977b) on *ytn*, Sznycer (1981) on *kzy*[6], Sanmartín (1987a) on *yṣḥm*, Dietrich – Loretz (1987), Del Olmo Lete (1988), Van Soldt (1988) and Freilich (1992) on *ṯ*^{c}/*ṯ*^{c}*y*, Van Soldt (1988) and Pardee (2015) on *prln*, Mack-Fisher (1990) on *bṭr*, Dietrich – Loretz (1990) on *tbl*, Heltzer (1997) on *ḥrš qṭn*, Van Soldt (2001; 2002; 2006) on *skn*, Watson (2002a; 2002b) on *s/śġr*, Vita (2007) on *ḫlġl* and *mḏrġl*, Watson (2009a) on *bdlm*, Dietrich (2010b) on *šm*^{c} (*rgm*), Vidal (2011) on *rb mgdlm*, Del Olmo Lete (2012a) on *ůdbr*, Watson (2015) on *ůḥyt*, Vita (2016) on *gzzm*, Del Olmo Lete (2017) on *mḥll* and Rougemont – Vita (2017) on *bnš mlk*[7]. In this paper, there is some overlap with similar surveys on Ugaritic terms for professions relating to horses, the family and warfare[8].

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[2] Juan Pablo kindly sent me a pre-print copy shortly before the completion of this paper.

[3] See also Alt 1959 (unavailable to me) and Buccellati 1963, 226–228.

[4] These two studies are particularly valuable as they rehearse most of the evidence then available, which need not be repeated here. For reviews of the first volume see Dietrich 2010a and Vita 2010b, and of the second, Gzella 2012 and Vita 2011. Also of some relevance is Meissner 2016, on terms for professions in Greek.

[5] See also Vidal 2005, 85, 101–110, 125–132, 144–152 and Bell 2012.

[6] My thanks to Nicolas Wyatt for help with this and other references and especially for reading through the whole paper and providing valuable criticism. The usual disclaimers apply.

[7] This is only a sample. Even if not explicitly cited, the following works were useful: Jakob 2003, Schloen 2001 and von Dassow 2008. For Assyria see Baker 2017, Barjamovic 2011, Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 143, Mattila 2000 and Groß 2015. On the many roles of the NA *rab ṭupšarri* and *ṭupšar ēkalli* see Luukko 2007.

[8] See Watson 2011; 2013a; 2017.

2. Classified Entries

As Van Soldt (1990b, 353) has noted: "In general, the administrative texts from Ugarit do not attempt to give systematic lists of professions. Which principle dictated the order of professions in these lists remains elusive for the time being. Only in certain cases (like the *khnm*, *nqdm* & *qdšm* and the various types of *mur'u*) do we find groups"[9]. This means that the classification adopted here is only one of many that could be used[10]. Broadly speaking, it follows a ranking from high social status to lower, but also has to include a range of occupations and professions, with no obvious order. To a limited extent and where applicable I have followed and adapted the sequences used in Jakob 2003. The terms are in alphabetic sequence within each section.

Here the focus is on etymology and the interconnections of these terms in other languages and language families[11]. Where possible, the equivalents of *nouns* are provided[12]. For comparative purposes, there is some reference to Egyptian, Greek and Hittite as representative of the Afro-Asiatic and Indo-European language groups as well as to Hurrian and other languages[13]. All the terms discussed (with selected cognates and corresponding terms in other languages) are given in a table (§7). Every occurrence is listed so that the distribution can be determined (§8).

2.1. The Elite

2.1a Royalty (*ůṯryn*, *ġlm*, *ġlmt*, *mlk*, *mlkt*, *srn*, *šr*, *zbl* I)[14]

- *ůṯryn*, "crown prince" (KTU 2.67:1; 3.1:30; cf. 4.103:6)
  - CS: a Semitic derivation and the meaning "successor" (√*ṯr*, "to follow" + afformative -*ān*) was proposed by Renfroe (1992, 24), but it is probably a loanword.

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[9] For a survey of the various models proposed for Ugaritian society by scholars see D'Alfonso 2010.

[10] In Anatolia, metallurgists also had ritual and cultic functions in religious ceremonies (cf. Mouton 2012), an indication that modern classifications may not be the same as those in the ancient Near East.

[11] Since many of these occupations involved communicating with or travelling to other countries (see Bachvarova 2016, 199–203, 346), cross-linguistic interference is not surprising.

[12] Dictionaries such as AHw, CSL, DUL and HALOT can be consulted for additional cognates in Semitic. For the equivalents in syllabic spellings and Ugaritian Akkadian see DUL.

[13] Note the following language abbreviations: AA: Afro-Asiatic; Akk.: Akkadian; Alal.: Alalaḫ; Arab.: Arabic; Bab.: Babylonian; CS: Common Semitic; Cush.: Cushitic; (E)Chad.: (East) Chadic; Eg.: Egyptian; ES: East Semitic; Heb.: Hebrew; Hitt.: Hittite; Hurr.: Hurrian; IE: Indo-European; MA: Middle Assyrian; NA: Neo-Assyrian; Nab.: Nabataean; NB: Neo-Babylonian; (N)WS: (North-)West Semitic; (O)Aram.: (Old) Aramaic; OB: Old Babylonian; OSA: Old South Arabic; Ph: Phoenician; Pu: Punic; Syr.: Syriac; Ug.: Ugaritic.

[14] Also Ug. *pġt*, "princess" (KTU 1.15 iii 7, 8); for cognates see Watson 2013a, 32.

– Hurr. *ušriani*, "crown prince (?)" (BGH, 506a; 520–521)[15], borrowed as Akk. *ušriyānu*, "crown prince" (CDA, 429b).

- *ġlm*, (a) "prince" (KTU 1.14 iii 49; 1.14 vi 34; 1.14 vii 52–53; 1.15 ii 20, 25; 1.16 vi 39); (b) "noble" (KTU 1.14 i 19, 40; 1.119:7) – see §2.10a below.
- *ġlmt*, "princess"[16] (KTU 1.4 vii 54; 1.8 ii 7; 1.14 iv 41; 1.15 ii 22; 1.24:7; 1.39:19; 1.41:25; 1.87:27; 1.119:8; cf. 1.123:19; 1.139:10; 1.148:34)
  – CS: Heb. *ᶜalmāh*, "marriageable girl; young woman" (HALOT, 835–836); Ph. *ᶜlmt*, "girl, young woman" (DNWSI, 862; CSL, 246); Aram. *ᶜûlāmtā'*, "maiden" (DJBA, 847b; cf. DJPA, 399a; DSA II, 641a); Syr. *ᶜylmh*, "girl, maiden, female servant" (SL, 1102b).
- *mlk*, "king, sovereign" (KTU 1.2 ii 9; 1.2 iii 5; 1.2 iv 10; 1.3 v 36; 1.4 i 5; 1.4 iii 9; 1.4 vii 43; 1.6 vi 57; 1.12 ii 58; 1.14 iii 21, 27; 1.16 i 40, 56, 59; 1.6 vi 57; 1.12 ii 58; 1.14 iii 16, 21, 27; 1.14 v 8; 1.14 vi 14, 38; 1.16 vi 23, 37; 1.17 vi 49; 1.19 iii 46; 1.23:7; 1.24:2, 17, 24; 1.40:18; 1.41:4, 20, 45, 48, 50, 53; 1.43:23, 25; 1.87:7, 48, 57; 1.90:1, 21; 1.103:7, 13, 17, 37, 43, 46, 52, 54, 57, 58; 1.106:17; 1.111:3; 1.115:1; 1.119:5; 1.132:3; 1.161:11, 12 15, 25, 26; 1.163:7; 1.164:1, 3, 11; 1.168:1, 8; 1.171:4, 6; 1.173:13; 2.7:9; 2.13:3; 2.14:13; 2.15:3; 2.30:3; 2.31:13; 2.33:14, 20, 22, 26, 30, 33; 2.36:21; 2.38:1; 2.40:1, 12, 14, 18; 2.42:1, 9, 10, 23, 26; 2.44:1, 3; 2.45:1, 13, 14, 17; 2.47:1, 8, 12, 14; 2.72:14, 17, 24, 26, 29, 32; 2.76:1; 2.81:1, 3, 20; 2.88:29; 2.90:20; 2.97:1; 2.102:1; 3.2:4; 3.22:3; 3.32:4, 8, 23; 4.182:64; 4.230:8; 4.338:13, 15; 4.635:1, 3, 57; 4.779:11; 6.23:3; 6.29:4; 6.84:3 etc.)
  – CS: Heb. *mlk*, "king, ruler" (HALOT, 591–592); Ph., Pun. *mlk*, "king of a country, king over a city, king of an ethnic group" (CSL, 180); OAram., Nab., Palm. *mlk*, "king" (DNWSI, 634–640); Akk. *malku*, *maliku*, "Fürst, König" (AHw, 595–596); "king, foreign ruler" (CAD M/1, 166–164); "prince, king" (CDA, 193b); OSA *mlk*, "king; office of king; kingship" (DOSA, 277–278); cf. Arab. *mālik*, "the possessor of command" (AEL, 3023)[17].
  – AA: borrowed as Eg. **malku*, *milku*, "king" (SWET §187).
- *mlkt*, "queen" (KTU 1.23:7; 1.170:1; 1.179:34, 39; 2.12:1; 2.13:15; 2.21:2, 9; 2.24:1; 2.30:1; 2.33:1; 2.36:1, 3; 2.68:1; 2.75:8; 2.82:1; 2.88:1, 36; 2.89:1; 2.90:1; 3.1:26; 4.149:15; 4.219:12; 4.230:4, 5; 4.244:9; 4.382:1-2; 4:635:2, 6)

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[15] Dietrich – Loretz 1966b, 129; Huehnergard UVST, 112; CAD U/W, 303; CDA, 429b.

[16] As Wyatt (RTU, 58, n. 99) comments: "Its use in Ug. appears to be restricted to deities and royal persons" and he translates it as "sacred bride" in the Kirta story.

[17] For these and other cognates see Monferrer-Sala 2013, 94.

- CS: Heb. *mlkh*, "wife of the king, queen" (HALOT, 592); Ph. *mlkt*, "queen" (CSL, 182–183); Nab., Palm. *mlkt*, "queen" (DNWSI, 636); OSA *mlkt*, "queen" (SD, 85); Akk. *malkatu*(*m*), "ruler (f.), queen" (CDA, 193b) and Arab. *malika*, "queen" (DMWA, 923a).

▪ *srn*, "prince" (KTU 1.22 i 18; 1.147:10)
- CS: Heb. **srn*, "governor" (HALOT, 770).
- IE: *ser-/sar-*, "superior" + *-en* = "king"[18].

▪ *šr* (II), "prince, sovereign" (KTU 1.12 ii 50–51; 1.19 i 11; 1.104:14; 1.123:3; 1.147:11)
- CS: Heb. *śr*, "official, commander" (HALOT, 1350–1353); Ph. *šr*, "prince" (CSL, 331); Aram. *śr*, "guardian angel, chief" (DJPA, 572b); Aram. *šr*, "prince" (DNWSI, 1190–91); Emar Akk. /śarrū/, "officials, rulers" (Pentiuc WSV, 171) and Akk. *šarru*, "König, Fürst" (AHw, 1188); "king" (CAD Š/2, 76; CDA, 361b). Cf. NA *sīru*, "(an official)" (CDA, 325a).
- AA: Eg. *sr*, "Vornehmer, Fürst" (Wb 4, 188–189); "nobleman, magistrate" (FCD, 235; cf. DLE II, 57), as noted in EDE I, 201. Note also Chad. **car*, "chief" (CED No. 54; cf. HSED §386).
- Hurr. *šarri*, "king", a loan from Semitic (cf. BGH, 356–357; 543).

▪ *zbl* I, "prince" (KTU 1.2 i 38, 43; 1.3 i 3; 1.13:26, 28; 1.133:19; 5.22:9; cf. 1.129:3)
- CS: Ph. *zbl*, "prince" (DNWSI, 303)[19]; cf. Aram. *zbl*, "to honor, exalt" (DSA I, 219a).

2.1b Gentry and Nobility (*ådn*, *ådr*, *ådrt*, *ådt*, *bᶜl*, *bᶜlt*, *ẖsn*, *rb*, *rbt*, *šᶜtq*, *št*, *ṯᶜ*)[20]

▪ *ådn*, "lord, master" (KTU 1.1 iv 17; 1.2 i 17; 1.3 v 9; 1.6 vi 58; 1.15 vi 5; 1.16 i 44, 57, 60; 1.124:1; 2.14:19; 2.18:4; 2.39:9; 2.85:2; 2.90:13; 4.360:3; 5.11:7–8; 7.218:2)
- CS: Heb. *'ādôn*, "lord, master" (HALOT, 12–13); Ph. *'dn*, "lord" (CSL, 5–6); Aram. *'dn*, "lord", (DNWSI, 15–17); Aram. *'dwn*, "master" (DJPA, 35b); Akk. *adû*, "leader" (CDA, 5b).
- AA: cf. Chadic **'Vd-*, "father, chief" (CED No. 3) and Chadic **'dVn-*, "elder (father, uncle)"[21].
- Hurr.: Borrowed as Hurr. *ådn*, "lord etc." (BGH, 512–513).

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[18] As proposed by Garbini 1991; for the origin of the word "tyrant" see Kõiv (2016,17): "The terms *tyrannos* and *tyrannis* were loan-words from the east, probably deriving from Luwian *tarwnis* which meant some sort of judges or secondary rulers besides the greater kings, and which would have been adapted by the Greeks from the Lydian".

[19] See also the Phoen. PN *zbl*, "prince" (Xella 2017, 165).

[20] See Zevit 1991 on terms for "noble" in NW Semitic. For *qrd*, "hero etc.", see Watson 2017, 708.

[21] Stolbova 2002, 288 §3.

- *ådr*, "worthy" (KTU 1.17 v 7; 1.176:19; 2.3:19; 4.246:7; cf. KTU 1.12 ii 29; 2.83:10; 2.88:17)[22]
  - CS: Heb. *'addîr*, "mighty, magnificent"; noun, plur.: "prominent people" (HALOT, 13–14); Ph. *'dr*, "mighty, noble" (CSL, 6–7; cf. DNWSI, 18–19); a loan as Aram. *'addîr*, "mighty" (DJPA, 35b).
  - AA: **'ader-*, "master, lord" (HSED §19: Agaw, Chadic and possibly Rift).
- *ådt*, "lady" (KTU 2.11:1, 5, 15; 2.12:2, 7, 12; 2.22:4; 2.24:2, 5, 10; 2.25:2; 2.33:1, 3, 4, 19; 2.56:1; 2.68:1, 4, 8, 15; 2.82:2; 4.13:36; 4.69 iii 13; 4.344:7; 4.410:7; 4.422:3; 4.494:4; 4.616:4; 4.769:7)
  - CS: Ph. *'dt*, "lady" (CSL, 8); Palm. *'dt*, "lady, spouse" (DNWSI, 16–17)[23]. See above on Ug. *ådn*.
- *bᶜl* (II), "lord, owner" (KTU 1.15 iv 28; 1.15 v 20; 1.103:34 39; 1.161:20–21; 2.23:2, 4, 33; 2.33:22, 24, 26; 2.39:19; 2.61:2; 2.64:13; 2.81:3; 2.85:17; 2.86:2, 6, 12, 21; 2.91:7; 2.97:1, 7; 2.98:9, 14, 23, 34; 2.106:3, 12; 2.113:7; 3.1:12; 4.17:16; 5.10:3 etc.)
  - CS: Heb. *baᶜal*, "owner, husband" (HALOT, 142–143); Ph. *bᶜl*, "husband" (CSL, 51–52; cf. DNWSI, 182–184); Akk. *bēlu*(*m*), "lord, proprietor (of)" (CDA, 42); "Herr, Besitzer" (AHw, 118–120); "master, ruler" (CAD B, 191–198); cf. Aram. *bᶜl*, "to have sexual intercourse" (DJPA, 109a); OSA *bᶜl*, "lord, owner" (DOSA, 50); Arab. *baᶜl*, "husband, lord" (AEL, 228).
  - AA: **baᶜil-*, "man" (HSED §182; cf. §184), e.g. Cush. *bīl-o*, "master, lord"[24]. Borrowed as Eg. **baᶜlu*, "lord, master" (SWET §115)[25].
- *bᶜlt*, "lady" (KTU 1.39:21; 1.41:37; 1.48:4; 1.53:7; 1.81:6; 1.87:5, 28–29; 1.91:14, 20; 1.105:8, 16; 1.108:6, 7, 8; 1.109:31; 1.112:4; 2.31:48; 4.54:1)
  - CS: Heb. *bᶜlh*, "mistress" (HALOT, 145); Ph. *bᶜlt*, "mistress" (CSL, 52); Pun. *bᶜlt*, "lady" (DNWSI, 183–184); Akk. *bēltu*, "Herrin, Besitzerin" (AHw, 118); "lady, mistress" (CAD B, 187–191); Akk. *bēltu*(*m*), *bēletu*(*m*), *bēlatu*(*m*), "lady; mistress, proprietress (of)" (CDA, 42a). Cf. OSA *bᶜlt*, "priestess" (DOSA, 51); Arab. *baᶜlat*, "wife" (AEL, 228).
  - AA: borrowed as Eg. **baᶜlat*, "lady" (SWET §116).
- *ḫsn*, "landowner" (KTU 4.137:1, 8, 10; 4.162:1, 2; 4.163:2, 4, 13; 4.173:1, 6, 8; 4.174:2; 4.179:2, 7; 4.542:1)
  - CS: Aram. *ḥsn*, "to take possession of, to be in possession of" (DNWSI, 391–392); Aram. *ḥsn*, "to bequeath, take possession" (DJBA, 475b);

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[22] For *ådrt*, "noble lady" see §3.

[23] Cf. Eg. *jd.t*, "womb, vulva" and for additional material see EDE I, 83.

[24] For further AA equivalents, see EDE II, 166 §1.

[25] Cf. also EDE II, 166; Watson 2013a, 26–27.

Aram. *'ḥsn*, "to take possession of a landed inheritance, to bequeath a landed inheritance" (DJPA, 211a); "to take possession" (DSA I, 286b)[26].

- *rb*, "chief, sheikh, grandee" (KTU 3.9:12; 4.759:8; 6.3:1; 6.63:2)
  - CS: Akk. *rabû*(*m*), "(of person, official) noble, grandee" (CDA, 294a mng 6; cf. CAD R, 26–37); Arab. *rabb*, "lord, master" (AEL, 1003)[27]; Aram. *rb*, "master, teacher, chief, head" (DJPA, 511b; DJBA, 1052–1053) and Syr. *rb'*, "chief, leader, teacher, master" (SL, 1425).
  - AA: Borrowed as Eg. *ra=bi*$_3$ (**rabbi*), "great, master" (SWET §272).
- *rbt*, "lady (mayor)" (KTU 1.3 v 40; 1.169:16; 1.23:54; 1.16 i 36, 38; 4.125:16)
  - CS: RS Akk. *rabītu*, "queen" (CDA, 294 mng 2); "great lady" (CAD R, 26a)[28]; Aram. *rbwnh*, "mistress" (DJPA, 513b); Aram. *rbnh*, "mistress" (DSA II, 809b) and Arab. *rabba*, "mistress, lady" (DMWA, 320b).
  - AA: borrowed as Eg. *ra=bi=tu*$_2$ (etc.), "great" (SWET §277).
- *š*^{c}*tq*, "noble" (KTU 2.82:5)
  - ES: Akk. *šūtuqu*(*m*), "surpassing, outstanding" (CDA, 391b; CAD Š/3, 414–415).
- *št*, "dame, lady" (KTU 1.23:61)[29]
  - CS: Arab. *sitt*, "lady" (DMWA, 397a).
  - AA: **süt-*, "woman" (HSED §2306); Chadic **sVt-*, "woman, sister" (CED No. 721).
- *ṯ*^{c}, "lord" (KTU 1.14 iv 37; 1.14 vi 16, 40; 1.15 i 8; 1.15 ii 8, 15; 1.15 v 22; 1.16 i 24; 1.16 vi 15, 42, 54; 1.39:1; 1.46:1; 1.105:8; 1.119:11; 1.130:19)
  - CS: Akk. *šuwā'um*, *šu'û*, "lord, master" (CDA, 391b)[30] and Heb. *šôʿ*^{ac}, "noble, eminent" (HALOT, 1444, with discussion).

2.2. Administrators and Functionaries (*ůdbr*, *ḫbrtnr*, *ḫnzr*, *md*, *mrů* II, *nḥl*, *ríš*, *skn*, *spr*, *škl*, *yt*; cf. *drk*, *ṯpṭ*)

- *ůdbr*, "executive" (KTU 4.807:52, 56; cf. 4.312:5 9)
  - CS: Syr. *dbr*, "to lead, take, drive; to guide, govern, manage; pa. to govern etc." (CSD, 82b); "to lead, guide, drive; to plow pa. to lead,

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[26] These cognates have not been mentioned before. An alternative equivalent, first proposed by Liverani (1969, 195), is Hitt. *ḫaššana-*, "familiaris" (Tischler HEG/2, 197; for its etymology see EDHIL, 319–321). However, a Semitic etymology seems preferable. For other proposals see DUL, 404.

[27] For OSA cf. Biella DOSA, 475.

[28] Van Soldt SAU, 15.

[29] See De Moor 1972, 18 n. 62; Del Olmo Lete MLC, 633. However, possibly here *št* is a verb ("place"); see Smith 2006, 110–111. The expression *mhr št* (KTU 1.18 iv 27; 1.19 iv 52–53, 56–57) may mean "soldier of the lady" or "destructive warrior" (cf. DUL, 838); in KTU 1.19 iv 59, *št* means "lady" or is a verb (see DUL, 836).

[30] A connection with Akk. *ašû*(*m*), "distinguished, noble" (CDA, 30a; cf. AHw, 1545b; CAD A/2, 476a), is remotely possible, perhaps.

guide, to rule, govern" (SL, 271–272); Syr. *dbr'*, "cultivation of the ground" (SL, 272b)[31]; Sabaic *dbr*, "to take into possession, to acquire"[32]; Arab. *mudabbir*, "one who manages" (AEL, 844), "manager, director" (DMWA, 271a)[33].

- *ḫbrtnr*, "grandee" (KTU 3.1:34, 36)
  - Hurr. *ḫuburtan(n)uri*, "(a high royal official)" (CDA, 118b; cf. BGH, 168–169, 523b).
  - IE: Hitt. *ḫuburtanuri*, "(Bezeichnung heth. Würdenträger)" (Tischler HEG/2, 298)[34].
- *ḫnzr*, "an official" (KTU 1.5 v 9; cf. 4.870:3)
  - Hurr.: cf. Akk. *ḫanizarru*, "ein Funktionär" (AHw, 321); "(a functionary)" (CDA, 106a), possibly a Hurrian word (see BGH, 526a, 528a).
- *md*, "expert" (KTU 4.38:4; 4.47:4; 4.54:13; 4.99:4; 4.103:1; 4.245 i 1, 11; 4.387:25; 4.690:1; 4.837:15; 4.838:2)[35]
  - CS: Akk. *mūdû*(*m*), *muda'um*, "wissend, klug" (AHw, 666); *mudû*, "knowing, expert", "acquaintance, friend" (CAD M/2, 163–167); *mūdû*(*m*), *muda'um*, *mudi'um*, *muddû*, "knowing, aware of (s.th.), expert" (CDA, 214b), also Akk. *mud(d)u*, "acquaintance" (of the king) (CDA, 214b).
  - Hurr. *mad-*, "to be wise, skilful"; *madi*, "wise" (BGH, 248–249; cf. 532a). The lack of a final /ᶜ/ in Ug. *md* indicates a direct loan either from Akkadian[36] or from Hurrian.
- *mrů* (II), "equerry" (KTU 4.47:3; 4.68:64, 69; 4.69 iii 11; 4.69 v 17; 4.99:12; 4.103:20, 37; 4.105:1; 4.126:2, 24; 4.137:7; 4.163:3; 4.173:6; 4.174:3; 4.179:6; 4.416:2; 4.610 iv 1; 4.745:1; 4.752:2, 7; 4.806:7; 4.837:7; 4.838:13)
  - CS: Akk. *mur'u*, "Offizier"(?) (AHw, 677); "(an official)" (CAD M/2, 228–229; CDA, 219); Aram. *mry* (also *mr'*), "master, owner" (DJPA, 329b); Aram. *māryā'*, "master, owner" (DJBA, 707) and Syr. *mr'*, "master, owner; patrician" (SL, 823–824; cf. CSD, 298)[37].
  - AA: borrowed as Eg. **maru'u*, "groom?, squire?" (SWET §173; cf. EDE III, 416–417).

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[31] Note also Aram. *dabrā'*, "field" (DJBA, 313b).

[32] For references (quoting P. Stein) cf. Del Olmo Lete 2012a; he proposes the meanings "manager, administrator for someone else" (p. 620); cf. now DUL, 17.

[33] See already Tropper 2004, 519: "Verwalter, Wirtschafter", with reference to Arabic and Syriac.

[34] "In eigentlich hethitischen Texten bisher jedoch nicht belegt" (Tischler HEG/2, 298); cf. Knoppers 1993, 89: "chief steward".

[35] Also "scribe of the village" (Vita 1999); for *md mlk*[ ] see §3. See also Vargyas 1981.

[36] Cf. Ug. *md*, "consciousness", in KTU 1.114:27 (Del Olmo Lete 2015).

[37] Cf. Huehnergard UVST, 149; Watson LSU, 131.

- *nḥl*, "sharecropper, feudatory"[38] (KTU 4.35 *passim*; 4.69 *passim* etc.)[39]
  - CS: Heb. *nḥl*, "to maintain as a possession" (HALOT, 686); Ph. *nḥl*, "to take possession of" (DNWSI, 724); Akk. *naḫālu*(*m*), "to share out, transfer property" (CDA, 231b), Mari Akk. *ni/eḫlatum*, ~ "transferred property" (CDA, 253a); Arab. *naḥala*, "to make a donation" (DMWA, 947).
- *rỉš*, "authority" (lit. "head") (KTU 2.88:30)
  - CS: Heb. *ro'š*, "head, leader, chief" (HALOT, 1166); Ph., Pun. "leader, head, first rank" (CSL, 297; DNWSI, 1043); Aram. *rēšā'*, *r'š'*, "head, superior, leader chief" (DJBA, 1078–1079); Syr. *rīšā'*, "head, chief, prefect, rulers, magistrates" (SL, 1462); Akk. *rēšu*(*m*), *rāšu*(*m*), "head" (CDA, 302); OSA *r'š*, "head, chief" (DOSA, 474) and Arab. *ra's*, "head, chief, chieftain, leader" (DMWA, 317)[40].
  - AA: cf. Eg. *ꜣjs* (< *rjs), "viscera (of the skull)" = "brain" (EDE I, 50, 81, 187); also borrowed from Semitic as Eg. /*rôša*/, "peak, summit, head" (SWET §285).
- *skn*, "administrator, governor, manager, mayor, prefect" (KTU 2.17:8; 2.21:8; 2.54:4; 2.89:2; 2.101:3; 3.1:38; 4.36:3; 4.47:2; 4.63:3; 4.68:63; 4.69 v 6; 4.92:3; 4.99:13; 4.102:7; 4.106:9; 4.110:2; 4.126:23; 4.132:5; 4.143:1; 4.160:6, 9; 4.165:1; 4.213:3; 4.288:2–5; 4.342:1; 4.357:30; 4.361:1; 4.373:2; 4.555:1; 4.592:3; 4.609:10, 11; 4.610 iv 2; 4.635:8, 11, 12, 15, 37, 75; 4.707:4; 4.837:6; 4.838:14; 4.856:2; 4.861:9; 6.71:1)[41]
  - CS: Heb. *skn*, "administrator" (HALOT, 755); "governor, prefect" (DNWSI, 785–786); Alal. Akk. *sākinu*, "Präfekt" (AHw, 1012); "(a high official)" (CAD S, 79–80); Akk. *sākinu*, *sakinnu*, *sakkinu*, "prefect, governor" (CDA, 312b); Emar Akk. /sākinu/, "prefect" (Pentiuc WSV, 155–156); EA Akk. *sukīnu*, "commissar" (CDA, 327a; AHw, 1055); "inspector" (CAD S, 354); cf. Heb. *sgn*, "official" (HALOT, 742); "prefect, governor" (DNWSI, 777–778); NB *sagānu*, "Statthalter" (AHw, 1002); "(an official)" (CAD S, 21) and OB *šaknu*, "Statthalter" (AHw, 1141); "governor, appointee" (CDA, 349b)[42].
- *spr*, "scribe" (KTU 1.75:10; 3.8:23; 4.183 ii 29; 4.836:20; cf. perhaps 1.6 vi 54[43])

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[38] "Texts such as KTU 4.35 I 20, 22 (*ḥrš btm*), II 6 (*ʕbdm*); II 20–21 (*ṯnnm*) lead us to assume that the cited professionals were also land owners or that *nḥl* has the more general meaning of 'assistant', 'partner' manager' or 'contracted party'." (Del Olmo Lete 2012a, 615 n. 9). See Del Olmo Lete 2012a for discussion and further cognates.

[39] As this term occurs well over 100 times, for the references see Dietrich – Loretz WL, 143–144.

[40] Further cognates in HALOT, 1164b.

[41] For the wider duties of Ug. *skn* see Dietrich – Loretz 2009, 157–158.

[42] Baranowski (2017, 526–527 and n. 29) argues that WS **sākinu* "was ultimately borrowed from Akkadian". See also Na'aman 1995.

[43] For discussion see Wyatt 2015, 400–401; he opts for "document".

- CS: Heb. *s(w)pr*, "scribe, secretary" (HALOT, 767); Ph., Pun. *spr*, "scribe" (DNWSI, 798–799; CSL, 232–233); Syr. *safrā'*, "scribe" (SL, 1035); cf. Akk. *šāpiru*, "prefect, governor" (AHw, 1172–73); "overseer, provincial governor" (CAD Š/1, 453–458); LB *sepīru*, "scribe (writing alphabetic texts)" (AHw, 1036), "scribe writing alphabetic script; (an administrative functionary)" (CAD S, 225–226), "interpreter-scribe (of Aram.)" (CDA, 320b; cf. Pearce 2000).
- AA: borrowed as Eg. /s̀ōpira/, "Scribe" (SWET §540).

▪ *škl*, "minister, vizier" (KTU 3.1:39)[44]
- CS: Akk. *šukkallu*(*m*), *sukkallu*(*m*), "(a court official), minister, king's minister" (CDA, 381b)[45]; cf. Aram. *škl*, "to teach, guide" (DSA II, 893a).
- Hurro-Hittite *šukkalli-*, "messenger" (cf. BGH, 539a), ultimately from Sumerian (cf. AIA, 103).

▪ *ṯ^{c}y*, "civil servant, assistant" (KTU 1.6 vi 57, 59; cf. 1.4 viii 49–50)
- WS: see perhaps Heb. *šu^{ac}*, "cry for help" (HALOT, 1444b), but there is no clear etymology. See now Ayali-Darshan 2018.

▪ *yt*, "overseer, foreman" (KTU 4.93 i 1; 4.618:3)
- ES: Akk. *atû*, "gatekeeper, porter" (CDA, 31a) and Akk. (Hurr.) *atuḫlu*, "(a profession)" (cf. CDA, 31a; BGH, 66)[46]

2.3. Legal Personnel (*tpnr*, *ṯpṭ*, *ypḥ/ḫ*)

▪ *tpnr*, "notary" (KTU 3.1:32; 4.44:23, 28)[47]
- IE: Hitt. ^{lú}*tuppalanuri-/tuppanuri-*, "(hethitischer Würdenträger in Texten aus Ugarit)" (Tischler HEG/3, 444–445), a loan as Akk. *tuppanūri*, "(Hitt. royal official)" (CDA, 410a).

▪ *ṯpṭ*, "judge, ruler" (KTU 1.2 i 7, 17, 22, 23, 26, 28, 30, 34, 41, 44; 1.2 iii 7, 16, 21; 1.2 iv 15, 16, 22, 25, 27, 30; 1.3 v 32; var. *ṯpẓ* KTU 1.108:3)
- CS: Heb. *š*(*w*)*pṭ*, "judge, ruler" (HALOT, 1623–1624)[48]; Ph., Pun. *špṭ*, "magistrate" (CSL, 329–330); cf. Aram. *špṭ*, "rule" (DSA II, 920) and Akk. *šāpiṭu*, "district governor; judge" (CDA, 357b); "district governor, high administrative official" (CAD Š/1, 459).
- AA: borrowed as Eg. *ša=p=ta*, "to judge" (SWET §398).

▪ *ypḥ*, "witness" (KTU 3.6:2; 3.8:17, 19, 21; 3.9:18; 3.15:10; 3.23:22; 3.28:3, 11, 19; 3.29:5, 18, 27; 3.35:6; 4.31:9 (*ypḫ*); 4.258:5; 4.754:4; 4.817:17–18).
- WS: Heb. *ypḥ*, "witness" (HALOT, 424).

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[44] See Dietrich 2004, 683.

[45] For Neo-Assyrian *sukkallu* see Favaro 2007, 13–16.

[46] See Watson LSU, 114 and n. 405; accepted in DUL, 359; this may be the same as *ytn* (see below).

[47] "El *tpnr* es un dignatario hitita, una especie de gran escriba o «notario mayor»" (Sanmartín 1992, 99 n. 24); cf. Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 149–150, DUL, 862 and Dietrich 2004, 682.

[48] A loan in Syriac as *špṭ* (plur.), "(Book of) Judges" (SL, 1586b; CSD, 590b).

2.4. Artesans, Craftsmen, Skilled Workers

2.4a Food (*åpy*, *kkrdn*, *šḫṭ*; cf. *ålḫn*)

- *åpy*, "baker" (KTU 4.125:10; 4.212:5; 4.387:26)
  - CS: Heb. *'ph*, "baker" (HALOT, 78); Aram. *'appāyytā'*, "baker" (DJBA, 155b); Syr. *'py'*, "cook, baker" (SL, 85b); Mand. *apaiia*, "bakers" (MD, 30b); Akk. *ēpû*, "baker" (CAD E, 248a; CDA, 76a); MA *āpi'u*, "Bäcker"[49]; Geez *'afaya*, "to bake" (CDG, 10).
  - AA: cf. Chad. **fV(y/w)-*, "to roast (on fire)" (Stolbova CED No. 163) and Eg. *)i=pa*$_2$*=ta* (**)ipta*, *)apîta*), "cakes, biscuits" (SWET §7), borrowed from Semitic.
- *kkrdn*, "baker" (KTU 4.126:27)
  - Hurro-Akk. *kakardinnu*, "a baker or cook producing special dishes" (CAD K, 42)[50]; Akk. *kakardinnu* etc. "victualler" (CDA, 141b; a palace employee). This a hybrid of Sem. *kkr*, "loaf" – cf. Akk. *kakkaru* "large loaf" (AHw, 422; CAD K, 49–50); Heb. *kkr*, "round loaf" (HALOT, 473); Aram. *kykr lḥm*, "loaf" (DSA I, 387a) – and Hurr. *=tennu*, a suffix denoting an agent (cf. BGH, 180b, 529a)[51].
- *šḫṭ*, "butcher, slaughterer" (KTU 1.18 iv 24, 35)[52]
  - CS: cf. Heb. *šḥṭ*, "to slaughter (animals)" (HALOT, 1458–1459); borrowed as Aram. *šḥṭ*, "to cut the throat (of an animal)" (DJBA, 1127). Cf. Ge'ez and Tigre *säḥäṭä*, "to wound injure" (Fisher 1969, 193).
  - AA: cf. **siḥaṭ-*, "to cut, slaughter" (HSED §2237); Chad. **sVt(t)-*, "to cut off, to slaughter" (CED No. 719).

2.4b Textiles (*ůḥyt*, *ġzl*, *kbs*, *mḫṣ*, *šdy*; cf. *bṭr*, *mrḥṣ*, *qnůy*)

- *ůḥyt*, "seamstress" (KTU 4.795:9)
  - ES: cf. Aram. *'ḥy*, "to stitch together, attach" (DJBA, 104a) and Aram. *my'ḥ'*, "stitching" (DJBA, 663a)[53].
- *ġzl*, "spinner" (KTU 4.358:9)
  - CS: Arab. *ġazzāl*, "vender (sic!), spinner" (AEL, 2255–56; DMWA, 672b); Aram. *'zlwy*, "spinner of thread or string" (DJBA, 102a). Cf. OAram. *ᶜzly*, "something woven" (DNWSI, 835); Aram. *ᶜzl*, "to spin

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[49] Jacob 2003, 393 n. 42, 394–395. See Watson 2008, 57.

[50] The Ugar. *kkrd* ... as designation of a profession suggests a Hurr. origin of the word" (CAD K, 43), cited by Richter BGH, 529a. See also Jakob 2003, 396

[51] As proposed by Wilhelm 1970; cf. also EChad. *kakVr-, "arm-ring, bracelet" (HSED §1416, under *kakar-, "circle, ring"; also CED No. 451a).

[52] Alternatively, "a raptor"; see Watson LSU, 16–19.

[53] See already Watson 2015, 33–34. On Pun. *mšlt*, "stitchers" see Schmitz (2010, 34, 35), which is mentioned here because the same occupation may underlie Ug. *mšlt*, "(a garment)" (KTU 1.148:9; 4.337:14, 23).

yarn" (DJPA, 401), "to spin" (DJBA, 849b); *m ᶜzl*, "spinner" (DJPA, 322a); Syr. *ᶜzl*, "to spin, weave" (SL, 1090b).

- *kbs/kbś*, "fuller, launderer" (KTU 4.71 iii 5; 4.99:7; 4.128:6; 4.125:19; 4.332:13; 4.610 iv 4; 4.682:9; 4.836:19; 4.837:16; cf. 4.806:10)[54]
  - CS: Heb. *kwbs*, "fuller" (HALOT, 459); Pun. *kbs*, "fuller" (DNWSI, 486); "launderer" (CSL, 137); cf. Akk. *kabāsu*, "to make compact, to full a cloth" (CAD K, 7)[55].
- *mḫṣ*, "weaver" (KTU 4.99:15; 4.103:57; 4.124:1; 4.128:5; 4.182:56; 4.187:1; 4.125:9; 4.332:14–17; 4.635:7; 4.837:22; 4.838:5; 4.868:5; 6.48:4)
  - ES: Akk. *māḫiṣu*, "Weber" (AHw, 584); "weaver" (CAD M/1, 102); Bab. *māḫiṣu*, "weaver" (CDA, 191b).
- *šdy*, "spinner" (KTU 4.868:4)
  - ES: this is an alternative to the meaning "land labourer" (as in DUL, 799) or "countryman" (Watson LSU, 180), as a derivative of Ug. *šd*, "field". It is based on Aram. *šdy*, "to spin or twist thread" (DJBA, 1112a)[56] and fits the context better, since *l nᶜrm šdym*, "for the lads, spinners" (KTU 4.868:4) is followed by *mḫṣm*, "weavers" in line 5 (see above)[57].

2.4c Jewellery (*qnů*y, *sḫl*, *yṣḥ*)

- *qnůy*, "lapis lazuli dyer/engraver" (KTU 2.73:17; 4.371:1)[58]
  - CS: cf. Ug. *qnů*, "lapis lazuli" (DUL, 695) and *i̊qnů*, "gem of lapis lazuli"; "violet blue (colour)"; "violet purple (fabric)" (DUL, 90–91); Akk. *uqnû*, "Lapislazuli, Lasurstein" (AHw, 1426); Akk. *uqnû*, *uqunu*, *iqnû*, "lapis lazuli; turquoise" (CDA, 424b; cf CAD U/W, 195–202) and Akk. *qunû*, "of lapis lazuli colour" (CDA, 291a).
  - IE: Linear B *ku-wa-no-wo-ko-i* (*κυανοϝοργοῖʰι), "workers of blue glass"[59]; cf. Hitt. $^{\text{NA}4}$*kuu̯anna*(*n*)- "Kupferblau" (HW, 122b); Gk κύανος, "(name of a dark blue substance): enamel, lapis lazuli, copper carbonate" (EDG I, 793)[60].
- *sḫl*, "(craftsman)" (KTU 2.73:16, 18)
  - (a) "(gemstone) grinder, polisher, engraver" – cf. Arab. *saḥala*, "to scrape off, shave off, peel; to smooth, make smooth; to plane; to file"

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[54] See Ribichini – Xella 1985, 21 (§2.4); Lackenbacher 2002, 338 n. 1238; Vita 2010a, 325.

[55] This meaning is not included in CDA.

[56] Note the secondary Aram. verb *šwd*, "to spin or twist thread" (DJBA, 1115b) and cf. perhaps Arab. *mīsad*, "palm fibers, raffia" (DMWA, 908a) and EChad. *sad, "rope" (HSED §2160).

[57] Therefore, it is unlikely to be cognate with Arab. *šādiya*, "songstress, singer" (DMWA, 461a).

[58] Or "experts in purple work" (Matoïan – Vita 2014, 319); see also Cunchillos TOu 1, 419–420 n. 225.

[59] Varias García 2008, 790; Shelmerdine 2008, 142: *ku-wa-no-wo-ko* (/kuano-worgos/), "blue glass worker", cf. *ibid.* 203, 204; EDHIL, 793.

[60] "Perhaps a loan from Hittite *kuu̯anna*(*n*)-" (EDG I, 793).

(DMWA, 400b; cf. AEL, 1319); Aram. *sḥl'*, "a powdered mineral employed for polishing metal" (DJBA, 798a); Jibbali and Mehri *sḥl*, "to scratch, grind a knife"[61].

– (b) "driller" – cf. Akk. *saḫālu*, "to prick, pierce" (CDA, 310b)[62].

▪ *yṣḥ*, "furbisher" (KTU 4.47:7; 4.68:67; 4.99:19; 4.105:2; 4.126:10; 4.147:5; 4.151 ii 1; 4.207:5; 4.395:18; 4.609:9; 4.626:1; 4.692:1, 8; 4.836:9; 4.837:8; 4.838:11)[63]

– CS: Syr. *nṣḥ*, "to shine", etpa. "to become clear, bright" (SL, 939–940; cf. CSD, 318). See also, perhaps, Syr. *ṣḥḥ*, "to be hot, burning" (SL, 1282b) and Syr. *ṣwḥ'*, "alloy of copper and lead" (SL, 1278b).

– AA: cf. Chad. **cay-*, "shining" (from **çaH-*; cf. HSED §418).

2.4d Ceramics and Pottery (*pḫr*, *yṣr*)

▪ *pḫr*, "potter" (KTU 1.96:7, 9–10)

– CS: Akk. *paḫāru*, *paḫḫāru*, "Töpfer" (AHw, 810); "potter" (CAD P, 21–23); borrowed as Aram. *pḫr*, "potter" (DJPA, 428); Aram. *paḥārā'*, "potter" (DJBA, 895b); Syr. *paḥḥārā'*, "potter, clay" (SL, 1179b; CSD, 441b)[64]; borrowed as Arab. *faḫḫār*, "baked pottery" (AEL, 2350). Ultimately it is from Sum. BAḪÁR[65].

– Hurr. *paḫḫari*, "potter" (BGH, 287), may be a loanword.

▪ *yṣr*, "potter" (KTU 4.46:11, 12; 4.87:3; 4.99:11; 4.126:28; 4.339:24; 4.358:10; 4.367:8; 4.382:26, 27; 4.609:37).

– CS: Heb. *yṣr*, "potter, caster" (HALOT, 429); Pun. *yṣr*, "potter" (CSL, 128; DNWSI, 466); cf. Akk. *ēṣiru*, "Bildhauer" (AHw, 253); "carver of reliefs" (CAD E, 350); "(stone) carver" (CDA, 81b). Cf. Aram. *ṣwr*, "to fashion, draw, form" (DJBA, 956a); Syr. *ṣwr*, "to form, shape, fashion; to carve etc." (SL, 1280–1281).

2.4e Various (*bny*, *dgy*, *ḥrš*, *ksd*, *nsk*, *psl*, *rqḥ*, *šr*, *tbl*, *tdġl*)

▪ *bny*, "architect, builder; maker, creator" (KTU 1.4 ii 11; 1.4 iii 32; 1.6 iii 5, 11; 1.17 i 24; 3.11:7)

– CS: Aram. *bn'*, *bny*, "architect, builder" (DNWSI, 177)[66]; Syr. *bny'*, "builder, constructor" (SL, 162a); Aram. *bnyy*, "builder" (DJPA, 106a); *bannā'āh*, "builder" (DJBA, 222b); Mand. *ban*, *bana*, "builder, mason" (MD, 48); Akk. *bānû*, "Maurer" (AHw, 103); "builder" (CDA, 38a);

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[61] References in Watson 2002a, 206 n. 23.

[62] Cunchillos TOu 2, 419 n. 224: "perceurs". For AA see HSED §406 (Chad. **cul-* < **cuHvl-*).

[63] See Sanmartín 1987a; DUL, 971.

[64] Borrowed from Akk.; cf. AIA, 79. Not related to Eg. *pḫr*, "to turn etc." (cf. EDE II, 505).

[65] See *The Sumerian Dictionary* (Philadelphia 1984), vol. 2: B, 46–48.

[66] Cf. perhaps Aram. *bn'y*, "builder" (DNWSI, 172).

Arab. *bannā'*, "builder, architect" (AEL, 261); Arab. *banā'*, *bānin*, "builder" (DMWA, 95)[67].

– AA: cf. AA **ben-*, "to build" (HSED §261; also §264).

- *dgy*, "fisherman" (KTU 1.3 vi 10; 1.4 ii 31)[68]
  – CS: Heb. *dayyāg*, "fisher" (HALOT, 220a); Aram *dygh*, "fisherman" (?) (DNWSI, 240).
- *ḥrš*, "craftsman, manual worker" (KTU 1.92:17; 2.70:14; 2.85:20; 4.103:3, 58; 4.141 iii 5, 7, 12, 14; 4.201:6; 4.216:2; 4.321:1; 4.705:2; 4.812:3; cf. 4.207:3; 4.618:11, 12; 4.155:1; 4.207:1; 4.215:1)
  – CS: Heb. *ḥrš*, "artisan, craftsman" (HALOT, 357–358); Ph., Pun. *ḥrš*, "craftsman" (CSL, 114–115; DNWSI, 408)[69]; Aram. *ḥrš*, "metal worker" (DJPA, 216a); "craftsman" (DSA I, 297b). Cf. Akk. *eršu*, "wise" (CAD E, 313–314; CDA, 79b)[70].
- *ksd*, "miller" (KTU 4.99:16; 4.125:8; 4.126:15; 4.286:1, 9; 4.332:18; 4.837:19)[71]
  – ES: cf. Akk. *kaṣṣidakku/kazzidakku*, "miller" (CDA, 151b), from Sum. $^{(lú)}$KA/GAZ.ZÌ.DA.
- *nsk*, "caster, forger of metals" (KTU 3.18:2, 8; 4.43:4; 4.86:24; 4.98:17; 4.133:3; 4.261:1; 4.337:3; 4.396:20)
  – CS: Emar Akk. /nāsiku/, "metalsmith" (Pentiuc WSV, 132); Syr. *nswk'*, "a founder, metal-caster" (CSD, 342a; cf. SL, 924b); cf. Ph., Pun. *nsk*, "to pour out, to found" (DNWSI, 735–736); Syr. *nskt'*, "casting of metal" (SL, 927a); Heb. **nesek*, "statue of cast metal" (HALOT, 703b).
  – AA: Cf. Eg. **nasìku*, "cast metal object", as a loanword (SWET §267).
- *psl*, "engraver" (KTU 4.68:65; 4.99:18; 4.103:36; 4.126:8; 4.207:7; 4.370:45; 4.412 iii 9; 4.836:14; 4.837:12; 4.838:7)
  – CS: Nab. *psl'*, "sculptor" (DNWSI, 922–923); Syr. *pswl'*, "stone-cutter" (SL, 1208); "a stone-cutter, stone-mason" (CSD, 451b); cf. Heb. *psl*, "to hew" (HALOT, 949) and Syr. *psl*, "to cut, hew" (SL, 1211)[72].
- *rqḥ*, "perfumer, druggist" (KTU 4.91:5; 4.31:2, 11; 5.10:8)[73]
  – CS: Akk. *raqqû*, "Ölkelterer" (AHw, 958); "oil-perfumer" (CDA, 299a); "oil presser, perfume maker" (CAD R, 173–174). Also see Akk.

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[67] For a possible connection with Eg. *bnn*, "to beget, etc." cf. EDE II, 224–227.

[68] This is the generally accepted meaning (e.g. UBC II, 377), but it may mean "triton" (DUL, 266).

[69] See Bonnet 1990, 114–117.

[70] Dietrich – Loretz 1999.

[71] "Although nothing is known about the etymology of this professional term, it may be linked with textiles in view of its frequent association with *mḫṣ*" (Van Soldt 1990b, 353).

[72] Sanmartín 1995a, 183, 187; for Ph. *psl* see Bonnet 1990, 121.

[73] Cf. KTU 1.41:21; 1.87:22; 1.148:21.

muraqqi'u, *muraqqû*, "maker of perfumes, spicer" (CDA, 218b)[74]. Cf. Heb. *rqḥ*, "to mix, prepare spiced ointment" (HALOT, 1289–1290); Ph., Pun. *rqḥ*, "to prepare perfumes" (DNWSI, 1083)[75] and Aram. *rqḥ*, "mixing (spices, perfumes)" (DSA II, 849).

- *šr*, "musical instrument-maker" (KTU 4.35 i 10; 4.68:66; 4.103:64; 4.126:11; 4.141 iv 2; 4.183 ii 1; 4.430:2; 4.609:17, 31; 4.610 iv 3; 4.617 ii 1; 4.836:5, 17; 4.837:13) – see *šr*, "singer" (§2.8c).
- *tbl*, "(black)smith, (metal) smelter" (KTU 4.790:15)
  – Hurr. *tabali-*, "smith" (BGH, 438–440, 539b)[76].
- *tdġl*, a profession (KTU 4.183 ii 20; 4.609:21; *ttġl* 4.147:4; cf. 4.264:9)
  – (a) "harness-maker" or similar, based on Hurr. *tudiwa/e*, "bellyband of a horse's harness" (BGH, 479, 539–540)[77].
  – (b) "accountant", from Hurr. *tid-*, "to count, share out" (cf. BGH, 464a) + *-ġl* (suffix indicating profession)[78].

2.5. Agriculture

2.5a Field Workers ([*å*]*wrġl*, *bnš*, *ḥrṯ*, *ḥṭb*, *ḥṭbt*, *ṣmd*, *zbr*; also *drk*)

- [*å*]*wrġl*, "farmer" (KTU 1.42:30)
  – Hurr. *awari-*, "field" (BGH, 33–35) + *-ġl* (suffix indicating profession) (BGH, 521).
- *bnš*, "(farm) labourer" (KTU 1.86:12; 1.178:10; 4.29:2,4; 4.138:1, 3; 4.301:1; 4.380:3–26; 4.358:2; 4.420:5; 4.618:2, 5, 8, 14–16, 18, 20, 22; 4.834:13–14; cf. also KTU 2.9:6; 2.17:16; 2.35:18; 2.77:9; 2.107:7; 4.51:1; 4.762:6; 7.55:6) – for compounds with *bnš* see §3.
- *ḥrṯ*, "ploughman, farmhand" (KTU 1.16 iii 12; 4.65:1; 4.141 iii 1; 4.175:10; 4.296:9; 4.609:27; 4.618:21; 4.630:6)
  – CS: Heb. *ḥrš*, "to plough" (HALOT, 358)[79]; Akk. *errēšu*, "Landpächter, Landwirt" (AHw, 243); "tenant farmer, cultivator" (CAD E, 304–306) *errēšu*, *arrēšu*, "cultivator (esp. of tenant)" (CDA, 79a); Arab. *ḥarrāṯ*, *ḥāriṯ*, "sower, plougher", "collector" (AEL, 542; DMWA, 166b); Eth. *ḥarāsi*, "plowman, farmer" (CDG, 243); cf. Aram. *ḥrš*, "to plow" (DJPA, 216a; DJBA, 485a); Palm. *ḥrš*, "to plough" (DNWSI, 407)[80].
  – AA: Cf. **ḥerač-/*ḥeruč-*, "to sow" (HSED §1266), although it is uncertain.

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[74] "Parfumeur" in Jakob 2003, 476–486; cf. Akk. *muraqqītu*, "Parfumeurin" (*ibid*. and CDA, 218b).

[75] Cf. Pun. *mrqḥ* and Aram. *rqḥt mr*, "one who prepares myrrh" (DNWSI, 1083), both dubious.

[76] Note especially Dietrich – Loretz 1990; cf. the Heb. PN *tûbal qayin* (HALOT, 1694–1695).

[77] First proposed by Sanmartín 1995a, 184; however, it may be a PN.

[78] This is no more than a suggestion; cf. Watson 2010.

[79] See Loewenstamm 1959.

[80] It is not related to Hitt. *ḫārš-*, "to till (the soil)" (EDHIL, 314 – *contra* Puhvel HED 3, 185).

- *ḥṭb*, "wood-cutter" (KTU 4.269:24; 4.609:20) and *ḥṭbt*, "(female) wood-cutter" (KTU 1.14 iii 8; 1.14 iv 51)
  - CS: Arab. *ḥāṭib*, "collector of firewood" (AEL, 594); *ḥaṭṭāb*, "wood gatherer, wood cutter" (DMWA, 186b); Eth. *ḫaṭāb*(*i*), *ḥaṭṭāb*, "woodcutter, one who gathers (wood)" (CDG, 248); cf. Heb. *ḥṭb*, "to cut and gather firewood" (HALOT, 306).
- *ṣmd*, "(vine-)binder, vinedresser" (KTU 1.23:10)
  - CS: from Ug. *ṣmd*, "to tie, bind" (DUL, 773)[81]; Syr. *ṣmd*, "to bind together", pa., "to tie, bind" (SL, 1291–1292); Arab. *ḍamada*, "to bind" (AEL, 1802–1803; cf. DMWA, 545a); Akk. *ṣamādu*, "to tie up, bind up" (CDA, 333a); cf. Heb. *ṣmd*, pu. "strapped on"; hif. "to tighten, harness" (HALOT, 1033a).
- *zbr*, "pruner" (KTU 1.23:9)
  - CS: cf. Aram. *zbr*, *zmr*, "to trim, prune" (DJPA, 179a); Heb. *zmr*, "to prune" (HALOT, 274); Arab. *zabara-l-karm*, "to trim the vine" (Hava 1964, 283); cf. Eth. *zabara*, "to break" (CDG, 631)[82].

2.5b Animal Husbandry (*gzz*, *mrů* I, *nqd*, *rʿy*, *yqš*, cf. *sġr*)

- *gzz*, "shearer" (KTU 4.213:30; 4.269:4, 26)[83]
  - CS: Heb. *gzz*, "to shear" (HALOT, 186a); Akk. *gāzizu*, "Scherer" (AHw, 284; cf. CDA, 91b); "shearer" (CAD G, 60); Arab. *ǧazzāz*, "shearer" (DMWA, 146); Aram. *gzz*, "shearer of sheep" (DJPA, 125a); Syr. *gz'*, "a shearer" (CSD, 67a).
  - AA: With due caution, cf. perhaps Chad. **gVz-*, "hair (on the head)", Cush. Sidamo *gaaze*, "long hair" (CED No. 246, but with no reference to Semitic).
- *mrů* (I), "animal fattener" (KTU 4.128:8; 4.207:4; 4.212:2; 4.332:9)
  - CS: Akk. *mārû*(*m*), "Viehmäster" (AHw, 617); "animal fattener" (CDA, 199a); "fattener (of animals or fowl)" (CAD M/1, 316). Cf. Heb. *mr'*, "to feed on the fat of the land" (HALOT, 630); Arab. *mr'*, "the food was/became wholesome" (AEL, 2702; cf. DMWA, 901b)[84].
- *nqd*, "shepherd" (KTU 4.68:71; 4.98:12; 4.103:44; 4.126:5; 4.369:8; 4.416:5; 4.624:1; 4.681:1; 4.745:4; 4.806:5)
  - CS: Akk. *nāqidu*, "Hirte" (AHw, 744); "herdsman" (CAD N/1, 333–335); "stockbreeder, herdsman" (CDA, 241a); Heb. *noqēd*, "shepherd, sheep-

[81] RS Akk. *ṣamādu*, cf. Van Soldt SAU, 244 n. 9, 437 with nn. 95–96.

[82] As cited in DUL, 983.

[83] Cf. Ribichini – Xella 1985, 18–19 and now the extensive discussion by Vita 2016.

[84] For AA equivalents see HSED §1784; cf. perhaps Eg. *mrj*, "Pferdeknecht, groom" (EDE III, 416–417 and Hoch SWET §173).

breeder" (HALOT, 719–720); Syr. *nāqdā'*, "shepherd" (SL, 945a) and Arab. *naqqād*, "shepherd" (AEL, 2837)[85].
  – AA: Cf. Berb. *ə-yadyad*, "herd of goats"; Omotic *qiddo*, "shepherd", *qidō*, "guardian"[86].
- *rᶜy*, "shepherd" (KTU 4.75 iv 9; 4.125:4; 4.153:1; 4.243:45, 49; 4.374:1; 4.378:1; 4.729:1, 11; 4.768:8; 4.795:5)[87]
  – CS: Heb. *roᶜeh*, "shepherd" (HALOT, 1260b); Ph. *rᶜ*, "shepherd" (CSL, 304); OAram. *rᶜy*, "shepherd" (DNWSI, 1080); Akk. *rē'û*, "Hirte" (AHw, 977–978); "herdsman, shepherd" (CAD R, 303–312); "shepherd, herdsman" (CDA, 303a); Aram. *rᶜy*, "shepherd, herder" (DJPA, 527b); "one who grazes animals, shepherd" (DJBA, 1090); Arab. *rāᶜin*, "pastor of cattle" (AEL, 1109–10) and Syr. *rᶜy*, "shepherd" (SL, 1480; cf. CSD, 546a).
  – AA: cf. **riᶜ-*, "to drive chase" (HSED §2115); Chad. **rV'/w-*, "to chase, to herd" (CED No. 644).
  – Hurr.: Borrowed from Semitic as Hurr. *rẻw*, "shepherd" (BGH, 537a).
- *yqš*, "fowler, bird-catcher" (KTU 4.99:6; 4.126:25)
  – WS: Heb. *yqwš*, "fowler" (HALOT, 430); cf. Heb. *nqš*, piel: "to set traps" (HALOT, 723a) and possibly Heb. *qwš*, "to trap with a snare" (HALOT, 1091b).
  – AA: borrowed as Eg. PN *ya=k=sa=mu*$_2$ (**Yaqšamu*), "Fowler (?)" (SWET §61).

2.6. Trade

2.6a Merchants (*ᶜrbn*, *mkr*, *šml*; cf. *drk*, *ytn*)

- *ᶜrbn*, "guarantor" (KTU 3.3:1, 7; cf. 3.26:3)
  – CS: Aram. *ᶜrbh*, "guarantor" (DJPA, 418a); OAram. *ᶜrb*, "guarantor, surety (?)" (DNWSI, 886). Cf. also Arab. *ᶜarabûn*, *ᶜurbān*, "portion of the price, whereby a bargain is ratified" (AEL, 1994); OSA *ᶜrbn*, "pledge, hostage" (DOSA, 382); Heb. *ᶜrbwn*, "security, pledge" (HALOT, 881); Akk. *erubbātum*, "pledge, security" (CDA, 80a); Eth. *'/ᶜarabon*, "pledge, security" (CDG, 69)[88].
- *mkr*, "merchant, dealer" (KTU 2.21:8; 2.42:25, 27; 4.27:12; 4.36:4; 4.38:3; 4.68:75; 4.126:9; 4.137:5; 4.163:7; 4.173:3; 4.174:4; 4.179:8; 4.207:6; 4.214 iv 2; 4.217:1, 9; 4.263:1; 4.369:2; 4.430:1; 4.745:6; 6.16:3)

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[85] "The origin of this word is still uncertain, but Sumerian nagada is certainly a loan from Akkadian" (Kaufman AIA, 76).

[86] Full references in Militarev 2009, 103 under §2.3 **(na-)ḳid-*, "shepherd of small cattle".

[87] Sanmartín 1993, 205–206.

[88] Borrowed as Gk ἀρραβών, "caution money" (EDG I, 139–140); cf. Rosół 2013, 23–24.

– CS: Heb. *mkr*, "merchant" (HALOT, 582); Aram. *mkr*, "merchant" (DNWSI, 625–626); Pun. *mkr*, "seller" (CSL, 177); OSA *mkrn*, "merchants, tradesmen" (DOSA, 274); Akk. *makkārum*, *mākiru*(*m*), "merchant, dealer" (CDA, 192a)[89].
– AA: borrowed as Eg. *mak=ru*$_2$*=ʾu* (**mākiruyu*), "merchant" (SWET §223; cf. DLE I, 211; EDE III, 666–667).
– IE: borrowed as Linear B *da-mo-ko-ro*, "trader" (Woudhuizen 2005).

- *šml*, "dealer" (KTU 2.17:5; 4.216:5; 7.69:3)
  – ES: Akk. *šamallû*(*m*), *šamallāʾu*(*m*), *šamlû*, "purse-bearer, merchant's assistant" (CDA, 352b); "assistant, agent of a merchant, trading agent; apprentice scribe" (CAD Š/1, 291–294), from Sumerian LÚ.ŠÁMAN.LÁ[90]. Borrowed (in its second meaning) as Aram. *šᵉwallyaʾ*, "apprentice" (DJBA, 1116a); Mand. *ašualia*, *šualia*, "pupil, disciple" (MD, 40a, 452b)[91].

2.6b Suppliers and Distributors (*ålḫn*, *kspy*, *mddt*, *tdgr*, *zn*)

- *ålḫn*, "quartermaster, steward; baker" (KTU 4.392:4)[92]
  – ES: Akk. *alaḫḫinnu*, *alḫenu*, "Müller" (AHw, 31); NAss. *laḫḫinu*, "(ein Angestellter in Tempeln usw.)" (AHw, 528a); Akk. *allaḫinu*, *laḫḫinnu*, *alḫenu*, "an administrative official" (CAD A/1, 294–296; cf. CDA, 10b)[93]; Aram. *lḥn*, "certain type of temple servant" (DNWSI, 573)[94].
  – Hurr. *allaḫḫe/innu*(*m*), "(an official of some kind)" (cf. BGH, 14–15, with survey).
- *kspy*, "treasurer" (KTU 2.21:15)
  – CS: OAram. *kspy*, "prob. silverman, priest" (DNWSI, 526); Aram. *ksp*, "silversmith" (DJPA, 266a); cf. also Heb. *kspyʾ*, "settlement of silversmiths" (?) (HALOT, 491; cited in DUL, 461).
- *mddt*, "dispenser, distributor" (KTU 1.17 ii 41)
  – CS: Akk. *mādidu*, "Mess-Beamter" (AHw, 572); "official supervising the distribution of staples" (CAD M/1, 142); Akk. *mādidu*, *mandidu*, "measuring official (for grain etc.)" (CDA, 188a)[95]; Qumran Heb. *mwdd*,

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[89] Cf. also Akk. *tamkāru*, "Kaufmann, Händler" (AHw, 1314–1315); OAram., Palm. *tgr*, "merchant" (DNWSI, 1203–1204); Arab. *tāǧir*, "merchant" (AEL, 297–298); a loan from Akk. as Mand. *tangara*, "dealer, trader, merchant, trafficker" (MD, 479b); cf. Kaufman AIA, 107.

[90] Identified by De Moor 1965, 364 n. 85. See also perhaps Arab. *saʾmil*, "one who strives, labours, or exerts himself or for, the right management of affairs for procuring the means of subsistence" (AEL, 1431).

[91] Kaufman AIA, 99, with a lengthy discussion in n. 35.

[92] However, it may be a PN; see Huehnergard UVST, 107.

[93] For the functions of this official see CAD A/1, 296.

[94] Kaufman AIA, 66 and n. 176; Sanmartín 1995b, 175–176; Watson LSU, 125; BGH, 514b; Jakob 2003, 386–394: "Bäcker".

[95] See now Chambon 2011 on the *mâdidum*, "mesureur", at Mari.

"measurer" (DNWSI, 595). Cf. Heb. *mdd*, "to measure" (HALOT, 547); Pun. *mdd*, "to measure" (DNWSI, 595); Arab. *madda* IV: "to provide, furnish, supply" (DMWA, 896b). See syllabic Ugaritic *maddatu*, "measurement" (UVST, 145).
  – AA: Borrowed as Eg. **madidi*, "a vessel containing wine and milk" (SWET §238), "vessel (or measure)" (DLE II, 218)[96].
- *tdgr*, "collector" (KTU 4.625:22)
  – CS: Mand. *dgr*, "to heap, pile up, mount up, heap up, amass" (MD, 102b).
- *zn*, "supplier" (KTU 4.230:2)
  – CS: Aram. *z'wn*, "provider" (DSA I, 226); Mand. *zauana*, "nourisher, feeder" (MD, 157b); Syr. *zywn'*, "sustainer, nourisher" (SL, 378a; cf. CSD 115a); Bab. *zāninu*(*m*), "provisioner" (CDA, 444a).

2.7. Standards and Security

2.7a Inspectors (*ᶜšr*, *mȧṯr*, *mḫr*, *mšḥ*, *rbṣ*, *šmᶜ*, *tdgly*, *tkn*; cf. *tdġl*)

- *ᶜšr*, "inspector" (KTU 4.68:68; 4.99:2; 4.103:30; 4.126:3; 4.412 iii 15; 4.416:3; 4.745:2; 4.752:4; cf. 4.712:1)[97]
  – CS: Akk. *āširu*(*m*), "inspector, checker" (CDA, 28a); "Betreuer" (AHw, 80); "supervisor, helper" (CAD A/2, 440). An alternative meaning is "waiter", based on Ug. *ᶜšr*, "to invite, give a banquet" (DUL, 185), which is also Semitic[98].
- *mȧṯr*, "controller, inspector" (KTU 6.66:7–8)
  – CS: Arab. *mu'aṯṯir*, "he who impresses, affects, influences" (AEL, 18); cf. Akk. *āširu*(*m*), "inspector, checker" (CDA, 28a); "Betreuer" (AHw, 80); "supervisor, helper" (CAD A/2, 440); cf. Aram. *'šr*, "to strengthen, believe" (DJBA, 174) and especially Aram. *'aššartā*, "certification of a document" (DJBA, 174b)[99]. Possibly a loan from Akkadian (Sanmartín 1995c, 464).
- *mḫr*, "surveyor" (KTU 1.96:7, 10, 11)
  – ES: Syr. *mḥr'*, "surveyor, measurer" (SL, 742b); Syr. *mḥr*, "a land-surveyor, geometrician" (CSD, 265b)[100]. The meaning "surveyor" is preferable to "tax collector"[101], since, like the "potter" (*pḫr*, lines 7, 9)

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[96] Full discussion in Takács EDE III, 790–792, who mentions AA *m-d, "to stretch".

[97] For Ugaritian Akk. see DUL, 186.

[98] Already Gordon (UT §19.1932): *lú a-ši-ru-ma*, "butlers"; cf. Sanmartín (1991, 179): "sirviente, maestresala" (?).

[99] Cf. Chad. **čir-*, "to gossip" (CED §109) with additional cognates.

[100] Note also the denominative verbs Syr. *mḥr*, "to measure fields" (SL, 742b), "to measure land" (CSD, 265b). For a discussion of Syr. *mḥr'*, "architect" as a possible loanword from Akkadian see AIA, 67–68. Whether Eg. *mḫ3*, "custom-station etc." (EDE III, 500–601) is related remains uncertain.

[101] See Del Olmo Lete 2010, 50–51, n. 62 and DUL, 534.

and the "gate-keeper" (*tġr*, lines 8, 9), he also has to use his "eye" (*ᶜn*, lines 5–12).

- *mšḥ*, "measurer, surveyor" (KTU 4.387:7)
  - CS: Akk. *māšiḫum*, "surveyor" (CDA, 202a); "surveyor, measurer" (CAD M/2, 367a). Cf. Aram. *mšḥ*, "to measure" (DJPA, 333b); "to measure (land)" (DJBA, 712b) and Syr. *mšḥ*, "to measure" (SL, 843)[102].
- *rbṣ*, "inspector" (KTU 4.382:4, cf. 4.788:8)
  - CS: Akk. *rābiṣu*, "Aufpasser, Wächter" (AHw, 935); "(an official representative of and commissioned by a higher authority, attorney)" (CAD R, 20–23); "(an official)", lit. "lurker" (CDA, 294a); cf. Akk. *rābiṣūtu*, "representative, position of guardian" (CAD R, 23–24); Heb. *rbṣ*, "to lurk" (HALOT, 1181b, mng 4) and Arab. *rabaṣa*, "to wait, look, watch, be on the lookout" (DMWA, 321b).
- *šmᶜ*, "auditor, administrator" (KTU 2.17:7)[103]
  - CS: Aram. *šmwᶜ'*, "an official appointed to hear lawsuits" (DJBA, 1155–56); Syr. *šmwᶜh*, "an official appointed to hear lawsuits" (CSD, 583b). Cf. Akk. *šēmû*, "hearer" (CDA, 366b); "privileged to hear confidential information" (CAD Š/2, 288 mng 1.b).
  - AA: borrowed as Eg. **šamaᶜa*, "to hear" (SWET §400).
- *tdgly*, "assayer" (KTU 4.125:7)
  - CS: cf. Syr. *dgl*, "to aim at, verify (weight)" (SL, 273b); also Akk. *dagālu*, "to see, look" (CDA, 53a)[104].
  - AA: cf. Eg. *dgj* (*dg3*), "sehen; erblicken, wahrnehmen, ansehen" (GHWb, 989a; cf. Wb 5, 497.4–498.24; 5, 499); "to behold, see" (DLE II, 256); Chad. **dVgwal-*, "to look", under **dVgol-*, "to look, see" (HSED §757).
- *tkn*, "inspector, measurer" (KTU 4.126:31).
  - WS: cf. Heb. *tkn*, "to examine, check", "fixed measure" (HALOT, 1734).

2.7b Guards (*mšṣů*, *nġr*, *qym*, *sġr*, *tġr*; cf. *ktr*)

- *mšṣů*, "usher" (KTU 1.17 i 27, 45)
  - CS: Heb. *mwṣy'*, "who causes to go out, leads out" (HALOT, 426–427); Akk. *mušêṣû*, "der hinausbringt" (AHw, 683); "an official" (CAD M/2, 268); "tenant; (an official)" (CDA, 222a).
- *nġr*, "guard, guardian" (KTU 4.30:3) otherwise only in compounds (see §3).

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[102] "A careful analysis yields the conclusion that the root *mšḥ*, "to measure" ... is the native Aramaic word for this activity" (Kaufman AIA, 70). For related forms possibly borrowed in Eg. see SWET §§198–199, but cf. EDE III, 572.

[103] An abbreviation of *šmᶜ rgm*, "Auftragsempfänger, Bote, Gesandter" according to Dietrich 2010b; see §7 below. Note also the PN *šmᶜn* (Watson LSU, 180).

[104] It is the root of Ug. *mgdl*, "watchtower" (DUL, 524), with metathesis, corresponding to Akk. *madgaltu*, "observation tower" (CDA, 188a).

– CS: Akk. *nāṣiru*, "Bewacher" (AHw, 756); "guard" (CAD N/2, 48); "guard, guardian" (CDA, 244b); Arab. *nāẓir*, "looking" (AEL, 2813). See Aram. *nāṭrā'*, "watchman, guardian" (DJBA, 746b); Syr. *nṭr*, "guard" (SL, 913b, used in phrases) and OSA *nẓr*, "(royal) officials (overseers, ministers)" (DOSA, 303–304).
– AA: Cf. Chad. **çVr-*, "to help, to take care" (CED No. 80).

- *qym*, "custodian" (KTU 1.22 i 5)
  – ES: Syr. *qymwt'*, "(female) guard" (SL, 1363a)[105]; Arab. *qayyim*, "manager, conductor, superintendent" (AEL, 2996); "caretaker, curator, custodian" (DMWA, 800a)[106].
- *sġr/śġr*, "watchman, guard" (KTU 4.129:2–12; 4.243:35, 38, 40–44; 4.277:13; 4.343:1, 2, 4, 8, 9; 4.359:1, 2, 4, 8; 4.374:2–4, 6–15; 4.378:10; 4.729:2, 4, 6–9, 12)
  – CS: Akk. *sāḫiru*, "Wächter"[107] or "one who cares" (CDA, 312a)[108]; cf. Harsūsi *śġr*, "to look far away, into the distance" (HL, 119); Mehri *śġr*, "to keep a constant eye on; to notice something on the ground" (ML, 375); Aram. *s^{c}r*, "to visit, check" (DJBA, 823b); Nab. *s^{c}r*, "to visit, to inspect, to occupy oneself with" (DNWSI, 796) and Syr. *s^{c}r*, "to visit, care for, attend to" (SL, 1027–1028; CSD, 384).
- *ṯġr*, "gatekeeper" (KTU 1.78:3; 1.96:8–12; 4.103:39–40; 4.126:22; 4.128:11; 4.141 ii 2; 4.147:3; 4.609:13)
  – CS: Heb. *šw^{c}r*, "gate-keeper" (HALOT, 1446); Ph. *š^{c}r*, "porter, door-keeper" (DNWSI, 1179–80); Syr. *tarrā^{c}ā*, "doorkeeper, gatekeeper" (SL, 1671), "a doorkeeper, porter, janitor" (CSD, 621b); Hatra *tr^c*, "gate-keeper, janitor" (DNWSI, 1233); cf. Arab. *ṯuġra*, "breach, opening, gap" (DMWA, 103a)[109].

2.8. Cult and Religion

2.8a Officials (*ůryn*, *^{c}rb*, *bkyt*, *ḫdrġl*, *khn*, *mrz^{c}y*, *mšspdt*, *pẓġ*, *qdš*, *ṭbḫ*, *ṯ^c*, *ṯnn*; cf. *ḥtk*[110], *ḫdrġl*, *prln*, *ytn*)

- *ůryn*, "cultic officiant" (KTU 2.97:17; 6.29:3)

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[105] A previously unnoticed cognate.

[106] Differently Tropper UG, 164 (§33.154b).

[107] Jakob 2003, 230–232; he notes: "Ausgehend von der Wortbedeutung von *sāḫiru* als einem "der auf- und abgeht" bzw. "eine Runde macht", schlagen die Bearbeiter vor, seine Tätigkeit mit der eines *atu'u* (= *etû*) gleichzusetzen, woraus die Bedeutung "Wächter" ergibt".

[108] For a Hurr. origin of the Akk. word see Watson 2002b; but see Richter BGH, 404, 537b.

[109] For a possible borrowing of the word for "gate" in Egyptian, see SWET §385. Note also Neo-Bab. *taraḫu*, "gate" (CDA, 399a), which may be a loan from Aramaic, but see Abraham – Sokoloff 2007–2008, 54 §253. For a possible connection with Hurr. *šeḫr-*, see BGH, 371 and 544.

[110] Perhaps meaning "circumciser"; cf. Watson 2013a, 37, 42.

– IE: Hitt. *uri/aianni-*, "a functionary"[111], borrowed as Akk. *uriyanni*, "(a functionary)" (CDA, 426a), the exact meaning of which is uncertain[112].
– Hurr. *urianni/urijanni*, "marshal, overseer" (see BGH, 497a).

- *ᶜrb*, "officiant" (KTU 1.23:7, 12, 18, 26)
  – CS: cf. Akk. *ērib bīti*, "Tempelbetreter" (AHw, 240), "temple-enterer" (CDA, 78a); "a person admitted to all parts of the temple" (CAD E, 290); cf. OSA *ᶜrb*, "to offer, offering" (SD, 18–19)[113].
- *bkyt*, "mourner(s)" (KTU 1.19 iv 9–10, 20)
  – CS: Akk. *bakkītu*, "wailing woman, mourner" (CDA, 36a); Syr. *bkyt'*, "female lamenter" (SL, 152b), "a mourner, esp. women hired to make lamentation (CSD, 45b); cf. Aram. *bākyā'*, "(professional) weeper" (DJBA, 220a); Arab. *bākiya*, "wailing-woman, hired mourner" (DMWA, 71a)[114].
  – AA: cf. Eg. *bj3k*, "sobbing (?)" (EDE II, 138).
- *khn*, "priest" (KTU 4.29:1; 4.36:1; 4.38:1; 4.68:72; 4.69 vi 22; 4.99:9; 4.126:6; 4.410:50; 4.416:6; 4.481:5; 4.633:4; 4.745:5; 4.752:6; 4.761:1; 4.806:3; 4.867:19; cf. 2.97:10).
  – CS: Heb. *kohēn*, "priest" (HALOT, 461–462); Ph., Pun. *khn*, "priest, cultic/royal priest" (CSL, 138–139); Nab. *khn*, "priest" (DNWSI, 491); Arab. *kāhin*, "diviner, soothsayer, prognosticator; priest" (DMWA, 844b); Eth. *kāhn*, "priest" (CDG, 278); Syr. *khn'*, "a priest" (SL, 601b); "a priest" (CSD, 206a); *khn*, "(Jewish) priest" (DJPA, 252a); *kāhinā'*, "priest" (DJBA, 554b); Aram. *khn*, "priest" (DSA I, 379b).
  – AA: Chad. **kVn-*, "kind of magic, evil spirit" (CED No. 438).
- *mrzᶜy*, "patron of the cultic fraternity" (KTU 1.21 ii 1, 5)[115]
  – CS: cf. Palm. *rbnwt mrzḥwt*, "presidency of a confraternity" (DNWSI, 692) and Nab. *rb mrzḥ*, "chief of the *marzēaḥ*"[116].
- *mšspdt*, "professional mourner" (KTU 1.19 iv 10, 21)
  – CS: Heb. *spd*, "mourn for someone, bewail" (HALOT, 763); Aram. *spd*, "to mourn, lament" (DJPA, 385); "to eulogize, lament" (DJBA, 824a); "to lament" (DSA II, 603a); Akk. *sapādu*, "trauern" (AHw, 1024);

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[111] It also occurs in Cuneiform Luwian and may be a loanword in Hittite; see EDHIL, 925–926.

[112] See Lackenbacher 2002, 139 n. 427. On the functions of the *ůryn* in Ugarit see Van Soldt 2010a.

[113] For similar usage see Eg. *ᶜqyt*, "Dienerin", from *ᶜq*, "eintreten" (GHWb, 161b). Survey in Smith 2006, 38, 61, but he translates neutrally as "enterer".

[114] Cf. Heb. *bkh*, "to weep" (HALOT, 129–130); Aram. *bky*, "to lament, to weep" (DNWSI, 163); Akk. *bakû*, "weinen" (AHw, 97); "to shed tears" (CAD B, 35); Arab. *bakā*, "to weep" (AEL, 242); Eth. *bakaya*, "to weep, mourn" (CDG, 94).

[115] See Del Olmo Lete MLC, 407 n. 12, 583 for other opinions and readings; on Ug. *mrzḥ*, "cultic association", see DUL, 574. On the nature of the *mrzḥ* institution see Na'aman 2015 and Dvorjetski 2016.

[116] Dvorjetski 2016, 28–29, 32, 38.

"to mourn"; Š (*šuspudu*): "to cause to mourn" (CAD S, 150–151; CDA, 316b); cf. Syr. *spd*, "to be agitated" (SL, 1029) and Aram. *sap^{e}dānā'*, "professional lamenter or eulogizer" (DJBA, 824).

- *pẓġ*, "one who lacerates, lacerator" (KTU 1.19 iv 11, 22)[117]
  - WS: Cf. Heb. *pṣ^{c}*, "to wound, injure" (HALOT, 954a), Aram. *pṣ^{c},* "to split" (DJPA, 442a; DJBA, 924a) and perhaps Ug. *pṣ^{c}*, "einschneiden" (KTU 1.147:13; cf. Tropper UG, 93, 105).
- *qdš*, "(cult official)", lit. "holy, holiness" (KTU 1.106:15; 1.112:21; 4.29:3; 4.36:2; 4.38:2; 4.68:73; 4.126:7; 4.412 ii 8–17; 4.416:7; 4.752:5; 4.806:4; 4.837:4; 4.838:1; cf. KTU 1.114:24; 1.166:12; 4.47:1)
  - CS: Cf. Heb. *qd*(*w*)*š*, "holy, consecrated" (HALOT, 1066–1067); Ph., Pun. *qdš*, "holy" (CSL, 286); OAram., Palm. *qdš*, "holy (one)" (DNWSI, 995–997); Arab. *qaddūs*, *muqaddaš*, "holy, sanctified" (AEL, 2497) and Akk. *qaššum*, "holy, dedicated (as desig. of cultic personnel)" (CDA, 286a)[118].
- *ṭbḫ*, "sacrificer" (KTU 1.80:5, as *ṭ<b>ḫ*)
  - CS: Pun. *ṭbḥ*, "cultic slaughterer" (CSL, 119); OAram., Palm. *ṭbḥ*, "butcher, cook" (DNWSI, 419); Syr. *ṭabāḥā'*, "butcher, cook" (SL, 509); Akk. *ṭābiḫu*, *ṭabbiḫu*, "slaughterer, butcher" (CDA, 412a), Emar Akk. *zābiḫu*, "ritual slaughterer"[119] and Arab. *ṭabbāḥ*, "cook" (DMWA, 559b).
  - AA: **ʒabaḥ-/ʒibiḥ-*, "to make sacrifice" (HSED §2646); Eg. /ṭubiḫi / ṭōbiḫu/, "slaughtering" (SWET §562).
- *ṯ^{c}y*, "cultic official" (KTU 1.90:22; 1.119:8; 1.161:27–30; 1.169:2), possibly identical with *ṯ^{c}y*, "civil servant" (cf. §2.2)[120].
- *ṯnn*, "incense(-bearer)" (KTU 1.23:7, 12, 26)[121]

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[117] Cf. Dijkstra – De Moor 1975, 210.

[118] Del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 1998, 179–180.

[119] See Westenholz 2000, 26 ("a priest who performs the ritual slaughter of animals").

[120] Wyatt (2015, 403) comments: "I see no reason here to distinguish between these terms, beyond allowing for a general semantic spread of the basic idea of "official", "officiant" or "functionary" in several directions, including administrative or cultic, according to context"; see *ibid.* n. 16; similarly DUL, 881: "1. "cult official, minister, officiant; exorcist"; 2. "civil servant, minister"". Pardee (2015, 173) notes: "le *ṯ^{c}y* était en même temps sacrificateur et incantateur"; see also Fleming 1991 and Roche-Hawley – Hawley 2013, 253, 255. Also Mouton – Roche-Hawley 2015, 196–198, who conclude (*ibid.* 197): "Si l'on regarde d'abord de plus près la titulature du scribe, on constate que ʾIlimilku porte le titre de *ṯāʿiyu* correspondant au logogramme SUKKAL et désignant un personnage chargé de certaines fonctions administratives, un « secrétaire-chancelier » ayant par ailleurs un rôle religieux, puisqu'il semble pouvoir pratiquer des rituels d'exorcisme." Cf. also Malbran-Labat – Roche 2007, 90–91 (SUKKAL is used for the local term *ṯ^{c}y*, "qui désignerait un fonctionnaire royal, à la fois scribe ... et responsable de pratiques cultuelles"). John Huehnergard kindly discussed this word with me by e-mail.

[121] This is a new proposal, with "bearer" understood. The cultic context favours this conjectural meaning.

– ES: cf. Aram. *tnn*, "to be smokey, fumigate" (DJPA, 587a); Aram. *tnn'*, "smoke" (DJBA, 1223a); Aram. *tnn*, "smoke" (DSA II, 957b)[122]; Syr. *tnnwt'*, "smoke" (SL, 1656b); Syr. *tnn'*, "smoke, steam, reek, fumes" (CSD, 617a) and Aram. *tnn*, "smoke" (DNWSI, 1266). The following meanings are also possible: (a) "(escort of) archers" – cf. Ug. *ṯnn*, "archer" (DUL, 909)[123]; (b) "vizier" – cf. Ug. *ṯn*, "vizier" (DUL, 905–906) and (c) "equal (in rank)" – cf. Akk. *šāninu*, "rival, equal" (CAD Š/1, 385; CDA, 355b) – which would be a variant of (b).

2.8b Soothsayers and Magicians (*bṯt*, *bṯy*, *dbb*, *ḥbr* I, *kšp*, *mḥll*, *mlḫš*, *mšmṭr*, *prln*, *šil*, *ydy*, *ydt*; cf. *dᶜt*)[124]

- *bṯt*, "witch" (KTU 1.96:6, 12–13) and ▪ *bṯy*, "evildoer, wizard" (KTU 1.96:6, 11–12)
  – CS: MSA *btt*, "to spread (rumours, dissension); disclose (secrets)".
- *dbb*, "opponent, sorcerer" (KTU 1.169:1, 9; 1.178:9, 13)[125]
  – CS: Aram. *dbb*, "enemy" (DSA I, 164b); Akk. *dābibu*, "(legal) advocate" (?) (CDA, 53a); cf. Akk. *bēl dabābi*, "man of (evil) talk" (CDA, 42b); "adversary (in court)" (CAD D, 3–4); Aram. *dbb*, "to be an enemy" (DJPA, 138a); "to be hostile" (DSA I, 164b); Mand. *dbb*, "to accuse" (MD, 101b).
  – AA: Cf. **dob-*, "to speak, call" (HSED §724).
- *ḥbr* II, "exorcist" (KTU 1.169:10; 1.179:3)
  – CS: Pun. *ḥbr*, "conjurer" (CSL, 97); Aram. *ḥabbarā'*, "charmer, magian priest" (DJBA, 429); Syr. *ḥbr'*, "exorcist" (SL, 410); Aram. *ḥbwr*, "conjurer" (DJPA, 184a); "a conjuror, a charmer" (CSD, 125a); cf. Heb. *ḥbr*, "charm, spell, enchantment" (HALOT, 288a); Aram. *ḥbr ḥbr*, "one who practices sorcery" (DSA I, 244a); Arab. *ḫabīr*, "expert" (DMWA, 225b).
- *kšp*, "sorcerer" (KTU 1.169:9[126]; 1.178:8, 13)
  – CS: Heb. *kšp*, "sorcerer" (HALOT, 503); Akk. *kaššāpu*, "Hexe(nmeister)" (AHw, 463); "sorcerer" (CAD K, 292); "sorcerer" (CDA, 152b); cf. Aram. *mksp*, "sorcerer (lit. blamed)" (DSA I, 402a) and perhaps Pun. *ksp*, "incantation" (DNWSI, 526).

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[122] Note also Aram. *tnn*, "to offer incense" and *mtnnh*, "censer" (DSA II, 957b).
[123] See the survey in Smith 2006, 38; he translates "guards"; cf. DUL, 909.
[124] For Mesopotamian terms for witches see Zomer 2017, 223 §2.
[125] However, see Del Olmo Lete 2012b, 148; Wyatt RTU, 442 n. 2.
[126] Cf. Del Olmo Lete 2012b, 143, 148–149.

- *mḥll*, "desacraliser, exorcist" (KTU 1.119:23)[127]
  - CS: Akk. *mullilu*(*m*), "purifier" (CDA, 216a); *mullilu*, *mullalu*, "(a cultic functionary)" (CAD M/2, 189); Arab. *muḥallil*, "analyzer" (DMWA, 200b); cf. also Aram. *ḥll*, "to desecrate, profane, redeem" (DJBA, 463–464); "to defile, profane" (DSA I, 271b); Arab. *ḥalāl*, "allowed, permitted etc." (DMWA, 199a).
  - IE: cf. Luw. *ḫalāli-*, "pure" (CLL, 46); Hitt. *ḫalali-*, "clean" (Puhvel HED 3, 13; a Luwianism).
  - AA: cf. Lowland East Cushitic **ḥal-*, "to wash" (HSED §1226); Eg. *ḥ3.tj*, "Bleicher, Wäscher" (EDE I, 63–64, 149).
- *mlḫš*, "conjuror, snake charmer" (KTU 1.100:5, 11, 16, 27, 32, 37, 42, 47, 53, 59)
  - CS: Heb. *mlḥš*, "magician" (HALOT, 527); see also Syr. *lḥwš'*, "magician, reciter of incantation" (SL, 684a); "a charmer, snake-charmer" (CSD, 240a) and Akk. *muš*(*la*)*laḫḫu*, "snake charmer" (CDA, 222b)[128].
- *mšmṭr*, "rainmaker" (KTU 1.174:9)[129]
  - CS: Cf. Heb. *mṭr* hi., "to let rain fall upon" (HALOT, 574); OAram. *mṭr*, "to rain" (DNWSI, 619); Aram. *mṭr*, "to cause to rain down" (DJPA, 303b) and Arab. *maṭara*, "to rain" (AEL, 2721–22).
- *prln*, "diviner" (KTU 1.6 vi 55; 1.17 vi 56; 1.179:40; 6.47:1; 9.457:11[130])
  - Hurr. *purli*, *purul*(*l*)*i*, "temple employee" (BGH, 329–330, 536b)[131].
- *šil*, "augur" (KTU 2.63:8, 12; cf. 2.50:10).
  - CS: Akk. *šā'ilu*, "Traumdeuter" (AHw, 1134); "diviner" (CAD Š/1, 110–112); "dream interpreter; augur" (CDA, 348a). Cf. Aram. *š'l*, "to inquire, consult (a ghost)" (DJPA, 532a) and Syr. *š'l*, "to ask, question (of oracle)" (SL, 1497a, mng 3d).
- *ydy*, "expeller" (KTU 1.16 v 11, 15, 18, 21, 50) and ▪ *ydt*, "she who casts out, expels" (KTU 1.16 v 27)[132]
  - CS: cf. Heb. *ydh*, "to cast" (HALOT, 389a); Arab. *'awdā*, "to destroy, remove, take away" (AEL, 3051).
  - AA: cf. Eg. *wdy*, "to place, put; throw" (FCD, 73); "legen; setzen; stoßen; werfen" (Wb 1, 384.15–387.25; GHWb, 226–227; EDE I, 241).

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[127] It is a profession, as argued by Del Olmo Lete (2017, 173–174) who translates: "sacerdote exorcista o conjurador".

[128] See also Akk. *Mulaḫḫišu*, "Whisperer" (CDA, 216a), a god's name.

[129] Cf. Watson 2002c, 796; LSU, 26.

[130] See now Pardee 2015; reference courtesy of N. Wyatt.

[131] See Van Soldt 1989a; 1990a, 732; Pardee 2014.

[132] Or "female exorcist" (Hawley 2004, 40). Also Ug. *gršm* and *gršt*, "one able to drive out" (DUL, 306).

2.8c Musicians (*mṣl*, *šr*)

- *mṣl*, "cymbal player, cymbalist" (KTU 4.126:30; 4.225:5)[133]
  - CS: cf. Heb. *ṣelṣelîm*, "clanging pans, cymbals" (HALOT, 1031b); Aram. *ṣlṣ'*, "cymbal" (DCPA, 356); cf. Heb. *ṣll*, "to resonate, ring" (HALOT, 1027); Aram. *ṣll*, etpalpel: "to play an instrument" (DSA II, 733a); Arab. *ṣalla*, "to sound" (AEL, 1709–1710).
- *šr* (I), "musician, singer" (KTU 1.4 v 9; 1.19 i 7; 1.23:22; 1.106:15; 1.151:10, 12; 4.103:41, 64; 4.168:4) – see *šr*, "(musical) instrument maker" (§2.4e, above)[134]
  - CS: Heb. *šr*, *mšwrr*, ptc. "singer" (HALOT, 1480–1481); Ph. *šr*, "singer" (DNWSI, 1130; CSL, 332); Aram. *šyr*, "to sing" (DJPA, 548b; DSA II, 890b); Syr. *šyr*, "to sing" (SL, 1554a; CSD, 575b); cf. EA Akk. *šārūtu*, "Sängerinnenstand" (AHw, 1194); "post of singer" (CDA, 362a); "position of singer" (CAD Š/2, 144a), from W. Sem.
  - AA: Chad. **sVr-*, "to sing" (CED No. 714), also Omotic **sur-*, "to sing" (HSED §2258).
  - Hurr. *šir-*, "erzählen, to sing etc."; *šir=ad-*, "preisen, to sing (a poem), etc." (BGH, 392a), may not be the same verb[135].

2.9. Auxiliaries

2.9a Deputies (*bdl*, *ṯn*, *ṯnġly*, *ṯnġlyt*)

- *bdl*, "deputy, substitute" (KTU 4.69 iii 6; 4.69 vi 17; 4.85:6; 4.86:21, 29; 4.96:1; 4.116:20; 4.134:1; 4.214 i 4; 4.214 iii 1; 4.232:42; 4.312:4, 7; 4.724:5)[136]
  - ES: Arab. *badal*, "a substitute" (AEL, 168); Arab. *badīl*, "substitute, stand-in" (DMWA, 46b); Aram. *bdl*, "substitution"[137].
- *ṯn*, "deputy, vizier" (KTU 1.103+:17; cf. 3.1:36)
  - CS: Heb. *šny*, "following, second" (HALOT, 1605a); Akk. *šanû*(*m*), Ass. *šaniu*(*m*), (of officials) "deputy" (CDA, 355b); "zweiter, nächster" (AHw, 1164–65); Akk. *šanû*, *šanā'u*, "second-in-command, deputy" (CAD Š/1, 397–398); Arab. *ṯānī*, "second" (AEL, 359); Aram. *tnynw*, "second in rank" (DSA II, 965a)[138].
  - Hurr. ^{LÚ}*ši-nu*, "second" (cf. BGH, 380b)

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[133] Syll. Ug.: ^{lú}*ma-ṣi-lu* (cf. UVST, 171; CDA, 200b).

[134] See Del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 1998, 181–182. As *šrm* are often mentioned together with other craftsmen, they conclude: "Mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit sind also die ug. *šrm* sowohl «Sänger, Musiker» als auch «Instrumentenbauer»". This distinction is followed here (as in DUL, 828–829).

[135] See Bachvarova 2016, 37 n. 70.

[136] Full discussion in Watson 2009a, with further references and bibliography. Cf. also BGH, 521–522 and especially Monroe 2009, 152, 159–160, 219, who rejects the meaning "merchant". However, note Tigre *bädlä*, "change, exchange, barter" (Fisher 1969, 52).

[137] For this word in Aramaic see Fales 2000, 112 n. 132.

[138] See Ph. *rb šny*, "lieutenant" (CSL, 127); "second *rab*" – "*šny* indication of the *rab* in question in the hierarchy" (DNWSI, 1050).

- *ṯnġly*, "deputy, second, of lower rank" (KTU 4.128:9)
  - Hurro.-Akk. *šinaḫilu*(*m*), "second" (Richter BGH, 380–381, 542–543), "second-in-command" (CAD Š/3, 36–37); "second (rank, class), deputy, second-in-command" (CDA, 374a)[139]. See previous entry.
- *ṯnġlyt*, "substitute, representative" (KTU 4.339:10)[140]
  - Hurro.-Akk. *šinaḫilūtum*, "office of *šinaḫilu*" (CDA, 374a).

2.9b Companions, Associates (*ḥbr*, *lwn*, *mdd*, *rᶜ*; cf. *dᶜt*)

- *ḥbr* I, "companion, associate" (KTU 1.6 vi 49; 1.108:5)
  - CS: Heb. *ḥāber*, "companion" (HALOT, 288b); Pun. *ḥbr*, "associate" (CSL, 97; DNWSI, 346); Nab., Palm. *ḥbr*, "colleague, companion" (DNWSI, 346–347); Syr. *ḥabrā'*, "friend, companion" (SL, 410); Akk. *i/ebru*, "Genosse, Gefährte, Freund" (AHw, 363–364); "comrade, fellow" (CAD I/J, 5–7); "friend, colleague" (CDA, 124a); Arab. *ḥabr/ḥibr*, "a righteous man" (AEL, 498).
  - AA: Borrowed as Eg.: **ḫābira*, "business/trading partner, colleague" (SWET §333).
- *lwn*, "follower" (KTU 1.2 i 46)
  - CS: Syr. *lwn'*, "companion" (SL, 678b); Syr. *lwy'*, "retinue, company; companion" (SL, 678b; CSD, 237a). Cf. Ug. *lyt*, "retinue" (DUL, 503); Heb. *lwh*, "to accompany" (HALOT, 522); OAram. *lwy*, "to accompany" (DNWSI, 569); NB *lawûm*, "keep company (with)" (CDA, 179b, mng. 6).
  - AA: Cf. Chad. **lVwVy-*, "to surround, wrap" (CED No. 541).
- *mdd*, "friend" (KTU 1.1 iv 20; 1.3 iii 38, 43; 1.4 ii 34; 1.4 iii 3; 1.4 vi 12; 1.4 vii 3; 1.4 viii 23–24)[141]
  - CS: OAram. *mwdd*, "friend" (DNWSI, 602); cf. Akk. PN *mūdādum*, "beloved" (CDA, 214); Heb. PN *mydd*, "darling" (HALOT, 576a)[142].
- *rᶜ* (a) "companion" (KTU 1.21 ii 6; 2.2:1; 2.15:5; 4.858:4; 5.9 i 8, 10, 11); (b) "associate" (KTU 4.391:1–18; 4.797:2–5; cf. KTU 1.9:6; 1.22 i 27; 4.440:1–5; 4.493:1–4; 4.740:2–4)
  - CS: Heb. *rēᵃᶜ*, "friend, darling, comrade, neighbour" (HALOT, 1253–1255); Aram. *rᶜ*, "friend, colleague, neighbour" (DNWSI, 1079); Aram. *ryᶜ*, "friend" (DJPA, 523b); Akk. *rū'u*(*m*), *rûm*, *rū'a*, *rā'um*, "colleague,

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[139] At Kaniš, the *šinaḫilum*, "délégué" "devait ... assurer des fonctions importantes auprès du princes dans les petites localités" (Michel 2001, 169).

[140] For discussion see Justel 2008, 449; he rejects the meaning "concubine", as some scholars have proposed, noting: "The precise meaning of *ṯnġlyt* is not known, but it is very likely a term of Hurrian etymology, perhaps derived from the Hurrian word *šinaḫilu*, 'second'", which occurs in documents from Emar and Nuzi.

[141] See generally Töyräänvuori 2015.

[142] Cf. HSED §2496 for possible AA equivalents.

friend" (CDA, 308b); "Gefährte, Freund" (AHw, 998); "friend, companion" (CAD R, 439–440).
– AA: **ri^c-*, "friend" (HSED §2116); Chad. **rVw/y-*, "man, friend" (CED No. 650). Cf. ECush. (Somali) *raa^c*, "to accompany, go together" (Militarev 2009, 102–103 §2.2)[143].

2.10. Servants, Assistants

2.10a Generic Staff (*åmt*, *^{c}bd*, *^{c}nn*, *bnš*, *ġlm*, *ḫḏrġl*, *ḫzr*, *mḏrġl*, *n^{c}r*, *n^{c}rt*, *ṯdr*)

- *åmt*, "maid" (KTU 1.4 iii 21–22; 1.4 iv 61; 1.12 i 15–16; 1.14 ii 3, 10; 1.14 iii 25, 37; 1.14 vi 22; 2.70:12, 19; 3.32:10, 27; 3.35:7; 4.230:9; 9.425:20)
  – CS: Ph. *'mt*, "maidservant" (CSL, 25); Heb. *'āmāh*, "slave, maid and concubine" (HALOT, 61b); Aram. *'amtā'*, "maidservant" (DJBA, 142b); Syr. *'m'*, "maidservant" (SL, 58); *'mh*, "maidservant, concubine" (DSA I, 40); (DNWSI, 70); Akk. *amtu*, *andu*, "maid, female slave" (CDA, 15–16); Arab. *'ama*, "female slave, handmaid" (AEL, 103); OSA *'mt*, "maidservant" (DOSA, 19).
  – AA: cf. Chad. **'am-*, "(young) woman" (CED No. 5).
- *^{c}bd*, "slave, servant" (KTU 1.2 i 36; 1.3 1 2; 1.4 iv 59, 60; 1.5 ii 12, 19; 1.14 iii 23, 35, 49, 51; 1.14 vi 6, 19, 34; 1.15 iv 10; 1.16 iii 13; 1.82:41; 2.11:4, 18; 2.12:5, 15; 2.19:11; 2.23:6; 2.24:4; 2.33:2, 24; 2.40:9; 2.41:14; 2.47:14; 2.50:21; 2.64:12, 20; 2.68:3, 17; 2.75:5; 2.81:5; 4.35 ii 2; 4.71 iii 10; 4.75 vi 3; 4.87:2; 4.95:9; 4.99:1; 4.126:13; 4.183 ii 19; 4.320:1; 4.362:5–6; 5.9:19; 9.434:4, 20, 22 etc)[144]
  – CS: Heb. *^{c}ebed*, "slave (villein), servant, dependant in position of trust" (HALOT, 774–775); Ph. *^{c}bd*, "slave of a person" (CSL, 235); OSA *^{c}bd*, "servant, slave (of individual, tribe or god)" (DOSA, 349); Akk. *abdu*, "servant, slave" (CDA, 2b) is a loan from W. Semitic.
  – AA: cf. **^{c}abod-*, "slave", as Chad. **bawad-* (< **baHwad*), "slave" (HSED §1029). Borrowed from Semitic as Eg. **^{c}abdi*, "servant" (as a PN)[145].
- *^{c}nn*, "servant" (KTU 1.2 i 35; 1.4 iv 59)[146]
  – ES: Arab. *^{c}ānin*, "humble, subservient, servile etc." (DMWA, 650a; cf. AEL, 2166); cf. Arab. *^{c}anna*, "to appear before one" (AEL, 2162); Arab. *^{c}awn*, "help, assistance" (AEL, 2203)[147].

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[143] For a possible Eg. equivalent cf. Militarev 2009, 102, but note the hesitation of Takács EDE III, 51.

[144] See Vita 1999, 466–467 §1.6.6.

[145] SWET §69; however, see also Eg. *^{c}bd*, "Diener" (GHWb, 136b) as a foreign word.

[146] Cf. also KTU 1.10 ii 33; 2.8:4; 4.405:6; 7.135:3.

[147] These are cited in DUL, 166; the word seems Semitic but its etymology is uncertain. Full discussion in UBC I, 292. Renfroe (1992, 24) notes: "The noun *^{c}awn* comes to refer to those who help, aid, etc., and developed the specific meaning «servant» in a manner comparable to the supercilious English designation of employees as «the help»".

- *bnš*, "staff" (KTU 2.9:4, 8, 10, 15; 2.90:10; 3.20:2; 3.35:8; 4.44:23–25, 28; 4.804:1)[148]
  - ES: Aram. *brnš* (= *br 'nyš*), plur. *bnyy 'nyš*, *bnynš*, "person, someone; man, person, human" (DJPA, 100a); Aram. *br 'nš*, *bar 'înāš* (pl. bny *'yn'š'*, *b^{e}nê 'înāšā'*), "human being, person" (DJBA, 234); Aram. *brnš*, "man" (DSA I, 117); Syr. *br 'nš*, "man" (SL, 178); Mand. *barnaša* etc., "a man, an individual" (MD, 24, 68b); cf. Akk. *mār nišī*, "Angehörige" (AHw, 797)[149].
- *ġlm*, "(page-)boy, servant, (KTU 1.2 i 13, 19, 39; 1.2 iii 11; 1.3 ii 4; 1.3 iii 8; 1.3 iv 5; 1.3 v 15; 1.4 ii 29; 1.4 vii 52; 1.6 vi 8; 1.8 ii 5; 1.9:17; 1.10 ii 3; 1.14 ii 8; 1.16 i 50; 1.169:10); for *ġlm*, "prince, noble" see §2.1a above.
  - CS: Ph. *^{c}lm*, "man" (DNWSI, 862; CSL, 246); Heb. *^{c}elem*, "young man" (HALOT, 835); Arab. *ġulām*, "a young man, youth, boy, or male child" (AEL, 2286–2287); Aram. *^{c}ûlêmā'*, "young man", *^{c}ûlāmā'*, "young man, servant" (DJBA, 847b)[150]; Syr. *^{c}ylm'*, "boy, young man, servant" (SL, 1102).
  - AA: **ġulum-*, "young man", Chad. **hulum-* (< **ġulum-*), "man" (HSED §1018; cf. CED No. 294).
- *ḫzr*, "assistant" (KTU 4.141 iii 4, 7, 9; 4.216:6[151]; 4.609:51, 52; 4.630:2)
  - ES: Akk. *ḫāziru*, "Helfer" (AHw, 339); "helper (?)" (CAD Ḫ, 166); Akk. *ḫāzirum*, "helper" (CDA, 113b), a loan from W. Semitic (*^{c}zr*).
- *mḏrġl*, "assistant" (KTU 3.7:2, 3, 4; 4.33:1; 4.53:1; 4.54:1; 4.68:61; 4.69 vi 6, 17; 4.99:17; 4.102:14; 4.103:54; 4.137:9; 4.162:9; 4.163:12; 4.173:7; 4.174:10, 12; 4.179:13; 4.183 ii 15; 4.213:29; 4.216:4, 11; 4.230:6; 4.379:1; 4.387:10, 20, 24; 4.751:1)
  - Hurr. *mazeri*, "assistance, help" (cf. BGH, 246–247) plus *-ġl*, the suffix denoting a profession[152].
- *n^{c}r*, "lad, page" (KTU 1.107:8,11; 1.175:16; 2.33:29; 4.102:8; 4.179:3; 4.339:3, 25; 4.360:5; 4.367:7; 4.419:4)
  - WS: Heb. *na^{c}ar*, "young man, fellow, servant, attendant" (HALOT, 707b) and Ph. *n^{c}r*, "young man, attendant" (CSL, 217; DNWSI, 739–740)[153].
- *n^{c}rt*, "maidservant" (KTU 4.102:17; 4.275:9)
  - WS: Heb. *na^{ca}rāh*, "young (un)married girl, attendant" (HALOT, 707–708). See previous entry.

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[148] Note *bu-nu-šu* alone in RS 94.2965 (cf. Márquez Rowe 2006, 231–232 n. 71).

[149] None of these cognates is mentioned in Tropper 2003, 663–665.

[150] Also in an Aram. text (in Demotic script) as *ḫrm'* for *ġlm'*, "young man, boy" (Holm 2017, 7–8).

[151] Since in this text *ḫzr* comes after *šml*, "dealer" (line 5), it cannot be excluded that it means "merchant", cognate with Aram. *ḥzr*, "traveling merchant" (DJPA, 195a), but this remains conjectural.

[152] As shown by Vita 2007, 181–182, with a full explanation; cf. BGH, 532–533.

[153] See MacDonald 1976; Watson 2013a, 36. For a possible loan in Egyptian see SWET No. 245.

- *ṯdr*, "(servant-)girl" (KTU 1.42:30; 4.275:2)
  - Hurro-Hitt.: *šiduri*, "Mädchen, Tochter" (HW, 325a); "jeune fille" (Laroche GLH, 229); borrowed as Akk. *šiduri*, "Mädchen" (AHw, 1230); "young woman" (CAD Š/2, 408); "girl" (CDA, 371a)[154].

2.10b Specialist Servants (*ỉštn*, *ḥspt*, *kzy*, *mrů*, *mrḥṣ*, *mšnqt*, *sỉd*, *šỉb*, *šỉbt*, *šqy*, *ṯkmt*)

- *ỉštnm*, "fire-kindler(s)" (KTU 4.149:3; 4.838:4; 4.858:5; var. *ůštnm*, KTU 4.814:17)[155]
  - CS: cf. Ug. *ỉšt*, "fire" (DUL, 115); Heb. *'ēš*, "fire" (HALOT, 92); Akk. *ỉšātu*(*m*), "fire" (CDA, 133a).
  - AA: cf. **'es*, "fire" (HSED §82); WChad. **w/'usi-*, "fire" (CED No. 782).
- *ḥspt*, "collector" (KTU 1.19 ii 2, 6; 1.19 iv 37)
  - WS: Heb. *ḥśp*, "to skim off (water)" (HALOT, 359b)[156].
- *kzy*, "chariot-driver, groom" (KTU 4.68:62; 4.99:10; 4.126:14; 4.222:3; 4.837:14; 4.863:6)[157]
  - CS: Akk. *kizû*, *kazû*, "ein Diener" (AHw, 496); "herdsman, groom" (CAD K, 477–478); "animal-trainer", later esp. associated with horses, "groom" (CDA, 163b).
  - AA: Chad. **kVz-*, "slave" (CED No. 472; HSED §1515). Borrowed as Eg. *kṯn*, *kḏn*, **kuṣina/kuzina*, "charioteer" (SWET §506; DLE II, 181)[158].
  - Hurr. *kuzi*, "chariot-driver" (BGH, 230; von Dassow 2008, 311–313).
- *mrḥṣ*, "clean(s)er" (KTU 2.88:10)
  - CS: Akk. *rāḫiṣu*, "(clothes) cleaner" (CDA, 295b); cf. Ug. *rḥṣ*, "to wash"; D: "to clean, cleanse" (DUL, 726–727); Heb. *rḥṣ*, "to douse with water, to wash off" (HALOT, 1220–1221; cf. DJBA, 1071a); Aram. *rḥ*^{c}, "to wash" (DNWSI, 1072); "to bathe" (DSA II, 829b); Akk. *raḫāṣu*, "to flood, wash, cleanse" (CDA, 295b); Arab. *raḥaḍa*, "to wash" (AEL, 1052).
- *mšnqt*, "wet-nurse" (KTU 1.15 ii 28)[159]

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[154] Cf. Watson LSU, 134; Richter BGH, 400–401, 542a.

[155] For the variant *ůštnm* see Bordreuil (1988, 26), who translates "hommes de feu", i.e. "chauffeurs". Possible alternative meanings are "fire tender" (UT §19.405), "charcoal burner", "stoker" or even "cauterizer" (cf. KTU 1.88:2); see Watson 2001, 284. A comparable occupation in Linear B is *pu-ka-wo* (*/purkawoi/*), "fire-kindlers" (on which see Shelmerdine 2008, 142).

[156] For a possible derivative in Emar Akk. see Pentiuc WSV, 58.

[157] "I conclude that the *kizû* (= **kāziyu*) of the Alalaḫ IV tablets, like the *kzy* of Ugarit, served as a chariot-driver. This does not, of course, exclude his performance of the functions of a groom, which persons designated *kizû* (var. *kazû*) had been doing before the development of horse-drawn war chariots. Off the battlefield, the *kizû*'s main task would have been the care and, probably, training of horses, so the translation "groom" would account for at least part of his job" (von Dassow 2008, 313; cf. 56). See already Vita 1995, 118–125; Sznycer 1981, 469.

[158] See also von Dassow 2008, 311–312. For a possible Hurr. connection see BGH, 230 and 531.

[159] Unless the reading is *mšnq*, "suckling"; cf. Wyatt RTU 209–210 n. 50.

– CS: Akk. *mušēniqtu*, "wet nurse" (CDA, 222a); cf. Heb. *mēnêqet*, "wet-nurse, nurse" (HALOT, 577b) and Syr. *mynqny*, *mynqnyt'*, "wet nurse" (SL, 577a)[160].
– AA: cf. Chad. **niḳ-*, "to lick, saliva" (CED No. 596); Eg. *snq*, "saugen lassen, säugen" (GHWb, 723b; cf. DLE II, 54)[161].

▪ *sỉd*, "butler" (KTU 1.3 i 3)
– CS: cf. Akk. *sêdu*, "to support, assist" (CDA, 320a), a loan from Aram *s^{c}d*, "to help, to support" (DNWSI, 795–796)[162]; cf. also Aram. *s^{c}wd*, "helper" (DSA II, 602b)[163]; Aram. *s^{c}d*, "to eat, provide sustenance" (DJBA, 823); Aram. *s^{ec}ôd^{e}tā'*, "meal, banquet" (DJBA, 823b) and Arab. *musā^{c}id*, "helper, assistant" (DMWA, 411a). Ug. *sỉd* seems to be a direct loan from Akk. as there is no /^{c}/.

▪ *šỉb*, "water bearer, water carrier, water provider" (KTU 4.609:15; var. *šảb* KTU 6.25:2)
– CS: Akk. *sābû*(*m*), *sēbû*, *šībû*, *sā/ēbi'û*, *sābium*, "brewer, innkeeper" (CDA, 309b). Cf. Heb. *š'b*, "to draw water" (HALOT, 1367a); Akk. *sâb/pu*, "schöpfen" (AHw, 1000); "to draw beer" (CAD S, 5); "to draw (water)" (CDA, 309b); also Eth. *sa'aba*, "to drag, pull" (CDG, 480).
– AA: cf. E. Chad. **sVb-*, "to pour" (HSED §2214)[164].

▪ *šỉbt*, "water bearer" (KTU 1.12 ii 59; 1.14 iii 9; 1.14 v 1; 4.705:4)
– ES: Akk. *sābītu*(*m*), "female brewer, alehouse keeper" (CDA, 309b). See previous entry.

▪ *šqy*, "cupbearer, wine waiter" (KTU 1.15 iv 13; 4.246:8)
– ES: Aram. *šāqyā'*, "butler" (DJBA, 1173b); Aram./Palm. *šqy*, "cup-bearer, butler; irrigator" (DNWSI, 1186–87); Aram. *šq*(*'*)*y*, "cupbearer" (DSA II, 925b); Syr. *šqy'*, "cupbearer" (SL, 1594a); "a cupbearer, butler" (CSD, 493a); Mand. *šaquata/šiquata,* "cup-bearers" (MD, 445a, 463a); Arab. *saqqā'*, "water carrier" (DMWA, 416a); *siqāyā*, "office of water supplier" (DMWA, 416). These cognates indicate that Ug. *šqy* is not borrowed from Akk. *šāqû*(*m*), *šāqiu*(*m*), "butler, cup-bearer" (CDA, 359b), "steward, cup-bearer" (CAD Š/2, 28–30)[165].

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[160] For further Sem. cognates of the verb *ynḳ* see SED I No. 83.

[161] The Sem. and Eg. cognates in Stolbova in CED No. 596. Cf. also EDE I, 211 and HSED §1872.

[162] "This root is attested only in the Achaemenid inscriptions, especially in the Akk version of the Bisitum inscription, where the corresponding Aram text has סעד, which supports the view that this is an Aram loanword in Akk." (Abraham – Sokoloff 2007–2008, 51–52 §210).

[163] See also Akk. *sā'idum*, "helper" (CDA, 312a), although Abraham – Sokoloff (2007–2008, 48 §128) consider this meaning as uncertain; cf. CAD S, 67–68.

[164] For possible borrowing in Egyptian cf. SWET §§205, 392. Cf. also Eg. *s3b*, "fließen, rinnen, ropfen" (GHWb, 658a; cf. Wb 3, 420.3), "to flow" (DLE II, 8).

[165] On the *šāqû* in Mari see Guichard 2006, 41–43.

- *ṯkmt*, "woman carrying (water) on (her) shoulders" (KTU 1.19 ii 1, 6; 1.19 iv 28, 37)
  - ES: cf. Geez *sakama*, "to carry on shoulders" (CDG, 496)[166].

2.11. Communication: Messengers and Scouts (*ủḏr*, *ᶜdd*, *ᶜnn*, *dll*, *ġlm*, *ḫlġl*, *lsm*, *mlȧk*, *ngr*, *ngrt*, *ql*, *trr*)[167]

- *ủḏr*, "messenger, runner" (KTU 2.30:15; 2.33:20)
  - Hurr. *iz(z)uri*, "courier" (BGH, 109a, 513a). Clearly a loan in Ugaritic.
- *ᶜdd*, "herald" (KTU 1.4 vii 46)
  - CS: Ug. *ᶜd(d)*, "to declare, communicate" (DUL, 145); OAram. *ᶜdd*, "messenger, herald" (DNWSI, 827–828); more remotely, cf. Eth. *ᶜawwādi*, "herald" (CDG, 77)[168].
- *ᶜnn*, "messenger" (KTU 1.3 iv 32; 1.4 viii 15 – from context)[169] – see §2.10a above.
- *dll*, "courier, messenger, mediator" (KTU 1.4 vii 45)
  - CS: Arab. *dalīl*, "director, discoverer" (AEL, 901), "guide" (DMWA, 289a); cf. Akk. *dayyālu*, "Kundschafter" (AHw, 150); *dayālu*, "scout, inspector" (CAD D, 27–28); "scout" (CDA, 58a), from *dâlu*, *duālu*, "to move, roam around" (CDA, 54b)[170].
- *ġlm*, "messenger" (KTU 1.4 v 43; 1.19 ii 28) – see §2.10a above.
- *ḫlġl*, "speaker, orator, herald" (KTU 4.396:18)
  - Hurr. *ḫilaḫuli*, "orator, one who prays" (AT 267:10)[171] – Ug. *ḫlġl* = Hurr. *ḫil*(*l*)-, "to speak" (as *ḫl*) + *-o/u=ḫ*(*e*)*=li* (as *-ġl*) (the affix denoting profession).
- *lsm*, "runner" (KTU 1.6 vi 21)
  - ES: Akk. *lāsimu*, *lasmu*, "runner, courier" (CDA, 178b); "Läufer, Kurier" (AHw, 539); "express messenger, scout" (CAD L, 106–107)[172].

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[166] For other possible cognates see SED I, 251 No. 281. A comparable denominative verb is Aram. *ktp*, "to carry/grab by the shoulder" (DJPA, 273a), "to carry on one's shoulders" (DJBA, 610a; cf. DSA I, 416).

[167] For terms for "messenger" see Watson LSU, 29 n. 218.

[168] See also Fisher 1969, 150. The Eg. equivalent proposed by Cody (1979) has not been accepted; cf. Renfroe 1992, 87 and SWET §106. Discussion with further references in UBC II, 686; cf. HALOT, 789a.

[169] Heb. *mᵉᶜonēn*, "soothsayer" (HALOT, 857b) seems remote but cannot be discounted completely.

[170] For possible AA equivalents see HSED §669.

[171] As proposed by Oliva (1998, 596) and applied to Ugaritic by Vita 2007, 183; BGH, 147–148, 525.

[172] "It would appear ... that *lsmm* refers ... to human «runners», perhaps parallel with *gmrm*, human warriors" (UBC I, 314 n. 176). See Dietrich – Loretz 1987, 21; Huehnergard UVST, 143; Watson LSU, 92.

- *mlåk*, "messenger" (KTU 1.2 i 11, 22, 41–42; 1.13:25, 26; 1.14 iii 20, 33; 1.14 iv 35; 1.62:6; 1.124:11; 2.76:3)
  - CS: Heb. *ml'k*, "messenger, angel" (HALOT, 585–586); Ph. *ml'k*, "delegate, envoy," (DNWSI, 629)[173]; Ph. *ml'k*, "messenger" (CSL, 178); Aram. *ml'k*, "angel" (DJPA, 308b); *mal^{a}'kā'*, "angel" (DJBA, 676–677); Syr. *ml'k'*, "messenger, angel" (SL, 764b); "a messenger, an angel" (CSD, 276a); Mand. *m*(*a*)*laka*, "angel, devil" (MD, 243b); Arab. *ma*(*'*)*lak*, "angel" (AEL, 3007, 3023) and Eth. *mal'ak*, "messenger, angel" (CDG, 303).
- *ngr*, "herald" (KTU 1.16 iv 3, 6, 7, 10, 11)
  - ES: Akk. *nāgiru*, "(town) crier, herald" (CDA, 231a); "Ausrufer, Herold" (AHw, 711); "herald" (CAD N/1, 115–118)[174] and Eth. *nagāri*, "narrator" (CDG, 392).
- *ngrt*, "herald" (KTU 1.16 iv 4, 8, 12)
  - ES: Akk. *nāgirtu*, "(female) herald" (of goddess) (CDA, 231a); see *ngr*, above.
- *ql*, "swift (courier, messenger)" (KTU 4.213:27; 4.337:12; 4.468:2–3)
  - CS: Heb. *ql*, "light, rapid" (HALOT, 1000–1001); Akk. *qallu*, "light (of troops etc.)" (CDA, 283a); "light" (CAD Q, 62); OAram. *qlyl*, "light, fast" (DNWSI, 1011); Aram. *qallî*, *qallîl*, "light, swift etc." (DJBA, 1018–1019); Syr. *qlyl'*, "light, light-armed (soldiers), quick etc." (SL, 1370b); cf. Akk. *kallû*(*m*), *kalliu*, "express messenger, courier" (CDA, 142b)[175].
  - AA: cf. Chad. **ḳVl-*, "to look (for), to watch" (CSED §493), possibly indicating the meaning "scout".
- *trr*, "(runner)" (KTU 4.7:1; 4.99:8; 4.103:4; 8; 4.126:26)[176]
  - CS: cf. Ug. *tr*, "to run" (DUL, 862–863); also Arab. *trr*, "s'éloigner, partir d'un endroit" (BK I, 194, cited in CED, 326).
  - AA: borrowed as Eg. *trr*, "to race" (DLE II, 215; cf. GHWb, 936); Eg. **darra/ṭallil/ṭarir* (?), "to race, go for an outing" (SWET §532). Cf. Chad. **tVr-*, "to run" (CED No. 752).

2.12. Learners (*ġmr*, *lmd*, *lmdt*; cf. *šml*, *ḫḏġl*)

- *ġmr*, "apprentice (?)" (KTU 4.63 i 11, 33; 4.63 iii 32; 4.214 iv 1; cf. 4.111:11; 4.835:9)[177]
  - ES: Arab. *ġumr*, "(a man) inexperienced in affairs, in war and counsel; ignorant" (AEL, 2292; cf. DMWA, 684a).

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[173] Cf. also perhaps OAram. *ml'kh*, "messenger (?)" (DNWSI, 630).

[174] See Jakob 2003, 65–72.

[175] Liverani 2002 ("corriere rapido"); see Jakob 2003, 303–304; Favaro 2007, 25, 27, 67–71, 80–82.

[176] Translated "Kurriere" by Dietrich – Loretz (TUAT 1/3, 216); cf. BGH, 475b, 541.

[177] Bravman 1953, based on a proposal by Alt 1952, 159.

- *lmd*, "student" (KTU 1.6 vi 55; 1.17 vi 56; 1.179:40); "apprentice" (KTU 2.108:1; 4.125:8–9; 4.138:3–9; 4.154:1, 3, 4, 6; 4.188:7, 12, 15, 17, 19; 4.194:2, 4, 6, 8, 10; 4.227 i 2, 4, 6, 10, 12; 4.227 ii 10; 4.269:10, 12, 14, 16, 18; 4.277:10)[178]
  - CS: Heb. *limmud*, "taught, trained, pupil" (HALOT, 531); cf. Akk. *lamdu*, "erfahren" (AHw, 533); "experienced" (CAD L, 67; CDA, 177a); Akk. *lummudu* (Ass. *lammunum*), "taught" (CDA,185b); Akk. *talmīdu*(*m*), "apprentice" (CDA, 396a)[179].
- *lmdt*, "female apprentice" (KTU 4.175:12).
  - CS: cf. Akk. *lā lamittu*, "inexperienced" (CDA, 177a) and *talmittu*, "apprentice" (CDA, 396a).

2.13. Various

2.13a Menial and Unskilled Workers (*bᶜl*, *dlt*, *ḥpšt*, cf. *bnš*, *ḫpṯ*, *ḥrš*, *ṯkmt*)

- *bᶜl* (I) "(unskilled/manual) worker" (KTU 4.15:2–9, 11; 4.183 i 1; 4.360:2, 5, 6, 7, 11; 4.609:53; 4.647:7; 4.691:7; 4.840:1 etc.)[180]
  - CS: OSA *fᶜln*, "laborers, phps skilled laborers, craftsmen" (DOSA, 407). Cf. Heb. *pᶜl*, "to make etc." (HALOT, 950–951); Ph./Pun. *pᶜl*, "to do, make, add" (CSL, 267–268)[181].
  - AA: **pVcal-*, "to work, make", e.g. Chad. **pal-*, "to make" (HSED §2022).
- *dlt*, "poor woman" (KTU 1.82:22, 24)
  - CS: Heb. *dl*, "low, poor" (HALOT, 221–222); Pun. *dl*, "poor, deficient" (DNWSI, 248; CSL, 72–73); Aram. *dl*, "meager" (DSA I, 183a); Arab. *ḏull*, *ḏalīl*, "lowness", "low, base" (AEL, 973)[182].
  - AA: **dal-*, "weak, tired" (HSED §637).
- *ḥpšt*, "woman collecting (straw)" (KTU 1.14 iii 8; 1.14 iv 52)
  - CS: cf. Heb. *ḥpš*, "to search, track down" (HALOT, 341); Aram. *ḥps*, "to dig, search" (DJPA, 212a); *ḥpś*, "to search" (DJBA, 478b); *ḥps*, "to dig, seek" (DSA I, 289a); Arab. *ḥafaša*, "to collect (water)" (Hava 1964, 132); Tigrinya *ḥafäsä*, "to collect grain" (Fisher 1969, 88).

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[178] See Márquez Rowe 2006, 123.

[179] Note that Ug. *tlmd*, "trained, tamed" (KTU 4.384:8) refers to animals (DUL, 857).

[180] For compounds with *bᶜl* see §3 below.

[181] See also HSED §2022 under **pVᶜal*, "to work, make".

[182] Possibly a loan as Hurr. *dl*, "poor, helpless", as proposed by Lam 2006, 408; cf. BGH, 522b.

2.13b Generic and Uncertain ((*í*)*blbl*, *bṭr*, *d*^{c}*t*, *drk*, *hbṭn*, *ḫḏrġl*, *ktr*, *kṯr*, *mr*, *mṣprt*, *mšt*^{c}*lt*, *pqr*, *ytn*)[183]

- (*í*)*blbl*, "porter" (KTU 2.62:11[184]; 4.288:1[185])
  - ES: Akk. *babbilu*(*m*), "Kornträger" (AHw, 94) from *babālu*, a variant of *wabālu*, "to carry, bring" (CDA, 35a); *babbilu* (*bābilu*), "bearer (as agricultural worker), tenant farmer" (CAD B, 8–9); "bearer, carrier; tenant farmer" (CDA, 35b)[186]. Note also *babbilūtu*, "bearer service, transportation" (CAD B, 9a) and Syr. *'wbl*, "poles, handles" (SL, 13a), "the pole (of a litter)" (CSD, 624).
- *bṭr*, "(an occupation or state)" (KTU 4.382:1–2)
  - (a) "emancipated, free" – Palm. *pṭrt*, "state of freedman" (?) (DNWSI, 909); Ph. see (CSL, 263)[187].
  - (b) "deserter" – Mari Akk. *pāṭeru*(*m*), "deserter" or "demobilized soldier" (CDA, 271b)[188].
  - (c) "veterinary surgeon" – Arab. *baiṭār*, "veterinarian, arrier" (DMWA, 86b), "farrier" (AEL, 217)[189].
  - (d) "tailor" – Arab. *bīṭar*, "tailor" (cf. AEL, 217).
- *d*^{c}*t* (KTU 1.6 vi 59)
  - (a) "acquaintance" – Mand. *iada*, "a knower, one who knows" (MD, 184a); cf. Ug. *yd*^{c}, "to know" (DUL, 841–942).
  - (b) "enchanter" – Aram. *yd*^{c}*wn*, *yd*^{c}*wny*, "charmer" (DSA I, 335); cf. Arab. *da*^{c}*ā*, "to summon, call upon s.o., invoke etc." (DMWA, 282–283); *dā*^{c}*iya*, "on who calls for s.th." (DMWA, 283b)[190].

  Possibly both derive from the same Semitic root (*yd*^{c}).
- *drk*, "(an occupation)" (KTU 1.43:6; 4.688:5; cf. 4.765:7).
  - (a) "trader" – cf. Heb. *drk*, "to travel" (HALOT, 231); Akk. *darāku*, "to follow" (CDA, 56b)[191].

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[183] Note also *ȧwl*, "primacy" (KTU 1.12 ii 56); Syr.....; Mand. *aual*, "the first" (MD, 9b); Arab. *'awila*, "to precede, to be the first" (AEL, 126); Akk. *awīlum*, "Mensch; Bürger" (AHw, 90). See now Kottsieper 2015, 41–58 (my thanks to Ingo for sending me a pdf of his paper). Possibly related is Ug. *ȧ̊l*, "vanguard" (KTU 1.14 ii 35) as proposed by Kottsieper, *ibid.* 58.

[184] Mentioned together with *ybl* (as *yblhm*): "their produce and their bearers".

[185] A list of *blblm* who are *skn*, perhaps "(officials who are) tributaries" (Van Soldt 2002, 818–819).

[186] "Die ug. Formen *iblbl* und *blbl* ... gehen auf eine Basis /*b-l*/ zurück, offentsichtlich eine Variante zu /*y-b-l*/... Ug. (*i*)*blbl* könnte durchaus als Akkadismus gelten" (Sanmartín 1988, 175).

[187] Cf. Tropper UG, 139; Dietrich – Loretz – Sanmartín 1973, 105.

[188] Loretz 2011, 77.

[189] Mack-Fisher 1990, 209.

[190] For equivalents in AA (Chadic, Saho-Afar) see perhaps **di*^{c}-/**du*^{c}-, "to speak, call" (HSED §696; cf. also CED No. 128, under **dvH*-, "to call, to cry").

[191] See the discussion in Del Olmo Lete 2014, 238 n. 98.

- (b) "presser/thresher" – Heb. *drk*, "to press out juice by stamping (grapes, olives …)" (HALOT, 231)[192]; Aram. *dryk*, "pressed dates" (DNWSI, 261); Akk. *darāku*, D: "dreschen" (AHw, 1550).
- (c) "packer" – Akk. *darākum* (or *darāg/qum*), "to pack up (textiles)" (CDA, 56b); "to pack" (CAD D, 108–109), possibly the same as meaning (a).

▪ *dw*, "invalid" (KTU 4.767:3)
- CS: Heb. *dāweh*, "faint, sick" (HALOT 316a; cf. DNWSI, 243); Syr. *dwy*, "miserable, wretched" (SL, 276b; cf. CSD, 84a); Aram *dwyy*, "unfortunate" (DJPA, 140b); Arab. *daw*^{in}, "diseased, disordered, distempered, sick, ill" (AEL, 940).
- AA: EChad. **dVw-*, "weak" (HSED §666, under **dawa'-/*daya'-*, "(to) be ill").

▪ *hbṭn*, "debtor" (KTU 4.137:6; 4.163:10; 4.635:10; cf. 4.173:9; 4.174:6; 4.179:11)
- CS: Akk. *ubbuṭu*, "ein Schuldgebundener", "in Nuzi eine Menschenklasse" (AHw, 1400); "encumbered by debt" (CDA, 417b); "to take an object as compensation for another" (CAD U/W, 14b); note also Akk. *ubbuṭu*, "to take as pledge, distrain" (CDA, 417b).

▪ *ḫḏġl*, "(an occupation)" (KTU 4.138:2; 4.154:5; 4.188:1; 4.609:16)[193]
- (a) "fletcher", based on Ug. *ḫẓ* "arrow" (DUL, 382) + Hurr. suff. *-ġl* denoting occupation (BGH, 524).
- (b) "learner", based on Hurr. *ḫaš-*, "to hear" + Hurr. suff. *-ġl* denoting occupation.

▪ *ḫḏrġl*, "(an occupation)" (KTU 1.112:2) (BGH, 524b)
- (a) "anointer" – Hurr. *ḫašari*, "fine oil" (BGH, 138) + Hurr. suff. *-ġl* denoting occupation[194].
- (b) "craftsman", corresponding to Alal. Akk. LÚ.MEŠ *ḫa-še-ru-ḫu-li* (AT 269:22): "(a craftsman)" (CDA, 111a); "Ein Handwerker" (AHw, 333); "a maker of *ḫašēru*-objects" (CAD Ḫ, 139).
- (c) "server" – Akk. *ḫazirum*, "helper" (CDA, 113b) + Hurr. suff. *-ġl* denoting occupation[195].

▪ *ktr*, "(an occupation)" (KTU 4.126:29)
- (a) "guard" – Alal. Akk. *kutturu*, "(a class of person)?" (CDA, 171b); cf. Akk. *kitru*, "Hilfstruppe" (AHw, 494); "auxiliaries, auxiliary force" (CAD K, 467–468); "help, reinforcements" (CDA, 163a)[196]; cf. also

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[192] Dietrich – Loretz – Sanmartín 1974, 24–25. See also Aram. *drk*, "threshing" (DSA I, 194a).

[193] Watson 2010, 825; BGH, 524.

[194] Watson 2010, 825; BGH, 524b.

[195] Dietrich – Loretz 1966a, 189–191.

[196] Watson LSU, 170; 2001, 292. For the possible meanings "specialized masons, wall and dam builders" see Fisher 1969, 116.

OAram. *ktr*, "to wait for" (DNWSI, 548); Aram. *ktr*, "to be steadfast" (DSA I, 417b).
  – (b) "musician" – Hurr. *kadri-*, meaning unknown (cf. BGH, 198, 531a); Hitt. SAL *katra/i-*, "(cult functionary)" (Miller 2002); "musician" (Murat 2013); cf. perhaps Gk κιθάρα, "lyre" (EDG I, 694–695).
- *kṯr*, "skilful person" (KTU 1.2 iii 20)[197]
  – ES: cf. Akk. *kašāru*(*m*), "(of person): "to accomplish (s.th.) successfully" (CDA, 152a, mng 2)[198].
- *mr*, "valiant, hero" (KTU 1.15 iv 23; 1.19 i 12, 7)
  – CS: Ug. *mrr*, "to strengthen" (DUL, 569–570); Arab. *marīr*, "strong, firm, stubborn etc." (DMWA, 901b); cf. Aram. *mry*, "master" (DJPA, 329b)[199].
- *mṣprt*, "hairdresser" (KTU 1.23:25)[200]
  – CS: Akk. *muṣappertu*, "hairdresser", lit. "she who trims"[201]. Alternatively, "she who shapes", i.e. "woman hairdresser" (CDA, 220a); Akk. *ṣabāru*, "to bend, twist"?, stative: "has plaited hair" (CDA, 330a); Arab. *ḍāfara*, "he plaited, braided (or) interwove (hair); he aided" (AEL, 1795–96); Eth. *ḍafara*, "to braid, plaid" (CDG, 148).
  – AA: **ç̣afir-*, "plaiting", esp. as Lowland ECush. **ç̣if(V)r-*, "women's hairdo, braid" (HSED §579).
- *myṣ*, "cheese-maker (?)" (KTU 4.269:8)[202]
  – CS: Heb. *mîṣ*, "pressing (for milk)" (HALOT, 578a); Akk. *mâṣu*(*m*), "to churn, make butter" (?) (CDA, 201a; cf. AHw, 621b)[203].
- *pqr*, "Freedman" (KTU 4.147:2; 4.224:7; 4.286:6; 4.841:7)[204]
  – ES: Aram. *pqr*, "to declare ownerless, renounce ownership" (DJBA, 926b); Arab. *faqīr*, "poor, poverty-stricken; poor man, pauper" (DMWA, 723a).
- *ytn*, "(an occupation)" (KTU 4.93:1; 4.618:3; see on *yt*)
  – (a) "acolyte" – cf. Heb. *ntyn*, "temple slaves" (HALOT, 732); Hatran Aram. *ntyn*, "someone dedicated to a sanctuary" (?) (DNWSI, 766).
  – (b) "seller" – cf. Akk. *nādinu*, "giver, donor, seller" (CDA, 229b)[205].

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[197] Also perhaps *mkṯr*, "expert" (KTU 1.4 ii 30); survey in DUL, 539; but see UBC II, 452.

[198] Perhaps a loan as Syr. *kšyr*, "able, skilled, upright" (SL, 658b), "a wise (or) successful teacher" (CSD, 230a).

[199] See perhaps Eg. *mr* in EDE III, 353–358.

[200] For the imagery here see Smith 2006, 66–68 (with a survey of proposals for *mṣprt*).

[201] Lackenbacher (1982, 141 n. 24): "*muṣappertu*, «la coiffeuse», peut être comprise comme celle qui apprête les cheveux, mais aussi comme celle qui les égalise ou les coupe".

[202] Liverani (1979, 68 and n. 58) proposes "caseificatori", which is accepted by Schloen (2001, 234 n. 39), but others (Gordon UT §19.1456, KTU, p. 366 n. 2 and DUL, 535) correct to *mḫṣ* (see above).

[203] Cf. Akk. *namāṣu*, "(butter) churn" (CDA, 235a).

[204] Following Tropper – Vita (1998, 680–682): "Freigelassener". Differently in Fisher 1969, 163–164.

[205] "Lieferant" (Tropper UG, 637).

- (c) "gatekeeper" – cf. Akk. *atû*, "gatekeeper, porter" (CDA, 31a) and Akk. (Hurr.) *atuḫlu*, "(a profession)" (cf. CDA, 31a; BGH, 66) – proposed by Dietrich – Loretz 1977b.

▪ *zbl* II, "invalid" (KTU 1.14 ii 45; 1.14 iv 23)[206]
  - ES: cf. Akk. *zabālu*, "to linger" (of patient, disease) (CDA, 442a) or "tragen" (Kranke auf Bett)" (AHw, 1500b mng 5); cf. CAD Z, 1–5.

2.13c Collective Nouns (*ᶜdn*, *ᶜḏbt*, *hmlt*, *ḫrn*, *kpḫ*, *mdnt*, *tᶜdt*, *tmtt*)[207]

▪ *ᶜdn*, "party, squad" (KTU 1.14 ii 32, 34; 1.14 iv 13; 2.71:10, 18; 4.358:8; cf. 4.40:2; 7.61:14)
  - ES: Arab. *ᶜadānat*, "a company of men, a party" (AEL, 1976)[208].

▪ *ᶜḏbt*, "squad, caravan" (KTU 1.4 v 14, 30, 37)
  - ES: cf. Arab. *ᶜazab*, "who goes away to a distance in the land, far away" (AEL, 2033–34); Heb. *ᶜzbwn*, "merchandise (used … by trading caravans and ships)" (HALOT, 808); Akk. *ezēbu*, "to leave" (CDA, 85b).

▪ *hmlt*, "crowd" (KTU 1.1 iii 15; 1.2 i 18, 35; 1.3 iii 28; 1.3 iv 16; 1.4 vii 52; 1.5 vi 24; 1.6 i 7; 1.6 ii 18; 1.6 v 25; 1.83:12)
  - CS: Heb. *hᵃmullâ*, "(tumultuous) crowd" (HALOT, 251a); cf. Arab. *hamulᵃʰ*, "clan"[209].

▪ *ḫrn*, "squad, caravan" (KTU 1.4 v 36; 2.61:3)
  - CS: Akk. *ḫarrānu*, "road, journey, caravan, etc." (CDA, 108b); "Weg, Straße; Karavane" (AHw, 326–327); "highway, etc.; caravan, etc." (CAD Ḫ, 106–113).
  - Hurr. *ḫari*, "road" (BGH, 132–133).
  - IE: Hieroglyphic Luwian *ḫarwa*, "road", borrowed as Hitt. *ḫaruwa*, "road, path"[210].
  - AA: Harari *ḫāra*, "to go" (CDG, 85b); borrowed as Eg. *ḫ3-rw*, "Straße, Gasse" (Wb 3, 232.5–6) and *ḫa-ru*$_2$ (i.e. **harru*), "street, road"[211].

▪ *kpḫ*, "(a group or social class)" (KTU 4.387:18)
  - (a) "mitred ones", based on Hurr. *kuwaḫi*, "bonnet, coiffure du dieu Tešub" (GLH, 157; cf. BGH, 530a); Hitt. *kupaḫi*, "(Art Kopfbedeckung)" (Tischler HEG/4, 640–641)[212].

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[206] First proposed in Watson (1979, 114): "Like Akk. *zabālu*, Ug. *zbl* probably means both "to carry, transport" and "to linger" (said of sick person or disease)"; cf. LSU, 10, 144.

[207] See also *dr khnm*, "chapter of priests" (KTU 4.357:24; cf. 1.107:18).

[208] See Badre *et al.* 1976, 108; Watson 1982, 256–257.

[209] Cited without a reference by Smith UBC I, 290. For discussion, see Watson LSU, 28.

[210] "The word is a hapax in a Kizzuwatnean ritual, and therefore is likely of Luwian origin" (EDHIL, 317).

[211] See SWET, 247–248 §343; Schneider 2004, 21; Watson LSU, 147.

[212] "Offenbar liegt hier ein Kultur- und Wanderwort vor, dem zunächst hurr. *ku*-(*ú*-)*u̯a*$_a$-*ḫi* gleicher (?) Bedeutung (GLH 157) entspricht" (Tischler HEG/4, 640). It may correspond to Heb. *qôbaᶜ*, "helmet" (HALOT, 1081–1082). Cf. Watson 2009b, 554.

  – (b) "(a profession)", based on Akk. *kabḫu*, mng uncertain (CAD K, 20b: "possibly a profession or status"; cf. CDA, 140a), occurring only in texts from Nuzi.
- *mdnt*, "townsfolk" (KTU 1.3 ii 16)[213]
  – CS: Syr. *mdyny*, "inhabitant of a town" (SL, 713b); "of the city, urban; a citizen" (CSD, 252b); Palm. *mdynt*, "the citizens" (DNWSI, 597, mng 4); Arab. *madanī*, "town dweller, townsman, city dweller" (DMWA, 899a); cf. Heb. *mdynh*, "district" (HALOT, 549); Mari Akk. *madinātum*, "villages"[214].
- *tᶜdt*, "embassy, accreditation", abstract for concrete (KTU 1.2 i 22, 26, 28, 30, 41, 44)
  – CS: Heb. *tᶜwdh*, "confirmation, corroboration" (HALOT, 1767–1768); cf. Aram. *yᶜd*, "appointment" (DSA I, 352).
- *tmtt*, "group of men, team, crew" (KTU 2.38:16, 22; 4.231:9; cf. 2.54:1).
  – CS: noun derived from Ug. *mt*, "man" (cf. DUL, 590, 859).

2.13d Transients, Foreigners, Fugitives (*ᶜbr*, *ᶜpr*, *brḥ*, *gr*, *nkr*, *ṣd*)

- *ᶜbr*, "guest" (KTU 1.22 i 15, 15)[215]
  – ES: Akk. *ubāru*, "resident alien"[216]; cf. Aram. *ᶜbr ʾwrḥ*, "passerby" (DCPA, 298).
- *ᶜpr*, "migrant" (KTU 2.47:7; 2.98:25; 4.752:1)
  – CS: Akk. *ḫāpiru*, "(class of) vagrant" (CDA, 106b; cf. AHw, 322; CAD Ḫ, 84–85); cf. Akk. *ḫapārum*, "to decamp, become vagrant"; D: "get (troops) underway" (CDA, 106b); Heb. *ᶜbry*, "a Hebrew man" (HALOT, 782–783).
  – Hurr. *ḫab=i=ri*, "der Bewegliche", from /ḫav/, "to move"[217].
  – AA: Cf. Eg. *ḫa=bi=ra* (**ḫābira*), "business, trading partner" (SWET No. 333; cf. BGH, 129)[218].
- *brḥ*, "fugitive" (KTU 1.19 iii 48; cf. 7.219:1)[219]
  – CS: Heb. *br*(*y*)*ḥ*, "fugitive" (HALOT, 156); borrowed as Aram. *brḥ*, "to flee, remove, evade" (DJBA, 243a), "to escape, flee, depart" (DSA I, 112–113). Cf. Arab. *bariḥa*, "to leave, depart" (DMWA, 51a).

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[213] See Del Olmo Lete 2013.

[214] In Mari A.3082:4: "Si le mot est bien au pluriel, «villages» est préférable à «province»" (Lackenbacher 1987); cf. DUL, 522.

[215] For the possible meanings "merchant" and "deceased" see DUL, 142.

[216] Bodi 2003; Na'man 2005; Dijkstra 1988, 46 n. 63, 49. The Aram. equivalent (*ᶜbr ʾwrḥ*) has gone unnoticed.

[217] Proposed by Haas – Wegner 1999, but not accepted. See generally Fleming 2012 (with previous bibliography), von Dassow 2008, 105–111, esp. 108 n. 51, and BGH, 128–129.

[218] Cf. also perhaps Linear C *kapari-*, "(market/commercial district)" (Woudhuizen 1994, 518, 529). For a possible IE equivalent see Wikander 2017, 115–132.

[219] Glossed "fugitive, rustic (?)" in UVST, 114.

– AA: **bariḥ*, "to run, go", e.g. WChad. **HVbar-*, "to escape, go out" (HSED §230).

- *gr*, "guest" (KTU 1.15 iv 23; 1.19 iii 47; 1.40:35; 4.658:1; 5.22:38)
  – CS: Heb. *gēr*, "protected citizen, stranger" (HALOT, 201a); Ph. *gr*, "giver of hospitality" (DNWSI, 232 mng 3)[220]; Arab. *ǧār-*, "a neighbour, one who seeks protection etc." (AEL, 483); Akk. *gē/ārû*, "opponent, enemy" (CDA, 92a)[221].
  – AA: Chad. **gVr-/*g^{w}ar*, man, person" (CED No. 242)[222]; Eg. *ḳ3iw/ḳriw/ḳrr*, "newcomer" (Görg 1984) and Eg. *ḏrḏr*(*i*), "to be strange/foreign", "stranger/foreigner" (Meltzer 1991).
- *ḫlq*, "missing (person)" (KTU 4.611 ii 2, 4, 12, 14, 18; 4.613:1, 5, 6, 8)
  – ES: Akk. *ḫalqu*(*m*), "lost; fugitive" (CDA, 102–103); cf. Ug. *ḫlq*, "to be lost" (DUL, 388); Akk. *ḫalāqu*(*m*), "to be lost; be(come) fugitive" (CDA, 101b).
- *nkr*, "foreigner" (KTU 1.14 ii 49; 1.14 iv 28; 1.70:38; cf. 2.112:5, 12)
  – CS: Heb. *nkr*, *nkry*, "foreign, foreigner" (HALOT, 700); Aram. *nwkryy*, "strange, foreign" (DJPA, 344b); *nûkrā'āh*, "stranger" (DJBA, 736b); Syr. *nwkry*, "a stranger, foreigner, alien" (CSD, 332a; cf. SL, 899); *nukraia*, "strange, alien, foreign" (MD, 293b); Akk. *nakru*(*m*), "strange, foreign; enemy" (CDA, 234a); feindlich, Feind" (AHw, 723); *nakaru*, *nakiru*, *nekru*, "foreign, alien, strange" (CAD N/1, 189–195); Emar Akk. /nikaru/, "outsider, stranger" (Pentiuc WSV, 133–134); Eth. *nakir*, "stranger, foreign" (CDG, 397); Arab. *nakira*, "unknown person" (DMWA, 998b) and OSA *nkr*, "another, an unknown person" (DOSA, 305)[223].
- *ṣd*, "itinerant" (KTU 4.408:5)
  – ES: Akk. *ṣā'idu*, *ṣayyidu*, "roaming, restless; roving (fugitive)" (CDA, 332a); "herumjagend, ruhelos" (AHw, 1075); "foraging, prowling" (CAD Ṣ, 65–66). Cf. Arab. *ṣayyād*, "hunter, fisher" (DMWA, 532b) and Aram. *ṣyyd*, "hunter" (DJPA, 463a).
  – AA: cf. **çawad-/*çayad-*, "to hunt" (HSED §426); Chad. **çV(wV)d-*, "to hunt" (CED No.62).

2.13e Undesirables (*gmr*, *ḫbt*, *m^{c}qb*, *qš*, *rš^{c}*, *šṯy*; cf. *dbb*)

- *gmr*, "avenger" (KTU 1.6 vi 6, 16; cf. 1.2 i 46)
  – CS: Heb. *gāmar*, "to requite, avenge", gomer, "avenger" (HALOT, 197–198); Akk. *gāmiru*, "stark, tüchtig" (AHw, 278–279); "complete,

[220] For Phoenicians classed as *gr* but having a profession (e.g. *nsk*, "metal-worker", *mḥšbm*, "accountant, inspector") see Moya Cobos 2016, 124.

[221] See the discussion in Wikander 2017, 115–132.

[222] The Sem. equivalents are noted there. It is a late borrowing from W. Semitic as Eg. **gêru*, "visitor, alien, vagabond" (SWET §428, §429, §473); see also Bodi 2003.

[223] For possible AA equivalents see HSED §1840.

effective" (CAD G, 34); "strong, effective" (CDA, 89b); cf. Syr. g*mr*, "to destroy, obliterate" (SL, 242–243); Aram. *gmr*, "to complete, destroy" (DJPA, 132b) and Aram. *gmr*, "annihilation" (DSA I, 151a).

- *ḫbt*, "oppressor" (KTU 1.40:21, 30, 38; 1.84:5)
  - CS: Akk. *ḫabbātu*, "plunderer, bandit" (CDA, 99b); cf. Ug. *ḫbt*, "to be oppressed" (DUL, 380); Akk. *ḫabātu*, "to rob, plunder" (CDA, 99a; AHw, 303–304).
- *mᶜqb*, "rival" (KTU 1.18 i 19)[224]
  - WS: cf. Heb. *ᶜqb*, "to betray" (HALOT, 872a).
- *qš*, "oppressor" (KTU 1.16 vi 47)
  - CS: Heb. *qāšeh*, "hard, strict" (HALOT, 1152–1153); Mand. *q(a)šia*, "hard, cruel, stern" (MD, 403b; cf. 416b); Syr. *qašyā'*, "hard, harsh" (SL, 1419); Aram. *qšy*, "to be difficult, harden" (DJPA, 508b; cf. DSA II, 804–806) and Arab. *qaswa*, "harshness, sternness, severity" (DMWA, 763b)[225].
- *ršᶜ*, "bad person" (KTU 1.178:10)
  - CS: Heb. *ršᶜ*, "guilty, wicked person" (HALOT, 1294–1296); Aram. *raššīᶜ*, "wicked, evil" (DJBA, 1095b; DJPA, 530b); Syr. *ršyᶜ*, "wicked, infamous" (SL, 1095a; cf. CSD, 550b); Akk. *rešûm*, "reckless, inconsiderate" (CDA, 302b)[226].
- *šiy*, "assassin" (KTU 1.12 i 22; 1.18 iv 23, 35)[227]
  - CS: cf. Arab. *sa'ā*, "to make mischief" (AEL, 1284); Heb. *šw'*, *šw'h*, "destruction", "storm, trouble, ruin" (HALOT, 1424–1427)[228].

3. Composite Expressions

To supplement the classified list given above, here are the composite expressions used in alphabetic Ugaritic for occupations, professions and social classes[229].

- *åṯt ådrt*, "noble lady; lady of high status" (KTU 4.102:4, 6, 9, 16, 18, 28)[230]

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[224] Margalit 1983, 95–96.

[225] For the Arabic, see Renfroe 1990, 280.

[226] Similar is Akk. *ṣēnu*(*m*), "evil, malevolent" (of person) (CDA, 336a).

[227] Alternatively, it may mean a "raptor"; see Watson 1999, 43.

[228] The following are not professions etc.: Ug. *årgmn* (KTU 4.610 i 1 etc.) means "tribute" not "tribute-collectors/deliverers" (Heltzer 1978, 135 and n. 20); Ug. *mswn* (KTU 1.14 iii 21; 1.14 v 31; cf. 1.15 i 4) probably means "private quarters" (Dietrich 2016, 9 n. 2) not "delegate", and *ṯrtn* (KTU 4.137:3; 4.163:9; 4.173:4; 4.174:7; 4.179:5; 4.216:7; 4.497:1), is the name of a people, and does not mean "delegate" etc. (*contra* Aartun 1985 and others; cf. Emanuel 2013; 2014). On *sbrdn* see Watson 2013b.

[229] For a discussion of some of these, see Vita (2018) 359–360. For some equivalents in Akkadian see Jakob 2003, 572–575 and Michel 2001, 168–169, 557–558. For Ph. and Pun. compounds with *rb* see DNWSI, 1049–50 and for Pun. compounds see also Schmitz 2010, 34 n. 9. Multiple titles are not uncommon in late Egyptian funerary texts; for examples see Manassa 2007, 16–20, 68–70.

[230] Compare *'drt* in Neo-Punic *hknt 'drt*, "high-priestess" (KAI 136:1–2, as read by Ferjaoui 1996).

- *bᶜl ḫr*[*t*], "gra[ve]-digger" (KTU 4.224:6)
- *bᶜl šd*, "farm labourer" or "landowner" (KTU 4.183 i 1; 4.609:53; 4.840:1)
- *bᶜl ššlmt*, "recipient of supplements" (KTU 4.153:6–11)[231]
- *bᶜl tdtt*, "maker of toggle-pins" (KTU 4.609:35)[232]
- *bᶜl tġpṯ*, "maker of felt" (KTU 4.183 ii 10; 4.224:6; 4.370:13; 4.609:36)[233]
- *bᶜlt bhtm*, "Lady of the Palace" (KTU 1.39:21; 1.57:6; 1.87:5–6; 1.91:14; 1.105:8–9, 16; 1.109:31; 1.112:4–5; 2.31:50)[234]
- *bn åmt*, "servant" (KTU 1.14 ii 3; 1.14 iii 25, 37; 1.14 vi 22; 3.32:10, 27; 4.230:9)[235]
- *bn åly*(*y*), "citizen" (KTU 2.72:13; 4.366:6; 4.753:3; 4.826 iv 1)[236]
- *bn ůṯryn*, "crown prince" (KTU 4.103:6)
- *bn ḫrš*, "artisan" (KTU 4.545 ii 6)[237]
- *bn ḫrn*, "messenger" (KTU 2.61:3)[238]
- *bn mrzḥ*, "member of cult association" (KTU 4.399:8)
- *bn qlt*, "messenger" (KTU 2.72:12)[239]
- *bnš bnny*, "intermediary" (KTU 2.33:34)[240]
- *bnš mlk*, "royal staff" (KTU 3.2:6; 4.182:56; 4.370:1; 4.141 i 1; 4.144:1; 4.151 ii 6; 4.367:1; 4.609:1; 4.859 ii 1)[241]
- *bnš mlk d b rîš*, "king's man who is a courtier" (KTU 3.2:7)[242]
- *bnš mlkt*, "the queen's staff" (KTU 4.22:3)

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[231] As explained by Sanmartín 1988, 267–270; cf. Akk. **šullumtu*, "completion, final payment" (CDA, 382b).

[232] If Ug. *tdtt* corresponds to Akk. *tūdittu*, "toggle-pin", on which cf. Kouwenberg 2015.

[233] Corresponding to Akk. *taḫapšuḫuli*, "felt-maker" (CDA, 393; BGH, 426); on Ug. *tġpṯ* = Hurr. *taḫapše/i*, "felt", see BGH, 425–426 and 540.

[234] Akk. *bēlet bītim*, "head of the household, housewife; jB: "queen" (CDA, 42a) and cf. *bēlet ekalli*(*m*) [as ᵈNIN.É.GAL], "Lady of the Palace" (cited in DUL, 246).

[235] Or a royal title meaning "born of the sacred marriage" (Wyatt 1987, 383 = Wyatt 2005, 45).

[236] As proposed by Dietrich – Loretz 2009, 118 (also for *åly* and *îly*); cf. Akk. *ālayû*, "citizen, (dependent) villager" (CDA, 11b) and *mār āli*(*m*), " citizen" (CDA, 199a). It may be a PN (cf. DUL, 66).

[237] Cf. Phoen. *bn ḥrš*, "guild/corporation of (metal) artisans" (Xella 2017, 159 [line 1])

[238] See Akk. *mār šipri*(*m*), "delegate, envoy" (CDA, 199a); cf. RS 34.145 and n. 274 (below).

[239] "Kurier", as proposed by Dietrich – Loretz (2009, 114, 118), based on Akk. *qallutu*, "Dienst" (?) (AHw, 895); "service" (CAD Q, 66b) or Akk. *qalluttu*, "slavery, service" (CDA, 283b).

[240] Heb. *'îš habbēnayîm*, "man of the interval" (see DCH II, 232a; HALOT, 140a); in the context of 1 Sam 17:4, 23 it means "champion", referring to Goliath. Cf. also Palm. *bynwt*, "between" (DNWSI, 154). Note particularly Qumran Heb. *mlyṣ hbnym*, "interpreter of the interval", i.e. one who communicates between two persons (1QH 6:13).

[241] See Márquez Rowe 2002; McGeough 2011, 67. Rougemont – Vita (2017, 644) conclude: "La situation des « gens du roi », à Ougarit comme dans le monde mycénien, semble être celle de fonctionnaires et d'artisans, isolés ou en groupe, qui travaillaient soit directement pour le roi, soit pour son compte".

[242] Cf. RS Akk. ˡᵘ*ša rēši*, Akk. *šūt rēši*, "courtiers", *ša rēši*, "(a court official)" (CDA, 302b, mng 2); Heb. *sārîs*, "high official, eunuch" (HALOT, 769–770). See now Jursa 2011 and Groß – Pirngruber 2014.

- *bnš tpnr*, "personnel of the *tpnr*" (KTU 4.44:23, 28)
- *bt åmt*, "handmaid" (KTU 3.35:7)
- *gr yšb*, "foreign resident" (?) (KTU 5.22:28)
- *ġlm d*ᶜ*tm*, "expert lads" (KTU 1.169:10; cf. DUL, 135)
- *ġmr mkrm*, "trainee traders" (KTU 4.214 iv 1; cf. DUL, 318)
- *ḥrš ånyt*, "caulker, shipbuilder" (KTU 4.125:1)[243]
- *ḥrš årkd*, "assembler/maker of *arkd*" (KTU 4.277:9)
- *ḥrš* ᶜ*rq*, "cartwright" (KTU 4.46:1–14; 4.243:2)[244]
- *ḥrš b*(*h*)*tm*, "house builder" (KTU 4.35 i 16; 4.38:6; 4.47:10; 4.183 i 1; 4.370:14; 4.609:18; 4.630:8; 4.837:5; 4.838:8)
- *ḥrš mrkbt*, "cartwright" (KTU 4.47:9; 4.98:6, 8; 4.141 iii 20; 4.183 ii 12; 4.243:2; 4.836:13; 4.837:9; 4.838:18; 4.858:8)[245]
- *ḥrš qšt*, "bow assembler" (KTU 4.215:1)
- *ḥrš qṭn*, "jeweller" (KTU 4.47:9; 4.98:9; 4.183 ii 6; 4.370:35; 4.609:23; 4.630:12; 4.742:12; 4.745:8; 4.803:18; 4.807:9, 21; 4.836:18; 4.837:11; 4.838:9)[246]
- *ḥrš yd*(*m*), "ambidextrous craftsman" (KTU 1.1 iii 5; 1.3 vi 23; 1.4. v 17, 19, 24)
- [*ḫbrtn*]*r ṯn*, "the vice-[*ḫuburtanu*]*ri*" (KTU 3.1:36)
- *ḫrd* ᶜ*ps*, "frontier guard" (KTU 2.47:17, 19)[247]
- *måṯr bt*, "palace inspector" (KTU 6.66:7–8)
- *md mlk*[(*t*)]?, "royal expert" (KTU 4.245 ii 1)[248]
- [*m*]*kḥd šd*, "one denying (ownership of a) field" (KTU 2.4:16–17)[249]
- *mlk* ᶜ*lm*, "eternal king" (KTU 2.42:9)[250]
- *mlk b*ᶜ*ly*, "my lord the king" (KTU 2.33:21–22; 2.40:1; 2.42:1; 2.63:1; 2.77:6; 2.97:1; cf. 2.47:1)
- *mlk mlkm*, "king of kings" (KTU 2.76:1; 2.81:3)[251]
- *mlk rb*, "great king" (KTU 2.23:2, 7, 9–10, 13–14, 17, 23–24; 2.76:1, 4, 8, 9; 2.78:1–2, 4–5; 2.81:1, 10, 16, 19, 30; 2.98:8, 13, 22; 3.1:13, 16, 26)

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[243] Vita 2000a, 284: "el nombre de oficio *ḥrš anyt* significa «constructores de barcos», no «constructores de flotas»".

[244] Cf. Ph. *ḥrš* ᶜ*glt*, "wheelwright" (DNWSI, 408; see there for other compounds formed with *ḥrš*).

[245] See Alal. Akk. *naggār narkabti*, "cartwright" (von Dassow 2008, 161 n. 51; 324–328).

[246] See Watson LSU, 103 (§224) for a survey; Heltzer 1997 ("producers of swords") is incorrect.

[247] Cf. Van Soldt 1989b, 385.

[248] RS Akk. *mūdû šarri* (see Van Soldt SAU, 427), Akk. *mud*(*d*)*u šarri*, "(a courtier), "acquaintance of the king" (CDA, 214b). On marginally possible Eg. equivalents (*śmr nśwt* or *rḫ nśw.t*) see Thiel 1980, 350 n. 14.

[249] "[Einer, der] (den Rechtmäßigen Besitze) dieses Feldes verheimlicht" (Dietrich – Loretz 1992, 70–72); cf. Syr. *kḥd*, "to refuse" (SL, 617b, mng 3); Heb. *kḥd*, "to deny" (HALOT, 469); Eth. *keḥda*, "(to) deny, objure, denounce" (CDG, 279).

[250] For equivalents in Egyptian see DUL, 546.

[251] See Phoen. *'dn mlkm*, "lord of kings" (KAI 14:18).

- *mlkt ådt*, "Queen (my) Lady" (KTU 2.12:2; 2.24:2; 2.33:1, 4, 19; 2.68:1; 2.101:2)
- *mrů mlk*, "officer of the king" (KTU 4.814:5; 6.66:4–5)[252]
- *mrů ś/skn*, "officer of the prefect" (KTU 4.36:3; 4.47:2; 4.68:63; 4.69 v 6; 4.92:2; 4.99:13; 4.126:23; 4.610 iv 2; 4.806:8; 4.814:19; 4.837:6; 4.838:14)[253]
- *mšmᶜt mlk*, "royal guard" (KTU 2.72:11, 14)
- *mt mrzḥ*, "member of the (sacred) banqueting guild" (KTU 3.9:13)[254]
- *ngr bt*, "palace/court herald" (KTU 1.16 iv 7)[255]
- *nġr bt*, "custodian of the house" (KTU 4.858:7)
- *nġr ḥwt*, "guardian of the country" (KTU 2.98:37)
- *nġr krm*, "guardian of the vineyard" (KTU 1.92:23; 4.141 iii 17; 4.609:12)
- *nġr mdrᶜ*, "guardian of the sown (land)" (KTU 1.23:68–69, 73; 4.141 iii 16; 4.618:6)
- *nsk ḥẓm*, "caster of (metal) arrowheads" (KTU 4.630:14)[256]
- *nsk ksp*, "silversmith" (KTU 4.47:6; 4.68:74; 4.99:14; 4.183 ii 27; 4.609:32; 4.745:7; 4.836:16; 6.20:1)
- *nsk ṯlṯ*, "coppersmith etc." (KTU 4.35 ii 8; 4.126:18; 4.183 ii 27; 4.222:8–11; 4.819:11; 4.836:15; 4.837:20)[257]
- *nšk qṭn*, "maker of trinkets, ironmonger" (KTU 4.44:20)
- *psl ḥẓm*, "cutter of (stone) arrowheads" (KTU 4.141 iii 19)
- *psl qšt*, "bowmaker" (KTU 4.141 iii 18)[258]
- *rᶜy ůzm*, "gooseherd" (KTU 4.129:1)
- *rᶜy ḥmrm*, "muleteer, donkey driver" (KTU 4.618:3)[259]
- *rb ᶜprm*, "chief of the migrants" (KTU 4.752:1)
- *rb ᶜšrt*, "chief of ten, chief of a decurion" (KTU 4.609:2, 5, 7, 8; 4.714:1; 4.807:62)[260]
- *rb ḥršm*, "head of the workmen/craftsmen" (KTU 4.145:9)[261]

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[252] Not the same as *mr' mlkn prᶜh*, "the lord of the kings, pharaoh" (KAI 266:1, 6; cf. DNWSI, 687).

[253] Cf. Van Soldt 2002, 809, 824; 2006, 18.

[254] Cf. Ug. PN *bn mrzḥ* (KTU 4.399:8) and Palm. *bny mrzḥ*, "members of the *m*." (Dvorjetski 2016, 32).

[255] NA *nāgir ekalli*, "palace herald" (CDA, 231a), on which see Mattila 2000, 29–44.

[256] Var. *nsk ḥḏm* (KTU 4.609:25); see Sanmartín 1988, 266–267.

[257] Syll. Ug. *na-sí-ku* URUDU (PRU 3, 195 B 1); cf. OAram. *msk hnḥšt*, "the founder in bronze", plus other combinations of *nsk* + /a metal/ (Collini 1987, 27 n. 21 and DNWSI, 736). For metallurgy in Ugarit see Dardaillon 2012.

[258] Cf. Ph. *pᶜl hqšt*, "manufacturer of bows" (DNWSI, 1040). Also perhaps ▪ *rîš rᶜy*, "chief shepherd" (KTU 2.2:1; but it is read *rîš rṭy* in KTU[3]); cf. Akk. *rab*(*i*) *rē'î*, "chief shepherd" (CDA, 303a).

[259] Cf. MA *rē'i emāre*, "Eselhirt" (Jakob 2003, 357–359, 507–508).

[260] Cf. Akk. *rab eša/erti*, "chief of a group of ten (officials/scribes)" (CDA, 82a); Hurr. (Nuzi) *emantuḫlu*, "officer commanding ten soldiers" (BGH, 84–85); see also Gzella 2012, 523.

[261] Ph. *rb ḥrš*, "chief artisan" (DNWSI, 408).

- *rb khnm*, "high priest" (KTU 1.6 vi 55–56, 2.4:1; 6.6:1; 6.7:1; 6.8:1; 6.9:1; 6.10:1)[262]
- *rb kzym*, "chief groom" (KTU 4.222:3)
- *rb mi*[*t*], "chief of a hund[red]" (KTU 2.42:3)[263]
- *rb mi*[*ḫd*], "harb[our]-master" (KTU 2.42:3)[264]
- *rb mgdlm*, "chief of the watch-towers" (KTU 4.410:27)[265]
- *rb nksy*, "chief accountant" (KTU 6.66:3–4)[266]
- *rb nqdm*, "chief of the shepherds" (KTU 1.6 vi 56)[267]
- *rb ntbt š*, "controller of cattle tracks" (KTU 4.288:6; cf. BGH, 535a)
- *rb qrt*, "mayor" (lit. "chief of the town") (KTU 4.141 iii 3)[268]
- *rb šd*, "chief of the farm(s)" (KTU 4.160:12)[269]
- *rb šm*[*lm*], "chief of the commercial agents" (KTU 7.69:3)[270]
- *rb tmtt*, "captain of the (ship's) crew" (KTU 2.38:13, 16, 22)
- *rb ṯnnm*, "chief archer" (KTU 4.382:5)
- *rp sswt*, "overseer of the mares" (KTU 6.63:2)[271]
- *skn bt mlk*, "prefect of the palace" (KTU 3.11:5)[272]
- *skn gt mlkt ugrt*, "prefect of the estate of the King of Ugarit" (KTU 2.21:9–10)[273]
- *skn qrt*, "city governor" (KTU 4.555:4; 4.609:10, 11)
- *spr ᶜpsm*, "boundary scribe" (KTU 6.29:1)[274]

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[262] Aram. *rb khnym*, "high-priest" (DCPA, 387); Ph. *rb khnm*, "high-priest" (DNWSI, 491–492); also Syr. *ryš khnyn*, "high priest" (SL, 1464a).

[263] See Vita 1999, 495 n. 247.

[264] Corresponding to *ākil kari*, "Hafen-Vorsteher" (Tropper – Vita 2001, 577).

[265] Corresponding to Akk. *bēl madgalti*, "commander of the border post" (CDA, 188a). See Vidal 2011; he concludes (*ibid*. 299): "el *rb mgdlm* era la persona encargada de la gestión de estos edificios [*mgdlm*] en los que se almacenaba armas ... donde residían los soldados apostados en estas structuras, y donde debía generarse cierta actividad burocrática relacionado con la administración de los edificios".

[266] Bordreuil 1986, 294; Watson 2010, 824; NA *rab nikkassī*, "Rechnungsbeamter" (Jursa 2010, 88, 98).

[267] Akk. *rab nāqidī* (gal na.gada), "overseer of herdsmen" (CAD N/1, 335); *rab nāqidāte*, "Ober-Kleinviehhirten" (Jakob 2003, 309) and *rabi rē'em*, "berger en chef" (Michel 2001, 168–169). See also *rab būli*, "Viehaufseher" (Jursa 2010, 89, 98).

[268] RS Akk.: ^{lú}*ḫa-*(*az-*)*za-nu*, "mayor" (URU.KI), (PRU 3, 84:22; cf. Van Soldt 2006, 2); Aram. *rb qrth*, "head of the city" (DJPA, 512b); also Aram. *mārê mātā'*, "town official" (DJBA, 709a) and Palm. *šr hᶜr*, "governor of the city" (DNWSI, 1190). Cf. Akk. *rab ālāni*, "(an administrative/military official)" (CAD A/1, 389–390).

[269] Matching lú.ugula a.šà.meš with the same meaning (PRU 3, 134); cf. Van Soldt SAU, 190 n. 237.

[270] See NB *rab tamkākri*, "Oberkaufmann" (Jursa 2010, 98).

[271] Dietrich – Loretz 1983a, 302; cf. Akk. *rabi sisî*, "(a court official)" (CDA, 325b; AHw, 938; CAD S, 335–336); "chef-des-chevaux" (Michel 2001, 169).

[272] Del Olmo Lete 1987, 47; Dietrich 2004, 682–683; Van Soldt 2006, 8–11. Cf. OAram. *skn*[. *b*]*yt. mlkh* (KAI 203; cf. DNWSI, 786) and Nuzi Akk. *šakin bīti*, "intendant du palais" (Abrahami 2015).

[273] Van Soldt 2006, 12.

[274] Van Soldt 1989b, 380 no. 30.

- *ṣbů ůnyt*, "ship's crew" (KTU 4.40:1, 7, 10)[275]
- *šib mqdšt*, "water-bearer of the sanctuary" (KTU 4.609:15)[276]
- *šm^c rgm*, "auditor" (KTU 2.86: 18; 4.128:3; 4.332:12; 4.609:10–11)[277]
- *ṯ^c mlk*, "Hero King" (KTU 1.173:12)[278]
- *ṯġr bt ỉl*, "gatekeeper of the house of Ilu" (KTU 1.114:11)
- *ṯġr gt ml*[*k*], "gatekeeper(s) of TN", (KTU 4.814:28)
- *ṯġr hkl*, "palace gatekeeper" (KTU 4.224:9, 10)
- *ṯġr mlk*, "gatekeeper of the kingdom" (KTU 3.11:6)[279]
- *yṯb mlk*, "on royal duty" (KTU 4.149:12)[280]
- *zbl b^{c}l ůrṣ*, "prince, lord of the earth" (KTU 1.3 i 3–4; 1.5 vi 10; 1.6 i 42–43; 1.6 iii 3, 21; 1.6 iv 5, 16)[281]
- *zbl mlk*, "royal prince" (KTU 1.13:26; 1.22 i 10)[282]

In respect of these composite titles, it should be noted that very rarely in Ugaritic are two or more offices combined[283]. Exceptions are royal titles, e.g. *mlk rb mlk mṣrm mlk n^{c}m mlk ṣdq mlk mlkm b^{c}l kl ḥwt mṣrm*, "Great King, King of Egypt, Splendid King, Just King, King of Kings, Lord of the whole Land of Egypt" (KTU 2.81:1–4; cf. 19–20), which, tellingly, is used to address a foreign monarch. See also *špš mlk rb mlk mlkm b^{c}ly*, "the 'Sun', Great King, King of Kings, my Lord" (2.76:1–2; cf. 9) and *špš mlk rb b^{c}ly*, "the 'Sun', the Great King, my Lord" (KTU 2.23:1–2, 7–8, 16–17, 23–24; 2.98:8–9, 13–14)[284]. Another instance is in Ilimilku's colophon (KTU 1.6 vi 54–58), where both the scribe's name and the king's have a succession of titles[285].

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[275] Vita 2000a, 284: "la traducción más segura de *ṣbu anyt* ... es «tripulación del barco» y no «tripulación de la flota»".

[276] Del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 1998, 183–184 (§4); for Hebrew cf. Josh. 9:21, 23, 27.

[277] Abbreviated to *šm^c* in KTU 2.17:7 (see §2.7a above). It is a loan translation of Boğazköy Akk. ^{lú}*ṭēmu*, "messenger", corresponding to Akk. *mār šipri*, "messenger" (CDA, 376a), as shown in detail by Dietrich (2010).

[278] Cf. Heb. *malki-šu^{ac}*, "My king is help" (HALOT, 593), cited in DUL, 880.

[279] Cf. Aram. *ryš tr^c' dmlk*, "royal gatekeeper" (DJBA, 1081b). On Ug. *ṯryl* as meaning "sister of the king" see Dietrich – Loretz 1983b.

[280] As *b yṯb mlk*, "unter den Diensthabenden beim König" (Del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 1998, 189–190); Akk. (*w*)*ašibu*, "Bewohner" (AHw, 148); "inhabitant"; Mari: designation of an official (CDA, 436b); Syr. *ytb'*, "inhabitant" (SL, 588a); "an inhabitant, settler, sojourner" (CSD, 199a).

[281] See the discussion in Töyräänvuori 2015, 213 and n. 86.

[282] Examples in syllabic spelling (besides those with alphabetic equivalents) include: *ākil lim*, "chief of a thousand" (cf. Vita 1999, 495 n. 247); *rab ekallim*, "chief of the palace" (PRU 3, 165) and *rab malaḫḫī*, "chief of the sailors" (RS 17.133:15), corresponding to NA *rab mallāḫī*, "Oberschiffer" (Jursa 2010, 84 n. 99, 90, 98).

[283] Contrast Neo-Assyrian practice (see Mattila 2000, 135).

[284] This tradition recurs in Phoen. (e.g. KAI 13:1; 19:5–6 [said of Ptolemy] and 60:2) and Neo-Punic (e.g. KAI 161:1–2).

[285] For details see the discussion in Wyatt 2015.

4. Personal Names

Although uncertain or even very uncertain, some personal names seem to be terms for occupations, professions or social classes[286]: *ǎgr*, "Hireling"; *ǎ/ǐġl*, "Emancipated" (cf. BGH, 76a); *ǎrwn*, "Freeman"; *ǎsyy*, "Healer"; *ǐb/wr*, "Lord"; *ǐrgn/y*, "Weaver"; *ǐṯg*, "Servant"; *ǔdtn*, "Hero" (BGH, 513a, 519a); *ǔlpm*, "Chief"; *ǔrḫln*, "Inspector"[287]; *ǔštyn*, "Hero"; *ǔtly*, "Chief Herdsman"; *ᶜlln*, "Gleaner"; *ᶜms*, "Porter"; *ᶜyn*, "Inspector"; *brǐ*, "Sculptor"[288]; *dly*, "water-drawer"; *gbrn*, "Farmer"[289]; *ggy*, "Roofer"[290]; *gnb*, "Thief"; *gpn*(*y*), "Vine-dresser"[291]; *grᶜ*, "Barber"; *gzl*, "Throne-carrier"; *ḥšbn*, "Treasurer"[292]; *ḫnzr*, "official"; *kbl*, "Hunter"; *kmrn*, "Priestly"; *khn*, "Priest"; *kryn*, "Fowler(?)"; *ksdy*, "Launderer"; *ktp*, "Porter"; *ktr*, "Speaker"; *ktkt*, "Craftsman"; *kṯl*, "Brewer"; *lgn*, "Farm Labourer"; *lzn*, "Jester"; *mglb*, "Barber"; *mḫtn*, "Matchmaker"; *mlṣ*, "Interpreter"; *mly*, "tailor"[293]; *mšǔ*, "Robber"; *mškn*, "Bondsman(?)"; *nġry*, "Guardian"; *nwrḏ*, "Steward"; *plkn*, "Spinner"; *prmn*, "Slave"; *prt*, "Freeman"; *qbr*, "Burier"; *qṣn/qṣy*, "Leader"; *qṭy*, "Wanderer"; *rǐš*(*n*), "Slave"; *rpǎ/rpǐy*(*n*), "Healer"; *sḫr*(*n*), "Peddler"[294]; *snb*, "Binder"; *spḫy*, "Wastrel"; *ṣlḥn*, "Affluent"; *ṣmy*, "Watcher"; *šdġl*, "Land Worker"; *šdy*(*n*), "Weaver"; *šty*, "Weaver"; *tbṯr*, "Scribe"; *tġpṯn*, "Felt-maker"; *trd/tn*, "Supervisor"; *tlšn*, "Forester"; *trǎn*, "Child Minder"[295]; *ṯᶜr*, "(Table-)Setter"; *ṯᶜy*, "Minister"; *ṯġr*, "Gatekeeper"[296] and *ylḥn*, "Servant"[297].

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[286] See Gröndahl PTU, 28–29 (§53) for some of these examples; however, the proposed meaning "Bee-keeper" for *ᶜsl*, based on Modern Arabic (PTU, 112) seems unlikely. Only a few of these names overlap with common nouns. Compare Greek professions as personal names and place names (Meissner 2016, 26).

[287] Cf. BGH, 101b; Watson LSU, 158.

[288] Pun. *br'*, "engraver"; see Bonnet 1990, 118 ("sculpteur"); cf. DNWSI, 196.

[289] M. Fisher 1969, 211, based on Amharic *gäbre*, "peasant, farmer".

[290] See Ug. *gg*, "roof" (DUL, 292) and perhaps Aram. *g'g'y*, in a list of professions (DJBA, 254a).

[291] Discussion in Zamora 2000, 204.

[292] See Hatran *ḥšbn*, "comptroller, treasurer" (DNWSI, 411). Alternatively, it may mean "Craftsman", cf. Aram. *ḥšbn*, "craftsman" (DSA I, 298b).

[293] See perhaps Syr. *mly'*, "tailor, weaver" (SL, 770a); "seamster, mender, tailor" (CSD, 277a).

[294] Alternatively "sorcerer"; cf. Akk. *sāḫiru*, "sorcerer", lit. "man who encircles" (Zomer 2017, 223 §2).

[295] See Akk. *tārû*, *tāriu*, "(child) minder" (CDA, 401a; cf. AHw, 1336b); cf. also perhaps Syr. *mtr'ny*, "instructor, educator" (SL, 876b).

[296] Perhaps also as *ṯᶜr* (KTU 4.278:1).

[297] For some of these see Gröndahl PTU, 28–29 (§53).

5. Place Names

Only a few place names include a term for an occupation or social class, e.g. *gt ål*, "Farmstead of the Dame"; *gt ngr*, "Farmstead of the Carpenter"; *ḫlb ᶜprm*, "Hill of the Migrants"; *ḫrbġlm*, "(Place of) the Sword-makers" and *kṯtġlm*, "(Place of) the Bowmakers". See also *qrzbl* (or *zbl*) "(Town of) the Prince" and *ṯdrṯ*, "(Place of) the Maid".

6. Syllabic Ugaritic and Ugaritian Akkadian

For completeness, words in syllabic Ugaritic and in the Akkadian used at Ras Shamra and Ras Ibn Ḫani are listed which have no alphabetic equivalents. They are: *antuwašalli*, *antupšalli*, "Hittite court official"; *aškāpu*, "leatherworker, tanner"; *i/ušparu*, "weaver"; *itinnu*, "house builder"; *dayyānu*, "judge"; *gallābu*, "barber"; *ḫazannu*, "mayor"; ^{lú}*ḫuppu*, "acrobat"; *kartappu*, "(animal) driver)"; *kāšišum*, "creditor, pledge-taker"; *kumru*, "priest"; *kurniya*(*l*)*lu*, "(a functionary)"; *kutimmu*, "gold/silversmith"; *labbānu*, "brickmaker"; *mākisu*, "tax-collector"; *malaḫḫu*, "sailor"; *malsamu*, "courier"; *munnabtu*(*m*), "fugitive, refugee"; *namû*, "steppe-dweller"; *nâru*, "singer"; *nuḫatimmu*, "cook"; *parkullu*, "seal-cutter"; *ša naqî*, "(a cultic official)?"; *nayyālu*, "(dispossessed person)"; *sasinnu*, "bow-maker"; *ṣāripu*, "(a kind of court official)"; *ṣāripūtu*, "purple-dyers"; *šallamu*, "friend"; *šību*, "witness"; *targumiānu*, "interpreter"; *tašpartu*, "messenger"; *ti/uppallennu*, "(an official)"; *ṭupšarru*, "scribe"; *utû*(*m*), "gatekeeper"; *zadimmu*, "lapidary" and perhaps *zinḫanaše*, "(a class of person)".

7. Table: Ugaritic and Comparative Linguistics

The information collected above on alphabetic terms can be set out in simplified form as a table[298]:

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[298] Abbreviations: A = Aramaic; AA = Afro-Asiatic; Ch = Chadic; Cu = Cushitic; E = Ethiopic; Em = Emar Akkadian; Eg = Egyptian; G = Ge'ez; H = Hittite; Hat = Hatran Aramaic; Hurr = Hurrian; IE = Indo-European; L = Luwian; LinB = Linear B; M = Mandaic; MSA = Modern South Arabian; Nb = Nabataean; OSA = Old South Arabic; P = Phoenician/Punic; Pm = Palmyrene; (Q)Hb = (Qumran) Hebrew; RS = Ras Shamra; S = Syriac; syll. = syllabic. Words in syllabic Ugaritic are underlined. Compounds (§3) have not been included.

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
ådn	lord, master			*'d(w)n*	Ch *'dVn*		*ådn*
ådr	worthy	*aduru*		*'d(y)r*	*'ader*		
ådrt	noble lady	*adru*					
ådt	lady			PPm *'dt*	Eg *jd.t*		
ålḫn	steward	*alaḫini* *alaḫḫinu* *laḫḫinu*		A *lḥn*			*allaḫḫ-ennu*
åmt	maid	*amtu* *andu*	*'ama* OSA *'mt*	*'mt(ʿ)* *'mh/'*	Ch *'am*		
åpy	baker	*apí*[*ú*] MA *āpi'u*		AS *'py(t)'* M *apaiia* P *'ph*	*fV(y/w)* Eg *ʾipa₂ta*	[H *ḫapn*]	[*epḫe*]
åwl	primacy	[*awīlu*]	*'awila*	M *aual*			
åwrġl	farmer						*awari-+ġl*
iblbl	bearer porter	*babbilu*		(*ybl*) S *'wbl*			
ištn	(fire occupation)	*išatu*		*išt* Hb *'š*	*es* Ch *w/'usi*		
ůdbr	executive		*mudabbir*	S *dbr*			
ůḏr	courier	*lasamu* *malsamu*					*izuri*
ůḥyt	sewer			A *'ḥy*			
ůryn	cultic officiant	^{lú}*uriannu*				H *uriḭanni*	*urianni*
ůṯryn	crown prince	*ušr[ia]ni* *tartennu*		[*'tr+n*]			*ušriani*
ᶜbd	servant slave	*abdu* ÌR		*ᶜbd*	*ᶜabod* Eg *ᶜabdi*		
ᶜbr	guest	*ubāru*		A *ᶜbr 'wrḥ*			
ᶜdd	herald			UgA *ᶜdd* E *ᶜawwādi*			
ᶜdn	squad		*ᶜadānat*				
ᶜḏbt	caravan	*ezēbu*	*ᶜazab*	Hb *ᶜzbwn*			
ᶜnn	servant messenger		*ᶜānin*				

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
ᶜpr	migrant	*ḫapíri* SA.GAZ		Hb *ᶜbry*	Eg *ḥabira*		(*ḫabiri*)
ᶜrb	officiant	*ērib bīti*	OSA *ᶜrb*				
ᶜrbn	guarantor	*urubanu* *erubbatum*	*ᶜarabûn* OSA *ᶜrbn*	A *ᶜrbh* Hb *ᶜrbwn*			
ᶜšr	inspector	*aširuma* *āširu*					
bᶜl I	workman		OSA *fᶜln*	HbP *pᶜl*	*pVcal* Cu *pal*		
bᶜl II	master	*baaluma* *bēlu*	*baᶜl*	*bᶜl*	Eg *baᶜlu* Cu *bīl-o*		
bᶜlt	lady	*bēltu* etc.	*baᶜlat*	*bᶜlt* *bᶜlh*	Eg *baᶜlat*		
bdl	reserve substitute	*bidaluma*	*badal* *badīl*	A *bdl*			
bkyt	hired mourner	*bakû* *bakkītu*	*bākiya*	S *bkyt'* A *bky'*	Eg *bj3k*		
bnš	(farm) labourer	*bunušu*		A *brnš* S *br 'nš*			
bny	builder	*bani* *bānû*	*bannā'* *bānin*	AS *bny*(ʿ) M *ban*	*ben-*		
brḥ	fugitive	*barḫu*	*bariḥa*	Hb *bryḥ*	Ch *HVbar*		
bṭr	freeman			Pm *pṭrt*			
	veterinarian		*baiṭār*				
	deserter	*pāṭeru*					
	tailor		*bīṭar*				
bṯt	witch		MSA *btt*				
bṯy	wizard						
dᶜt	acquaintance			M *iada*			
	enchanter		*daᶜā*	A *ydᶜwn*			
dbb	sorcerer	*dābibu*		*dbb*	*dob-*		
dgy	fisher			Hb *dyg*			
dll	courier	*dayyālu*	*dalīl*				
dlt	poor woman		*ḏull ḏalīl*	HbP *dl*	*dal-*		*dl*

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
drk	trader thresher packer	*darākum*		Hb *drk*			
dw	invalid		*daw*^{in}	Hb *dwh* S *dwy*	Ch *dVw* Cu *daya'*		
gmr	avenger	*gāmiru*		*gmr*			
gr	sojourner	*gē/ārû*	*ǧār*	HbP *gr*	Ch *gVr* Eg *ḳ3iw* Eg *ḏrḏr(i)*		
gzz	shearer	*gāzizu*	*ǧazzāz*	A *gzz* S *gz'*	Ch *gVz*		
ġlm	pageboy messenger		*ġulām*	^{c}*l(y)m*	*ġulum*		*ġulum*
ġlmt	princess			Hb ^{c}*lmh* P ^{c}*lmt* S ^{c}*ylmh*			
ġmr	apprentice	*ḫamarū* *ḫamru*	*ġumr*				
ġzl	spinner	*ḫazilu*	*ġazzāl*	A *'zlwy* *m'zl*			
hbṭn	debtor	*ubbuṭu*					
hmlt	crowd		*ḥamul*	Hb *h*^{a}*mullâ*			
ḥbr I	companion	*i/ebru*	*ḥabr/ḥibr*	*ḥbr*(')	Eg *ḫābira*		
ḥbr II	exorcist		*ḫabīr*	HbP *ḥbr* A *ḥabbarā'*			
ḥpšt	gatherer		*ḥafaša*	Hb *ḥpš*			
ḥrš	craftsman	*ḫarašu* *eršu*		*ḥrš*			
ḥrṯ	ploughman	*ḫarašu* *a/errēšu*	*ḥarrāṯ* *ḥāriṯ*	*ḥrš* E *ḥarāsi*			*ḥerač* *ḥeruč*
ḥṭb	woodcutter		*ḥāṭib* *ḥaṭṭāb*	Hb *ḥṭb* E *ḥaṭābi* *ḥaṭṭāb*			
ḥṭbt							
ḫbrtnr	grandee	*ḫubur-tanuru*				H *ḫubur-tanuri*	
ḫbt	oppressor	*ḫabbātu*		Ug *ḫbt*			

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
ḫḏġl	fletcher			Ug *ḫḏ*			
	learner						*ḫaš*
ḫḏrġl	anointer	*ḫašeruḫuli*					*ḫašaru*
	craftsman	*ḫašeruḫuli*					*ḫašer-uḫuli*
	server	*ḫazirum*					
ḫlġl	herald						*ḫilaḫuli*
ḫlq	fugitive	*ḫalqu*		Ug *ḫlq*			
ḫnzr	official	*ḫanizarru*					*ḫani-zarru*
ḫrn	squad	*ḫarrānu*			Eg *ḫ3rw* *ḫaru*$_2$	H *ḫaruwa*	*ḫari*
ḫsn	landowner			A *ḫsn*		[H *ḫaššana*]	
ḫzr	assistant	*ḫāziru*		^{c}*zr*			
kbs *kbś*	launderer	*kabis*[*u*] ^{lú}túg.me		Hb *kwbs* P *kbs*			
khn	priest		*kāhin*	*khn*	*kVn*		
kkrdn	baker	*kakkar-dinnu*		*kkr*			*kakar-dinnu*
kpḫ	(unknown)	*kabḫu*				H *kupaḫi*	*kuwaḫi*
ksd	miller	*kaṣṣidakku*					
kspy	treasurer			HbA *kspy*			
kšp	sorcerer	*kaššāpu*		HbA *kšp*			
ktr	guard	*kitru* *kutturu*		A *ktr*			
	musician					H *katra* κιθάρα	*kadri*
kzy	groom	*kizû* *kazû*			*kVz* Eg *kt/dn kuš̀/zina*		*kuzi*
lmd	pupil, apprentice	*lāmidu* *lummudu* *kabzuzû*		*lmd*			
lmdt	student (f)	(*lamittu*) *talmittu*					

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
lsm	runner	*lāsimu*					
lwn	follower			S *lwn' lwy'*	Ch *lVwVý*		
mâṯr	controller	*āširu*	*mu'aṯṯir*	A *'aššartā*			
m^{c}qb	rival			Hb *^{c}qb*			
md	expert	^{lú}*mudu* *mūdû*					*madi*
mdd	friend	*mūdādum*		A *mwdd* Hb *mydd*			
mddt	distributor	*mādidu* *mandidu*	*madda* IV	HbP *mdd* QHb *mwdd*	*m-d* Eg *madidi*		
mdnt	townsfolk		*madanī*	S *mdyny*			
mḏrġl	assistant						*mazeri*
mḥll	exorcist	*mullilu* *mullalu*	*muḥallil*	A *ḥll*	Cu *ḥal* Eg *ḥ3.tj*	H *ḫalali-* L *ḫalāli*	
mḫr	surveyor			S *mḥr'*			
mḫṣ	weaver	*māḫiṣu* uš.bar					
mkr	merchant	DAM.GÀR *makkāru* *mākiru*		*mkr*	Eg *mākiruyu*	LinB *damo-koro*	
mlâk	messenger			*ml'k*			
mlḫš	charmer	*mušlaḫḫu*		Hb *mlḥš* S *lḥwš'*			
mlk	king	*malku* *mal*(*i*)*ku*		*mlk*	Eg *ma/ilku*		
mlkt	queen	mí.lugal-*tu* *malkatu*	*malikat*	*mlkt* Hb *mlkh*			
mr	valiant			Ug *mrr*	Eg *mr*		
mrů I	fattener	*mārû*	*mr'*	Hb *mr'*			
mrů II	equerry	*muruma* *mur'u*		AS *mr'* A *mry'*	Eg *maru'u*		
mrḥṣ	clean(s)er	*rāḫiṣu*	raḥaḍa	*rḥṣ* A *rḥ^{c}*			
mrz^{c}y	patron of *mrzḥw*	$^{lú.meš}$*marziḫi*		Ug *mrzḥ* Pm *mrzḥw*			

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
mṣl	cymbalist	^{lú}*maṣilu*	*ṣalla*	HbA *ṣll* Hb *ṣlṣl* A *ṣlṣ'*			
mṣprt	hairdresser	*muṣappertu* (*ṣab/pāru*)	*ḍāfara*	E *ḍafara*	Cu *çafîr*		
mšḥ	surveyor	*māšiḥum*		AS *mšḥ*			
mšnqt	wet-nurse	*mušēniqtu*		HbS *mnyqt*	*niḳ* Eg *snq*		
mšspdt	mourner	*sapādu*		*spd* A *spdn'*			
mšṣû	usher	*mušêṣû*		Hb *mwṣy'*			
myṣ	cheese-maker (?)	*mâṣu*		Hb *myṣ*			
n^{c}r	page			HbP *n^{c}r*			
n^{c}rt	maidservant			Hb *n^{c}rh*			
ngr	herald	*nagiru* *nāgiru*		E *nagāri*			
ngrt		*nāgirtu*					
nġr	guard	*naḫiruma* *nāṣiru*	*nāẓir* OSA *nẓr*		Ch *çVr*		
nḥl	share-cropper	*naḫālu* *niḫlatum*	*naḥala*	HbPh *nḥl*			
nkr	foreigner	*nakru* Em *nikaru*	*nakira* OSA *nkr*	*nkr* *nwkryy*			
nqd	shepherd	*nāqidu*	*naqqād*	HbS *nqd*	Om *qiddo*		
nsk	smith	*nas*[*íkuma*] Em *nāsiku*			Eg *nasīku*		
pḫr	potter	*paḫāru*	*faḫḫār*	A *pḫr* S *pḫr'*			
pqr	freedman		*faqīr*	A *pqr*			
prln	diviner	*pirulini* *barû*					*purli* *purul*(*l*)*i*
psl	engraver			Nb *psl'* S *pswl'*			
pẓġ	lacerator			HbA *pṣ^c*			

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
qdš	cult official	*qaššum*	*qaddūs*	*qdš*			
ql	courier	KA$^{al\text{-}la}$ *qallu* *kallû*		S *qlyl'*	*ḳVl*		
qnû̇y	blue dyer engraver	*qunû* *uqnû*				LinB *kuwa-owoko*	
qym	custodian		*qayyim*	S *qymt'*			
qš	oppressor		*qaswa*	*qšh/y*			
riš	authority	*rē/āšu*	*ra's* OSA *r'š*	AS *r'š'*	Eg *ʒjs*, *rôša*		
r^c	companion	*rū'u*		*r(y)^c*	*ri^c*		
r^{c}y	shepherd	*sipa*	*rā^{c}in*	*r^{c}y*	Ch *rVw/y*		
rb	chief	*rabû*	*rabb*	AS *rb'*	Eg *rabbi*		
rbṣ	inspector	*maškim* *rābiṣu*	*rabaṣa*	Hb *rbṣ*			
rbt	lady (mayoress)	*rabītu*	*rabba*	A *rbnh* *rbwnh*	Eg *rabitu*		
rqḥ	perfumer	*raqqû* *muraqqi'u*		*rqḥ*			
rš^c	bad person	*rešûm*		*r(y)š^c*			
si̇d	butler	*sêdu*	*musā^{c}id*	A *s^{c}d*			
sġr *śġr*	watchman guard	*sāḫiru*	MSA *śġr*	ASNb *s^{c}r*			[*suḫīru*]
sḫl	polisher		*saḥala* MSA *sḥl*	A *sḥl'*			
	driller	*saḫālu*			Ch *cul*		
skn	governor	*sākinu* etc. *sukīnu* *šaknu* etc.		*skn* *sgn*			
spr	scribe	*ṭupšar* *šāpiru* *sepīru* etc.		*spr* S *safrā'*	Eg *ṣ̀ōpira*		
srn	prince (?)			Hb *srn*			
ṣd	itinerant	*ṣā'idu*	*ṣayyād*	A *ṣyyd*	*çawad* Ch *çV(wV)d*		

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
ṣmd	vinedresser	*ṣamādu*	*ḍamada*	HbS *ṣmd*			
šib *šab*	water-bearer	*sābû*		Hb *š'b*	Ch *sVb* Eg *s3b*		
šibt		*sābītu*					
šil	augur	*šā'ilu*		AS *š'l*			
šiy	assassin		*sa'ā*	Hb *šw'h*			
šᶜtq	noble	*šūtuqu*					
šdy	spinner			A *šdy*			
šḫṭ	butcher			AHb *šḥṭ*	*siḥaṭ*		
škl	vizier	*š/sukkallu*		A *škl*			*šukkalli-*
šmᶜ	auditor	*šēmû*		AS *šmwᶜ'/h*	Eg *šamaᶜa*		
šml	dealer	*šamallû*	*sa'mil*				
šqy	cup-bearer	*šāqû*	*saqqā'* *siqāyā*	AS *šqy'* M *šaquata*			
šr I	singer instr.-maker	*nar* *šārūtu*		HbP *šr* AS *šyr*	*sVr-* Om *sur*		
šr II	prince	*šarru* Em *śarrū*		HbP *śr* A *šr*	Eg *sr* Ch *car*		*šarri*
št	lady		*sitt*		*süt* Ch *sVt*		
tᶜdt	embassy			Hb *tᶜwdh* A *yᶜd*			
tbl	smith			Hb *twbl* *qyn*			*tabali*
tdgly	assayer			S *dgl*	*dVgol-* Eg *dgj/3*		
tdgr	collector			M *dgr*			
tdġl	saddler	*tudittu*					*tutiwe*
	accountant						*tid*
tkn	inspector			Hb *tkn*			
tmtt	crew			Ug *mt*			
tpnr	notary	lú*tuppa(la)-nuri*				H *tuppas* *tupala*	*tuppala-nuri*
trr	runner	lú*tariruma*	*trr*	Ug *tr*	Ch *tVr* Eg. *trr*		

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
ṭbḫ	sacrificer	*ṭābiḫu* Em *zābiḫu*	*ṭabbāḥ*	*ṭbḥ*	Eg *ṭubiḫi* *ǯabaḥ*		
ṯ^{c}	lord, noble	*šuwā'um* *šu'û*		Hb *šô*^{ac}			
ṯ^{c}*y*	minister			Hb *šu*^{ac}			
ṯdr	waitress	*šiduri*					*šiduri*
ṯġr	gate-keeper		*ṯuġrā*	HbP *š(w)*^{c}*r* ASHat *tr*^{c}			*šeḫr*
ṯkmt	bearer (f)			E *sakama*			
ṯn	vizier	*šanû*	*ṯānī*	HbP *šny* A *tnynw*			*šinu*
ṯnġly	deputy	*šinaḫilu*		*tn*			*šinaḫilu*
ṯnġlyt	substitute	*šinaḫilūtum*					
ṯnn	incense (-bearer)			A *tnn* S *tnnwt'*			
	archer			AS *ṯn*			
	vizier			Ug *ṯn*			
	equal	*šāninu*					
ṯpṭ	judge ruler	*šāpiṭu*		Hb *šwpṭ* P *špṭ*	Eg *šapta*		
ydy	expeller		*'awdā*	Hb *ydh*	Eg *wdy*		
ydt							
ypḥ/ḫ	witness	*šibuti* *šību*		Hb *ypḥ*			
yqš	fowler	*iaqíš*[*uma*]		Hb *yqwš* *qwš*	Eg *Yaqšamu*		
yṣḥ	finisher			S *nṣḥ/ṣḥḥ*	*cay*		
yṣr	potter	(lú)*iaṣiruma* *ēṣiru*		HbP *yṣr* AS *ṣwr*			
yt	foreman	*atû*, *utû*					
ytn	acolyte			HbA *ntyn*			
	seller	*nādinu*		*ntn*			
	gatekeeper	*atû*, *utû*					*atuḫlu*

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
zbl I	prince			PA *zbl*			
zbl II	invalid	*zabālu*					
zbr	pruner		*zabara*	*zbr zmr*			
zn	supplier	*zāninu*		A *z'wn* S *zywn'*			

8. Distribution

As for the type of document in which the alphabetic terms occur, the most significant distribution is as follows:

– Literary and religious texts only (KTU 1): [*å*]*wrġl*, *ᶜbr*, *ᶜdd*, *ᶜḏbt*, *ᶜnn*, *ᶜrb*, *bkyt*, *brḥ*, *bṯt*, *bṯy*, *dᶜt*, *dbb*, *dgy*, *dll*, *dlt*, *gmr*, *ġlm*, *ġlmt*, *hmlt*, *ḥbr*, *ḥpšt*, *ḥspt*, *ḥṭbt*, *ḫbt*, *ḫḏrġl*, *kšp*, *ktr*, *lsm*, *lwn*, *mᶜqb*, *mdd*, *mddt*, *mdnt*, *mḥll*, *mḫr*, *mlḫš*, *mr*, *mrzᶜy*, *mṣprt*, *mšmṭr*, *mšnqt*, *mšspdt*, *mšṣů*, *ngr*, *ngrt*, *nḥl*, *pḫr*, *pẓġ*, *qš*, *qym*, *rišᶜ*, *sỉd*, *srn*, *ṣmd*, *šỉy*, *šḫt*, *šr*, *št*, *tᶜdt*, *ṭbḫ*, *ṯᶜ*, *ṯᶜy*, *ṯkmt*, *ṯn*, *ṯnn*, *ṯpṭ*, *ydt*, *ydy*, *zbl* II, *zbr* (total: 71)
– Economic texts only (KTU 4): *ålḫn*, *åpy*, *ỉštnm*, *ůdbr*, *ůḥyt*, *ᶜšr*, *bᶜl* (I), *bdl*, *bṭr*, *dw*, *gzz*, *ġmr*, *ġzl*, *hbṭn*, *ḥṭb*, *ḫḏġl*, *ḫlġl*, *ḫlq*, *ḫsn*, *ḫzr*, *kbs/kbś*, *khn*, *kkrdn*, *kpḫ*, *ksd*, *ktr*, *kzy*, *lmdt*, *md*, *mrů*, *mṣl*, *myṣ*, *nᶜrt*, *nġr*, *nqd*, *nsk*, *psl*, *pqr*, *ql*, *rᶜy*, *rbṣ*, *sġr/śġr*, *ṣd*, *šỉb*, *šdy*, *šr*, *tbl*, *tdgly*, *tdgr*, *tdġl*, *tkn*, *trr*, *ṯnġly*, *ṯnġlyt*, *yqš*, *yṣḥ*, *yṣr*, *yt*, *ytn*, *zn* (total: 60)
– Literary and economic texts only (KTU 1, 4): *ᶜdn*, *drk*, *ḥrṯ*, *ḫnzr*, *qdš*, *šỉbt*, *šr*, *rbt*, *šqy*, *ṯdr*, *ṯġr* (total: 11)
– Letters only (KTU 2): *ůḏr*, *kspy*, *rỉš*, *mrḥṣ*, *sḫl*, *šỉl*, *šᶜtq*, *šmᶜ* (total: 8)
– Literary texts, letters and economic texts (KTU 1, 2, 4): *ådr*, *ådt*, *bᶜlt*, *ḥrš*, *lmd*, *nᶜr*, *rᶜ* (total: 7)
– Letters and economic texts (KTU 2, 4): *ådt*, *ᶜpr*, (*ỉ*)*blbl*, *qnůy*, *tmtt* (total: 5)
– Legal and economic texts (KTU 3, 4): *mḏrġl*, *tpnr*, *ypḥ* (total: 3)
– Legal texts only (KTU 3): *ᶜrbn*, *ḫbrtnr*, *škl* (total: 3)

The remainder occur only once or a few times in a variety of genres. As expected, the two highest numbers of occurrences are in the genre of literary and religious texts[299] and in the economic texts, while none occurs in the school exercise texts. Surprisingly, *ṯpṭ*, "judge", never appears in the legal texts (KTU 3)

[299] As they only appear in this genre, some of these may not be professions strictly speaking (see Zamora 2000, 110) but are included here for the sake of completeness.

but only in the mythological compositions. It is also curious that the masc. form *ḥṭb*, "woodcutter", occurs in the economic texts with the corresponding fem. form (*ḥṭbt*) only in the literary texts, and other synonymous pairs have a similar genre distribution, as in the following table:

literary texts only (KTU 1)	shared meaning	economic texts only (KTU 4)
bdl	deputy	*ṯn*
brḥ	fugitive	*ḫlq*
ḥṭbt	woodcutter	*ḥṭb*
lsm	runner	*trr*
mddt	distributor	*zn*
mḫr	surveyor	*mšḥ*
ngr(*t*)	herald	*ḫlġl*
pḫr	potter	*yṣr*
ṯᶜy	assistant	*ḫzr*
zbl II	invalid	*dw*

9. Language: Cognates and Loanwords

Most of the 200 or so single words discussed here are Semitic. Of these, the following also have good equivalents in Afro-Asiatic, i.e. they may be Hamito-Semitic: *ảdr*, *ảmt*, *ảpy*, *ỉštn*, *ᶜbd*, *bᶜl*, *bny*, *brḥ*, *dbb*, *dl*, *gr*, *gzz*, *ġlm*, *ġlmt*, *khn*, *lwn*, *mṣprt*, *mšnqt*, *ql*, *šỉb*, *šỉbt*, *nġr*, *nqd*, *rᶜy*, *ṣd*, *šḫṭ*, *št*, *tdgly*, *trr*, *ṭbḫ*, *ydt*, *ydy* (i.e. 30 or so, including some with feminine forms). In terms of language, the rest, again totalling about 30, have the following distribution:

(a) Loanwords from
- Hurrian: *ảwrġl*, *ủḏr*, *ḫḏġl*, *ḫḏrġl*, *ḫlġl*, *ḫnzr*, *mḏrġl*, *prln*, *tbl*, *tdġl*, *ṯdr* (total: 11)
- Akkadian: *mảṯr*, *sỉd*, *yt*(*n*), *zbl* II (total: 4); cf. also *kṯr*.
- Sumerian: *ksd*, *pḫr*, *škl* (borrowed through Akkadian: total: 3)
- Hittite: *ḫbrtnr*, *tpnr* (total: 2)

(b) Of uncertain origin
- Semitic or Hurrian: *ủṯryn*, *md* (total: 2)
- Semitic or Indo-European: *qnủy*, *srn* (total: 2)
- Hurrian or Hittite: *ủryn*, *ḫbrtnr* (total: 2)

(c) Of mixed origin
- Hybrid nouns (Semitic + Hurrian): *ålḫn*, *kkrdn*, *ṯnġly*, *ṯnġlyt* (total: 4)[300]
- Common to several language groups: *ḫrn*, *kzy*, *mḥll*, *šr* (total: 4)[301]

Also, apart from four hybrids (*bᶜl tġpṯ*, *bn ůṯryn*, *bnš tpnr*, [*ḫbrtn*]*r ṯn*), the many composite expressions (§3) also are Semitic. This means that there were relatively few loanwords relating to occupations, professions and social classes in Ugaritic[302]. In fact, borrowing was often in the other direction: other languages, notably Egyptian and Hurrian, used Semitic terms, as documented above[303]. And, as noted already, there were also hybrid formations. On the other hand, some Ugaritic terms have cognates in only one other Semitic language. For example, only in Akkadian: *mḫṣ* and *šᶜtq*, in Arabic only: *ᶜdn*, *ġmr* and *št*, only in Aramaic: *ůḥyt*, only in Hebrew: *dgy*, *ḥspt*, *mᶜqb*, *tkn*, *yph*, and *yqš*, in Mandaic only: *tdgr* and only in Syriac: *mḫr*. However, some of these may also have equivalents in Afro-Asiatic, which have been included here for further study.

10. Closing Remarks

New proposals have been made here for *ůdbr*, *drk*, *ḫsn*, *mḫr*, *mštlᶜt*, *sġr/śġr*, *šdy* and *ṯnn*, while new or additional cognates have been given for several words (e.g. *åwl*, *ᶜbr*, *bnny*, *bnš*, *dbb*, *mdnt*, *mkḥd*, *mṣprt*, *tdgr* and *yṣḥ*) as well as some equivalents in non-Semitic languages. The list of 90 compound expressions is also new as a comprehensive inventory (§3), and includes some references to corresponding phrases in other ANE languages.

It is clear that the data collected above provide significant information about the society of Ugarit in terms of its structure, administration, commercial activity and agricultural economy. Not surprisingly, there are quite a few terms in the categories of administration and the cult, yet curiously, the word *khn*, "priest" never occurs in ritual texts, although it is found several times in the economic texts, both alphabetic and syllabic[304]. There are several terms for

[300] For Hurro-Akkadian terms of this type see now the discussion by Fournet 2012, 92.

[301] The remainder are of more uncertain etymology.

[302] Possibly an indication that, in spite of Egyptian and Hittite rule (see Singer 1999, 621–646), Ugarit retained some autonomy in respect of the terms under discussion and perhaps also of its own economy.

[303] Similarly in Neo-Assyrian: "Plusieurs de ces titres de fonctions ont été traduits du hittite en akkadien car ils n'existent pas dans l'administration assyrienne. D'autres sont formés sur un mot hourrite avec une terminaison akkadienne comme l'*alahhinnum* et le *šinahilum*, « délégué »" (Michel 2001, 169).

[304] As Merlo (2006, 56 n. 3) has noted in his study of the "incantation priest" at Ugarit.

craftsmen with various skills, indicative of their contribution to the economy[305]. It is of particular interest that there are at least a dozen terms for professions related to textiles: eight in §2.4b plus *i/ušparu*, "weaver"; *ṣāripūtu*, "purple-dyers"[306]; lú.TUG.LA, "tailor" and *bᶜl tġpṯ*, "maker of felt". There are also the personal names *ỉrgn/y*, "Weaver", *ġzly* (*ḫazilu*), "Spinner", *mly*, "Tailor", *plkn*, "Spinner", *šdy*(*n*), "Weaver", *šty*, "Weaver" and *tġpṯn*, "Felt-maker". All these provide further evidence for the importance of the textile trade[307]. Similarly, there is a wealth of terms for "messenger" (thirteen in §2.11, plus three more: *bn ḫrn*, *bn qlt* and *tašpartu*), perhaps indicative of a communications network[308]. On the other hand, for a coastal town such as Ugarit, the scarcity of terms relating to the sea or fishing is surprising[309]. The one word for "fisherman" is *dgy*, but it is uncertain and in any case, is a divine title. Maritime vocabulary occurs only in the oblique composite expressions *ḥrš ảnyt*, "shipbuilder", *rb mỉḫd*, "harbour-master", *rb tmtt*, "captain of the (ship's) crew", *ṣbủ ảnyt*, "ship's crew", as well as *rab malaḫḫī*, "chief of the sailors" (see above), which has no alphabetic equivalent[310]. Apart from *lmd*(*t*), and perhaps *spr*, there is a similar dearth of words relating to schools or teaching. Finally, there are no terms related to medical professions[311]. Possibly, as in Mari, this is because the archives relate to the palace[312]. Chance is also a factor: we are dependent on what is found in excavations. Further finds of tablets, only when published of course, may expand the Ugaritic vocabulary known so far.

Abbreviations

AEL	E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vols I–VIII (London/Edinburgh 1863–1893).
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, vols I–III (Wiesbaden 1965–1981).
AIA	S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (AS 19; Chicago 1974).
BGH	T. Richter, *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen* (Wiesbaden 2012).
BK	A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, vols. I–II (Paris 1860).
CAD	I.J. Gelb *et al.* (eds), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, vols 1–21 (Chicago 1956–2010).

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[305] It is generally accepted that such skills were handed down from father to son; cf. for example, Van Soldt 2015; however, in respect of scribes, see now Roche-Hawley – Hawley 2013. Some evidence for scribes as hereditary in Babylon (as well as politically important) is given in Wiggermann 2008. They were mainly taught in private houses (Van Soldt 1999, 35; Ferrara 2016, 236).

[306] See Lackenbacher 2002, 95 n. 276; Singer 2008, 22; Vidal 2005, 101–102.

[307] See already Vita 1999, 486–487 (§4.4); also Matoian – Vita 2009; Matoian – Vita 2014; Vita 2010a.

[308] Possibly similar to the Neo-Assyrian network described in Favaro 2007, 51–91.

[309] There are more terms in Phoenician: see Moya 2016; however see Xella 2010, 88 n. 24.

[310] See also the gentilic *mảḫdy*/*mỉḫdy*, "Port Dweller" (DUL, 508–509).

[311] The only term (apart from *bṭr*, perhaps; see above) is *rpủ*, "healer", used as a divine epithet (DUL, 731–732). The meaning of the PN *ảsyy* as "Healer (?)" (PTU, 102, 422) is very uncertain.

[312] Cf. Talon 1983, 46, on the dearth of terms for farm workers in the Mari archives.

CDA	J. Black – A. George – N. Postgate (eds), *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (Wiesbaden 2000[2]).
CDG	W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geᶜez* (Wiesbaden 1987).
CED	O. Stolbova, *Chadic Etymological Dictionary* (Moscow 2016).
CLL	H.C. Melchert, *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon* (Chapel Hill 1993).
CSD	J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford 1903).
CSL	R.S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages* (Missoula 1978).
DCH	D.J.A. Clines (ed.), *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, vols 1–8 (Sheffield 2011).
DCPA	M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Christian Palestinian Aramaic* (OLA 235; Leuven 2014).
DJBA	M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic* (Ramat Gan/Baltimore 2002).
DJPA	M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan 1990).
DLE	L.H. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vols I–II (Providence 2002[2], 2004[2]).
DMWA	H. Wehr – A. Cowan, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Wiesbaden 1971).
DNWSI	J. Hoftijzer – K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, vols 1–2 (HdO I/21; Leiden 1995).
DOSA	J.C. Biella, *A Dictionary of Old South Arabic. Sabaean Dialect* (Chico 1982).
DSA	A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, vols I–II (HdO I/50; Leiden 2000).
DUL	G. del Olmo Lete – J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (English Version Edited and Translated by W.G.E. Watson), vols 1–2 (HdO 1/112; Leiden/Boston 2015[3]).
EDE I–III	G. Takács, *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, vols I–III (HdO I/48; Leiden 1999, 2001, 2008).
EDG	R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, vols 1–2 (IEED 10; Leiden 2010).
EDHIL	A. Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* (IEED 5; Leiden 2008).
FCD	R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford 1962).
FS Leslau	A.S. Kaye (ed.), *Semitic Studies. In honor of Wolf Leslau. On the Occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday November 14th 1991*, vols I–II (Wiesbaden 1991).
GLH	E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (Paris 1980).
GHWb	R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch: die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800–950 v.Chr.)* (Mainz 1995).
HALOT	L. Koehler – W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (translated and edited under the supervision of M.E.J. Richardson), vols I–V (Leiden/New York/Köln 1994–2000).
HED	J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, vols 1– (Berlin 1984–).
HEG	J. Tischler, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, vols 1– (Innsbruck 1983–).
HL	T.M. Johnstone, *Ḥarsūsi Lexicon and English-Ḥarsūsi Word-list* (London/New York/Toronto 1977).
HSED	V.E. Orel – O.V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Materials for a Reconstruction* (HdO I/18; Leiden/New York/Köln 1995).
HUS	W.G.E. Watson – N. Wyatt (eds), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (HdO I/39; Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999).
HW	J. Friedrich, *Kurzgefaßtes Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (IB 2; Heidelberg 1990).
KAI	H. Donner – W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, Band 1 (Wiesbaden 2002[5]).

KTU	M. Dietrich – O. Loretz – J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (AOAT 360/1; Münster 2013[3]).
LSU	W.G.E. Watson, *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic* (AuOrS 19; Sabadell 2007).
MD	E.S. Drouwer – R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford 1963).
ML	T.M. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word-list* (London 1987).
MLC	G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaán según la tradición de Ugarit* (Valencia/Madrid 1981).
PIHANS 114	W.H. van Soldt (ed.), *Society and Administration in Ancient Ugarit. Papers read at a symposium in Leiden, 13–14 December 2007* (PIHANS 114; Leiden 2010).
PRU 3	J. Nougayrol, *Palais Royal d'Ugarit III. Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales* (MRS 6; Paris 1955).
PTU	F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Studia Pohl 1; Rome 1967).
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, Vols 1–15 (Berlin/New York 1932–2017).
RTU	N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit* (London/New York 2002[2]).
SAU	W.H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar* (AOAT 40; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991).
SED I	L. Kogan – A. Militarev, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary*, vol. I. *Anatomy of Man and Animals* (AOAT 278/1; Münster 2000).
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).
SWET	J.E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton 1994).
TOu 1	A. Caquot – M. Sznycer – A. Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques. Tome I. Mythes et Légendes. Introduction, traduction, commentaire* (LAPO 7; Paris 1974).
TOu 2	A. Caquot – J.-M. de Tarragon – J.-L. Cunchillos, *Texts ougaritiques. Tome II: Textes religieux et rituels; Correspondance* (LAPO 14; Paris 1989).
TUAT I/3	O. Kaiser (ed.), *Dokumente zum Rechts- und Wirtschaftsleben* (Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, I/3; Gütersloh 1983).
UBC I	M.S. Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume I. Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1–1.2* (VTS 55; Leiden/New York/Köln 1994).
UBC II	M.S. Smith – W.T. Pitard, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume II. Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3–1.4* (VTS 114; Leiden/Boston 2009).
UG	J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (AOAT 273; Münster 2012[2]).
UT	C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (AnOr 38; Rome 1965; reprint 1989).
UVST	J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (HSS 32; Atlanta 1987).
Wb	A. Erman – H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, vols 1–7 (Berlin 1926–1963) and *Belegstellen*, vols 1–5 (Leipzig 1825–1955) (courtesy of the TLA website).
WL	M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, *Word-List of the Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (ALASP 12; Münster 1996).
WSV	E. Pentiuc, *West Semitic Vocabulary in the Akkadian Texts from Emar* (HSS 49; Winona Lake 2001).

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