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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 script¹. 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 Ugarit². 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 relevant³. Sanmartín (1995a) examines 33 lemmata: 32 alphabetic and one syllabic (*aškapu*) with no alphabetic equivalent and Sanmartín (1995c) considers *mrū*, *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 *gžrm*, Dietrich – Loretz (1977a) and Segert (1987) on *nqd*, Dietrich – Loretz (1977b) on *ytn*, Sznycer (1981) on *kzy*⁶, Sanmartín (1987a) on *yšhm*, Dietrich – Loretz (1987), Del Olmo Lete (1988), Van Soldt (1988) and Freilich (1992) on *ṯ/ṯy*, Van Soldt (1988) and Pardee (2015) on *prln*, Mack-Fisher (1990) on *bṯr*, Dietrich – Loretz (1990) on *tbl*, Heltzer (1997) on *hrš qtn*, Van Soldt (2001; 2002; 2006) on *skn*, Watson (2002a; 2002b) on *s/šgr*, Vita (2007) on *hlgl* and *mđrgl*, Watson (2009a) on *bdlm*, Dietrich (2010b) on *šm^c* (*rgm*), Vidal (2011) on *rb mgdlm*, Del Olmo Lete (2012a) on *ūdbr*, Watson (2015) on *ūhyt*, 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 warfare⁸.

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 ṯupšarri* and *ṯupšar ekalli* 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 *khn̄m*, *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 used¹⁰. 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 families¹¹. Where possible, the equivalents of *nouns* are provided¹². 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 languages¹³. 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 (*ūtryn*, *glm*, *glmt*, *mlk*, *mlkt*, *srn*, *šr*, *zbl* I)¹⁴

- *ūtryn*, “crown prince” (KTU 2.67:1; 3.1:30; cf. 4.103:6)
 - CS: a Semitic derivation and the meaning “successor” ($\sqrt{y}r$, “to follow” + affirmative *-ān*) was proposed by Renfroe (1992, 24), but it is probably a loanword.

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.: Alalah; 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. *pgt*, “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).
- *glm*, (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.
- *glmt*, “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. *‘almāh*, “marriageable girl; young woman” (HALOT, 835–836); Ph. *‘lmt*, “girl, young woman” (DNWSI, 862; CSL, 246); Aram. *‘ūlāmā*, “maiden” (DJBA, 847b; cf. DJPA, 399a; DSA II, 641a); Syr. *‘ylmh*, “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); OArām., 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)

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. *šr*, “official, commander” (HALOT, 1350–1353); Ph. *šr*, “prince” (CSL, 331); Aram. *šr*, “guardian angel, chief” (DJPA, 572b); Aram. *šr*, “prince” (DNWSI, 1190–91); Emar Akk. */šarrū/*, “officials, rulers” (Pentiuć 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 (*ādn, ādr, ādrt, ādt, b^cl, b^clt, ḥsn, rb, rbt, š^ctq, št, ṯ*)²⁰

- *ādn*, “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. *’ādōn*, “lord, master” (HALOT, 12–13); Ph. *’dn*, “lord” (CSL, 5–6); Aram. *’dn*, “lord”, (DNWSI, 15–17); Aram. *’dwn*, “master” (DJPA, 35b); Akk. *adū*, “leader” (CDA, 5b).
 - AA: cf. Chadic **’Vd-*, “father, chief” (CED No. 3) and Chadic **’dVn-*, “elder (father, uncle)”²¹.
 - Hurr.: Borrowed as Hurr. *ādn*, “lord etc.” (BGH, 512–513).

¹⁸ As proposed by Garbini 1991; for the origin of the word “tyrant” see Kōiv (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.

- *ādr*, “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).
- *ādt*, “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. *ādn*.
- *b^cl* (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. *ba^cal*, “owner, husband” (HALOT, 142–143); Ph. *b^cl*, “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. *b^cl*, “to have sexual intercourse” (DJPA, 109a); OSA *b^cl*, “lord, owner” (DOSA, 50); Arab. *ba^cl*, “husband, lord” (AEL, 228).
 - AA: **ba^cil-*, “man” (HSED §182; cf. §184), e.g. Cush. *bîl-o*, “master, lord”²⁴. Borrowed as Eg. **ba^clu*, “lord, master” (SWET §115)²⁵.
- *b^clt*, “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. *b^clh*, “mistress” (HALOT, 145); Ph. *b^clt*, “mistress” (CSL, 52); Pun. *b^clt*, “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 *b^clt*, “priestess” (DOSA, 51); Arab. *ba^clat*, “wife” (AEL, 228).
 - AA: borrowed as Eg. **ba^clat*, “lady” (SWET §116).
- *ḥsn*, “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);

²² For *ādr*, “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=bi₃* (**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=tu₂* (etc.), “great” (SWET §277).
- *š^ctq*, “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: **sūt-*, “woman” (HSED §2306); Chadic **sVt-*, “woman, sister” (CED No. 721).
- *ṯ*, “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. *šō^{ac}*, “noble, eminent” (HALOT, 1444, with discussion).

2.2. Administrators and Functionaries (*ūdbr*, *ḥbrtnr*, *ḥnzr*, *md*, *mrû* II, *nḥl*, *riš*, *skn*, *spr*, *škl*, *yt*; cf. *drk*, *ṭpt*)

- *ūdbr*, “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,

²⁶ These cognates have not been mentioned before. An alternative equivalent, first proposed by Liverani (1969, 195), is Hitt. *ḥaššana-*, “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.

- *ḥbrtnr*, “grandee” (KTU 3.1:34, 36)
 - Hurr. *ḥuburtan(n)uri*, “(a high royal official)” (CDA, 118b; cf. BGH, 168–169, 523b).
 - IE: Hitt. *ḥuburtanuri*, “(Bezeichnung heth. Würdenträger)” (Tischler HEG/2, 298)³⁴.
- *ḥnzr*, “an official” (KTU 1.5 v 9; cf. 4.870:3)
 - Hurr.: cf. Akk. *ḥanizarru*, “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*, *mudî’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 /*’*/ in Ug. *md* indicates a direct loan either from Akkadian³⁶ or from Hurrian.
- *mrû* (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).

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, Wirtschaftler”, 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. *naḥālu(m)*, “to share out, transfer property” (CDA, 231b), Mari Akk. *ni/ehlatum*, ~ “transferred property” (CDA, 253a); Arab. *naḥala*, “to make a donation” (DMWA, 947).
- *rīš*, “authority” (lit. “head”) (KTU 2.88:30)
 - CS: Heb. *roʿš*, “head, leader, chief” (HALOT, 1166); Ph., Pun. “leader, head, first rank” (CSL, 297; DNWSI, 1043); Aram. *rēšāʾ*, *rʾšʾ*, “head, superior, leader chief” (DJBA, 1078–1079); Syr. *rīšāʾ*, “head, chief, prefect, rulers, magistrates” (SL, 1462); Akk. *rēšu(m)*, *rāšu(m)*, “head” (CDA, 302); OSA *rʾš*, “head, chief” (DOSA, 474) and Arab. *raʾš*, “head, chief, chieftain, leader” (DMWA, 317)⁴⁰.
 - AA: cf. Eg. *ꜣꜣs* (< *rjs), “viscera (of the skull)” = “brain” (EDE I, 50, 81, 187); also borrowed from Semitic as Eg. */rôšal*, “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” (Pentiuć 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 54⁴³)

³⁸ “Texts such as KTU 4.35 I 20, 22 (*hrš btm*), II 6 (*šbdm*); II 20–21 (*tnnm*) 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 Naʾaman 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. /šōpira/, “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).
- *ṭy*, “civil servant, assistant” (KTU 1.6 vi 57, 59; cf. 1.4 viii 49–50)
 - WS: see perhaps Heb. *šū^{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. *atū*, “gatekeeper, porter” (CDA, 31a) and Akk. (Hurr.) *atuhlu*, “(a profession)” (cf. CDA, 31a; BGH, 66)⁴⁶

2.3. Legal Personnel (*tpnr*, *tp̄t*, *yph/h*)

- *tpnr*, “notary” (KTU 3.1:32; 4.44:23, 28)⁴⁷
 - IE: Hitt. ¹⁶*tuppalanuri-/tuppanuri-*, “(hethitischer Würdenträger in Texten aus Ugarit)” (Tischler HEG/3, 444–445), a loan as Akk. *tuppanūri*, “(Hitt. royal official)” (CDA, 410a).
- *tp̄t*, “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. *tp̄z* KTU 1.108:3)
 - CS: Heb. *š(w)pt*, “judge, ruler” (HALOT, 1623–1624)⁴⁸; Ph., Pun. *špt*, “magistrate” (CSL, 329–330); cf. Aram. *špt*, “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).
- *yph*, “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 (*yph*); 4.258:5; 4.754:4; 4.817:17–18).
 - WS: Heb. *yph*, “witness” (HALOT, 424).

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 *špt* (plur.), “(Book of) Judges” (SL, 1586b; CSD, 590b).

2.4. Artesans, Craftsmen, Skilled Workers

2.4a Food (*āpy*, *kkrdn*, *šḥt*; cf. *ālhn*)

- *āpy*, “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. *ēpū*, “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=pa₂=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 lhm*, “loaf” (DSA I, 387a) – and Hurr. =*tennu*, a suffix denoting an agent (cf. BGH, 180b, 529a)⁵¹.
- *šḥt*, “butcher, slaughterer” (KTU 1.18 iv 24, 35)⁵²
 - CS: cf. Heb. *šḥt*, “to slaughter (animals)” (HALOT, 1458–1459); borrowed as Aram. *šḥt*, “to cut the throat (of an animal)” (DJBA, 1127). Cf. Ge’ez and Tigre *sähätä*, “to wound injure” (Fisher 1969, 193).
 - AA: cf. **siḥat-*, “to cut, slaughter” (HSED §2237); Chad. **sVt(t)-*, “to cut off, to slaughter” (CED No. 719).

2.4b Textiles (*ūhyt*, *ğzl*, *kbs*, *mḥš*, *šdy*; cf. *bṭr*, *mrḥš*, *qnūy*)

- *ūhyt*, “seamstress” (KTU 4.795:9)
 - ES: cf. Aram. *’hy*, “to stitch together, attach” (DJBA, 104a) and Aram. *my’ḥ*, “stitching” (DJBA, 663a)⁵³.
- *ğzl*, “spinner” (KTU 4.358:9)
 - CS: Arab. *ğazzāl*, “vender (sic!), spinner” (AEL, 2255–56; DMWA, 672b); Aram. *’zlw*, “spinner of thread or string” (DJBA, 102a). Cf. Oaram. *’zly*, “something woven” (DNWSI, 835); Aram. *’zl*, “to spin

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 ʕzl*, “spinner” (DJPA, 322a); Syr. *ʕzl*, “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.
 - *mḥš*, “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. *māḥiṣu*, “Weber” (AHw, 584); “weaver” (CAD M/1, 102); Bab. *māḥiṣu*, “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 nʕrm šdym*, “for the lads, spinners” (KTU 4.868:4) is followed by *mḥšm*, “weavers” in line 5 (see above)⁵⁷.

2.4c Jewellery (*qnūy*, *shl*, *ysh*)

- *qnūy*, “lapis lazuli dyer/engraver” (KTU 2.73:17; 4.371:1)⁵⁸
 - CS: cf. Ug. *qnū*, “lapis lazuli” (DUL, 695) and *iqnū*, “gem of lapis lazuli”; “violet blue (colour)”; “violet purple (fabric)” (DUL, 90–91); Akk. *uqnū*, “Lapislazuli, Lasurstein” (AHw, 1426); Akk. *uqnū*, *uqunu*, *iqnū*, “lapis lazuli; turquoise” (CDA, 424b; cf. CAD U/W, 195–202) and Akk. *qunū*, “of lapis lazuli colour” (CDA, 291a).
 - IE: Linear B *ku-wa-no-wo-ko-i* (**kuawoforopoŷi*), “workers of blue glass”⁵⁹; cf. Hitt. ^{NA4}*kuuanna(n)*- “Kupferblau” (HW, 122b); Gk *κύανος*, “(name of a dark blue substance): enamel, lapis lazuli, copper carbonate” (EDG I, 793)⁶⁰.
- *shl*, “(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”

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 *kuuanna(n)*” (EDG I, 793).

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

- (b) “driller” – cf. Akk. *saḥālu*, “to prick, pierce” (CDA, 310b)⁶².
- *yšh*, “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. *nšh*, “to shine”, etpa. “to become clear, bright” (SL, 939–940; cf. CSD, 318). See also, perhaps, Syr. *šhh*, “to be hot, burning” (SL, 1282b) and Syr. *šwh'*, “alloy of copper and lead” (SL, 1278b).
 - AA: cf. Chad. **cay-*, “shining” (from **čaH-*; cf. HSED §418).

2.4d Ceramics and Pottery (*pḥr*, *yšr*)

- *pḥr*, “potter” (KTU 1.96:7, 9–10)
 - CS: Akk. *paḥāru*, *paḥḥāru*, “Töpfer” (AHw, 810); “potter” (CAD P, 21–23); borrowed as Aram. *pḥr*, “potter” (DJPA, 428); Aram. *paḥārā'*, “potter” (DJBA, 895b); Syr. *paḥḥārā'*, “potter, clay” (SL, 1179b; CSD, 441b)⁶⁴; borrowed as Arab. *fahḥār*, “baked pottery” (AEL, 2350). Ultimately it is from Sum. BAḤĀR⁶⁵.
 - Hurr. *paḥḥari*, “potter” (BGH, 287), may be a loanword.
- *yšr*, “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. *yšr*, “potter, caster” (HALOT, 429); Pun. *yšr*, “potter” (CSL, 128; DNWSI, 466); cf. Akk. *ēširu*, “Bildhauer” (AHw, 253); “carver of reliefs” (CAD E, 350); “(stone) carver” (CDA, 81b). Cf. Aram. *šwr*, “to fashion, draw, form” (DJBA, 956a); Syr. *šwr*, “to form, shape, fashion; to carve etc.” (SL, 1280–1281).

2.4e Various (*bny*, *dgy*, *hrš*, *ksd*, *nsk*, *psl*, *rqh*, *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. *bānū*, “Maurer” (AHw, 103); “builder” (CDA, 38a);

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

⁶² Cunchillos TOu 2, 419 n. 224: “perceurs”. For AA see HSED §406 (Chad. **cul-* < **cuHv(-)*).

⁶³ See Sanmartín 1987a; DUL, 971.

⁶⁴ Borrowed from Akk.; cf. AIA, 79. Not related to Eg. *pḥr*, “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).
 - *hrš*, “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. *hrš*, “artisan, craftsman” (HALOT, 357–358); Ph., Pun. *hrš*, “craftsman” (CSL, 114–115; DNWSI, 408)⁶⁹; Aram. *hrš*, “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. *kaššidakku/kazzidakku*, “miller” (CDA, 151b), from Sum. ^(li)KA/GAZ.ZI.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” (Pentiuic 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. **nasek*, “statue of cast metal” (HALOT, 703b).
 - AA: Cf. Eg. **našiku*, “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.
 - *rqh*, “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.

⁶⁷ For a possible connection with Eg. *bmn*, “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 *mḥš*” (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. *rqh*, “to mix, prepare spiced ointment” (HALOT, 1289–1290); Ph., Pun. *rqh*, “to prepare perfumes” (DNWSI, 1083)⁷⁵ and Aram. *rqh*, “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 ([*ā*]wrġl, *bnš*, *hrt*, *hṭb*, *hṭbt*, *šmd*, *zbr*; also *drk*)

- [*ā*]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.
- *hrt*, “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. *hrš*, “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. *harrāt*, *hārit*, “sower, plougher”, “collector” (AEL, 542; DMWA, 166b); Eth. *harāsi*, “plowman, farmer” (CDG, 243); cf. Aram. *hrš*, “to plow” (DJPA, 216a; DJBA, 485a); Palm. *hrš*, “to plough” (DNWSI, 407)⁸⁰.
 - AA: Cf. **herač-/*heruč-*, “to sow” (HSED §1266), although it is uncertain.

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

⁷⁵ Cf. Pun. *mrqh* and Aram. *rqht mr*, “one who prepares myrrh” (DNWSI, 1083), both dubious.

⁷⁶ Note especially Dietrich – Loretz 1990; cf. the Heb. PN *tūbal 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. *hārš-*, “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. *ḥāṭīb*, “collector of firewood” (AEL, 594); *ḥaṭṭāb*, “wood gatherer, wood cutter” (DMWA, 186b); Eth. *ḥaṭāb(i)*, *ḥaṭṭāb*, “woodcutter, one who gathers (wood)” (CDG, 248); cf. Heb. *ḥṭb*, “to cut and gather firewood” (HALOT, 306).
- *šmd*, “(vine-)binder, vinedresser” (KTU 1.23:10)
 - CS: from Ug. *šmd*, “to tie, bind” (DUL, 773)⁸¹; Syr. *šmd*, “to bind together”, pa., “to tie, bind” (SL, 1291–1292); Arab. *ḍamada*, “to bind” (AEL, 1802–1803; cf. DMWA, 545a); Akk. *šamādu*, “to tie up, bind up” (CDA, 333a); cf. Heb. *šmd*, 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*, *mrú* I, *nqd*, *rʿy*, *yqš*, cf. *sgr*)

- *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. *ḡazzāz*, “shearer” (DMWA, 146); Aram. *gzz*, “shearer of sheep” (DJPA, 125a); Syr. *gzʿ*, “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).
- *mrú* (I), “animal fattener” (KTU 4.128:8; 4.207:4; 4.212:2; 4.332:9)
 - CS: Akk. *mārū(m)*, “Viehmäster” (AHw, 617); “animal fattener” (CDA, 199a); “fattener (of animals or fowl)” (CAD M/1, 316). Cf. Heb. *mrʿ*, “to feed on the fat of the land” (HALOT, 630); Arab. *mrʿ*, “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. *nāqīdu*, “Hirte” (AHw, 744); “herdsman” (CAD N/1, 333–335); “stockbreeder, herdsman” (CDA, 241a); Heb. *noqēd*, “shepherd, sheep-

⁸¹ RS Akk. *šamādu*, 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.
- *r^cy*, "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. *ro^ceh*, "shepherd" (HALOT, 1260b); Ph. *r^c*, "shepherd" (CSL, 304); OAram. *r^cy*, "shepherd" (DNWSI, 1080); Akk. *rē'û*, "Hirte" (AHw, 977–978); "herdsman, shepherd" (CAD R, 303–312); "shepherd, herdsman" (CDA, 303a); Aram. *r^cy*, "shepherd, herder" (DJPA, 527b); "one who grazes animals, shepherd" (DJBA, 1090); Arab. *rā^cin*, "pastor of cattle" (AEL, 1109–10) and Syr. *r^cy*, "shepherd" (SL, 1480; cf. CSD, 546a).
 - AA: cf. **ri^c-*, "to drive chase" (HSED §2115); Chad. **rV'/w-*, "to chase, to herd" (CED No. 644).
 - Hurr.: Borrowed from Semitic as Hurr. *riv*, "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=mu₂* (**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. *^carabūn*, *^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)

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-)kid-*, "shepherd of small cattle".

⁸⁷ Sanmartín 1993, 205–206.

⁸⁸ Borrowed as Gk ὑποβάσιον, "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=ru₂=^lu* (**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. *šamallū(m)*, *šamallā’u(m)*, *šamlū*, “purse-bearer, merchant’s assistant” (CDA, 352b); “assistant, agent of a merchant, trading agent; apprentice scribe” (CAD Š/1, 291–294), from Sumerian LÚ.ŠĀMAN.LÁ⁹⁰. Borrowed (in its second meaning) as Aram. *š^wwallya’*, “apprentice” (DJBA, 1116a); Mand. *ašualia*, *šualia*, “pupil, disciple” (MD, 40a, 452b)⁹¹.

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

- *ālhn*, “quartermaster, steward; baker” (KTU 4.392:4)⁹²
 - ES: Akk. *alahhinnu*, *alhenu*, “Müller” (AHw, 31); NAss. *lahhīnu*, “(ein Angestellter in Tempeln usw.)” (AHw, 528a); Akk. *allahīnu*, *lahhīnu*, *alhenu*, “an administrative official” (CAD A/1, 294–296; cf. CDA, 10b)⁹³; Aram. *lhn*, “certain type of temple servant” (DNWSI, 573)⁹⁴.
 - Hurr. *allahhe/innu(m)*, “(an official of some kind)” (cf. BGH, 14–15, with survey).
- *kspy*, “treasurer” (KTU 2.21:15)
 - CS: OArām. *kspy*, “prob. silversmith, priest” (DNWSI, 526); Aram. *ksp*, “silversmith” (DJPA, 266a); cf. also Heb. *kspy’*, “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*,

⁸⁹ Cf. also Akk. *tamkāru*, “Kaufmann, Händler” (AHw, 1314–1315); OArām., Palm. *tgr*, “merchant” (DNWSI, 1203–1204); Arab. *tāğīr*, “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. *sa’mil*, “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 *mādidum*, “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 (*šr*, *mātr*, *mhr*, *mšh*, *rbš*, *šm^c*, *tdgly*, *tkn*; cf. *tdgl*)

- *šr*, “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. *šr*, “to invite, give a banquet” (DUL, 185), which is also Semitic⁹⁸.
- *mātr*, “controller, inspector” (KTU 6.66:7–8)
 - CS: Arab. *mu’attir*, “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).
- *mhr*, “surveyor” (KTU 1.96:7, 10, 11)
 - ES: Syr. *mhr’*, “surveyor, measurer” (SL, 742b); Syr. *mhr*, “a land-surveyor, geometrician” (CSD, 265b)¹⁰⁰. The meaning “surveyor” is preferable to “tax collector”¹⁰¹, since, like the “potter” (*pḥr*, lines 7, 9)

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): ^{lu}*a-ši-ru-ma*, “butlers”; cf. Sanmartín (1991, 179): “sirvienta, maestresala” (?).

⁹⁹ Cf. Chad. **čir-*, “to gossip” (CED §109) with additional cognates.

¹⁰⁰ Note also the denominative verbs Syr. *mhr*, “to measure fields” (SL, 742b), “to measure land” (CSD, 265b). For a discussion of Syr. *mhr’*, “architect” as a possible loanword from Akkadian see AIA, 67–68. Whether Eg. *mḥ3*, “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” (*tgr*, lines 8, 9), he also has to use his “eye” (*n*, lines 5–12).

- *mšh*, “measurer, surveyor” (KTU 4.387:7)
 - CS: Akk. *māšihum*, “surveyor” (CDA, 202a); “surveyor, measurer” (CAD M/2, 367a). Cf. Aram. *mšh*, “to measure” (DJPA, 333b); “to measure (land)” (DJBA, 712b) and Syr. *mšh*, “to measure” (SL, 843)¹⁰².
- *rbš*, “inspector” (KTU 4.382:4, cf. 4.788:8)
 - CS: Akk. *rābišu*, “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. *rābišūtu*, “representative, position of guardian” (CAD R, 23–24); Heb. *rbš*, “to lurk” (HALOT, 1181b, mng 4) and Arab. *rabāša*, “to wait, look, watch, be on the lookout” (DMWA, 321b).
- *šm^c*, “auditor, administrator” (KTU 2.17:7)¹⁰³
 - CS: Aram. *šmw^c*, “an official appointed to hear lawsuits” (DJBA, 1155–56); Syr. *šmw^ch*, “an official appointed to hear lawsuits” (CSD, 583b). Cf. Akk. *šēmū*, “hearer” (CDA, 366b); “privileged to hear confidential information” (CAD Š/2, 288 mng 1.b).
 - AA: borrowed as Eg. **šama^ca*, “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 (*mššū*, *ngr*, *qym*, *sgr*, *tgr*; cf. *ktr*)

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

¹⁰² “A careful analysis yields the conclusion that the root *mšh*, “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 *šm^c rgm*, “Auftragsempfänger, Bote, Gesandter” according to Dietrich 2010b; see §7 below. Note also the PN *šm^cn* (Watson LSU, 180).

¹⁰⁴ It is the root of Ug. *mgdl*, “watchtower” (DUL, 524), with metathesis, corresponding to Akk. *madgalu*, “observation tower” (CDA, 188a).

- CS: Akk. *nāširu*, “Bewacher” (AHw, 756); “guard” (CAD N/2, 48); “guard, guardian” (CDA, 244b); Arab. *nāzir*, “looking” (AEL, 2813). See Aram. *nāṭrā*’, “watchman, guardian” (DJBA, 746b); Syr. *nṭr*, “guard” (SL, 913b, used in phrases) and OSA *nṣr*, “(royal) officials (overseers, ministers)” (DOSa, 303–304).
- AA: Cf. Chad. **čVr-*, “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.
- *sgr/šgr*, “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 *šgr*, “to look far away, into the distance” (HL, 119); Mehri *šgr*, “to keep a constant eye on; to notice something on the ground” (ML, 375); Aram. *s^cr*, “to visit, check” (DJBA, 823b); Nab. *s^cr*, “to visit, to inspect, to occupy oneself with” (DNWSI, 796) and Syr. *s^cr*, “to visit, care for, attend to” (SL, 1027–1028; CSD, 384).
- *tgr*, “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^cr*, “gate-keeper” (HALOT, 1446); Ph. *š^cr*, “porter, doorkeeper” (DNWSI, 1179–80); Syr. *tarrā^cā*, “doorkeeper, gatekeeper” (SL, 1671), “a doorkeeper, porter, janitor” (CSD, 621b); Hatra *tr^c*, “gatekeeper, janitor” (DNWSI, 1233); cf. Arab. *tuḡra*, “breach, opening, gap” (DMWA, 103a)¹⁰⁹.

2.8. Cult and Religion

2.8a Officials (*ūryn*, *rb*, *bkyt*, *ḫdrḡl*, *khn*, *mrz^cy*, *mšspdt*, *pzḡ*, *qdš*, *tbḫ*, *ṯ*, *tnn*; cf. *ḫtk*¹¹⁰, *ḫdrḡl*, *prln*, *ytn*)

- *ūryn*, “cultic officiant” (KTU 2.97:17; 6.29:3)

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* (= *etū*) 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. *tarahu*, “gate” (CDA, 399a), which may be a loan from Aramaic, but see Abraham – Sokoloff 2007–2008, 54 §253. For a possible connection with Hurr. *šehr-*, see BGH, 371 and 544.

¹¹⁰ Perhaps meaning “circumciser”; cf. Watson 2013a, 37, 42.

- IE: Hitt. *uri/aḡanni-*, “a functionary”¹¹¹, borrowed as Akk. *uriyanni*, “(a functionary)” (CDA, 426a), the exact meaning of which is uncertain¹¹².
- Hurr. *urianni/urijanni*, “marshal, overseer” (see BGH, 497a).
- *ʿrb*, “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 *ʿrb*, “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).
- *mrzʿy*, “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.
- *mšspd*, “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);

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 *ūr̄yn* in Ugarit see Van Soldt 2010a.

¹¹³ For similar usage see Eg. *ʿqyt*, “Dienerin”, from *ʿq*, “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. *bakū*, “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^edānā*, “professional lamenter or eulogizer” (DJBA, 824).

- *pzḡ*, “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.
- *ṭbh*, “sacrificer” (KTU 1.80:5, as *ṭḥ*)
 - CS: Pun. *ṭbh*, “cultic slaughterer” (CSL, 119); OAram., Palm. *ṭbh*, “butcher, cook” (DNWSI, 419); Syr. *ṭabāḥā*, “butcher, cook” (SL, 509); Akk. *tābiḫu*, *ṭabbiḫu*, “slaughterer, butcher” (CDA, 412a), Emar Akk. *zābiḫu*, “ritual slaughterer”¹¹⁹ and Arab. *ṭabbāḥ*, “cook” (DMWA, 559b).
 - AA: **ṣabāḥ-ṣibiḥ-*, “to make sacrifice” (HSED §2646); Eg. /ṭibiḫi / ṭōbiḫu/, “slaughtering” (SWET §562).
- *ṭ^cy*, “cultic official” (KTU 1.90:22; 1.119:8; 1.161:27–30; 1.169:2), possibly identical with *ṭ^cy*, “civil servant” (cf. §2.2)¹²⁰.
- *ṭnn*, “incense(-bearer)” (KTU 1.23:7, 12, 26)¹²¹

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 *ṭ^cy* 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 ’Ilmilku porte le titre de *ṭā’iyu* 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 *ṭ^cy*, “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. *tnn*, “archer” (DUL, 909)¹²³; (b) “vizier” – cf. Ug. *tn*, “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 (*btt*, *bty*, *dbb*, *ḥbr* I, *kšp*, *mḥll*, *mlḥš*, *mšmṣr*, *prln*, *šil*, *ydy*, *ydt*; cf. *d^ct*)¹²⁴

- *btt*, “witch” (KTU 1.96:6, 12–13) and ▪ *bty*, “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. *ḥabīr*, “expert” (DMWA, 225b).
- *kšp*, “sorcerer” (KTU 1.169:9¹²⁶; 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).

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.

- *mħll*, “desacraliser, exorcist” (KTU 1.119:23)¹²⁷
 - CS: Akk. *mullilu(m)*, “purifier” (CDA, 216a); *mullilu*, *mullalu*, “(a cultic functionary)” (CAD M/2, 189); Arab. *muħhallil*, “analyzer” (DMWA, 200b); cf. also Aram. *ħll*, “to desecrate, profane, redeem” (DJBA, 463–464); “to defile, profane” (DSA I, 271b); Arab. *ħalāl*, “allowed, permitted etc.” (DMWA, 199a).
 - IE: cf. Luw. *ħalāli-*, “pure” (CLL, 46); Hitt. *ħalali-*, “clean” (Puhvel HED 3, 13; a Luwianism).
 - AA: cf. Lowland East Cushitic **ħal-*, “to wash” (HSED §1226); Eg. *ħ3.tj*, “Bleicher, Wäscher” (EDE I, 63–64, 149).
- *mlħš*, “conjuror, snake charmer” (KTU 1.100:5, 11, 16, 27, 32, 37, 42, 47, 53, 59)
 - CS: Heb. *mlħš*, “magician” (HALOT, 527); see also Syr. *lħwš’*, “magician, reciter of incantation” (SL, 684a); “a charmer, snake-charmer” (CSD, 240a) and Akk. *muš(la)laħħu*, “snake charmer” (CDA, 222b)¹²⁸.
- *mšmṯr*, “rainmaker” (KTU 1.174:9)¹²⁹
 - CS: Cf. Heb. *mṯr* hi., “to let rain fall upon” (HALOT, 574); OArām. *mṯr*, “to rain” (DNWSI, 619); Arām. *mṯr*, “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; 9.457:11¹³⁰)
 - 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. Arām. *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).

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

¹²⁸ See also Akk. *Mulaħħišu*, “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 (*mšl*, *šr*)

- *mšl*, “cymbal player, cymbalist” (KTU 4.126:30; 4.225:5)¹³³
 - CS: cf. Heb. *šeššēlīm*, “clanging pans, cymbals” (HALOT, 1031b); Aram. *šlš*’, “cymbal” (DCPA, 356); cf. Heb. *šll*, “to resonate, ring” (HALOT, 1027); Aram. *šll*, etpapel: “to play an instrument” (DSA II, 733a); Arab. *šalla*, “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 verb¹³⁵.

2.9. Auxiliaries

2.9a Deputies (*bdl*, *tn*, *tnḡly*, *tnḡlyt*)

- *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.
- *tn*, “deputy, vizier” (KTU 1.103+:17; cf. 3.1:36)
 - CS: Heb. *šny*, “following, second” (HALOT, 1605a); Akk. *šanū(m)*, Ass. *šaniu(m)*, (of officials) “deputy” (CDA, 355b); “zweiter, nächster” (AHw, 1164–65); Akk. *šanū*, *šanā’u*, “second-in-command, deputy” (CAD Š/1, 397–398); Arab. *tānī*, “second” (AEL, 359); Aram. *tnynw*, “second in rank” (DSA II, 965a)¹³⁸.
 - Hurr. ^{LÜ}*ši-nu*, “second” (cf. BGH, 380b)

¹³³ Syll. Ug.: ^{lū}*ma-ši-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 *bādlā*, “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).

- *tnḡly*, “deputy, second, of lower rank” (KTU 4.128:9)
 - Hurro.-Akk. *šinaḥīlu(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.
- *tnḡlyt*, “substitute, representative” (KTU 4.339:10)¹⁴⁰
 - Hurro.-Akk. *šinaḥīlūtum*, “office of *šinaḥīlu*” (CDA, 374a).

2.9b Companions, Associates (*ḥbr*, *lwn*, *mdd*, *r^c*; cf. *d^ct*)

- *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/eburu*, “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.: **ḥābira*, “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 *lawūm*, “keep company (with)” (CDA, 179b, mng. 6).
 - AA: Cf. Chad. **lVwV̄y-*, “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.
- *r^c* (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. *rē^{ac}*, “friend, darling, comrade, neighbour” (HALOT, 1253–1255); Aram. *r^c*, “friend, colleague, neighbour” (DNWSI, 1079); Aram. *ry^c*, “friend” (DJPA, 523b); Akk. *rū’u(m)*, *rūm*, *rū’a*, *rā’um*, “colleague,

¹³⁹ At Kaniš, the *šinaḥīlum*, “délégué” “devait ... assurer des fonctions importantes auprès du prince 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 *tnḡlyt* is not known, but it is very likely a term of Hurrian etymology, perhaps derived from the Hurrian word *šinaḥīlu*, ‘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 (*amt*, *bd*, *nn*, *bnš*, *glm*, *hđrgl*, *hžr*, *mdrgl*, *n^cr*, *n^crt*, *tdr*)

- *amt*, “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*, *andū*, “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).
- *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. *’ebed*, “slave (villein), servant, dependant in position of trust” (HALOT, 774–775); Ph. *’bd*, “slave of a person” (CSL, 235); OSA *bd*, “servant, slave (of individual, tribe or god)” (DOSA, 349); Akk. *abdu*, “servant, slave” (CDA, 2b) is a loan from W. Semitic.
 - AA: cf. **abod-*-, “slave”, as Chad. **bawad-* (< **baHwad*), “slave” (HSED §1029). Borrowed from Semitic as Eg. **abdi*, “servant” (as a PN)¹⁴⁵.
- *nn*, “servant” (KTU 1.2 i 35; 1.4 iv 59)¹⁴⁶
 - ES: Arab. *’ānin*, “humble, subservient, servile etc.” (DMWA, 650a; cf. AEL, 2166); cf. Arab. *’anna*, “to appear before one” (AEL, 2162); Arab. *’awn*, “help, assistance” (AEL, 2203)¹⁴⁷.

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. *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 *’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* ‘ināš (pl. *bny* ‘yn š’, *b^enē* ‘ināšā’), “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.
- *glm*, “(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 *glm*, “prince, noble” see §2.1a above.
 - CS: Ph. *lm*, “man” (DNWSI, 862; CSL, 246); Heb. *elem*, “young man” (HALOT, 835); Arab. *ḡulām*, “a young man, youth, boy, or male child” (AEL, 2286–2287); Aram. *ūlēmā*, “young man”, *ūlāmā*, “young man, servant” (DJBA, 847b)¹⁵⁰; Syr. *ylm*, “boy, young man, servant” (SL, 1102).
 - AA: **ḡulum-*, “young man”, Chad. **hulum-* (< **ḡulum-*), “man” (HSED §1018; cf. CED No. 294).
- *h_zr*, “assistant” (KTU 4.141 iii 4, 7, 9; 4.216:6¹⁵¹; 4.609:51, 52; 4.630:2)
 - ES: Akk. *hāziru*, “Helper” (AHw, 339); “helper (?)” (CAD H₁, 166); Akk. *hāzirim*, “helper” (CDA, 113b), a loan from W. Semitic (*zr*).
- *m_drḡl*, “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 *-ḡl*, the suffix denoting a profession¹⁵².
- *n^cr*, “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^car*, “young man, fellow, servant, attendant” (HALOT, 707b) and Ph. *n^cr*, “young man, attendant” (CSL, 217; DNWSI, 739–740)¹⁵³.
- *n^crt*, “maidservant” (KTU 4.102:17; 4.275:9)
 - WS: Heb. *na^carāh*, “young (un)married girl, attendant” (HALOT, 707–708). See previous entry.

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 *hrm* for *glm*, “young man, boy” (Holm 2017, 7–8).

¹⁵¹ Since in this text *h_zr* comes after *šml*, “dealer” (line 5), it cannot be excluded that it means “merchant”, cognate with Aram. *h_zr*, “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.

- *tdr*, “(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 (*ištn*, *hspt*, *kzy*, *mrû*, *mrḥš*, *mšnqt*, *sîd*, *šîb*, *šîbt*, *šqy*, *tkmt*)

- *ištnm*, “fire-kindler(s)” (KTU 4.149:3; 4.838:4; 4.858:5; var. *uštnm*, KTU 4.814:17)¹⁵⁵
 - CS: cf. Ug. *išt*, “fire” (DUL, 115); Heb. *’ēš*, “fire” (HALOT, 92); Akk. *išātu(m)*, “fire” (CDA, 133a).
 - AA: cf. *’es, “fire” (HSED §82); WChad. *w/’usi-, “fire” (CED No. 782).
- *hspt*, “collector” (KTU 1.19 ii 2, 6; 1.19 iv 37)
 - WS: Heb. *ḥšp*, “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*, *kušina/kuzina, “charioteer” (SWET §506; DLE II, 181)¹⁵⁸.
 - Hurr. *kuzi*, “chariot-driver” (BGH, 230; von Dassow 2008, 311–313).
- *mrḥš*, “clean(s)er” (KTU 2.88:10)
 - CS: Akk. *rāḥiṣu*, “(clothes) cleaner” (CDA, 295b); cf. Ug. *rḥš*, “to wash”; D: “to clean, cleanse” (DUL, 726–727); Heb. *rḥš*, “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. *raḥāṣu*, “to flood, wash, cleanse” (CDA, 295b); Arab. *raḥaḍa*, “to wash” (AEL, 1052).
- *mšnqt*, “wet-nurse” (KTU 1.15 ii 28)¹⁵⁹

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

¹⁵⁵ For the variant *uštnm* 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 Pentiuć WSV, 58.

¹⁵⁷ “I conclude that the *kizû* (= **kāziyu*) of the Alalāḥ 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. *mēnēqet*, “wet-nurse, nurse” (HALOT, 577b) and Syr. *mynqny*, *mynqnyt*’, “wet nurse” (SL, 577a)¹⁶⁰.
- AA: cf. Chad. **niḱ-*, “to lick, saliva” (CED No. 596); Eg. *snq*, “saugen lassen, säugen” (GHWb, 723b; cf. DLE II, 54)¹⁶¹.
- *sīd*, “butler” (KTU 1.3 i 3)
 - CS: cf. Akk. *sēdu*, “to support, assist” (CDA, 320a), a loan from Aram *s^cd*, “to help, to support” (DNWSI, 795–796)¹⁶²; cf. also Aram. *s^cwd*, “helper” (DSA II, 602b)¹⁶³; Aram. *s^cd*, “to eat, provide sustenance” (DJBA, 823); Aram. *s^{ec}ôd^etā’*, “meal, banquet” (DJBA, 823b) and Arab. *musā^cid*, “helper, assistant” (DMWA, 411a). Ug. *sīd* seems to be a direct loan from Akk. as there is no /*c*/.
- *šīb*, “water bearer, water carrier, water provider” (KTU 4.609:15; var. *šāb* KTU 6.25:2)
 - CS: Akk. *sābū(m)*, *sēbū*, *šībū*, *sā/ēbi’ū*, *sābium*, “brewer, innkeeper” (CDA, 309b). Cf. Heb. *š’b*, “to draw water” (HALOT, 1367a); Akk. *sāb/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.
- *šībt*, “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. *šāqū(m)*, *šāqiu(m)*, “butler, cup-bearer” (CDA, 359b), “steward, cup-bearer” (CAD Š/2, 28–30)¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶⁰ For further Sem. cognates of the verb *ynḱ* 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 𐤍𐤔, 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 *šāqū* in Mari see Guichard 2006, 41–43.

- *tkmt*, “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 (*údr*, *ˢdd*, *ˢnn*, *dll*, *ǵlm*, *ḥlǵl*, *lsm*, *mlāk*, *ngr*, *ngrt*, *ql*, *trr*)¹⁶⁷

- *údr*, “messenger, runner” (KTU 2.30:15; 2.33:20)
 - Hurr. *iz(z)uri*, “courier” (BGH, 109a, 513a). Clearly a loan in Ugaritic.
- *ˢdd*, “herald” (KTU 1.4 vii 46)
 - CS: Ug. *ˢd(d)*, “to declare, communicate” (DUL, 145); OAram. *ˢdd*, “messenger, herald” (DNWSI, 827–828); more remotely, cf. Eth. *ˢawwādi*, “herald” (CDG, 77)¹⁶⁸.
- *ˢnn*, “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 *dālu*, *duālu*, “to move, roam around” (CDA, 54b)¹⁷⁰.
- *ǵlm*, “messenger” (KTU 1.4 v 43; 1.19 ii 28) – see §2.10a above.
- *ḥlǵl*, “speaker, orator, herald” (KTU 4.396:18)
 - Hurr. *ḥilahuli*, “orator, one who prays” (AT 267:10)¹⁷¹ – Ug. *ḥlǵl* = Hurr. *ḥil(l)-*, “to speak” (as *ḥl*) + *-o/u=ḥ(e)=li* (as *-ǵl*) (the affix denoting profession).
- *lsm*, “runner” (KTU 1.6 vi 21)
 - ES: Akk. *lāsīmu*, *lasmu*, “runner, courier” (CDA, 178b); “Läufer, Kurier” (AHw, 539); “express messenger, scout” (CAD L, 106–107)¹⁷².

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. *mˢonēn*, “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.

- *mlāk*, “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’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. *nāgīru*, “(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); OArām. *qlyl*, “light, fast” (DNWSI, 1011); Aram. *qallī*, *qallīl*, “light, swift etc.” (DJBA, 1018–1019); Syr. *qlyl’*, “light, light-armed (soldiers), quick etc.” (SL, 1370b); cf. Akk. *kallū(m)*, *kalliu*, “express messenger, courier” (CDA, 142b)¹⁷⁵.
 - AA: cf. Chad. **kVl-*, “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 (*ḡmr*, *lmd*, *lmdt*; cf. *šml*, *ḥdḡl*)

- *ḡmr*, “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. *ḡmur*, “(a man) inexperienced in affairs, in war and counsel; ignorant” (AEL, 2292; cf. DMWA, 684a).

¹⁷³ Cf. also perhaps OArām. *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 (*b^cl*, *dlt*, *hpšt*, cf. *bnš*, *hpt*, *hrš*, *tkmt*)

- *b^cl* (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 *f^cln*, “laborers, phps skilled laborers, craftsmen” (DOSA, 407). Cf. Heb. *p^cl*, “to make etc.” (HALOT, 950–951); Ph./Pun. *p^cl*, “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. *dull*, *dalīl*, “lowness”, “low, base” (AEL, 973)¹⁸².
 - AA: **dal-*, “weak, tired” (HSED §637).
- *hpšt*, “woman collecting (straw)” (KTU 1.14 iii 8; 1.14 iv 52)
 - CS: cf. Heb. *hpš*, “to search, track down” (HALOT, 341); Aram. *hps*, “to dig, search” (DJPA, 212a); *hpš*, “to search” (DJBA, 478b); *hps*, “to dig, seek” (DSA I, 289a); Arab. *hafāša*, “to collect (water)” (Hava 1964, 132); Tigrinya *hafāsä*, “to collect grain” (Fisher 1969, 88).

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 *b^cl* see §3 below.

¹⁸¹ See also HSED §2022 under **pV^cal*, “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 ((i)blbl, btr, d^ct, drk, hbtn, h^udr^ugl, ktr, ktr, mr, mšprt, mšt^clt, pqr, ytn)¹⁸³

- (i)blbl, “porter” (KTU 2.62:11¹⁸⁴; 4.288:1¹⁸⁵)
 - 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).
- *btr*, “(an occupation or state)” (KTU 4.382:1–2)
 - (a) “emancipated, free” – Palm. *p̄trt*, “state of freedman” (?) (DNWSI, 909); Ph. see (CSL, 263)¹⁸⁷.
 - (b) “deserter” – Mari Akk. *pāteru(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^ct* (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^cwn, yd^cwny*, “charmer” (DSA I, 335); cf. Arab. *da^cā*, “to summon, call upon s.o., invoke etc.” (DMWA, 282–283); *dā^ciya*, “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.

¹⁸³ Note also *āwl*, “primacy” (KTU 1.12 ii 56); Syr.....; Mand. *aua*, “the first” (MD, 9b); Arab. *’awila*, “to precede, to be the first” (AEL, 126); Akk. *awilum*, “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. *ūl*, “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, offensichtlich 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 *dwy*, “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, distraint” (CDA, 417b).
- *ḥdḡl*, “(an occupation)” (KTU 4.138:2; 4.154:5; 4.188:1; 4.609:16)¹⁹³
 - (a) “fletcher”, based on Ug. *ḥz* “arrow” (DUL, 382) + Hurr. suff. *-ḡl* denoting occupation (BGH, 524).
 - (b) “learner”, based on Hurr. *ḥaš-*, “to hear” + Hurr. suff. *-ḡl* denoting occupation.
- *ḥdrḡl*, “(an occupation)” (KTU 1.112:2) (BGH, 524b)
 - (a) “anointer” – Hurr. *ḥašari*, “fine oil” (BGH, 138) + Hurr. suff. *-ḡl* denoting occupation¹⁹⁴.
 - (b) “craftsman”, corresponding to Alal. Akk. LÚ.MEŠ *ḥa-še-ru-ḥu-li* (AT 269:22): “(a craftsman)” (CDA, 111a); “Ein Handwerker” (AHw, 333); “a maker of *ḥašēru*-objects” (CAD H, 139).
 - (c) “server” – Akk. *ḥazirum*, “helper” (CDA, 113b) + Hurr. suff. *-ḡl* denoting occupation¹⁹⁵.
- *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

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.

- OArām. *ktr*, “to wait for” (DNWSI, 548); Arām. *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 κῖθάρα, “lyre” (EDG I, 694–695).
 - *ktr*, “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. Arām. *mry*, “master” (DJPA, 329b)¹⁹⁹.
 - *mšprt*, “hairdresser” (KTU 1.23:25)²⁰⁰
 - CS: Akk. *mušappertu*, “hairdresser”, lit. “she who trims”²⁰¹. Alternatively, “she who shapes”, i.e. “woman hairdresser” (CDA, 220a); Akk. *šabāru*, “to bend, twist”?, stative: “has plaited hair” (CDA, 330a); Arab. *dāfara*, “he plaited, braided (or) interwove (hair); he aided” (AEL, 1795–96); Eth. *dafara*, “to braid, plaid” (CDG, 148).
 - AA: **čafir-*, “plaiting”, esp. as Lowland ECush. **čif(V)r-*, “women’s hairdo, braid” (HSED §579).
 - *myš*, “cheese-maker (?)” (KTU 4.269:8)²⁰²
 - CS: Heb. *mīš*, “pressing (for milk)” (HALOT, 578a); Akk. *māšu(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: Arām. *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 Arām. *ntyn*, “someone dedicated to a sanctuary” (?) (DNWSI, 766).
 - (b) “seller” – cf. Akk. *nādinu*, “giver, donor, seller” (CDA, 229b)²⁰⁵.

¹⁹⁷ Also perhaps *mktr*, “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 *mšprt*).

²⁰¹ Lackenbacher (1982, 141 n. 24): “*mušappertu*, «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 *mḫš* (see above).

²⁰³ Cf. Akk. *namāšu*, “(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.) *atuhlu*, “(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 (*°dn*, *°d̄bt*, *hmlt*, *h̄rn*, *kph*, *mdnt*, *t°dt*, *tmtt*)²⁰⁷

- *°dn*, “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. *°adānat*, “a company of men, a party” (AEL, 1976)²⁰⁸.
- *°d̄bt*, “squad, caravan” (KTU 1.4 v 14, 30, 37)
 - ES: cf. Arab. *°azab*, “who goes away to a distance in the land, far away” (AEL, 2033–34); Heb. *°zbn*, “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. *h°mullâ*, “(tumultuous) crowd” (HALOT, 251a); cf. Arab. *hamul^{ah}*, “clan”²⁰⁹.
- *h̄rn*, “squad, caravan” (KTU 1.4 v 36; 2.61:3)
 - CS: Akk. *harrānu*, “road, journey, caravan, etc.” (CDA, 108b); “Weg, Straße; Karavane” (AHw, 326–327); “highway, etc.; caravan, etc.” (CAD H, 106–113).
 - Hurr. *h̄ari*, “road” (BGH, 132–133).
 - IE: Hieroglyphic Luwian *harwa*, “road”, borrowed as Hitt. *haruwa*, “road, path”²¹⁰.
 - AA: Harari *hāra*, “to go” (CDG, 85b); borrowed as Eg. *h3-rw*, “Straße, Gasse” (Wb 3, 232.5–6) and *ha-ru₂* (i.e. **harru*), “street, road”²¹¹.
- *kph*, “(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.

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-)ua_a-ḫi* gleicher (?) Bedeutung (GLH 157) entspricht” (Tischler HEG/4, 640). It may correspond to Heb. *qōba^c*, “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.
- *t^cdt*, “embassy, accreditation”, abstract for concrete (KTU 1.2 i 22, 26, 28, 30, 41, 44)
 - CS: Heb. *t^cwdh*, “confirmation, corroboration” (HALOT, 1767–1768); cf. Aram. *y^cd*, “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*, *brḫ*, *gr*, *nkr*, *ṣd*)

- *^cbr*, “guest” (KTU 1.22 i 15, 15)²¹⁵
 - ES: Akk. *ubāru*, “resident alien”²¹⁶; cf. Aram. *^cbr* *’wrḫ*, “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 H, 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.
- *brḫ*, “fugitive” (KTU 1.19 iii 48; cf. 7.219:1)²¹⁹
 - CS: Heb. *br(y)ḫ*, “fugitive” (HALOT, 156); borrowed as Aram. *brḫ*, “to flee, remove, evade” (DJBA, 243a), “to escape, flee, depart” (DSA I, 112–113). Cf. Arab. *bariḫa*, “to leave, depart” (DMWA, 51a).

²¹³ See Del Olmo Lete 2013.

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

²¹⁵ For the possible meanings “merchant” and “deceased” see DUL, 142.

²¹⁶ Bodi 2003; Naʿman 2005; Dijkstra 1988, 46 n. 63, 49. The Aram. equivalent (*^cbr* *’wrḫ*) 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: **barih*, “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. *ḡār-*, “a neighbour, one who seeks protection etc.” (AEL, 483); Akk. *gē/ārû*, “opponent, enemy” (CDA, 92a)²²¹.
 - AA: Chad. **gVr-/g^war*, man, person” (CED No. 242)²²²; Eg. *k3iw/kriw/ḳrr*, “newcomer” (Görg 1984) and Eg. *drdr(i)*, “to be strange/foreign”, “stranger/foreigner” (Meltzer 1991).
- *ḥlq*, “missing (person)” (KTU 4.611 ii 2, 4, 12, 14, 18; 4.613:1, 5, 6, 8)
 - ES: Akk. *ḥalqu(m)*, “lost; fugitive” (CDA, 102–103); cf. Ug. *ḥlq*, “to be lost” (DUL, 388); Akk. *ḥalāqu(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); *nūkrā’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” (Pentiuč 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.
- *šd*, “itinerant” (KTU 4.408:5)
 - ES: Akk. *šā’idu*, *šayyidu*, “roaming, restless; roving (fugitive)” (CDA, 332a); “herumjagend, ruhelos” (AHw, 1075); “foraging, prowling” (CAD Š, 65–66). Cf. Arab. *šayyād*, “hunter, fisher” (DMWA, 532b) and Aram. *šyyd*, “hunter” (DJPA, 463a).
 - AA: cf. **čawad-/čayad-*, “to hunt” (HSED §426); Chad. **čV(wV)d-*, “to hunt” (CED No.62).

2.13e Undesirables (*gmr*, *ḥbt*, *m^cqb*, *qš*, *rš^c*, *šīy*; 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. *gāmīru*, “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. **gēru*, “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. *gmr*, “to destroy, obliterate” (SL, 242–243); Aram. *gmr*, “to complete, destroy” (DJPA, 132b) and Aram. *gmr*, “annihilation” (DSA I, 151a).

- *ḥbt*, “oppressor” (KTU 1.40:21, 30, 38; 1.84:5)
 - CS: Akk. *ḥabbātu*, “plunderer, bandit” (CDA, 99b); cf. Ug. *ḥbt*, “to be oppressed” (DUL, 380); Akk. *ḥabātu*, “to rob, plunder” (CDA, 99a; AHw, 303–304).
- *m^cqb*, “rival” (KTU 1.18 i 19)²²⁴
 - WS: cf. Heb. *q̄b*, “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.
- *rš^c*, “bad person” (KTU 1.178:10)
 - CS: Heb. *rš^c*, “guilty, wicked person” (HALOT, 1294–1296); Aram. *raššī^{ac}*, “wicked, evil” (DJBA, 1095b; DJPA, 530b); Syr. *ršy^c*, “wicked, infamous” (SL, 1095a; cf. CSD, 550b); Akk. *rešūm*, “reckless, inconsiderate” (CDA, 302b)²²⁶.
- *šy*, “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 classes²²⁹.

- *āt̄t ādrt*, “noble lady; lady of high status” (KTU 4.102:4, 6, 9, 16, 18, 28)²³⁰

²²⁴ Margalit 1983, 95–96.

²²⁵ For the Arabic, see Renfroe 1990, 280.

²²⁶ Similar is Akk. *šēnu(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. *ārgmn* (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 *trtn* (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).

- *b^l hr[t]*, “gra[ve]-digger” (KTU 4.224:6)
- *b^l šd*, “farm labourer” or “landowner” (KTU 4.183 i 1; 4.609:53; 4.840:1)
- *b^l ššlmt*, “recipient of supplements” (KTU 4.153:6–11)²³¹
- *b^l tdtt*, “maker of toggle-pins” (KTU 4.609:35)²³²
- *b^l tğpt*, “maker of felt” (KTU 4.183 ii 10; 4.224:6; 4.370:13; 4.609:36)²³³
- *b^l 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 amt*, “servant” (KTU 1.14 ii 3; 1.14 iii 25, 37; 1.14 vi 22; 3.32:10, 27; 4.230:9)²³⁵
- *bn aly(y)*, “citizen” (KTU 2.72:13; 4.366:6; 4.753:3; 4.826 iv 1)²³⁶
- *bn útryn*, “crown prince” (KTU 4.103:6)
- *bn hrš*, “artisan” (KTU 4.545 ii 6)²³⁷
- *bn hrn*, “messenger” (KTU 2.61:3)²³⁸
- *bn mrzh*, “member of cult association” (KTU 4.399:8)
- *bn qlt*, “messenger” (KTU 2.72:12)²³⁹
- *bnš bny*, “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 riš*, “king’s man who is a courtier” (KTU 3.2:7)²⁴²
- *bnš mlkt*, “the queen’s staff” (KTU 4.22:3)

²³¹ As explained by Sanmartín 1988, 267–270; cf. Akk. *šulluntu, “completion, final payment” (CDA, 382b).

²³² If Ug. *tdtt* corresponds to Akk. *tūdittu*, “toggle-pin”, on which cf. Kouwenberg 2015.

²³³ Corresponding to Akk. *taḥapšuḥuli*, “felt-maker” (CDA, 393; BGH, 426); on Ug. *tğpt* = Hurr. *taḥapše/i*, “felt”, see BGH, 425–426 and 540.

²³⁴ Akk. *bēlet bīim*, “head of the household, housewife; jB: “queen” (CDA, 42a) and cf. *bēlet ekallim* [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 *aly* and *ily*); cf. Akk. *ālayū*, “citizen, (dependent) villager” (CDA, 11b) and *mār āli(m)*, “citizen” (CDA, 199a). It may be a PN (cf. DUL, 66).

²³⁷ Cf. Phoen. *bn hrš*, “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. *qallutu*, “slavery, service” (CDA, 283b).

²⁴⁰ Heb. *’iš habbēnayīm*, “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. *mlyš 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. *lūša rēši*, Akk. *šūt rēši*, “courtiers”, *ša rēši*, “(a court official)” (CDA, 302b, mng 2); Heb. *sārīs*, “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 amt*, “handmaid” (KTU 3.35:7)
- *gr yšb*, “foreign resident” (?) (KTU 5.22:28)
- *glm d^ctm*, “expert lads” (KTU 1.169:10; cf. DUL, 135)
- *gmr mkrm*, “trainee traders” (KTU 4.214 iv 1; cf. DUL, 318)
- *hrš anyt*, “caulker, shipbuilder” (KTU 4.125:1)²⁴³
- *hrš arkd*, “assembler/maker of *arkd*” (KTU 4.277:9)
- *hrš ‘rq*, “cartwright” (KTU 4.46:1–14; 4.243:2)²⁴⁴
- *hrš 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)
- *hrš 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
- *hrš qšt*, “bow assembler” (KTU 4.215:1)
- *hrš qtn*, “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
- *hrš yd(m)*, “ambidextrous craftsman” (KTU 1.1 iii 5; 1.3 vi 23; 1.4. v 17, 19, 24)
- [*hbrtn*]r *tn*, “the vice-[*huburtanu*]ri” (KTU 3.1:36)
- *hrd ‘ps*, “frontier guard” (KTU 2.47:17, 19)²⁴⁷
- *mātr bt*, “palace inspector” (KTU 6.66:7–8)
- *md mlk[(t)]?*, “royal expert” (KTU 4.245 ii 1)²⁴⁸
- [*m*]k^hd šd, “one denying (ownership of a) field” (KTU 2.4:16–17)²⁴⁹
- *mlk ‘lm*, “eternal king” (KTU 2.42:9)²⁵⁰
- *mlk b⁶ly*, “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)

²⁴³ Vita 2000a, 284: “el nombre de oficio *hrš anyt* significa «constructores de barcos», no «constructores de flotas»”.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Ph. *hrš ‘glt*, “wheelwright” (DNWSI, 408; see there for other compounds formed with *hrš*).

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. *mūdū šarri* (see Van Soldt SAU, 427), Akk. *mud(d)u šarri*, “(a courtier), “acquaintance of the king” (CDA, 214b). On marginally possible Eg. equivalents (*šmr nšwt* or *rḫ nšwt*) 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. *kehda*, “(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 ādt*, “Queen (my) Lady” (KTU 2.12:2; 2.24:2; 2.33:1, 4, 19; 2.68:1; 2.101:2)
- *mrù mlk*, “officer of the king” (KTU 4.814:5; 6.66:4–5)²⁵²
- *mrù š/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
- *mšm^ct 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
- *ngr bt*, “custodian of the house” (KTU 4.858:7)
- *ngr ḥwt*, “guardian of the country” (KTU 2.98:37)
- *ngr krm*, “guardian of the vineyard” (KTU 1.92:23; 4.141 iii 17; 4.609:12)
- *ngr mdr^c*, “guardian of the sown (land)” (KTU 1.23:68–69, 73; 4.141 iii 16; 4.618:6)
- *nsk ḥzm*, “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 tlt*, “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 qtn*, “maker of trinkets, ironmonger” (KTU 4.44:20)
- *psl ḥzm*, “cutter of (stone) arrowheads” (KTU 4.141 iii 19)
- *psl qšt*, “bowmaker” (KTU 4.141 iii 18)²⁵⁸
- *r^cy ūzm*, “gooseherd” (KTU 4.129:1)
- *r^cy 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

²⁵² Not the same as *mr' mlkn pr^ch*, “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. *bnj 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 ḥdm* (KTU 4.609:25); see Sanmartín 1988, 266–267.

²⁵⁷ Syll. Ug. *na-sí-ku* URUDU (PRU 3, 195 B 1); cf. OArām. *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. *p^cl ḥqšt*, “manufacturer of bows” (DNWSI, 1040). Also perhaps ▪ *riš r^cy*, “chief shepherd” (KTU 2.2:1; but it is read *riš r^cy* in KTU³); cf. Akk. *rab(i) rē'ī*, “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) *emantuḥlu*, “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[hđ]*, “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 šđ*, “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 tnm*, “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 psm*, “boundary scribe” (KTU 6.29:1)²⁷⁴

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 estructuras, 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.: *lūha-(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. *mārē mātā'*, “town official” (DJBA, 709a) and Palm. *šr h'r*, “governor of the city” (DNWSI, 1190). Cf. Akk. *rab ālāni*, “(an administrative/military official)” (CAD A/1, 389–390).

²⁶⁹ Matching *lū.ugula a.šā.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 sisī*, “(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. OArām. *skn[b]yt. mlkh* (KAI 203; cf. DNWSI, 786) and Nuzi Akk. *šakin būti*, “intendant du palais” (Abrahami 2015).

²⁷³ Van Soldt 2006, 12.

²⁷⁴ Van Soldt 1989b, 380 no. 30.

- *šbū anyt*, “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
- *t^c mlk*, “Hero King” (KTU 1.173:12)²⁷⁸
- *tgr bt il*, “gatekeeper of the house of Ilu” (KTU 1.114:11)
- *tgr gt ml[k]*, “gatekeeper(s) of TN”, (KTU 4.814:28)
- *tgr hkl*, “palace gatekeeper” (KTU 4.224:9, 10)
- *tgr mlk*, “gatekeeper of the kingdom” (KTU 3.11:6)²⁷⁹
- *ytb mlk*, “on royal duty” (KTU 4.149:12)²⁸⁰
- *zbl b^{c1} arš*, “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 combined²⁸³. Exceptions are royal titles, e.g. *mlk rb mlk mšrm mlk n^cm mlk šdq mlk mlkm b^{c1} kl hwt mšrm*, “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^{c1}ly*, “the ‘Sun’, Great King, King of Kings, my Lord” (2.76:1–2; cf. 9) and *špš mlk rb b^{c1}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 titles²⁸⁵.

²⁷⁵ Vita 2000a, 284: “la traducción más segura de *šbu 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. ¹⁰*tēmu*, “messenger”, corresponding to Akk. *mār šipri*, “messenger” (CDA, 376a), as shown in detail by Dietrich (2010).

²⁷⁸ Cf. Heb. *malki-šur^{ac}*, “My king is help” (HALOT, 593), cited in DUL, 880.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Aram. *ryš tr^c dmlk*, “royal gatekeeper” (DJBA, 1081b). On Ug. *tryl* as meaning “sister of the king” see Dietrich – Loretz 1983b.

²⁸⁰ As *b ytb 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 malaḥḥī*, “chief of the sailors” (RS 17.133:15), corresponding to NA *rab mallāḥī*, “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 classes²⁸⁶: *agr*, “Hireling”; *ā/igl*, “Emancipated” (cf. BGH, 76a); *ārwn*, “Freeman”; *āsyy*, “Healer”; *ib/wr*, “Lord”; *irgn/y*, “Weaver”; *itg*, “Servant”; *ūdtm*, “Hero” (BGH, 513a, 519a); *ūlpm*, “Chief”; *ūrhlh*, “Inspector”²⁸⁷; *ūštyn*, “Hero”; *ūtly*, “Chief Herdsman”; *lln*, “Gleaner”; *ms*, “Porter”; *yn*, “Inspector”; *brī*, “Sculptor”²⁸⁸; *dly*, “water-drawer”; *gbrn*, “Farmer”²⁸⁹; *ggv*, “Roofer”²⁹⁰; *gnb*, “Thief”; *gpn(y)*, “Vine-dresser”²⁹¹; *gr*, “Barber”; *gzl*, “Throne-carrier”; *hšbn*, “Treasurer”²⁹²; *hnr*, “official”; *kbl*, “Hunter”; *kmrn*, “Priestly”; *khn*, “Priest”; *kryn*, “Fowler(?)”; *ksdy*, “Lauderer”; *ktp*, “Porter”; *ktr*, “Speaker”; *ktkt*, “Craftsman”; *ktl*, “Brewer”; *lgn*, “Farm Labourer”; *lzn*, “Jester”; *mglb*, “Barber”; *mhtn*, “Matchmaker”; *mly*, “Interpreter”; *mly*, “tailor”²⁹³; *mšū*, “Robber”; *mškn*, “Bondsman(?)”; *ngry*, “Guardian”; *nwrđ*, “Steward”; *plkn*, “Spinner”; *prmn*, “Slave”; *prt*, “Freeman”; *qbr*, “Burier”; *qsn/qsy*, “Leader”; *qty*, “Wanderer”; *riš(n)*, “Slave”; *rpā/rpīy(n)*, “Healer”; *shr(n)*, “Peddler”²⁹⁴; *snb*, “Binder”; *sphy*, “Wastrel”; *šlhn*, “Affluent”; *šmy*, “Watcher”; *šdgl*, “Land Worker”; *šdy(n)*, “Weaver”; *šty*, “Weaver”; *tbtr*, “Scribe”; *tḡptn*, “Felt-maker”; *trd/tn*, “Supervisor”; *tlšn*, “Forester”; *trān*, “Child Minder”²⁹⁵; *ṭr*, “(Table-)Setter”; *ṭy*, “Minister”; *tḡr*, “Gatekeeper”²⁹⁶ and *ylhn*, “Servant”²⁹⁷.

²⁸⁶ See Gröndahl PTU, 28–29 (§53) for some of these examples; however, the proposed meaning “Bee-keeper” for *sl*, 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 *gābre*, “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 *hšbn*, “comptroller, treasurer” (DNWSI, 411). Alternatively, it may mean “Craftsman”, cf. Aram. *hšbn*, “craftsman” (DSA I, 298b).

²⁹³ See perhaps Syr. *mly*, “tailor, weaver” (SL, 770a); “seamster, mender, tailor” (CSD, 277a).

²⁹⁴ Alternatively “sorcerer”; cf. Akk. *sāhiru*, “sorcerer”, lit. “man who encircles” (Zomer 2017, 223 §2).

²⁹⁵ See Akk. *tārū, tāriu*, “(child) minder” (CDA, 401a; cf. AHW, 1336b); cf. also perhaps Syr. *mtr’ny*, “instructor, educator” (SL, 876b).

²⁹⁶ Perhaps also as *ṭr* (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 ʾl*, “Farmstead of the Dame”; *gt ngr*, “Farmstead of the Carpenter”; *h̄lb ʿprm*, “Hill of the Migrants”; *hrbḡlm*, “(Place of) the Sword-makers” and *kt̄ḡlm*, “(Place of) the Bowmakers”. See also *qrzbl* (or *zbl*) “(Town of) the Prince” and *tdrt*, “(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 Ḥani 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”; *ḥazannu*, “mayor”; *lūḥuppu*, “acrobat”; *kartappu*, “(animal) driver”; *kāšišum*, “creditor, pledge-taker”; *kumru*, “priest”; *kurniya(l)lu*, “(a) functionary”; *kutimmu*, “gold/silversmith”; *labbānu*, “brickmaker”; *mākisu*, “tax-collector”; *malaḥḥu*, “sailor”; *malsamu*, “courier”; *munnabtu(m)*, “fugitive, refugee”; *namû*, “steppe-dweller”; *nāru*, “singer”; *nuḥatimmu*, “cook”; *parkullu*, “seal-cutter”; *ša naqî*, “(a cultic official)?”; *nayyālu*, “(dispossessed person)”; *sasinnu*, “bow-maker”; *šāripu*, “(a kind of court official)”; *šāripūtu*, “purple-dyers”; *šallamu*, “friend”; *šību*, “witness”; *targumiānu*, “interpreter”; *tašpartu*, “messenger”; *ti/uppallennu*, “(an official)”; *ṭupšarru*, “scribe”; *utû(m)*, “gatekeeper”; *zadimmu*, “lapidary” and perhaps *zinḥanaše*, “(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 table²⁹⁸:

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.
<i>ād̄n</i>	lord, master			'd(w)n	Ch 'dVn		<i>ād̄n</i>
<i>ādr</i>	worthy	<i>aduru</i>		'd(y)r	'ader		
<i>ādrt</i>	noble lady	<i>adru</i>					
<i>ādt</i>	lady			PPm 'dt	Eg <i>jd.t</i>		
<i>āl̄hn</i>	steward	<i>alahini</i> <i>alahhinu</i> <i>lahhinu</i>		A <i>lhn</i>			<i>allahh-enu</i>
<i>āmt</i>	maid	<i>amtu</i> <i>andu</i>	'ama OSA 'mt	'mt(') 'mh/'	Ch 'am		
<i>āpy</i>	baker	<i>apī[ū]</i> MA <i>āpi'u</i>		AS 'py(t)' M <i>apaia</i> P 'ph	<i>ʃV(y/w)</i> Eg 'ipa ₂ ta	[H <i>hapn</i>]	[<i>ep̄he</i>]
<i>āwl</i>	primacy	[<i>awīlu</i>]	'awila	M <i>aua</i>			
<i>āwrḡl</i>	farmer						<i>awari-+ḡl</i>
<i>ib̄lbl</i>	bearer porter	<i>babbilu</i>		(ybl) S 'wbl			
<i>išt̄n</i>	(fire occupation)	<i>išatu</i>		<i>išt</i> Hb š	<i>es</i> Ch w/'usi		
<i>ūd̄br</i>	executive		<i>mudabbir</i>	S <i>dbr</i>			
<i>ūd̄r</i>	courier	<i>lasamu</i> <i>malsamu</i>					<i>izuri</i>
<i>ūhyt</i>	sewer			A 'hy			
<i>ūr̄yn</i>	cultic officiant	^{lu} <i>uriannu</i>				H <i>urianni</i>	<i>urianni</i>
<i>ūtr̄yn</i>	crown prince	<i>ušr[ia]ni</i> <i>tartennu</i>		['tr+n]			<i>ušriani</i>
^c <i>bd</i>	servant slave	<i>abdu</i> ir		^c <i>bd</i>	^c <i>abod</i> Eg ^c <i>abdi</i>		
^c <i>br</i>	guest	<i>ubāru</i>		A ^c <i>br</i> 'wrh			
^c <i>dd</i>	herald			UgA ^c <i>dd</i> E ^c <i>awwādi</i>			
^c <i>dn</i>	squad		^c <i>adānat</i>				
^c <i>d̄bt</i>	caravan	<i>ezēbu</i>	^c <i>azab</i>	Hb ^c <i>zbwn</i>			
^c <i>nn</i>	servant messenger		^c <i>ānin</i>				

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
^c pr	migrant	<i>ḥapīri</i> SA.GAZ		Hb ^c bry	Eg <i>ḥabira</i>		(<i>ḥabiri</i>)
^c rb	officiant	<i>ērib bīti</i>	OSA ^c rb				
^c rbn	guarantor	<i>urubanu</i> <i>erubbatum</i>	^c arabūn OSA ^c rbn	A ^c rbh Hb ^c rbwn			
^c šr	inspector	<i>āšīruma</i> <i>āšīru</i>					
<i>b</i> ^c l I	workman		OSA <i>f</i> ^c ln	HbP <i>p</i> ^c l	<i>p</i> ^v cal Cu <i>pal</i>		
<i>b</i> ^c l II	master	<i>baaluma</i> <i>bēlu</i>	<i>ba</i> ^c l	<i>b</i> ^c l	Eg <i>ba</i> ^c lu Cu <i>bīl-o</i>		
<i>b</i> ^c lt	lady	<i>bēltu</i> etc.	<i>ba</i> ^c lat	<i>b</i> ^c lt <i>b</i> ^c lh	Eg <i>ba</i> ^c lat		
<i>bd</i> l	reserve substitute	<i>bidaluma</i>	<i>badal</i> <i>badīl</i>	A <i>bd</i> l			
<i>b</i> kyt	hired mourner	<i>bakū</i> <i>bakkītu</i>	<i>bākiya</i>	S <i>b</i> kyt' A <i>b</i> ky'	Eg <i>bj3k</i>		
<i>bn</i> š	(farm) labourer	<i>bunušu</i>		A <i>brn</i> š S <i>br</i> 'nš			
<i>b</i> ny	builder	<i>bani</i> <i>bānū</i>	<i>bannā</i> ' <i>bānin</i>	AS <i>bny</i> (^o) M <i>ban</i>	<i>ben-</i>		
<i>br</i> ḥ	fugitive	<i>barḥu</i>	<i>bariḥa</i>	Hb <i>bryḥ</i>	Ch <i>HVbar</i>		
<i>b</i> tr	freeman			Pm <i>pṛt</i>			
	veterinarian		<i>baiṭār</i>				
	deserter	<i>pāṭeru</i>					
	tailor		<i>bīṭar</i>				
<i>b</i> tt	witch		MSA <i>bt</i>				
<i>b</i> ty	wizard						
<i>d</i> t	acquaintance			M <i>iada</i>			
	enchanter		<i>da</i> ^c ā	A <i>yd</i> ^c wn			
<i>db</i> b	sorcerer	<i>dābibu</i>		<i>dbb</i>	<i>dob-</i>		
<i>d</i> gy	fisher			Hb <i>dyg</i>			
<i>d</i> ll	courier	<i>dayyālu</i>	<i>dalīl</i>				
<i>d</i> lt	poor woman		<i>dull</i> <i>ḍalīl</i>	HbP <i>dl</i>	<i>dal-</i>		<i>dl</i>

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
<i>drk</i>	trader	<i>darākum</i>		Hb <i>drk</i>			
	thresher						
	packer						
<i>dw</i>	invalid		<i>dawⁱⁿ</i>	Hb <i>dwh</i> S <i>dwy</i>	Ch <i>dVw</i> Cu <i>daya'</i>		
<i>gmr</i>	avenger	<i>gāmīru</i>		<i>gmr</i>			
<i>gr</i>	sojourner	<i>gē/ārū</i>	<i>ḡār</i>	HbP <i>gr</i>	Ch <i>gVr</i> Eg <i>k3iw</i> Eg <i>drdr(i)</i>		
<i>gzz</i>	shearer	<i>gāzīzu</i>	<i>ḡazzāz</i>	A <i>gzz</i> S <i>gz'</i>	Ch <i>gVz</i>		
<i>ḡlm</i>	pageboy messenger		<i>ḡulām</i>	^c l(y)m	<i>ḡulum</i>		<i>ḡulum</i>
<i>ḡlmt</i>	princess			Hb <i>l^cmh</i> P <i>l^cmt</i> S <i>l^cymh</i>			
<i>ḡmr</i>	apprentice	<i>ḡamarū</i> <i>ḡamru</i>	<i>ḡumr</i>				
<i>ḡzl</i>	spinner	<i>ḡazīlu</i>	<i>ḡazzāl</i>	A <i>'zlw^y</i> <i>m'zl</i>			
<i>hbṭn</i>	debtor	<i>ubbuṭu</i>					
<i>hmlt</i>	crowd		<i>hamul</i>	Hb <i>h^mmullā</i>			
<i>ḡbr</i> I	companion	<i>i/ebru</i>	<i>ḡabr/ḡibr</i>	<i>ḡbr(')</i>	Eg <i>ḡābira</i>		
<i>ḡbr</i> II	exorcist		<i>ḡabīr</i>	HbP <i>ḡbr</i> A <i>ḡabbarā'</i>			
<i>ḡpšt</i>	gatherer		<i>ḡafaša</i>	Hb <i>ḡpš</i>			
<i>ḡrš</i>	craftsman	<i>ḡarašū</i> <i>eršū</i>		<i>ḡrš</i>			
<i>ḡrṭ</i>	ploughman	<i>ḡarašū</i> <i>a/errēšū</i>	<i>ḡarrāt</i> <i>ḡarīṭ</i>	<i>ḡrš</i> E <i>ḡarāsi</i>			<i>ḡerač</i> <i>ḡeruč</i>
<i>ḡṭb</i>	woodcutter		<i>ḡāṭīb</i>	Hb <i>ḡṭb</i> E <i>ḡaṭābi</i>			
<i>ḡṭbt</i>			<i>ḡaṭṭāb</i>	<i>ḡaṭṭāb</i>			
<i>ḡbrtnr</i>	grandee	<i>ḡubur-</i> <i>tanuru</i>				H <i>ḡubur-tanuri</i>	
<i>ḡbt</i>	oppressor	<i>ḡabbātu</i>		Ug <i>ḡbt</i>			

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
<i>ḥdḡl</i>	fletcher			Ug <i>ḥd</i>			
	learner						<i>ḥaš</i>
<i>ḥdrgl</i>	anointer	<i>ḥašeruḥuli</i>					<i>ḥašaru</i>
	craftsman	<i>ḥašeruḥuli</i>					<i>ḥašer- uḥuli</i>
	server	<i>ḥazirum</i>					
<i>ḥlḡl</i>	herald						<i>ḥilahuli</i>
<i>ḥlq</i>	fugitive	<i>ḥalqu</i>		Ug <i>ḥlq</i>			
<i>ḥnZR</i>	official	<i>ḥanizarru</i>					<i>ḥani- zarru</i>
<i>ḥrn</i>	squad	<i>ḥarrānu</i>			Eg <i>ḥ3rw</i> <i>ḥaru₂</i>	H <i>ḥaruwa</i>	<i>ḥari</i>
<i>ḥsn</i>	landowner			A <i>ḥsn</i>		[H <i>ḥaššana</i>]	
<i>ḥZR</i>	assistant	<i>ḥāziru</i>		^c <i>ZR</i>			
<i>kbs</i> <i>kbš</i>	launderer	<i>kabis[u]</i> ^{lu} <i>tūg.me</i>		Hb <i>kwbs</i> P <i>kbs</i>			
<i>khn</i>	priest		<i>kāhin</i>	<i>khn</i>	<i>kVn</i>		
<i>kkrdn</i>	baker	<i>kakkar- dinnu</i>		<i>kkr</i>			<i>kakar- dinnu</i>
<i>kph</i>	(unknown)	<i>kabḥu</i>				H <i>kupaḥi</i>	<i>kuwaḥi</i>
<i>ksd</i>	miller	<i>kaššidakku</i>					
<i>kspy</i>	treasurer			HbA <i>kspy</i>			
<i>kšp</i>	sorcerer	<i>kaššāpu</i>		HbA <i>kšp</i>			
<i>ktr</i>	guard	<i>kitru</i> <i>kutturu</i>		A <i>ktr</i>			
	musician					H <i>katra</i> κῑθάρᾱ	<i>kadri</i>
<i>kzy</i>	groom	<i>kizū</i> <i>kazū</i>			<i>kVz</i> Eg <i>kt/dn kuš/</i> <i>zina</i>		<i>kuzi</i>
<i>lmd</i>	pupil, apprentice	<i>lāmidu</i> <i>lummudu</i> <i>kabzuzū</i>		<i>lmd</i>			
<i>lmdt</i>	student (f)	(<i>lamittu</i>) <i>talmittu</i>					

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
<i>lsm</i>	runner	<i>lāsīmu</i>					
<i>lwn</i>	follower			S <i>lwn' lwy'</i>	Ch <i>IVwVý</i>		
<i>mātr</i>	controller	<i>āšīru</i>	<i>mu'attir</i>	A <i>'aššartā</i>			
<i>m^cqb</i>	rival			Hb <i>ᶜqb</i>			
<i>md</i>	expert	^{lü} <i>mudu</i> <i>mūdū</i>					<i>madi</i>
<i>mdd</i>	friend	<i>mūdādum</i>		A <i>mwdd</i> Hb <i>mydd</i>			
<i>mdt</i>	distributor	<i>mādidu</i> <i>mandidu</i>	<i>madda</i> IV	HbP <i>mdd</i> QHb <i>mwdd</i>	<i>m-d</i> Eg <i>madidi</i>		
<i>mdnt</i>	townsfolk		<i>madanī</i>	S <i>mdyny</i>			
<i>mdrgl</i>	assistant						<i>mazeri</i>
<i>mḥll</i>	exorcist	<i>mullīlu</i> <i>mullalu</i>	<i>muḥallil</i>	A <i>ḥll</i>	Cu <i>ḥal</i> Eg <i>ḥ3.tj</i>	H <i>ḥalali-</i> L <i>ḥalāli</i>	
<i>mḥr</i>	surveyor			S <i>mḥr'</i>			
<i>mḥš</i>	weaver	<i>māḥišu</i> uš.bar					
<i>mkr</i>	merchant	DAM.GAR <i>makkāru</i> <i>mākiru</i>		<i>mkr</i>	Eg <i>mākiruyu</i>	LinB <i>damo-koro</i>	
<i>mlāk</i>	messenger			<i>ml'k</i>			
<i>mlḥš</i>	charmer	<i>mušlahḥu</i>		Hb <i>mlḥš</i> S <i>lhws'</i>			
<i>mlk</i>	king	<i>malku</i> <i>mal(i)ku</i>		<i>mlk</i>	Eg <i>ma'ilku</i>		
<i>mlkt</i>	queen	^{mi} <i>lugal-tu</i> <i>malkatu</i>	<i>malikat</i>	<i>mlkt</i> Hb <i>mlkh</i>			
<i>mr</i>	valiant			Ug <i>mrr</i>	Eg <i>mr</i>		
<i>mrú</i> I	fattener	<i>mārū</i>	<i>mr'</i>	Hb <i>mr'</i>			
<i>mrú</i> II	equerry	<i>muruma</i> <i>mur'u</i>		AS <i>mr'</i> A <i>mry'</i>	Eg <i>maru'u</i>		
<i>mrḥš</i>	clean(s)er	<i>rāḥišu</i>	<i>raḥaḍa</i>	<i>rḥš</i> A <i>rḥ^c</i>			
<i>mr^cy</i>	patron of <i>mrḥw</i>	^{lü.mes} <i>marziḥi</i>		Ug <i>mrzḥ</i> Pm <i>mrzḥw</i>			

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
<i>mšl</i>	cymbalist	^{lu} <i>masilu</i>	<i>šalla</i>	HbA <i>šll</i> Hb <i>ššl</i> A <i>ššs'</i>			
<i>mšprt</i>	hairdresser	<i>mušappertu</i> (<i>šab/pāru</i>)	<i>dāfara</i>	E <i>dafara</i>	Cu <i>çafir</i>		
<i>mšh</i>	surveyor	<i>māšihum</i>		AS <i>mšh</i>			
<i>mšnqt</i>	wet-nurse	<i>mušēniqtu</i>		HbS <i>mnyqt</i>	<i>niḱ</i> Eg <i>snq</i>		
<i>mšspdt</i>	mourner	<i>sapādu</i>		<i>spd</i> A <i>spdn'</i>			
<i>mššū</i>	usher	<i>mušēšū</i>		Hb <i>mwyšy'</i>			
<i>myš</i>	cheese- maker (?)	<i>māšu</i>		Hb <i>myš</i>			
<i>n^r</i>	page			HbP <i>n^r</i>			
<i>n^rt</i>	maidservant			Hb <i>n^rrh</i>			
<i>ngr</i>	herald	<i>nagiru</i> <i>nāgiru</i>		E <i>nagāri</i>			
<i>ngrt</i>		<i>nāgirtu</i>					
<i>nḡr</i>	guard	<i>nahiruma</i> <i>nāširu</i>	<i>nāzir</i> OSA <i>nzr</i>		Ch <i>çl^r</i>		
<i>nḥl</i>	share- cropper	<i>naḥālu</i> <i>niḥlatum</i>	<i>naḥala</i>	HbPh <i>nḥl</i>			
<i>nkr</i>	foreigner	<i>nakru</i> Em <i>nikaru</i>	<i>nakira</i> OSA <i>nkr</i>	<i>nkr</i> <i>nwkryy</i>			
<i>nqd</i>	shepherd	<i>nāqidu</i>	<i>naqqād</i>	HbS <i>nqd</i>	Om <i>qiddo</i>		
<i>nsk</i>	smith	<i>nas[īkuma]</i> Em <i>nāsiku</i>			Eg <i>našīku</i>		
<i>phr</i>	potter	<i>paḥāru</i>	<i>fahḥār</i>	A <i>phr</i> S <i>phr'</i>			
<i>pqr</i>	freedman		<i>faqīr</i>	A <i>pqr</i>			
<i>prln</i>	diviner	<i>pirulini</i> <i>barū</i>					<i>purli</i> <i>purul(l)i</i>
<i>psl</i>	engraver			Nb <i>psl'</i> S <i>pswl'</i>			
<i>pzḡ</i>	lacerator			HbA <i>pš^c</i>			

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
<i>qdš</i>	cult official	<i>qaššum</i>	<i>qaddūs</i>	<i>qdš</i>			
<i>ql</i>	courier	KA ^{al-la} <i>qallu</i> <i>kallû</i>		S <i>qlyl'</i>	<i>klVl</i>		
<i>qmüy</i>	blue dyer engraver	<i>qunû</i> <i>uqnû</i>				LinB <i>kuwa-owoko</i>	
<i>qym</i>	custodian		<i>qayyim</i>	S <i>qymt'</i>			
<i>qš</i>	oppressor		<i>qaswa</i>	<i>qšh/y</i>			
<i>riš</i>	authority	<i>rē/āšu</i>	<i>ra's</i> OSA <i>r'š</i>	AS <i>r's'</i>	Eg <i>zjs, rōša</i>		
<i>r^c</i>	companion	<i>rū'u</i>		<i>r(y)^c</i>	<i>ri^c</i>		
<i>r^cy</i>	shepherd	<i>sipa</i>	<i>rā'in</i>	<i>r^cy</i>	Ch <i>rV/w/y</i>		
<i>rb</i>	chief	<i>rabû</i>	<i>rabb</i>	AS <i>rb'</i>	Eg <i>rabbi</i>		
<i>rbš</i>	inspector	<i>maškim</i> <i>rābišu</i>	<i>rabaša</i>	Hb <i>rbš</i>			
<i>rbt</i>	lady (mayoress)	<i>rabītu</i>	<i>rabba</i>	A <i>rbnh</i> <i>rbwnh</i>	Eg <i>rabitu</i>		
<i>rqh</i>	perfumer	<i>raqqû</i> <i>muraqqi'u</i>		<i>rqh</i>			
<i>rš^c</i>	bad person	<i>rešûm</i>		<i>r(y)š^c</i>			
<i>sid</i>	butler	<i>sêdu</i>	<i>musā'id</i>	A <i>s^cd</i>			
<i>sgr</i> <i>šgr</i>	watchman guard	<i>sāhiru</i>	MSA <i>šgr</i>	ASNb <i>s^cr</i>			[<i>suḥīru</i>]
<i>šhl</i>	polisher		<i>saḥala</i> MSA <i>šhl</i>	A <i>šhl'</i>			
	driller	<i>saḥālu</i>			Ch <i>cul</i>		
<i>skn</i>	governor	<i>sākīnu</i> etc. <i>sukīnu</i> <i>šaknu</i> etc.		<i>skn</i> <i>sgn</i>			
<i>spr</i>	scribe	<i>tupšar</i> <i>šāpiru</i> <i>sepīru</i> etc.		<i>spr</i> S <i>safrā'</i>	Eg <i>šōpira</i>		
<i>srn</i>	prince (?)			Hb <i>srn</i>			
<i>šd</i>	itinerant	<i>šā'idu</i>	<i>šayyād</i>	A <i>šyyd</i>	<i>čawad</i> Ch <i>čV(wV)d</i>		

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
<i>šmd</i>	vinedresser	<i>šamādu</i>	<i>ḏamada</i>	HbS <i>šmd</i>			
<i>šib</i> <i>šāb</i>	water- bearer	<i>sābū</i>		Hb <i>š'b</i>	Ch <i>sVb</i> Eg <i>s3b</i>		
<i>šibt</i>		<i>sābītu</i>					
<i>šil</i>	augur	<i>šā'ilu</i>		AS <i>š'l</i>			
<i>šiy</i>	assassin		<i>sa'ā</i>	Hb <i>šw'h</i>			
<i>š^ciq</i>	noble	<i>šūtuqu</i>					
<i>šdy</i>	spinner			A <i>šdy</i>			
<i>šḫt</i>	butcher			AHb <i>šḫt</i>	<i>siḫaṭ</i>		
<i>škl</i>	vizier	<i>š/sukkallu</i>		A <i>škl</i>			<i>šukkalli-</i>
<i>šm^c</i>	auditor	<i>šēmū</i>		AS <i>šmw^c'h</i>	Eg <i>šama^ca</i>		
<i>šml</i>	dealer	<i>šamallū</i>	<i>sa'mil</i>				
<i>šqy</i>	cup- bearer	<i>šāqū</i>	<i>saqqā'</i> <i>siqāyā</i>	AS <i>šqy'</i> M <i>šaquata</i>			
<i>šr</i> I	singer instr.-maker	<i>nar</i> <i>šārūtu</i>		HbP <i>šr</i> AS <i>šyr</i>	<i>sVr-</i> Om <i>sur</i>		
<i>šr</i> II	prince	<i>šarru</i> Em <i>šarrū</i>		HbP <i>šr</i> A <i>šr</i>	Eg <i>sr</i> Ch <i>car</i>		<i>šarri</i>
<i>št</i>	lady		<i>sitt</i>		<i>sūt</i> Ch <i>sVt</i>		
<i>t^cdt</i>	embassy			Hb <i>t^cwdh</i> A <i>y^cd</i>			
<i>tbl</i>	smith			Hb <i>twbl</i> <i>qyn</i>			<i>tabali</i>
<i>tdgly</i>	assayer			S <i>dgl</i>	<i>dVgol-</i> Eg <i>dgj/3</i>		
<i>tdgr</i>	collector			M <i>dgr</i>			
<i>tdgl</i>	saddler	<i>tuditu</i>					<i>tutiwe</i>
	accountant						<i>tid</i>
<i>tkn</i>	inspector			Hb <i>tkn</i>			
<i>tmt</i>	crew			Ug <i>mt</i>			
<i>tpnr</i>	notary	^{lu} <i>tuppa(la)- nuri</i>				H <i>tuppas</i> <i>tupala</i>	<i>tuppala-</i> <i>nuri</i>
<i>trr</i>	runner	^{lu} <i>tariruma</i>	<i>trr</i>	Ug <i>tr</i>	Ch <i>tVr</i> Eg. <i>trr</i>		

Ug. word	gloss	Semitic cognates/loans			Non-Semitic equivalent		
		syll. Ug. (RS) Akk	Arab.	Other	AA	IE	Hurr.
<i>tbh</i>	sacrificer	<i>tābiḫu</i> Em <i>zābiḫu</i>	<i>tabbāḥ</i>	<i>tbh</i>	Eg <i>tubiḫi</i> <i>ḫababḫ</i>		
<i>ṭ^c</i>	lord, noble	<i>šuwā'um</i> <i>šu'ū</i>		Hb <i>šō^{ac}</i>			
<i>ṭ^cy</i>	minister			Hb <i>šur^{ac}</i>			
<i>ṭdr</i>	waitress	<i>šiduri</i>					<i>šiduri</i>
<i>ṭgr</i>	gate-keeper		<i>tuḡrā</i>	HbP <i>š(w)^cr</i> ASHat <i>tr^c</i>			<i>šeḡr</i>
<i>ṭkmt</i>	bearer (f)			E <i>sakama</i>			
<i>ṭn</i>	vizier	<i>šanū</i>	<i>tānī</i>	HbP <i>šny</i> A <i>tynw</i>			<i>šinu</i>
<i>ṭngly</i>	deputy	<i>šinaḫilu</i>					
<i>ṭnglyt</i>	substitute	<i>šinaḫilūtum</i>		<i>tn</i>			<i>šinaḫilu</i>
<i>ṭnn</i>	incense (-bearer)			A <i>tnn</i> S <i>tnmw^t'</i>			
	archer			AS <i>tn</i>			
	vizier			Ug <i>tn</i>			
	equal	<i>šāninu</i>					
<i>ṭpṭ</i>	judge ruler	<i>šāpiṭu</i>		Hb <i>šwpt</i> P <i>špṭ</i>	Eg <i>šapta</i>		
<i>ydy</i>	expeller		'awdā	Hb <i>ydh</i>	Eg <i>wdy</i>		
<i>ydt</i>							
<i>yph/h</i>	witness	<i>šibuti</i> <i>šibu</i>		Hb <i>yph</i>			
<i>yqš</i>	fowler	<i>iaqiš[uma]</i>		Hb <i>yqwš</i> <i>qwš</i>	Eg <i>Yaqšamu</i>		
<i>yšḫ</i>	finisher			S <i>nšḫ/šḫḫ</i>	<i>cay</i>		
<i>yšr</i>	potter	⁽¹⁰⁾ <i>iasiruma</i> <i>ēširu</i>		HbP <i>yšr</i> AS <i>šwr</i>			
<i>yt</i>	foreman	<i>atū, utū</i>					
<i>ytn</i>	acolyte			HbA <i>ntyn</i>			
	seller	<i>nādinu</i>		<i>ntn</i>			
	gatekeeper	<i>atū, utū</i>					<i>atuḫlu</i>

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

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): [*ā*]wrġl, ^cbr, ^cdd, ^cdbt, ^cnn, ^crb, *bkyt*, *brh*, *btt*, *bty*, *d^ct*, *dbb*, *dgy*, *dll*, *dlt*, *gmr*, *glm*, *glmt*, *hmlt*, *hbr*, *hpšt*, *hspt*, *hṭbt*, *hbt*, *hḏrġl*, *kšp*, *ktr*, *lsm*, *lwn*, *m^cqb*, *mdd*, *mddt*, *mdnt*, *mhl*, *mhr*, *mlhš*, *mr*, *mrz^cy*, *mšprt*, *mšmtr*, *mšnqt*, *mšspd*, *mššū*, *ngr*, *ngrt*, *nhl*, *pḥr*, *pžġ*, *qš*, *qym*, *rš^c*, *sid*, *srn*, *šmd*, *šiy*, *šḥt*, *šr*, *št*, *t^cdt*, *tḥh*, *t^c*, *t^cy*, *t^ckm*, *tn*, *tnn*, *tpṭ*, *ydt*, *ydy*, *zbl* II, *zbr* (total: 71)
- Economic texts only (KTU 4): *ālhn*, *āpy*, *ištnm*, *ūdbr*, *ūhyt*, ^cšr, *b^cl* (I), *bdl*, *bṭr*, *dw*, *gzz*, *ġmr*, *ġzl*, *hbṭn*, *hṭb*, *hḏġl*, *hlġl*, *hlq*, *h^csn*, *h^czr*, *kbs/kbš*, *khn*, *kkrdn*, *kph*, *ksd*, *ktr*, *kzy*, *lmdt*, *md*, *mrū*, *mšl*, *m^cys*, *n^crt*, *ngr*, *nqd*, *nsk*, *psl*, *pqr*, *ql*, *r^cy*, *rbš*, *sgr/sġr*, *šd*, *šib*, *šdy*, *šr*, *tbl*, *tdgly*, *tdgr*, *tdġl*, *tkn*, *trr*, *tnġly*, *tnġlyt*, *yqš*, *yšh*, *yšr*, *yt*, *ytn*, *zn* (total: 60)
- Literary and economic texts only (KTU 1, 4): ^cdn, *drk*, *hṭt*, *h^cn^cr*, *qdš*, *šibt*, *šr*, *rbt*, *šqy*, *tdr*, *tġr* (total: 11)
- Letters only (KTU 2): *ūdr*, *kspy*, *riš*, *mrḥš*, *shl*, *šil*, *š^ctq*, *šm^c* (total: 8)
- Literary texts, letters and economic texts (KTU 1, 2, 4): *ādr*, *ādt*, *b^clt*, *hrš*, *lmd*, *n^cr*, *r^c* (total: 7)
- Letters and economic texts (KTU 2, 4): *ādt*, ^cpr, (*i*)*blbl*, *qnūy*, *tmtt* (total: 5)
- Legal and economic texts (KTU 3, 4): *mḏrġl*, *tpnr*, *yph* (total: 3)
- Legal texts only (KTU 3): ^crbn, *hbrtnr*, *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 texts²⁹⁹ and in the economic texts, while none occurs in the school exercise texts. Surprisingly, *tpṭ*, “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)
<i>bdl</i>	deputy	<i>tn</i>
<i>brḥ</i>	fugitive	<i>ḥlq</i>
<i>ḥṭbt</i>	woodcutter	<i>ḥṭb</i>
<i>lsm</i>	runner	<i>trr</i>
<i>mddt</i>	distributor	<i>zn</i>
<i>mḥr</i>	surveyor	<i>mšḥ</i>
<i>ngr(t)</i>	herald	<i>ḥlḡl</i>
<i>phr</i>	potter	<i>yšr</i>
<i>ṯy</i>	assistant	<i>ḥzr</i>
<i>zbl</i> II	invalid	<i>dw</i>

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: *ādr*, *āmt*, *āpy*, *ištn*, *°bd*, *b°l*, *bn̄y*, *brḥ*, *dbb*, *dl*, *gr*, *gzz*, *ḡlm*, *ḡlmt*, *khn*, *lwn*, *mšprt*, *mšnqt*, *ql*, *šib*, *šibt*, *nḡr*, *nqd*, *r°y*, *šd*, *šḥt*, *št*, *tdgly*, *trr*, *ṭbh*, *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: *āwrḡl*, *ūdr*, *ḥdḡl*, *ḥdrḡl*, *ḥlḡl*, *ḥnzr*, *mḍrḡl*, *prln*, *tbl*, *tdḡl*, *ṭdr* (total: 11)
 - Akkadian: *mātr*, *sīd*, *yt(n)*, *zbl* II (total: 4); cf. also *ktr*.
 - Sumerian: *ksd*, *phr*, *škl* (borrowed through Akkadian: total: 3)
 - Hittite: *ḥbrtnr*, *tpnr* (total: 2)
- (b) Of uncertain origin
- Semitic or Hurrian: *ūtryn*, *md* (total: 2)
 - Semitic or Indo-European: *qnūy*, *srn* (total: 2)
 - Hurrian or Hittite: *ūryn*, *ḥbrtnr* (total: 2)

(c) Of mixed origin

- Hybrid nouns (Semitic + Hurrian): *ālhn*, *kkrdn*, *tnḡly*, *tnḡlyt* (total: 4)³⁰⁰
- Common to several language groups: *hṛn*, *kzy*, *mḥll*, *šr* (total: 4)³⁰¹

Also, apart from four hybrids (*b^cl tḡpt*, *bn útryn*, *bnš tṗnr*, [*hbrtn*]*r tn*), the many composite expressions (§3) also are Semitic. This means that there were relatively few loanwords relating to occupations, professions and social classes in Ugaritic³⁰². In fact, borrowing was often in the other direction: other languages, notably Egyptian and Hurrian, used Semitic terms, as documented above³⁰³. 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: *mḥš* and *š^ctq*, in Arabic only: *^cdn*, *ḡmr* and *št*, only in Aramaic: *ūhyt*, only in Hebrew: *dgy*, *ḥspt*, *m^cqb*, *tkn*, *yph*, and *yqš*, in Mandaic only: *tdgr* and only in Syriac: *mḥr*. 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 *údbṛ*, *drk*, *ḥsn*, *mḥr*, *mštl^ct*, *sḡr/šgr*, *šdy* and *tnn*, while new or additional cognates have been given for several words (e.g. *āwl*, *^cbr*, *bnyy*, *bnš*, *dbb*, *mdnt*, *mkḥd*, *mšprt*, *tdgr* and *yšḥ*) 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 syllabic³⁰⁴. 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 economy³⁰⁵. 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”; *šāripūtu*, “purple-dyers”³⁰⁶; ^{lú}TUG.LA, “tailor” and *b^cl tǵpt*, “maker of felt”. There are also the personal names *irgn/y*, “Weaver”, *ǵzly* (*hazilu*), “Spinner”, *mly*, “Tailor”, *plkn*, “Spinner”, *šdy(n)*, “Weaver”, *šty*, “Weaver” and *tǵptn*, “Felt-maker”. All these provide further evidence for the importance of the textile trade³⁰⁷. 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 network³⁰⁸. On the other hand, for a coastal town such as Ugarit, the scarcity of terms relating to the sea or fishing is surprising³⁰⁹. 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 *ḫrš ānyt*, “shipbuilder”, *rb miḫd*, “harbour-master”, *rb tmtt*, “captain of the (ship’s) crew”, *šbū ānyt*, “ship’s crew”, as well as *rab malahḫī*, “chief of the sailors” (see above), which has no alphabetic equivalent³¹⁰. 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 professions³¹¹. Possibly, as in Mari, this is because the archives relate to the palace³¹². 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, <i>An Arabic-English Lexicon</i> , vols I–VIII (London/Edinburgh 1863–1893).
AHW	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , vols I–III (Wiesbaden 1965–1981).
AIA	S.A. Kaufman, <i>The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic</i> (AS 19; Chicago 1974).
BGH	T. Richter, <i>Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen</i> (Wiesbaden 2012).
BK	A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski, <i>Dictionnaire arabe-français</i> , vols. I–II (Paris 1860).
CAD	I.J. Gelb <i>et al.</i> (eds), <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , vols 1–21 (Chicago 1956–2010).

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 *māḫdy/miḫdy*, “Port Dweller” (DUL, 508–509).

³¹¹ The only term (apart from *bṭr*, perhaps; see above) is *rpū*, “healer”, used as a divine epithet (DUL, 731–732). The meaning of the PN *āsy* 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.

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