

Ugaritic Onomastics (8)

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[After a brief survey of recent work, an analysis of 200 Ugaritic personal names is provided, 50 with syllabic spellings and the rest without. New meanings are proposed for about 85 names and additional syllabic spellings are provided. In addition, personal names based on the names of months are discussed.]

Keywords: calendar, Hurrian, personal names, Ugaritic.

[Tras una vista de conjunto de trabajos recientes analizamos 200 nombres personales ugaríticos, 50 con equivalentes silábicos y el resto sin ellos. Proponemos significados nuevos de unos 85 nombres, así como de ortografías silábicas adicionales. Incluimos asimismo una discusión de nombres basados en nombres de los meses.]

Palabras clave: calendario, lengua hurrita, lengua ugarítica, nombres personales.

1. Recent work

This is the eighth instalment in a series of articles on Ugaritic personal names¹. In three other articles, I have discussed further names². The recent publication of texts³ has provided us with some new names (*abny*, *^cmph*, *hrpt*, *strn*, *šbt*, *šnnr*, *šmtr*, *tlz* and *tlgn*) additional occurrences of known names and new syllabic spellings⁴. Although it is often difficult to determine the meanings of personal names, they do provide a useful source of vocabulary, as L. Renaut has noted⁵. There have been several new publications

1. For these see now Watson, LSU, 153-195, where over 400 of the 1600 or so alphabetic names are discussed.

2. Watson 2004 (on the PNN *alz*, *arbnn*, *uḫl*, *urn*, *bnn*, *hrr*, *hlp*, *ktmn*, *ktkn*, *ktn*, *ktyn*, *ldn*, *lrn*, *mrnn*, *pkly*, *plgn*, *plšn*, *ppn*, *sbd*, *snb*, *šnd*, *sst*, *šmt*, *tlgn*, *tran*, *trbnn*, *trdn*, *tt*, *tḫln*, *tḫry*, *trdn*, *ṭty(n)*, *yrt*, and *zq*); Watson 2006 (on the PNN *abyy*, *aky*, *apn*, *ayḫ*, *udr*, *^cby*, *^cnqt*, *^cqy*, *^cšy*, *dll*, *gdrn*, *gg*, *grdn*, *hby*, *hqn*, *kmy*, *kny*, *kpyn*, *lky*, *nbzn*, *nggn*, *prd*, *py*, *sdv*, *tan* and *yšv*); Watson 2007a (on the PNN *apn*, *igy*, *iyry*, *blkn*, *glgl*, *gmn*, *grgn*, *hbdn*, *kd*, *kdy*, *kkv*, *kpltn*, *kryn*, *lky*, *lzy*, *nkt*, *sll*, *slpd*, *sgn*, *trhy*, *trnn* and *zzb*) and Watson 2007b (on the PNN *illm*, *^cby*, *drm*, *gn*, *grdn*, *grn*, *gs*, *hrsn*, *hgln*, *hmny*, *hlan*, *hli*, *hluy*, *hpsry*, *hpsry*, *hrpn*, *krk*, *ktv*, *mrnn*, *nnr*, *ply*, *rqn*, *spr*, *sry*, *tḫn*, *twyn*, *ṭty*, *ṭgmi*, *ṭlln* and *zzn* and on names only occurring syllabically).

3. Bordreuil/Pardee 2010.

4. For the phonology of Hittite equivalents of Ugaritic names see Patri 2009, esp. 96-97; the names discussed there are *alḫn* (which may not be a PN), *pdgb*, *td/tgl*, *trg(n)ds* and *ṭpllm*.

5. "Les noms de personne constituent un autre gisement potentiel d'occurrences" (Renaut 2009, 199).

on Ugaritic personal names⁶. Of particular interest is the study by G. del Olmo Lete on names ending in *-y*⁷.

2. Ugaritic personal names

The names discussed here are listed in alphabetical sequence.

abd^cn, “My father is knowledge” (KTU 4.12:9; 4.33:31; 4.233:5). Usually explained as an allograph of *bd^cn*, “Servant of Anu” (KTU 4.75 v 23)⁸, instead it may correspond to Emar *a-bi-da-i* (TSABR 8:13), i.e. *abī-da^ci*, “Mein Vater ist Wissen” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 189), as *ab* + *d^c* + affirmative *-n*.

abl, “Water vessel” (KTU 4.371:10), spelled *a-bal-la-a* (PRU 4, 189 [RS 17.314]:2, etc.; PRU 4, 172-173 [RS 17.145]: 2, etc.). This spelling rules out comparison with Akk. *ap(i)lu*, “heir”⁹ and may indicate Akk. *aballu* (< Sum. dug.a.bal), “vessel for water” (CDA, 1), “a vessel for drawing water” (CAD A/1, 10) which is lexical only.

abny, “Stone-like” (RS 94.2284:1). This is a new name, probably a form of *abn*, “Stone” (KTU 4.33:24; 4.427:13; 4.335:25; 4.370:3; 4.715:2; 4.774:1)¹⁰.

adnn, “Substitute” (KTU 4.54:8) could be a form of *adn*, “Lord”, but the doubled *-n-* suggests comparison with Akk. *andunānu*, *addunānu*, etc., “substitute” (CDA, 17)¹¹ an apt name for a child who had replaced one that had died. See below under *dnn*.

agpt, “My brother has carried” (KTU 4.382:25), syllabically *a-gab-šu* (PRU 6, 99 [RS 19.009]:16), may correspond to Nuzi *A-kap-še* (HSS XV, 22 obv. 3)¹².

agy, “(DN) Carried” (KTU 4.37:2; 4.50:16; 4.70:2,5; 4.123:10; 4.313:25; 4.753:1; 4.761:3) – syllabically *a-ga-ia* (PRU 6, 50 [RS 17.388]:21) – corresponds to Nuzi *A-ga-ia*¹³.

aḥqm, “My brother has risen” (KTU 4.86:23; 4.297:1), has an exact equivalent in Emar *a-ḥu-qa-mu* (Emar VI 116, 13-18; Emar VI 117, 25), i.e. *Aḥu-qāmu*, “Der Bruder hat sich erhoben” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 191).

akpgt, “Borne by the sea” (KTU 6.15:1), previously read as *tkpg^c*. The correct reading was established by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (2006), who explain the name as Hurrian, comprising *ak/gp/b*, “to carry” + *kiyazi*, “sea”. As they show, here the second element is abbreviated to *-gt* as in the Alalakh PN *Ib-ri-ge-še* (AT 177:28). As noted by Dietrich and Loretz, the full name occurs in the Alalakh texts as *A-kap-ki-a-še* (AT 91:17, 24; AT 162:18).

6. These include Israel 2008; Malbran-Labat 2007; Van Soldt 2003a; *idem* 2003b. See also Vita 2007.

7. Del Olmo Lete 2010b. For names with the element *dmr* (i.e. *m^ctmr*, *m^cym^ctmr*, *dmrd* and *dmry*) see Sanmartin 2010.

8. I.e. *bd* + *n*; see Gröndahl PTU, 19-20 (§25), 105, 110 and DUL, 142.

9. See Pruzsinszky PTE, 76.

10. Ribichini/Xella 1988.

11. See Akk. *dinānu*, etc., “substitute, wraith” (CAD, 148b-150a).

12. According to Maidman 2010, 33, the name is possibly to be restored as Akap-še[nni].

13. Listed by Dosch 2009, 77, No. 3 lines 2 and 3.

akyn, “Carried” (KTU 4.658:5), with the spelling *a-ki-ia-nu* (RS 22.002:8') has an equivalent in Hurr. *a-ki-ya* (UEM T1 line 13) and is a common Hurrian name in Alalah and Nuzi¹⁴, the root being Hurr. *ak*, “to carry” (see previous name and *agy*).

alty, “My goddess” (KTU 4.343:3). According to Durand¹⁵, the Amorite PN *altu-/alti-* is a variant of *iltum/ilti*, “goddess”¹⁶ and the same may apply to the Ugaritic name.

alty, “The Cypriot” (KTU 1.40: [20], 29, 37; 1.84:15, 20; 2.42:8; 4.149:8; 4.343:3; 4.705:9; RS 94.2392+:16; cf. 4.155:3;)¹⁷ and *altyy* (KTU 1.141:1; 4.352:2) – cf. the Emar PNN *Alaša* and *Alazaia* (Pruzsinszky PTE, 75, 76) and note the spellings *aldy* (KTU 4.609:21) and *alzy* (KTU 4.272:1)¹⁸. This name has been borrowed from Luwian, as Breyer (2010) has shown.

anndy, “May X rejoice” (KTU 4.101:6; 4.25 ii 2; 4.753:16) – the syllabic spelling is *a-na-ni-ša-e* (RS 86.2227:10')¹⁹.

aptn, no meaning (RS 94.2050+:30, as *bn aptn*) – the closest syllabic spelling is *ap-te-ya* (Ugar. 5, No. 95 [RS 20.001]:7). Slightly similar is the unexplained Emar PN *Ap-pa-ta* (Pruzsinszky PTE, 269).

arkd, “Kuša(h) has given (a child)” (KTU 4.723:2), corresponding to the Emar PN *Ari-Kuša* (i.e. *ar=i=Kuša*), “Kuša(h) gab” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 226) as well as to Alalah *Arip-Kušuḫa* (AT 169:9, etc.)²⁰. Similar names occur in the texts from Qatna²¹.

arkdn, “Kuša(h) has given (a child)” (KTU 4.141 i 12) and *arkšt* (KTU 4.631:4): see on *arkd* (above).

arpšḫ, “Precious” (RS 94.2050+:7), possibly corresponding to Hurr. *arapšannu*, “Precious object” (cf. CDA, 22a; CAD A/1, 231b) which occurs in EA 22 ii 14, but here has the (Hurrian) ending *-ḫ*.

artḫ, “Gift of Teššup” (KTU 4.102:4; 4.204:12; 4.281:28) corresponds to the Hurr. PN *ar-te-eš-šu-pa*, “Gift of Teššup” (UEM T1 line 7)²².

arwn, “Freeman” (KTU 4.783:1) corresponds exactly to *ar-wa-nu* (PRU 3, 206 [RS 16.294]:4 and PRU 6, 79 [RS 19.042]:16). As already noted by Gröndahl (PTU, 272), the name is Hittite: *arāwa-*, “free (from)”²³.

14. See Cooper/Schwartz/Westbrook 2005, 47, note to line 13 (with no reference to Ugaritic) and Maidman 2010, 277.

15. Durand 1997, 649 n. 690.

16. Alternatively, see Watson LSU, 156, citing Nuzi Akk. *alātū*, “a social class, palace dependant” (cf. CDA, 11).

17. PN: *alty* (KTU 4.390:1).

18. See Dietrich/Loretz/Sanmartín 1973, 81.

19. For discussion of the Hurr. verbal element *an=an-*, “to cause to rejoice”, see most recently PTE, 230 n. 73.

20. Cited by Pruzsinszky PTE, 226 n. 42, but with no reference to the Ug. PN, on which cf. Gröndahl PTU, 219. For Alalah *a-ri-ku-ša*, *a-ri-ik-ku-ša*, etc. see Wiseman, 1953, 129a.

21. Richter 2004, 220, reads *a-ri-ku-šu-ḫa* in MSH02G-i1170 line 1 (following a suggestion by M. Dietrich).

22. Cooper/Schwartz/Westbrook 2009.

23. On this word see now EDHIL, 198-199, with cognates and discussion.

arz, “Cedar” (KTU 4.33:25; 4.63 ii 45), is possible if it is Semitic (cf. Gröndahl PTU, 29, 101) but the corresponding (?) Emar PN *Arizi* may be Hurrian, although its meaning is unknown (cf. Pruzsinszky PTE, 252 §4.I.2a).

atnb (KTU 4.46:13; 4.65:7; 4.93 iv 13; 4.106:9; 4.422:5; 4.432:18; 4.692:4). The possible spellings of this name are *at-ta-na-bu* (RS 86.2220:15), *at-ta-na-bi* (PRU 4, 236 [RS 17.251]:24) and *at-na-bi* (Ugar. 5, No. 88 [RS 21.007A]:15') as well as *a-te-[n]a-b[i]* (RS 86.2227:7'). These may indicate that more than one name underlies the alphabetic version.

atyn (KTU 4.69 iii 2; 4.75 i 2; 4.75 iv 4) – besides the spellings *at-tu-ia-nu* (Syria 28, 1951, 49 [RS 12.034+] rev. 6) and *at-te-ya* (PRU 3, 200 [RS 16.126B+] ii 7, iii 53), see *a-ti-ya[]* (Ugar. 5, No. 8 [RS 17.038] rev. 8'). Again, these may reflect two different names but no meanings can be suggested.

idrm, “He protects” (KTU 4.69 ii 2; 4.377:8; 4.452:2; 4.511:2; 4.528:4; 4.786:11) – Hurr. *idr*, a Western form of Hurr. *udr*-, “to protect” – equivalent to the name Idrimi in the Alalah texts (Oliva 2008).

idrn, “He protects” (KTU 4.65:9; 4.322:9; 4.694:3) – syllabically *id-da-ra-[na]* (PRU 3, 86 [RS 15.119]:7', 12') – see previous entry on *idrm*.

ikrn, “Candelabrum” (KTU 4.84:6; 4.289:6) – Akk. *angurinnu*, *ingurēnu*, *iggurru*, “an elaborate lamp stand”, a loan from Hurrian (Faist/Vita 2010).

ilmlk, “Ilu is King” (RS 94.2406:31). This is an additional occurrence of the name, also found in colophons of the Baal Cycle and in economic texts (see DUL, 58)²⁴. Note also the syllabic spelling ¹DINGIR-*ma-al-ku* in RS 9.261²⁵.

itn (KTU 4.616:9). I had noted that “the spelling *it-ta-na* (PRU 3, 36 [RS 11.718]:7) seems to rule out comparison with the Emar PN *Ittinu*”²⁶. However, we now have the spelling *it-ti₃-nu* (RS 86.2227:5'), as in Emar, but unfortunately the meaning of the name still remains unknown²⁷.

itg, “Lad” (KTU 470:4) – Akk. *uškû*, *wušgû*, “youth, servant” (CDA, 429a; cf. AHw, 1441, 1498b)²⁸. Whether this also applies to the PN *itgh* (KTU 9.419:4) is uncertain.

iwrkl, “The Lord made content” (KTU 3.4:2, 13, 18; 4.282:2; 4.357:17)²⁹, corresponds to the Hurrian name EN-*ki-li*³⁰, which occurs in a letter from Beirut, probably found at Ras Shamra³¹.

24. See Dalix 1997. My thanks to José-Ángel Zamora (CSIC Madrid) for this reference.

25. C. Roche *apud* Pardee 2004, 258.

26. Watson LSU, 159-160. The name is spelled *It-ti-ni* (TSABR 44, 20; ET 10, 5) and *It-ti-na* (TVE 25, 20), as listed in the catalogue accompanying Pruzsinszky's book (PTE).

27. For Emar names beginning with *Itti-* see Pruzsinszky PTE, 137, although this name is not discussed there.

28. However, see CAD U/W, 301a and 411b. For other possible explanations see Watson LSU, 160 and Watson 2004, 120 n. 100.

29. For a different translation see Gröndahl PTU, 205, 225, 234.

30. I.e. *Ewrikili*; for the meaning cf. Pruzsinszky PTE, 228 (on *Kili-Šarruma*).

31. Published as Text 107 by in TSABR, 219; the name occurs in line 3.

iydm (KTU 4.16:2)³² may mean “Where is Damu?”, but this deity occurs as *d^cm* in a Ugaritic PN (KTU 3.7:8)³³.

iytlm, “Ea is great” (KTU 2.14:14; 4.156:2; 4.223:6-9; 4.309:21; 4.344:9; 4.357:9, 18; 4.367:9; 4.374:1; 4.379:6; 4.409:2; 4.410:28; 4.425:11; 4.680:2), written ^{ld}É.A-GAL and probably to be read *Eya-Talmi³⁴.

iytr, “Ea is King” (KTU 4.50:17; 4.194:5; 4.285:5; 4.364:2; 4.547:2; 4.615:1; 4.617:5): see previous entry.

ubln, “Dry-skinned” (KTU 4.47:4; 4.223:1-2) – Akk. *ubbulu(m)*, “dried (out)” (CDA, 417b) or else possibly “Late born” – Akk. *uppulu(m)*, “(child) born late in the season” (CDA, 424a). Note especially *šumma sinništu ina alādi ūtappil*, “if a woman is late in giving birth” (cited in CAD U/W, 187a).

ubr, “Envoy” (KTU 4.371:19; 4.617:16), rather than simply “foreigner” (Watson LSU, 154) in view of Nuzi Akk. *ubāru*, “envoy”³⁵.

uldy, “Child” (KTU 4.309:18), if a direct loan from Akk. *ulādu*, “child” (AHw, 1407b; CDA, 420a; CAD U/W, 69b). Whether, instead, it corresponds to the Nuzi name *Uldualli* (NPN, 271, cited in Gröndahl PTU, 303) is uncertain.

urgy, “Finest” (KTU 4.63 i 45), a meaning based on Aram. *’rg*, noun “choice, best” (DJPA, 73a). In addition, note the Mari PN *ú-ra-a[n]*-gi* (ARMT XIII 1 obv. I 75) on which Durand comments: “On pourrait proposer aussi *ú-ra-a[g]*-gi*. Une prononciation Uraggi est attestée par le NP *ú-ra-gi* de [ARMT] XXI 410 i 28; cf. aussi peut-être *ú-ra-ak-ka*”. However, Durand proposes no meaning.

urttb, “Teshub is true” (RS 94.2284:2), is an alloform of *arttb* (KTU 4.102:4; 4.204:12; 4.281:28); cf. Watson LSU 159.

uryn, “Bowl” (RS 94.2391:17), unless it is a form of Hittite *uriyanni-*, an official (cf. CAD U/W, 226a); see next name.

uryy, “Bowl” (KTU 4.12:8; 4.309:8), Akk. *urû*, “a bowl” (CDA, 427); “eine Schüssel” (AHw, 1435b); “(a vessel)” (CAD U/W, 260b)³⁶.

utly, “Vessel” (KTU 4.348:14), Akk. *udd/ttalû*, “ein Metallgefäß” (AHw, 1401); *uddalû*, *uttalû*, “a vessel” (CDA, 418); “(a metal vessel)” (CAD U/W, 337b)³⁷.

^c*gy*, “Bent” (KTU 4.611:19; 4.769:55), syllabically perhaps *a-gu-ya* (Ugar. 5, No. 5 [RS 17.022+]:28). The meaning is based on Arab. ^c*āja* (^c*wj*), “to be bent” (see HALOT, 794b) and is simply a supposition³⁸.

32. Not *iy^cdm* as in Gröndahl PTU, 48 and 107.

33. See Watson LSU, 162 (§3.2.01); on this deity see Becking 1999.

34. Dijkstra 2007. For a different meaning see Watson LSU, 160.

35. As argued by Maidman 2010, 234 n. 50. See now CAD U/W, 10-12a and Durand 1997, 601 n. 30.

36. Made of bronze or wood according to Schneider-Ludorff 2009, 525 §4.19. For a different explanation see Watson LSU, 159 §3.2.01.

37. H. Schneider-Ludorff 2009, 525-526 §4.20; see Watson LSU, 159 §3.2.01.

^c*mph*, “The (Divine) Uncle has seen” (RS 24.257:9), is a new name, analysed as ^c*m* + *ph*, “L’uncle (divin) a vu” by Arnaud (1998, 160).

^c*nnn*, “Servant” (KTU 4.405:6)³⁹, derived from Ug. ^c*nn*, “manservant, servant, messenger” (DUL, 170), here with affirmative *-n*. A syllabic spelling of this name may be *in-a-nu* (RS 86.2220:8).

^c*šq*, “Darling” (KTU 4.124:4), based on Arab. ^c*ašiqā*, which means “to love passionately, etc.” and on Arab. ^c*ašīq* “sweetheart, etc.” (cf. DMWA, 614-615) – here perhaps used in an attenuated sense. Instead, Gröndahl (PTU, 29, 113) refers to Heb. ^c*šq*, “to oppress” and Akk. *ešqu*, “strong” – however the Akk. noun is cognate with Sem. *h̄zq* (cf. AHW, 257)⁴⁰. Further possible alternatives are Mandaean ^c*šq*, “blind” and Aram. ^c*šq*, “to do wrong, etc.” (cf. DNWSI, 892).

^c*tl̄n*, “Eminent” (RS [Varia 33]:5)⁴¹ – see the Heb. PN ^c*tly* (see HALOT, 903b) which may correspond to Akk. *etellu*, “pre-eminent, lord” (CDA, 84a).

b^clmšlm, “Baal brings peace” (KTU 4.778:4; 4.782:5)⁴², discussed by Dijkstra⁴³, who compared the name with ^{ld}U-*mi-iš-lam* (PRU 3, 159-160 [RS 16.261]: 4) which may correspond to ^{ld}U-*miš-lam*, i.e. *Ba^calmi-išlam* in (RS Varia 25:8, 15)⁴⁴ a letter now in the Lattakia Museum, and normalised by Arnaud as *Ba^calmi-išlam*⁴⁵. Contrast the PN *b^clšlm*, discussed below. This name includes the enclitic *-mi*, which is occasionally added at the end of personal names⁴⁶, although in this case it occurs between the first and second elements. Or it may simply mean “Baal delivered safely”, where *mšlm* is a D ptc of *šlm*. The connection with ^{ld}U-*mi-iš-lu* (PRU 3, 196 [RS 15.42+ ii]:5') is unclear⁴⁷.

b^clšdq, “Baal is just” (KTU 4.180:7; 4.323:6), also occurs in KTU 7.63:4, which is a legal text, as argued by Márquez Rowe⁴⁸.

b^clšlm, “Baal is well-being” (KTU 4.293:2; 4.332:10, 19; 4.679:5)⁴⁹, corresponds to the spelling EN-*šu-la-mu* (Ugar. 5, No. 14 [RS 17.332]:2). See above on *b^clmšlm*.

bdn, “Child” (KTU 4.46:8; 4.63 iii 30; 4.63 iv 12; 4.197:10; 4.247:33; 4.343:1; 4.609:30, 34; 4.617:30; 4.631:7; 4.728:6; 4.779:10). The new spelling *ba-du-ni* (RS 18.054:11') may suggest comparison with Emar *Bada*, “Child”⁵⁰.

38. See also the Hatra PN ^c*g'*, for which cf. Al-Jubouri 2010, 50.

39. No meaning was proposed in Watson LSU, 161.

40. In any case, Akk. *ešqu* means “solid, massive” of building stone (CDA, 83a); cf. also HALOT, 897; DNWSI, 892.

41. With a reference to Noth 1928, 191.

42. For the presence or absence of the word-divider in personal names see Watson 1990, 127.

43. Dijkstra 2007, 136 and n.1.

44. For the letter see Arnaud 1982.

45. Arnaud 1982, 102. Interestingly, the name *Da-a-dá-mi* occurs in the same letter (line 11), which Arnaud analyses as the Semitic element *Dādu* plus *-mi*, the particle of direct speech. He translates: “(Je le déclare): il est le chéri!”.

46. See Watson LSU, 184-187 §3.2.02.1.

47. See Gröndahl PTU, 132, 161, 318.

48. Márquez Rowe 2006, 47-48; 2008, 471-472.

49. The name occurs as *b^clšlm* in KTU 4.293:2 and 4.679:5) but as *b^cl.šlm* in KTU 4.332:10 and 19; see n. 42, above.

50. Cf. Pruzsinszky PTE, 157 and 157 n. 85.

bhl, “Emancipated (child)” (KTU 4.240:4), explained by the Ug. term *bhl* in RS 94.2168⁵¹. Alternatively, see Syriac *bhl*, “to be quiet, calm, etc.” (cf. LS², 60).

brn (several meanings) (KTU 4.281:26; 4.410:6; 4.488:4). Possible meanings are (1) “a type of tree”, Akk. *burrānu* (also *murrānu*, *ur(r)ānu*) (CDA, 219a)⁵²; (2) “son”, Akk. *buru*, “son” (CDA, 49b, from Aram.) or (3) “bull-calf”, Akk. *būru(m)*, “(bull calf)” (CDA, 49b). The syllabic spellings are BUR-*ra-na* (PRU 3, 199 [RS 12.126B+] A I 4”, etc.) and BU-*ra-na* (PRU 3, 74 [RS 16.385]:12), etc.

brqn, “Born in a thunderstorm” (KTU 3.8:23; 4.53:5; 4.141 i 9; 4.232:46; 4.278:8; 4.410:32; 4.753:11)⁵³. An additional spelling is *būr-a-qú-[na]* (RS 86.2220:22).

dlq, “Passionate” (KTU 4.82:4; 4.98:4; RS 25.188), based on West Semitic *dlq*, “to burn, be inflamed” (cf. DNWSI, 250)⁵⁴.

dnil, “Ilu is strong” (KTU 1.17/1.19) – Mari Akk. *dan-il*, “Fort (est) Dieu”⁵⁵ – although “Ilu is Judge” is equally possible⁵⁶.

dnn, “Substitute” (KTU 4.86:5; 4.124:14; 4.366:4-5; 4.377:1; 4.595:4; 4.617:35; 4.623:10; 4.759:4): see above under *adnn*.

dmn, “Face” (KTU 4.51:7; 5.9 iv 2) – see below on *zmn*.

gb^c (KTU 4.63 ii 10) and *gb^cn* (KTU 4.769:16), “Pitcher”, has the spelling *gá-ba-nu* (PRU 3, 68-69 [RS 16.269]:6, etc.), based on Syr. *gbw^c*, *gbw^c’*, “pitcher” (LS², 102; Payne Smith, 59).

gbln, “Creature” (KTU 4.63 iii 94), is based on Aram. *gbl*, “to create”. An alternative meaning is “Plump” (LSU, 163). See the PN *Ga-bu-lum* on a tablet from Tall Bi^ca (Bi. 26/49:59 line 9)⁵⁷.

gld, “(May the child be) health(y)” (KTU 4.75 iii 5) and *gldy* (KTU 4.110:17; cf. 4.617:3), is of course Hurrian⁵⁸. This name has now been found in Qatna, as *gi-el-di* where it is the most south-westerly occurrence of this name at this period⁵⁹.

gny, “(One born in the month of) *gunu*” (KTU 4.54:12), as tentatively proposed by Gröndahl PTU, 30 and 129. The month name occurs syllabically (as [iti g]a/u-ni) in RS 25.455A+25.455B i 1 and alphabetically (as *gn*) in KTU 4.219:14; 4.220:5⁶⁰.

51. For the Ug. verb *bhl* see Márquez Rowe 2006, 144 and n. 118.

52. See Hoch 1994, §125 (but with no reference to Ugaritic).

53. See Watson LSU, 162 and Durand 1997a, 566, 609.

54. Dalix 2002. For other possibilities, including reference to the Akk. PNN *dalluqu* and *dulluqum* (CDA, 61b), see Watson LSU, 163 and note also the OB PN *dulāqum* (CDA, 61b).

55. Lambert 1970, 249 and n. 3.

56. For discussion see Noth 1951, 252-254 and Dressler 1979, 152-156. See also Gröndahl PTU, 123 and DUL, 276.

57. Krebernik 1990, 76.

58. On Hurr. *keldi-*, “well-being”, see Schwemer 1995, 81-101 and Wegner 2000, 52.

59. Richter 2002, 252. The name has also been found in Admattum (as a woman’s name), Alalah and of course Nuzi; for references see Richter 2002, 252 n. 15.

gnym, “(One born in the month of) *gunu*” (KTU 4.55:13), is a variant of the previous name⁶¹. Whether the PN *gn* (KTU 4.75 iv 17) can be explained in the same way is uncertain⁶². Possibly *gnb* (KTU 4.50:7; 4.52:1) also belongs here rather than meaning “thief” or the like.

gpp, “Embraced” (KTU 4.706:4) – Aram. *gpp*, “to embrace” (DJPA, 134b); Syriac *gpp*, “to embrace” (LS², 128). Less probably Akk. *kuppupu*, “very bent” (also as a PN); cf. the Emar PN *kappupu*, “Gebeugter” (Pruzsinszky, PTE 85).

grgš, “Gnat” (KTU 2.67:2; 4.50:14; 4.123:15; 4.187:3; 4.194:1; 4.214 iii 21; 4.377:9; 4.787:4), with the variant *grgs* (KTU 4.33:29; 4.51:9; 4.52:13; 4.695:2)⁶³ and the syllabic spellings *girgišu* and *girgisu*⁶⁴. This name is surprisingly common⁶⁵. Five meanings have been proposed: (1) “Strawberry-tree” - Akk. *gergiššu*, “strawberry tree” (CDA, 91b); (2) “Skin Rash” - Akk. *gergiššu*, “a red skin complaint” (CDA, 91b); (3) “A Plant” - Akk. *gergisu/û*, “a plant” (CDA, 91); (4) “Potter” or the like, based on Arab. *ġirġiš*, “mud, clay” (Halff 1965) and Bab. *gurguššu*, “large offering vessel” (CDA, 96b) and (5) “Protégé of (the god) Guš”, corresponding to DUMU-^d*Guši* (PRU 3 [RS 16.257]:5). (6) A further meaning may be “Gnat”, based on Syr. *grgs*, *grgs*’, “gnat” (cf. LS², 131).

gsn, “Sack” (KTU 4.382:17; 4.616:13) – Akk. *gusānu*, “a leather sack” (CDA, 97a); Eg. *gs3*, “sack” (cf. GHWb, 908).

gssn, “Sprawler” (KTU 6.63:1), tentatively based on Syriac *gss*, “to recline, to lie” (cf. LS², 126)⁶⁶.

gzl, “Robber” (KTU 2.22:3; 4.63 i 5; 4.75 iii 4; 4.356:14; 4.389:2): (1) It may correspond to the syllabic spelling *gu-û-za-li* (PRU 4, 134 [RS 17.116]:35), i.e. Akk. *guzallu*, “ruffian, scoundrel” (CDA, 97b)⁶⁷ although (2) it may be a term for a profession⁶⁸, possibly Akk. *guzalû*, “throne-carrier” (CDA, 97b). (3) A further possibility is that it corresponds to the Emar PN *Gaz-za-li* (TVE 11. 21), i.e. *Gazzālu*, “Robber” (cf. Pruzsinszky PTE, 161).

ġlbn, “Conqueror” (KTU 4.760:7; 4.590:3), corresponding to the Heb. PN ^c*lbwn* (in 2 Sam. 23:31; cf. HALOT, 828a)⁶⁹.

60. See De Jong/Van Soldt 1987-1988, 70.

61. For Ugaritic names with and without final *-m* see Watson LSU, 184-187.

62. For discussion see Dietrich/Loretz/Sanmartín 1974, 23-24.

63. “The alternation of *š* and *s* is understandable if the name has been borrowed from Amorite Babylonian or Assyrian, where *š* often became *s*. Then we may think of Akkad. *girgiššu*, ‘strawberry tree’ or ‘a skin disease’” (De Moor 1969, 105). On *s/š* in this name see previously Gröndahl PTU, 23 §40.

64. For details cf. PRU 3, 124 [RS 15.163+]:19; PRU 3, 202 [RS 16.126B+] iii 33; PRU 4, 201 [RS 18.002]:14; PRU 4, 203 [RS 17.371+] rev. 12’ and PRU 6, 85 [RS 19.079] rev. 18’.

65. It is also common in Carthage, occurring 28 times (as *grgš*, *grgšm*, *grgšt* and *grgšy*) but nowhere else; cf. Sznycer 1996, 20.

66. Much less probable is any connection with Akk. *kasāsu*, *kašāšu*, “to chew, gnaw” (CDA, 150).

67. As proposed by Dietrich/Loretz 1967, 537.

68. So Nougayrol PRU 4, p. 247.

69. Based on Arab. *ġalaba*, “überwinden, überwaltigen, besiegen” (“to overcome, vanquish”), as proposed for Heb. ^c*lbwn* by Kopf 1958, 189; cf. also the Palmyrene PN ^c*lbn* in Stark 1971, 44b, 105b and Syriac ^c*lb*, “to conquer” (LS², 526). However, the Ug. PN is incomplete.

hayn, “Bird” (KTU 4.118:3) – Sam. *h’y*, “a bird” (Tal, 198; cf. SED II No. 23) unless it is a type of worm or snake cognate with Jewish Aram. *hī(’)*, “name of a worm” (Jastrow, 328). See Common Semitic *hVwVy-*, “kind of worm, snake” (SED II No. 95).

hḡln, “Prancer” (KTU 4.7:6): since the PN *’gl*, “Calf” occurs in Ugaritic (KTU 4.658:8) perhaps this name does not have the same meaning (cf. Watson LSU, 166) but instead may derive from the verb “to skip along, jump”⁷⁰. Another possibility is “Partridge” in view of Syriac *hḡl*, “partridge” (cf. LS², 214).

ḡmny, “(Born in the month) ḡamanni” (KTU 4.108:3), based on the Nuzi and Alalakh month name *ḡamannu* (AHw, 315a; CAD ḡ, 59b; CDA, 103b)⁷¹.

ḡr, “Horus” (KTU 4.41:5; 4.110:8; 4.139:5; 4.781:5). This Egyptian name is also found in a Phoenician inscription on a Canaanite jar found in Ugarit (Segert 2001).

ḡrpt, “Clever” (RS 94.2050+:47) is a new name. The meaning is based on the Heb. PN *ḡrp*, “clever” (HALOT, 356a), Aram. *ḡrp*, *ḡwrp’*, “ingenuity” (DJPA, 215b) and Syr. *ḡrp*, “to be cunning” (Payne Smith 158).

ḡšb(n), “Wine-jar” (PN: KTU 4.409:7; 4.33:14)⁷² – cf. Aram. *ḡšb*, “pitcher”, Syriac *ḡšb*, “large wine jar” (cf. LS², 251) and Akk. *ḡšaḡbu*, “pottery, small pot, etc.” (CDA, 110b)⁷³.

ḡyil, “Ilu is alive” (KTU 2.26:3; 4.427:14; 4.497:2; 4.554:4): besides the spelling *ḡa-ya*-DINGIR (*Syria* 18, 1937, 251 [RS 8.146]:32) see *ḡi-ya*₈-DINGIR (RS 86.2220:12).

ḡbsn, “Vessel” (KTU 4.307:15)⁷⁴ – Akk. *ḡab/pšū(m)*, “a vessel” (CDA, 100a). See also Afro-Asiatic **ḡubVs*, “vessel”⁷⁵ and Late Eg. *ḡbs*, “Art Krüge für Myrrhe” (Wb 3, 257)⁷⁶.

ḡby, “Vessel” (KTU 4.103:22; 4.339:4)⁷⁷ – Akk. *ḡāb/pū*, “small earthen jug for storage” (CAD ḡ, 20; cf. CDA, 100a)⁷⁸ as well as Syriac/Aram. *ḡby*, *ḡbyt’*, “amphora” (cf. LS², 209; DJBA, 426a; Payne Smith, 123).

70. See Hamito-Semitic **ḡogil-*, “(to) go, (to) cross”, with references to Semitic *ḡgl*, “(to) skip along”, etc., in Orel/Stolbova 1995, 281-282 §1276.

71. The fem. PN *ḡa-ma-ni-tum*, “Born in (the month) *ḡamanitum*” (NPN, 52a) is cited in both AHw, 315a and CAD ḡ, 59b. For another proposal see Watson LSU, 166.

72. For discussion see Watson 1996, 98.

73. For Ug. /*ḡ*/ as equivalent to Akk. /*ḡ*/ see Tropper 1995.

74. For a different proposal see Kogan 2003, 245.

75. Orel/Stolbova 1995, §1366.

76. Possibly a loan from Akk. *ḡubšašū*, “a pottery vessel”. Cf. Militarev 2007, 115, who cites the Egyptian and Afro-Asiatic terms, but does not refer to Ugaritic.

77. Unless it means “Gazelle” (Watson LSU, 166) or is Anatolian, matching either the spellings *ḡapiya* or *ḡubiya* (for references see Gröndahl PTU, 310) but of unknown meaning.

78. For Afro-Asiatic see **ḡab-/ḡabi’*, “vessel” in Orel/Stolbova 1995, 289 §1313.

hlp, “Babe-in-arms” (KTU 4.172:4; 4.266:4; 4.611:11), a possible meaning in view of the Emar PN *hulāpu*, “Binde”, lit. “a wrapping” (CDA, 119b) on which Pruzsinszky (PTE, 82 n. 116) comments: “ist hierbei an ein “Wickelkind” zu denken?”⁷⁹.

hlyn (KTU 4.64 ii 9; 4.692:10), syllabically *ha-li-ia-na* (PRU 3, 139 [RS 16.131]:20), remains unexplained⁸⁰. It cannot be excluded that it means “bat”, corresponding to Hitt. *halliya*, “Fledermaus”, but this is very uncertain (Haas 2010).

hnzr, “Swine” (KTU 4.64 ii 2; 4.69 i 14; 4.98:16) – see below on *hzrn* and *hzry*.

hrmln, “Rue” (KTU 4.35 i 12; 4.103:42, 43) – Arab. *ħarmal*, “African rue” (DMWA, 172b); the name also occurs in Elephantine as *hrml*⁸¹ and may be Egyptian.

hrpn, “First child” (KTU 4.75 iv 6) – cf. Akk. *ħarāpu*, “to be early” (CDA, 107a) and Demotic *ħrp*, “to be first, early” (CDD H, 150). See also Akk. *ħirāpu* and *ħurāpu*, “spring (lamb/kid)” (CAD H, 245; cf. CDA, 121b), which indicate that the Ug. personal name may simply mean “Spring Child”.

ħśś, “(The god) Ĥasis(u)” (RS [Varia 31]:14). Like *kt̄r*, the name of the god *ħss* can occur independently (e.g. KTU 1.6 vi 49; 1.92:17), but this is the only spelling with –ś– and the only occurrence of this divine name as a personal name.

ħttx (KTU 4.436:3). Possible meanings are either (1) “Splendid”, based on the Babylonian feminine name *Ĥiššātu(m)*, “Superb” (see CDA, 117b under *ħiššā’um*) or (2) “Dark(-haired/eyed)” – cf. Akk. *ħašū*, “to become dark” (CDA, 111b) – but the Ugaritic name is incomplete.

hzrn, “Pig” (KTU 4.69 ii 5; 4.632:6) and *hzry* (KTU 4.763:6): it seems certain that these are related to Semitic terms for “pig”⁸².

kbby, “Kubaba” (KTU 4.695:7) has the spelling ^f*ku-ba-ba* (PRU 3, 76 [RS 16.144]:6)⁸³. Dijkstra notes: “For the Anatolian name *KBBY*, we may compare the name of Kubaba, the wife of King Archalba”, also the daughter of Tak’anu⁸⁴.

kdgd, “Large jar” (KTU 4.69 vi 7; 4.93 i 13; 4.412 iii 4; 4.624:11; 4.681:7; 4.769:51; RS [Varia 33]:2) – the syllabic equivalents DUG-*ga-du-[li]* / *ka-dú-ga-du-[li]*⁸⁵ show that Gröndahl’s analysis was correct⁸⁶.

kdrn, “Chatterbox” (KTU 4.33:22; 4.55:26; 4.350:1) is possible, based either on Hurr. *kad=iri*, “speaker”⁸⁷ or, curiously, on Syriac *kdr*, “a loquacious person” (cf. LS², 319)⁸⁸.

79. For various other proposals see Watson LSU, 167. There is no syllabic spelling to settle the matter.

80. See Gröndahl PTU, 138 (possibly related to *hl*, “to be sick”) and 215 (equated with equally opaque *glyn*).

81. See Benz 1972, 318.

82. See Dalix Meier 2006, 38. For a more cautious view see Kogan 2003, 250, 253.

83. See Van Soldt 1991, 13 and DUL, 424.

84. Dijkstra 2010, 28 and n. 8 with further references; see already PTU, 278 and DUL, 424.

85. C. Roche *apud* Dijkstra 2010, 36 n. 45.

86. Gröndahl PTU, 44 (= KD “Krug” + GDL “groß”) and 149 (“großer Krug”).

kkn (KTU 4.610:69; 4.645:4)⁸⁹ – cf. the Akk. PN *kikinum*, which occurs in Sippar (rarely) and elsewhere⁹⁰. Unfortunately, no meaning can be suggested.

kky (KTU 4.321:3)⁹¹ – cf. perhaps the Nuzi PN spelled *Ki-in-k[i-y]a* (HSS XV, 22 obv.10), *Ki-in-[k]i-a* (JEN IV, 415 obv. 41) and *Ki-in-ki-ya* (JEN VII, 699 obv. 45) but normalised as *Kikkiya* by Maidman (2010, 283).

kpyn, “Famished” (KTU 4.759:3), based on Syriac and Aram. *kpyn*, “famished” (cf. LS², 340). Alternatively, see above under *gby*. It is less likely to correspond to the Nuzi PN *ku-ú-pi* (HSS XV, 32 obv. 9) but may be compared with Alalakh *ka₄-bi-ya* (AT 15:3, 7).

krmt, “Extensive in wisdom” (KTU 4.687:1; 4.492:2). The spelling *ki-ri-ma-te* (RS 86.2220:7) seems to rule out any comparison with Akk. *kurmittu*, “butterfly”⁹². If Hurrian, it may combine the verb *kir-*, “to set free” or the adjective *keri*, “long”⁹³ and the noun *mati-*, “wisdom”, but it remains obscure.

krzn, “Insect” (KTU 4.102:1; 4.357:28; 4.391:11; 4.616:6) – Aram. *k^erāzā*, name of two species of winged locusts” (Jastrow, 665), “type of creeping animal” (DJPA B 600), Geez *k^warāzi*, “ant”⁹⁴. Other possible meanings based on Syriac *krz* (cf. LS², 344) are “bell-wether” and “pitcher”. See also LSU, 170.

ksln, “Clumsy” (KTU 4.12:3; 4.122:5). The meaning “Clumsy” (Gröndahl PTU, 29, 425) is based on Arab. *kasala*, “schwerfällig gehen”. Two further alternatives are “Lazy”, equivalent to Arab. *kaslān*, “lazy, indolent, etc.” (DMWA, 827) or possibly even “Confident”, comparable to Heb. *kesel*, “confidence, stupidity” (HALOT, 489)⁹⁵.

kšy, “Kešši” (KTU 9.418:2) - possibly corresponding to Hurrian Kešši or Kišši, found in EA as *ki-iš-ši* (EA 341:4, 7)⁹⁶ and also in the Boghazköy texts (Wilhelm 1999), but not in the Hurrian onomasticon⁹⁷.

ktkt, “Craftsman” (KTU 4.33:16) - Akk. *kikittû* (also *kiška/ittû*), “(military) craftsman” (cf. CDA, 162b), “craftsman, smith, armorer, engineer” (CAD K, 453b-454) – is a possibility, although the name may be Anatolian, corresponding either to Cappadocian *kutkutana* (AT 141) or to Hittite *kitkiti* (NH no. 592)⁹⁸.

ktl, “Brewer” (KTU 4.309:9); cf. *ktly* (KTU 4.55:10; 4.611:5). An alternative to “Strong one”, based on Hurr. *kašl-*, “to be strong” (Watson LSU, 171) is “brewer”, based on Akk. *kaššilu*, “brewer”⁹⁹.

87. See Pruzsinszky PTE, 242 (and nn. 174-175) on the Emar PN *Katiri*, “Sprecher” (but with no reference to Ugaritic).

88. For an alternative see Gröndahl PTU, 149 and Watson 2006, 450.

89. Listed by Gröndahl PTU, 311; cf. Watson 1987.

90. The name is cited by Suurmeijer 2010.

91. Previously discussed in Watson LSU, 168-169.

92. As proposed in Watson LSU, 170.

93. See Pruzsinszky PTE, 243 and n. 184.

94. CDG, 295. For references and discussion see SED II, No. 119 **k^waraz-* // **karaz-*, ‘kind of insect’ (but with no reference to Ugaritic).

95. For the Heb. PN *kislôn*, “slow”, see Noth 1928, 227 (cited in HALOT, 490).

96. See Hess 1993, 100 no. 100.

97. As pointed out by Dijkstra 2008, 205 n. 5. However, both *Kuššiya* and *Kušuya* occur in Nuzi: see Maidman, 2010, 283b.

98. Both cited by Gröndahl PTU, 280, with references but no gloss.

ktwn, “Cautious” (KTU 4.339:2) – the spelling of this name is now available: *ku-uš-wa*[] (RS 86.2227:10'), and it seems to be Hurrian¹⁰⁰.

kwy, “Scarred” (KTU 4.313:27) and *kwyn*, “Scarred” (KTU 4.53:6) may be explained by Syriac *kwy*, “to scar” (cf. Payne Smith, 207 and LS², 320). See below on *yky*.

ldn, “Youth” (KTU 4.222:14; 4.264:8). Besides Akk. *līdānu*, “child (of a slave girl)” (CDA, 182a)¹⁰¹, see Eg. *jd* < **ld*, “boy” (EDE I, 240). See also the Emar PN *Lādīa*, “child” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 173), which is West Semitic.

mṛtd, “Gem” (KTU 4.63 i 13). The name has been explained as “Inheritance of Hadad” (cf. Gröndahl PTU, 32, 133, 160). An alternative is to compare Ug. *mṛtd* with Mari Akk. *maršīdātum*, “a stone” (CDA, 198)¹⁰².

mšū, “Robber” (KTU 4.130:1; 4.635:39; 4.769:58), possibly with the spelling *maš-i* (RS 86.2220:20) corresponding to the Emar PN *maš'u*, “Räuberisch” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 89).

ndbd, “Haddu is generous” (KTU 4.15:9) has the spelling *na-du-ba-ti* (PRU 3, 204 [RS 16.126B+] lower edge ii 3) as explained by Van Soldt (2005, 179).

nhr, “Intelligent” (KTU 4.713:4) explained by Arab. *nīhr*, “industrious, intelligent”, cited by Noth (1928, 228) for Heb. *naḥrī* (HALOT, 690a).

nḥhy, “Boy” (KTU 4.687:2). This meaning is based on Eg. *nḥh*, “Jüngling, Knabe” (GHWb, 428) and is therefore very uncertain. The syllabic spelling is *ni-ḥé-ḥé* (PRU 3, 198 [RS 16.359B]:1'; Ugar. 5, No. 12 [RS 17.034+]:34).

nkn, “Lame” (KTU 4.611:19) is possibly cognate with Heb. *nkh*, “lame” (HALOT, 698)¹⁰³. See below on *psḥn*.

nmq, “Bright” (KTU 4.7:4; 4.233:7; 4.339:6; 4.442:42)¹⁰⁴. This name also occurs on a Canaanite jar found at Ugarit with the inscription *lhr nmq*¹⁰⁵ and has the syllabic spelling *nu-ma-qi* (PRU 3, 201 [RS 16.126B+] iii 16). The meaning is based on Arab. *nammaqa*, “verschönern” (cited in PTU, 167).

99. As Durand notes (in Durand/Marti, 2003, 176 n. 116): “Le NP de la servante dans RE [= TVE] 27 est lui-même curieux; si Beckman a raison de le lire *kašš-il*, c'est peut être une forme absolue du terme *kaššilu* = «brasseur», désormais bien documenté par les textes d'époque amorrite”. Cf. Durand 1987.

100. See Pruzsinszky PTE, 244 and nn. 190, 191 (on Hurr. *kuz(z)-*). This verb means “zurückhalten”; cf. Wegner 2000, 231.

101. See Watson LSU, 171 with further references.

102. Possibly a plural of Akk. *maršittu* (CAD M/1, 295a; cf. AHW, 1573b). Note the occurrence of ^{na}*amar-sida-tum*, “pierres *marsidatum*” in Lambert 1970, 256, line 15.

103. It is unlikely to correspond to Akk. *akū*, “cripple” (CDA, 10b), which is a loan from Sumerian (cf. AHW, 30).

104. It also occurs in KTU 1.69:2, an Akkadian text in the alphabetic script.

105. Segert 2001, 233, made no reference to Gröndahl (PTU, 167) or to the syllabic spelling and he suggested that *nmq* is a passive participle from **ymq* corresponding to Arab. *wamiqa*, “to love tenderly”. He also mentioned the Phoenician PN *nmq* CIS I, 3665 from Carthage (as *brn bn nmq*). If the name is a direct loan from Akkadian, it could correspond to *nēmequ*, “wisdom” (CDA, 249b), but this is unlikely.

nn, “Descendant” (KTU 4.52:11), if it corresponds to Phoen. *nn*, “descendant” (DNWSI, 734) and more remotely, Eg. *nn*, “son” (GHWb, 415)¹⁰⁶.

nwrđ, “Steward” (KTU 4.102:3; 4.104:17; cf. 4.678:6) – based on Hurr. *nuwarši-*, which may denote “a kind of steward” (Dijkstra 2008, 210). Whether *nwrđr* (KTU 4.286:3) can be similarly explained remains uncertain.

pbyn, “Divine mountain” (KTU 4.63 ii 37)¹⁰⁷. The spelling *pa-pa-ya* (PRU 3, 157 [RS 16254C+]: 14, 19) corresponds to the PN *pa-ba-ia* on a tablet from Tall Bi^ca¹⁰⁸.

pdy, “(The god) has ransomed” (KTU 4.15:3; 4.46:12; 4.86:7; 4.98:23; 4.112 iii 2; 4.178:3; 4.299:3; 4.376:2; 4.424:8; 4.425:6) – there has been much discussion of this name (see DUL, 664), which has now been found inscribed on a Phoenician arrowhead as *pdy bn qry*¹⁰⁹.

pgn, “Bawler” (KTU 2.46:1; 2.47:21) – Aram. *pgn*, “to cry out” (Jastrow, 1134). An alternative meaning is “Rue”, based on Syriac *pgn*, “rue” (*Ruta graveolens*; cf. LS², 556).

pkly, “(DN) has gathered” (KTU 4.480:7), is a hypocoristic Hurrian name corresponding to the Emar PN *Pukli-šarru*, “Der Gottkönig hat versammelt” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 230)¹¹⁰.

pls, “(DN) is in my view” (KTU 2.44:17; 4.63 ii 31; 4.75 vi 5; 4.283:8; 4.769:11) and *plś* (KTU 4.617:15), with the same meaning, can be compared with the Phoen. PN *pls* found on an inscription from Amrit¹¹¹.

pndn, “Big-bellied” (KTU 4.35 i 14; 4.33:38) – Akk. (MB) *pandānu*, “big-bellied” (only as a PN; CAD P, 81b); “chesty” (CDA, 263a). Alternatively, “Having a red spot”, corresponding to Akk. *pendū*, “red mole, blemish” (CAD P, 323b-324)¹¹². In either case the final *-n* would be an affirmative (see Tropper UG, 271-273 §51.46).

pprn, “Vessel” (KTU 4.63 i 38). The syllabic spelling *pu-pu-ru* (PRU 6,63 [RS 17.445]:2) indicates Akk. *pupuri*, “a vessel” (CAD P, 512a) or “(copper) container” (cf. CDA, 278b).

pshn, “Lame one” (KTU 4.63 iii 42; 4.96:12; 4.343:2). Cognates include Heb. *psh*, “Hobblers” (HALOT, 947-948), Akk. *pessū*, *passū*, “lame, limping” (CDA, 273a; cf. CAD P, 327-328; AHw, 856-857) and Arab. *fasaḥa*, “to dislocate, put out of joint”¹¹³ or *fasaḥa*, “to be(come) distant”¹¹⁴. It is interesting that the

106. For other possibilities see Watson 1995, 225.

107. See Ribichini/Xella 1988, 166.

108. Bi. 26/49:59 line 3 (Krebernik 1990, 76).

109. Sader 1990, 317. Following Delavault/Lemaire 1979, 12, she accepts the meaning of “la divinité «a racheté»”.

110. On Hurr. *pugl-*, “sich versammeln”, see Wegner 2000, 41; Laroche GLH, 204. As Pruzsinszky PTE, 230 n. 65 comments: “Das Element findet sich auch in den Kurznamen *Pukli* un *Pukuli* des Nuzi-Onomastikons”, but makes no reference to the Ug. name. For a different explanation see Watson LSU, 174.

111. Puech 1986, 337, line 2. For the meaning see Watson LSU, 174 (note: correct “*plśb^cl*” to “*pls/śb^cl*”).

112. Unless, of course, it is Hurrian, i.e. *pnd-n/* on which see Dietrich/Loretz 1969a (although this particular name is not mentioned) and Pruzsinszky PTE, 241 (on Emar *Penti-*, “Der Rechte”) and 241 n. 159 (for further references).

113. See already De Moor 1971, 138 and Gröndahl PTU, 29 §54, 175.

114. See the brief discussion in SED I, 514 No. 55 (with no reference to Ugaritic).

name *psḥ* also occurs in a Canaanite or Early Phoenician inscription on a bowl¹¹⁵. The text reads: *ks psḥ bn šm^c*, “Bowl of PN₁, son of PN₂”. It also occurs as *psḥ* on a 6th or 7th century BCE seal¹¹⁶. See above on *nkn*.

pyn, “Strong” (KTU 4.52:4; 4.244:8; 4.696:8) – Akk. *pīyānu*, “strong” (CDA, 276; but see CAD P, 371).

qly, “Bowl” (KTU 4.780:4) – Akk. *qulliu*, *qullû*, “a bowl” (CAD Q, 297b-298a) “ein Ton- od. Bronzekrug” (AHw, 926b; cf. CDA, 290b). Other alternatives are “burnt” – Emar PN *qaliu/qalî*, “Verbrannter” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 93) or possibly “slight”, Akk. *qallu*, “slight” (CDA, 28a)¹¹⁷. Most probably, though, the name is Hurrian, a hypocoristic meaning “(The god) made happy”, corresponding to the Emar PN *Kili*, i.e. *Kel=i*, “Er machte zufrieden”¹¹⁸.

qry, “My wall (is DN)” (KTU 4.788:4), is a hypocoristic name. See the Emar PNN *’Abî-qîrî*, “My father is my wall”, which may be Hurrian (Pruzsinszky PTE, 190 and n. 397) and *Qîrî-Dagān*, “My wall is Dagan” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 197). However, note the Phoen. PN *qrym* (Benz 1972, 407) as well as Phoen. *qry* in the name *pdy bn qry*¹¹⁹.

qwhn, “Wailer” (KTU 4.754:8) – previously unexplained – but see perhaps Syriac *qwh*, “to wail” (cf. LS², 651).

qwy, “Awaited” (KTU 9.419:11): like Emar *Iakiu*, the root may be *qwy*¹²⁰ for which see Heb. *qwh*, “to await, hope” (HALOT, 1082) and Akk. *qu’û*, *quwwû*, etc., D: “to await, wait for” (CDA, 292b).

rpš, “Broad” (KTU 4.63 iii 23; 4.243:4), may be Semitic (Gröndahl PTU, 180); cf. the Nuzi PN *Rap-še-ya* (EN 9/1, 7 obv. 3) whose father also had a Semitic name (*Be-li-ya*)¹²¹.

rpty, “Fidgety” (KTU 4.116:12) – Syriac *rpt*, “to wriggle, move around, show signs of life” (cf. LS², 741; Payne Smith, 548)¹²².

rt, “Ruth” (KTU 4.69 iii 19), may correspond to Heb. *rûṭ*, which has been explained in various ways¹²³. For previous discussion see Watson LSU, 177.

sbl, “Juniper” (KTU 4.69 i 13; 4.122:17; with a new occurrence in RS 94.2050+:36) – the spelling *ZU-ba-li* (RSOu 7, 3 obv. 10) indicates Akk. *supālu*, “juniper” (CDA, 328; CAD S, 390-391)¹²⁴. For the *b/p* interchange in Ugaritic names see Gröndahl PTU, 22 §35¹²⁵.

115. Alexandre 2002.

116. Avigad/Sass 1997, no. 323.

117. See the discussion in Pruzsinszky PTE, 93 n. 245 (but with no reference to Ugaritic).

118. As explained by Pruzsinszky PTE, 240, with a reference to Ug. *qly* in n. 147. See already Dietrich/Loretz 1967, 538.

119. Sader 1990, 317. Comparison with Aram. *qry*, “grain weevil, etc.” (DJBA, 1043b) seems much less likely.

120. Pruzsinszky PTE, 168 and n. 184. However, see above on *kwy* and *kwyn*.

121. For the text cf. Maidman 2010, 181.

122. For previous suggestions see Watson 1990, 125 and Watson 1993, 219.

123. See for example, Knauf 1994 and Rendsburg 1999, 27-28, §1.

124. There seem to be no other cognates, but it may correspond to Eg. *’asbar*, “juniper”, discussed by Hoch 1994, 35-36, § 29 (although tentatively explained there as a metathesised form of **baraṭa*).

slgyn, “He/She of the umbilical cord” (KTU 4.93 ii 7) and *šlgyn* (KTU 4.69 ii 6; 4.450:2)¹²⁶. The spelling *zu-ul-gi-ia-na* (RS 34.36:11')¹²⁷ may point to a derivation from Hurr. *zulgi*, “(umbilical) cord”, a meaning proposed by Richter based on Hurr. *zul(l)-*, “to bind, tie”. He comments that this word occurs in nominal single word names, both male and female, e.g. *zulgi* (Mari), *sulki* (Alalakh), ^f*zulgi* (Dilbat) and *zulkia* (Hattuša), adding: “Bei einer Deutung als Geburtsname bietet sich die Spezialbedeutung ‘Nabelschnur’ an.” (Richter 2010).

smyy, “Blind” (KTU 4.318:7; 4.624:4) – Syriac *smy*, “blind person” (DJPA, 381a; cf. LS², 480). An alternative is “Indecisive”, corresponding to Akk. *samû*, “undecided, vacillating” (CDA, 315b).

snb, “Binder” (KTU 4.311:3; cf. Watson LSU, 178), comparable to the PN *sannabân*, “‘nom de métier’ based on *sanâbum* ‘enveloppeur’”¹²⁸ and the OB PN *sannâpu*, “binder” (CDA, 316b). Note also the OB PN *sa-an-bi-um* (BM 12874 obv. 9)¹²⁹.

snt, “Carnelian” (KTU 3.4:10) – Akk. *sântu*, etc. “carnelian” (CDA, 315), *sāmtu*, *sāntu*, *sāndu*, “a red stone, mostly designating carnelian” (CAD S, 121) or perhaps simply “Red”, unless it means “Daughter” (cf. Watson LSU, 178).

sphy, “Vessel” (KTU 4.393:14)¹³⁰, based on Akk. *siphu(m)*, which denotes a metal vessel (cf. CDA, 324b)¹³¹.

srp, “Suckling” (KTU 4.283:6), based on Syriac *srp*, “to suck” (cf. Payne Smith, 392; LS², 500); cf. also Akk. *sarāpu*, “to sup” (CDA, 317b), “to sip” (CAD S, 172b)¹³². This may clarify the Emar PN *Saripa* (unexplained in Pruzsinszky PTE, 270).

ssl, “Container” (KTU 4.15:6). The spellings *su-us-su-ul-lu* and *su-us-su-ul-li* (PRU 4, 202 [RS 17.371+]:1, 2, rev. 6')¹³³ indicate Nuzi Akk. *sussullu* (also *sussullku*), a wooden container used for bread and meat¹³⁴. This rules out comparison with the Akk. PN *saslum* (CDA, 319), meaning unknown, or with Akk. *sisalhu*, which is a type of sheep or cattle (CDA, 325a; CAD S, 321).

ssn, “Vessel” (PN: KTU 4.153:11): cf. NA *susānu*, “a vessel” (CAD S, 416a; CDA, 329a; cf. AHW, 1063b) and compare Syriac *ss*, “a measure” (cf. LS², 486).

125. For other proposals see Gröndahl PTU, 184.

126. An alternative meaning is “jar” (see Watson LSU, 178). See also, perhaps, the Ug. PN *slg* (KTU 4.12:13).

127. See Van Soldt 2005, 357.

128. Durand 1997, 644 n. 594.

129. Mander/Pomponio 2001, 47.

130. For a different proposal see Watson LSU, 178.

131. For Mari cf. ARM 25 No. 487 obv.1 and No. 518 rev.3. For Emar cf. Tsukimoto 1992, 312-313.

132. See also Hitt. *šara(p)-*, *šarip-*, “to sip” (CHD Š, 243-244; cf. also EDHIL, 731) and possibly Hitt. *šarupp-*, with a similar meaning (CHD Š, 299). The verb may be onomatopoeic.

133. Correct DUL, 771 accordingly.

134. “Bei *sussullu* bzw. *sussullku* handelt es sich in Nuzi um einen hölzernen Behälter, der ü.a. für die Aufnahme von Brot ... und Fleisch ... vorgesehen war und von den Köchen in größerer Zahl genutzt wurde” (Schneider-Ludorff 2009, 528). See also CAD S, 417-418.

strn, “Protection” (KTU 4.7:14) is a new name; see next entry (*stry*).

stry, “(A DN is) my protection” (KTU 4.778:14; 4.782:21; cf. 4.86:20), possibly corresponding to the abbreviated Hebrew name *sitrî*, “(Yahweh is) my Protection”¹³⁵. Note also *Sî-it-ru^d-a-mi* on a tablet from Tall Bi^ca¹³⁶.

šbt, “Supported (by DN)” (RS 94.2050+:14)¹³⁷ is a new Ugaritic PN. The root occurs elsewhere only in *mšbt*, “tongs” (Wyatt RTU, 91) which may correspond to Akk. *mušabbi(t)tu*, “a bronze implement” (CDA, 220a); see also Akk. *šābitu*, “gripping tool” (CDA, 331a: mng 2).

šmrt, “(The DN is my) X” (KTU 4.75 vi 5). The absence of a syllabic spelling makes it difficult to choose from (1) “bloated”, equivalent to Akk. *šimertu(m)*, “swollen state” (CDA, 338b) (2) “wish” or the like, based on Akk. *šamāru*, “to wish, strive (for)” (CDA, 333a)¹³⁸ and (3) “wealth”, if explained by Akk. *šimru*, “wealth” (CDA, 338)¹³⁹. Any would be suitable as personal name¹⁴⁰.

šnnr, “Light-filled” (RS 94.2050+:5). This new entry seems to be a composite name, i.e. *šn*, “filled” (cf. Akk. *šēnu*, “filled, laden” (CDA, 336a) + *nr*, “light” (cf. DUL, 642)¹⁴¹. However, the meaning proposed is quite uncertain.

šnr, “Tree” (KTU 4.15:10; 4.35 ii 16; 4.281:30; 4.370:45; 4.749:2; 4.769:35) – also as *šnrn*, (KTU 4.103:8) remains unexplained¹⁴², but cf. Syriac *šnr*, “(name of a tree)” (cf. LS², 633) and more remotely, Eg. *snr*, “eine Pflanze” (Wb 4, 167.2-3)¹⁴³, “e[ine] Pflanze” (GHWb, 721).

šrptn, “Ruddy-skinned” (KTU 4.63 i 46): see Akk. *širiptu* “reddening, discoloration (of skin)?” (CDA, 339). An alternative is a meaning such as “Vociferous”, based on Akk. *šarāpu*, “to be loud, cry out” (CDA, 334a).

šmtr, “Highly freckled” (RS 94.2050+:55), a new name, can be explained by Akk. *matāru*, “to speck” (CAD M/1, 405-406; cf. AHW, 1574b and CDA, 204a [“spotted, speckled”]).

šš, “(Well-)Fed” (KTU 4.658:19): see on *ššy* and *ttu* below.

ššl, “Concern” (KTU 4.229:7): Gröndahl (PTU, 250) had already suggested a connection with Hurr. *šaš-* or *zaz-*, but without proposing a meaning. The meaning of Hurr. *zazal-* has been recently discussed by Richter¹⁴⁴.

135. Noth 1928, 38 and 158, cited in HALOT, 772b, with further references.

136. Bi. 27/48:24 line 31 (Krebernik 1990, 72).

137. Translated “le fait d’être tenu en main [par une divinité]” in Bordreuil/Pardee 2004 II, 194.

138. Durand 1998, 162 note m.: “*šimrât*, les désirs and *šamāru* “to strive for (something)” (CAD S, 92b-93).

139. Cf. the PN *Dagān-šimertî*, “Dagān ist mein Reichtum / Höchstes” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 195 and n. 443).

140. For other options see Gröndahl PTU, 189.

141. It could be a misspelling of *šnrn* (KTU 4.103:8).

142. For other options see Gröndahl PTU, 189; DUL, 787 and HALOT, 1038.

143. Reference courtesy of the on-line TLA. Or else this may explain the Ug. PN *snr* (KTU 4.273:2; 4.432 ii 7).

144. Richter 2009; see also Schneider-Ludorff 2009, 486.

ššy, “He raised” (KTU 4.313:7; cf. LSU, 180) if Hurrian; see on *tty* below.

tblm, “Smith” (RS 86.2235) if it is a PN, corresponding to Hurr. *tabli* (or *taballi*), “(metal-)caster, smith”¹⁴⁵.

tby (KTU 4.159:5) may be a form of Hurr. *tapp-*, “to strengthen”¹⁴⁶.

tg, “Crown” (KTU 4.83:6). The name is generally considered to be Hurrian (Gröndahl PTU, 258-259)¹⁴⁷ explained by Hurr. *tagi-(b/p)* “fest, hart” and a similar name occurs in Emar as *Taku*, “Pure One, Light” (Pruzsinszky PTE 247 and 247 n. 218). Curiously, though, it also occurs in an inscription from Beth Shean as *ta-gi* (Beth Shean 2:4)¹⁴⁸ and therefore may be Semitic. The meaning is supplied by Hatra *tg’*, “crown”¹⁴⁹, Palm. *tg*, “crown” (DNWSI, 1203) and Syr. *tāgā*, “crown” (Payne Smith 1903, 604)¹⁵⁰.

tgbyr, “Wood”, in the toponym *gt tgbry* (KTU 4.271:7, 9 and perhaps 4.296:13) – spelled *ta-ga-bi-ra(-ya)* (Ugar. 5, No. 96 [RS 20.012]:4, 15, 22) – may be a PN; but whether it corresponds to Hurr. *tagabarušhe*, which denotes a piece of furniture (cf. CAD T, 38b and CDA, 393b), is very uncertain. Possibly it refers to a type of wood.

tgġln (KTU 4.609:38) – to the syllabic spellings already listed (DUL, 861) add *ta-ku-uh-li* (Ugar. 5, No. 28 [RS 20.184]:11) and *ta-ku-uh-li-na*, who was the “prefect of the Land of Ugarit”¹⁵¹.

tgn, “Crown” (KTU 4.64 v 7): see above on *tg* (but cf. Watson LSU, 181).

tgd, “Addu reared (him)” (KTU 4.609:9). This name was recognised as a hybrid, comprising the Hurrian verb *teġ-* – and the divine name Addu (Dietrich/Loretz 1969b). Hurr. *teġ-* means “to grow”, but in personal names has the transitive meaning “to raise, bring up (a child)” (Fincke 1995, 12). The Emar PN *tiha’e* is similar¹⁵².

tgh, “(DN) Reared (him)” (KTU 4.85:7): see the previous name (*tgd*)¹⁵³.

tkwn (KTU 4.103:53; 4.556:4), syllabically perhaps *ta-ku-an* (PRU 4, 183 [RS 17.319]:18) and *ta-gu-a-nu* (PRU 6, 60 [RS 17.349 [D]]:6) and from Qatna: *da-ku-wa* (MSH02G-i0194+284:2; MSH02G-i0274:4) and *ta-ku-wa* (MSH02G-i0276:2)¹⁵⁴. The name may be Hurrian¹⁵⁵, but see the Hatra PN *tqwn*¹⁵⁶.

145. See Neu 1993, 62 and n. 12; Wegner 2000, 193 and Dietrich/Loretz 1990.

146. For the verb see Richter 2003, 167-168 (§1.2.3.: “Eine verbale Basis *tapp-* ist bislang nicht diskutiert worden, im hurritische Sprachgut ist sie nur selten bezeugt”); it means “verstärken, befestigen”. Less likely is comparison with Hurr.(?) *tebiu*, “wool”, for which cf. Hrůša 2010, 122-123 (VI 8).

147. See previously Dietrich/Loretz 1967, 550.

148. Cited in Mynářová 2007, 91.

149. See Al-Jubouri 2010, 39.

150. In the toponym *gt tgbry* (KTU 4.271:7, 9 and perhaps 4.296:13), the element *tgbyr* (spelled *ta-ga-bi-ra(-ya)*, etc.) may be a PN; whether it corresponds to Hurr. *tagabarušhe*, which denotes a piece of furniture (CAD T, 38b), is very uncertain. Possibly it refers to a type of wood.

151. Aphek 6 52055/1 line 4S (Singer 1986).

152. See Pruzsinszky PTE, 248.

153. Note that **tkpg^c* (KTU 6.15:1) is an incorrect reading; see above under *akpgt*.

tlb, “May (DN) cause to prosper!” (KTU 4.357:16) and the syllabic spelling *túl-[b]i-x* (Ugar. 7 pl. 2:15’): the name is Hurrian¹⁵⁷ and the underlying verb is Hurr. *tulp-*, “to cause to prosper”¹⁵⁸.

tlby, “May (DN) cause me to prosper!” (KTU 4.118:4; 4.161:2, 3) and the syllabic spelling *tu-ul-bi-ia* (PRU 6, 78 [RS 19.041]:17): see previous entry.

tlgn, “Itchy feet” (KTU 4.609:35), possibly corresponding to Akk. *tilgūtu*, “chilblain” (CAD T, 405a). Less likely comparisons are Demotic *tlg*, which denotes a plant¹⁵⁹ and Hitt. *talugai-*, “long”¹⁶⁰.

tlš, “(The goddess) Tališ” (KTU 4.214 iii 22; 4.382:30) – the name of the goddess seems to be Hurrian, as proposed by Dalix Meier¹⁶¹. However, cf. the Alalah PN *Tu-la-a-ši* in AT 272:12¹⁶².

tlšn, “Silvester, Forester” (KTU 4.311:13; 4.512:2) – although this could be a form of the verb *lšn*, “to slander” (Watson 1993, 221), in view of the previous name it is more probably to be derived from Hurr. *tali*, “forest”¹⁶³.

tlz, “Bird” (KTU 4.7:15): the solitary possible cognate of this newly published name¹⁶⁴ appears to be Akk. *tal’azu*, “a bird” (CAD T, 93a; CDA, 395b), but it only occurs in lexical lists.

tmy, “Flea” (KTU 4.724:11; 4.761:8) and *tmyn*, “Flea” (KTU 4.41:12). The spelling *tam-me-ia* (RS 14.16:29) supports comparison either with Akk. *tāmū*, “apple-like tree” (CDA, 397; AHw, 1318b) or with Hurr. *tame*, “flea”¹⁶⁵, but the occurrence of /tamaia/ as a Hurrian name at Nuzi (NPN, 262) favours the latter. It is the Hurrian equivalent of the PN *prġt*, “Flea” (KTU 4.128:7; 4.317:1)¹⁶⁶.

tqn, “Placid” (KTU 4.7:4¹⁶⁷; 4.277:11). This could be a spelling of Hurrian names with the element *tg-* (discussed above)¹⁶⁸. Alternatively, the spellings *il-taq-nu* (*Syria* 15, 1934, 133 [RS 4.466+]:14, 15)¹⁶⁹ and

154. Cited in Mynářová 2007, 78-79.

155. As proposed by Dietrich/Loretz 1967, 550 and cf. Van Soldt 2005, 185 and n. 128. Unfortunately, the meaning of Akk. *takwū(m)* remains unknown (cf. CAD T, 91b; CDA, 395b).

156. Al-Jabouri 2010, 40; see on *tqn* below.

157. So Gröndahl PTU, 265, but with no meaning proposed. For a different solution see Watson LSU, 181.

158. See Salvini 1996.

159. Charpentier 1981, §1393.

160. EDHIL 819-820.

161. “le théonyme pourrait dériver du terme hourrite *tali* signifiant «forêt» avec le suffixe -š que l’on rencontre également dans un certain nombre d’anthroponymes. Il s’agirait donc de la «forestière, sylvestre»” (Dalix Meier 2006, 56).

162. As collated and read by Oliva 1998, 597.

163. “le théonyme pourrait dériver du terme hourrite *tali* signifiant «forêt» avec le suffixe -š que l’on rencontre également dans un certain nombre d’anthroponymes. Il s’agirait donc de la «forestière, sylvestre»” (Dalix Meier 2006, 56).

164. Bordreuil/Pardee 2010, 11.

165. André-Salvini/Salvini 1999, 145.

166. See Watson 2006, 452 (correct “*prġt*” to *prġt*”).

167. This line is read as *šd d tqn*, “the field of Tqn”, by Bordreuil/Pardee 2010, 12.

168. Dietrich/Loretz 1967, 550 on §2524.

169. See Gröndahl PTU, 32 §61, 3; note also *taqan* (AT 149) cited in PTU 201.

táq-qa-na (PRU 3, 32 [RS 16.129]:2) indicate a connection with Akk. *taqānu*, “to become placid, orderly, secure” (CAD T, 197b-199a) from which names such as *tuqnanni*, *tiqnanni*, *tuqunu*, etc. derive¹⁷⁰.

tran, “Child” (KTU 3.7:3), based on Akk. (MA) *tarû*, *tariu*, “child”, weaned but still below the age for labour (CAD T, 245)¹⁷¹.

trbnn, “Plump” (KTU 4.369:21, 22; 4.693:35), a meaning based on Aramaic *trb*, “fat” (DJBA, 1239b; DJPA, 590b; cf. also DNWSI, 1229). Alternatively, it may correspond to Akk. *tarabānu*, “eine Drogenpflanze” (AHw, 1324b; cf. CDA, 399)¹⁷². Yet again, it may simply be “a verbal form ... *tarib*, plus the name of a goddess” and mean “DN has replaced”, i.e. a brother or sister who had died earlier¹⁷³. Note also the OB PNN *ta-ri-ba-tum* (BM 12814 obv. 8) and *ta-ri-bu* (BM 12842 obv. 8, rev. 4)¹⁷⁴.

trgds, “Lover of Tarḥund-” (KTU 2.10:5; 4.102:27; 4.425:2), written *trgnd* in the TN *gt trgnd* (KTU 4.400:15) and analysed as DN + *-asa*, “Lover (or Worshipper) of Tarḥund-”¹⁷⁵.

trmn, “(The god) gave him drink” (KTU 4.612:6). This may be explained by Hurrian names of the type *tarm=i-DN*, “DN gave him drink”¹⁷⁶, unless it means “Spring, Fountain”, Hurr. *tarmani-*, “spring”¹⁷⁷, as proposed previously¹⁷⁸.

ttn, “vessel” (KTU 4.35 ii 21; 4.63 ii 16; 4.69 iii 3; 4.245 i 10): The syllabic spelling *tu-tu-na* (PRU 6, 54:18) indicates (Emar) Akk. *tutunu*, “a vessel” (CAD T, 499b-500a).

ṭdd, “Creature of Hadad” (RS 94.2050+:46). If the name can be analysed as *ṭd* + *(h)d*¹⁷⁹ then Akk. *ṭidu(m)*, “Lehm, Ton(erde); lehmise Masse” (AHw, 1391; cf. CDA, 414b), “mud, clay” (CAD T, 106-110), indicates the literal meaning “Clay of Hadad”. Also possible is “Way of Hadad”; cf. Akk. *ṭūdu*, *ṭuddu*, “path, trail” (CAD T, 121-122a; cf. CDA, 415a).

ṭiy, “(Born in the month) *šiy*” (KTU 4.245 ii 6)¹⁸⁰, has the syllabic spelling *ša-i-ya* (PRU 3, 59 [RS 16.133]:4; PRU 3, 96 [RS 16.249]:4-5, 7; PRU 3, 154 [RS 16.242]:5). Possibly this is a variant spelling of the Ugaritic month name *šiy*, recently published¹⁸¹. For the interchange of /š/ and /t/ in Ugaritic names, as in *ahršp* (KTU 4.370:7) and *ahrtp* (KTU 4.277:5), see Gröndahl PTU, 23 §41 and Tropper UG, 110.

170. So already Gröndahl PTU, 201. Less likely is a connection with Akk. *tuqnu*, “a garment” (CAD T, 481a); cf. Watson 1990, 126 and Pruzsinszky PTE, 99 with n. 313.

171. Unless it means “(child) minder” (CDA, 401a). For other possibilities see Watson LSU, 181.

172. For an explanation from Hurrian cf. Watson 1996, 104.

173. Van Soldt 2005, 186.

174. Mander/Pomponio 2001, 53.

175. Arbeitman 1980, 11 n. 16.

176. Fincke 1995, 20-21.

177. See Salvini 1971; André-Salvini/Salvini 1998, 19, 21.

178. Watson 1999; LSU, 181.

179. For similar names cf. Gröndahl PTU, 133, especially *ḥdd* = *ḥd(y)* + *(h)d*.

180. For a different explanation (i.e. “raptor”) see Watson 2007, 100.

181. For references see Del Olmo Lete 2010, 133 (§3. “Un nuevo mes: *šiy*”).

tbq, “Abandoned” (KTU 4.177:4), may be a PN corresponding to the Punic PN *špq*, which is unexplained (Benz, 1972, 425) or to Official Aram. *šbq*, “to leave, to leave alone, to leave behind, to abandon, etc.” (DNWSI, 1104-1105).

tbrn, “Broken” (KTU 4.93 ii 4; 4.761:5) – syllabically *ša-ba-ra-na* (PRU 3, 202 [RS 16.257+] iii 51) – and *tbry* (KTU 4.617:18; cf. 4.761:5). This name has persisted in later tradition. On the Dadanitic name *tbrh*, Hidalgo-Chacón Díez commented: “Es handelt sich bei diesem Wort um einen weiblichen Personennamen, der aus dem Element *tbr* ... und dem femininem Morphem *-h<*-t* gebildet wird”¹⁸². The form *tbrn* also occurs in Šafaitic as does *tbry*, corresponding to Ug. *tbry* (KTU 4.617:8; 4.761:5)¹⁸³.

tbt, “Straight-haired” (KTU 4.123:22). It has usually been considered a variant of *tpt*, “to judge” (cf. Gröndahl PTU, 22, 50, 199), but instead it may be explained by Syriac *šbt*, “straight hair” (cf. LS², 751). Alternatively, perhaps, “(The deity) averts (evil)”, based on Arab. *tabaṭa*, “to hold back, keep, prevent, etc.” (DMWA, 102a).

tk, “Only (child)” (KTU 4.45:2), with the spelling *šu-uk-ku* (PRU 4, 118 [RS 17.133]:5), a meaning indicated by Hurr. *šukko*, “one” (Wegner 2000, 70).

tlgn, “Container” (RS 94.2050+:15). This is a new PN, possibly meaning “Born in the season of snow”¹⁸⁴. Another possibility is “Container”, corresponding to Mari Akk. *šulgum*, “a container” for bread (CDA 382b; CAD Š/3, 239b)¹⁸⁵.

tmyr, “High-spirited” (KTU 4.93 ii 10; RS [Varia 33]:12), based on Akk. *šamāru*, “to rage, be furious” (CDA, 353b), “to surge, become spirited, excited, etc.” (CAD Š/2, 296)¹⁸⁶.

tnyn, “My brother” (KTU 4.141 ii 16; 4.258:2)¹⁸⁷ – the spelling *še-ni-ia-na* (PRU 3, 56 [RS 15.120]:21) is listed by Gröndahl (PTU, 250)¹⁸⁸ and corresponds to Emar *šennin(n)a*, derived from Hurr. *šēna-*, “brother” (cf. Pruzsinszky PTE, 247 and 217).

tqrn, “Vessel” (KTU 4.103:22), corresponding to Akk. *šekaruuhū*, “metal container”¹⁸⁹.

tryl, “She wished for a sister” (KTU 1.161:32; 2.14:8,12,17; 2.16:2; 2.342; 6.13:2; 7.53:4), has the syllabic spellings *šar-e-li* (PRU 3,14 [RS12.33]:2) and *šar-el-li* (Ug. 5,159 [RS 17.086+]:9, etc.). According to Wilhelm it is a recent form of Hurrian *šār=o=m-el=e*, “She wished for a sister”¹⁹⁰.

182. Hidalgo-Chacón Díez, María del Carmen 2009, 46.

183. However, cf. Watson LSU, 182.

184. I.e. “celui qui est né en temps de neige”, according to Bordreuil/Pardee 2004, 202, unless it is Hurrian.

185. Cf. the PN *slgyn*, discussed here and in Watson LSU, 178.

186. On the various meanings of Heb. *šamîr* see HALOT, 1562-1563.

187. Also *tny*, “My brother” (KTU 4.339:14).

188. But with a different Hurrian derivation (*šini*, “two”). However, it was not included in DUL, 925. For discussion of the name see Watson 1993, 220 and Ribichini/Xella 1991, 168.

189. Cf. Schneider-Ludorff 2009, 523.

190. Wilhelm 1992b, 239 n. 4. For other explanations see Watson LSU, 183.

tt̄y, “He nourished” (KTU 4.63 iv 5; 4.389:12). This is not a Semitic name meaning “Sixth” (so Gröndahl PTU, 313), but a Hurrian name derived from Hurr. *šaš/z-*, “to feed, nourish”¹⁹¹. Compare the Emar PN *šazi*, “He nourished”, as explained by Pruzsinszky PTE, 240¹⁹². See also on *zzb*, discussed below.

y^cr, “Kid” (KTU 4.609:18) and *y^crn*, “Kid” (KTU 4.63 ii 18; iii 10)¹⁹³ correspond to Heb. *ya^carāh*, “kid” (HALOT, 423) and Arab. *ya^cr*, “goat”¹⁹⁴.

ybn̄n, “(Ilu) has created” (KTU 2.64:1, 9; 2.72:25; 4.57:1; 4.91:1; 4.158:2; 4.260:5; 4.277:3; 4.384:9; 4.680:3). The new spelling *ia-bi-ni-na* (RS 88.2009:3) differs from the spellings *ia-ab-ni-ni* (Ugar. 5, No. 43 [RS 20.017]:2), *ia-ab-na-na* (Ugar. 5, No. 12 [RS 17.022+]:9) and *ia-ab-na-ni-ma* (PRU 6, 14 [RS 19.050]:2). Are there two different names, perhaps?

yky, “He is scarred” (KTU 4.35 i 7; 4.52:6; 4.226:7; 4.785:7; 9.790:18). We now have a clear spelling of this name, i.e. *ia-ku-yu₈* (RS 86.2220:24). For a possible meaning cf. Syriac *kwy*, “to scar” (Payne Smith, 207; cf. LS², 320)¹⁹⁵. See above on the PNN *kwy* and *kwyn*.

yqr, “Valued” (KTU 1.108:2; 1.113:26; cf. 1.166:13), syllabically *ia-qa-ru* (PRU 3, 169 [RS16.145]:2, *ia-qa-rū* (PRU 6, 25 [RS 17.053]:3’), *ia-qa-rum* (PRU 3, XXIV, etc.) and *ia-qa-ri*, *ia-qar-mi* (PRU 4, 202 [RS 18.20+] 4) was not the founder of the dynasty¹⁹⁶.

ytil, “Ilu exists” (KTU 4.269:11): the corresponding spelling may be *ia-aš-DINGIR* (RS 86.2220:15). Instead, Arnaud reads *ia-aša_x-DINGIR* and normalises as /Yaša^c-’Ilu/, giving the sign AŠ the value *aša_x* which according to him provides a more satisfactory verb form¹⁹⁷. This would be in agreement with scholars who analyse *ytil* as deriving from *y^t*, “to save”¹⁹⁸. Like Hebrew *’iš*¹⁹⁹ and *yēš*, both meaning “there is”, Ugaritic may have had two forms of the existential particle: *i_t*²⁰⁰ and *y_t*, particularly in the spellings of personal names, but it remains uncertain.

zlb̄n, “Untruthful” (KTU 4.7:10; 4.362:2; 4.616:16; 4.611 ii 20; 4.753:8). Besides the spellings *zi-la-ba-ni* (PRU 3, 20 [RS 15.063]:2) and *za-la-ba-na* (PRU 3, 34 [RS 8.207] rev. 6’) see now *zu-lu-pa-na* (RS 86.2220:3). This may be an allograph of *šlpn*, “Dishonest” (for which cf. Watson LSU, 179).

zry, “Small” (KTU 4.63 i 10; 4.628:1)²⁰¹ – cf. the Nuzi PN *Zi-ir-ru* (HSS XIII, 369 obv. 6)²⁰² and Akk. *zīru*, *zirru*, “small” (CDA, 449a).

191. Wilhelm 1992b, 134.

192. See also De Martino/Giorgieri 2007, 130 n. 30.

193. For the meaning “wood, forest” see PTU, 30, 142; similarly, for the Phoen. PN, cf. Benz 1972, 324.

194. For discussion and other cognates see SED II, No. 248, but with no reference to Ugaritic.

195. This may also explain the Akk. name *Iakua*, a *yaqtul-ia* form of *KWY, cited by Pruzsinszky PTE, 168, n. 184. On the West Semitic Emar names *Iakiu* and *Ia[k]ku* see Pruzsinszky PTE, 168 and n. 185.

196. See Márquez Rowe 2006, 188 and *idem* 2008, 472.

197. Arnaud 2001, 326 and 327 note on line 15.

198. Gröndahl PTU, 20, 38, 147, 425; cf. Dietrich/Loretz 1967, 540.

199. HALOT, 92b; DCH I, 403b.

200. For *i_t* see Tropper UG, 614 §75.212.3 and 819-820 §88.1. For the PN *i_t* (KTU 4.616:11) see Watson LSU, 160.

201. In Watson LSU, 186 correct ‘*zry*’ to ‘*zry*’.

202. Listed but not discussed by Maidman 2010, 169.

zzb, “Nourished” (KTU 4.679:6)²⁰³. The final *-b* indicates the name to be Hurrian, perhaps a form of *zāz-*, “to feed”, a verb that may also underlie the Emar PN *Za(z)zu*, as tentatively suggested by Pruzsinszky²⁰⁴. See on *ty* above.

zmn, “Face” (KTU 4.617 [ii] 24) – the syllabic spellings *ZI-me-ni* (PRU 6, 147 [RS 19.127]:2), *ZÍ-me-nu* (RS 34.169:2) and *Zi-mi-nu* (RS 92.2017:29) indicate, perhaps, that the name is cognate with Akk. *zīmu(m)*, “face, appearance” (CDA, 447b).

3. Names based on the calendar

There is a set of proper names based on the names of months²⁰⁵. Under “Kalendarische Namen”, Gröndahl (PTU, 30 §56) listed the alphabetic names *bn izl*, *gn*, *gny*, *bn nqly*, *bn ḥdt*, *ḥdtṇ* and *ḥrpn* as well as the syllabic spellings *addāru*, *ḥiyarānu*, *ḥudšānu*, *ḥudāšu* and ^f*niqalā*. However, these lists are incomplete. The full list of alphabetic names is as follows:

atnb, “(Born in the month) Attana” (KTU 4.46:13; 4.65:7; 4.93 iv 13; 4.106:9; 4.422:5; 4.432:18; 4.692:4), as explained by Gröndahl PTU, 222. The month name *Attana* (also as *Attanatu*) is found in Alalakh and as *Attanašwe* was the seventh month in Nuzi²⁰⁶.

izl, “(Born in the month) Izalli” (KTU 4.35 i 17), *izly* (KTU 4.348:8) and perhaps *izldn* (KTU 4.320:5), all based on the Alalakh month name *izalli* (cf. CDA, 137b). See PTU, 30.

gny, “(Born in the month) Gūnu” (KTU 4.54:12); cf. also the PNN *gnym*, (KTU 4.55:13), *gn* (KTU 4.75 v 17) and *gnb* (KTU 4.50:7; 4.52:1), all discussed above.

ḥmny, “(Born in the month) Ḥamanni” (KTU 4.108:3), discussed above.

ḥyrn, “(Born in the month) Ḥiyaru” (KTU 4.75 iii 11; 4.75 iv 11; 4.148:2; 4.214 i 17; 4.277:3; 4.307:5; 4.332:20; 4.343:8 4.374:2; 4.378:7; 4.609:4; 4.729:5) and the allograph *gyrn* (KTU 4.277:3)²⁰⁷; cf. Watson LSU, 168.

krr, “(Born in the month) Kirari” (KTU 4.75 i 17; 4.139:9); cf. Watson LSU, 170.

nqly, “(Born in the month) Niqala” (KTU 4.15:4; 4.69 vi 26; 4.761:9); cf. Watson LSU, 174.

ty, “(Born in the month) Ša’iya” (KTU 4.245 ii 6), discussed above.

203. The context is broken and only *bn zzb*[] can be read in line 6.

204. Pruzsinszky PTE, 248 (discussion in n. 231, but with no reference to Ugaritic). See previously Gröndahl PTU, 250, with possible syllabic spellings.

205. For the names of the months at Ugarit see Olivier 1971; 1972; Vita 1998 and Watson 2001, 139-142.

206. See Stieglitz 1998, 213.

207. It is unlikely that the PNN *iyrd* (KTU 4.147:18) and *iyry* (KTU 4.222:18) refer to the month *ḥiyaru*, as given in Gröndahl PTU, 223, 252; but cf. DUL, 135.

Related names are:

hdt, “(Born in the) New (month)” (KTU 4.281:17) – spellings *ḥu-da-ši* (Ugar. 5, No. 95 [RS 20.001]: 4) and *ḥu-dá-ši* (PRU 3, 133 [RS 15.132]:5); cf. Watson LSU, 166.

hdt, “(Born in the) New (month)” (KTU 4.63 ii 3; 4.63 iv 8; 4.116:11; 4.153:10; 4.243:34; 4.609:18, 19; 7.221:2, 3) – spelling *ḥu-ud-ša-nu* (PRU 3, 199 [RS 16.257+] i 17”).

hrpn, “(Born in the) Spring” (KTU 4.75 iv 6), discussed above.

Further names that may belong here are those constructed with *špš*, “the sun(-goddess)” and *yrh*, “the moon(-god)”.

4. Final comments

Here, new proposals have been put forward for over 85 names: *abd^cn*, *abl*, *adnn*, *arpšh*, *ikrn*, *itg*, *ubln*, *uldy*, *urgy*, *urny*, *uryy*, *utly*, ^c*gy*, ^c*nn*, ^c*šq*, ^c*tl*, *bdn*, *bhl*, *dnn*, *gbln*, *gnb*, *gpp*, *grgš*, *gsn*, *gssn*, *glbx*, *hayn*, *hgln*, *hmn*, *hlp*, *hrmln*, *kdrn*, *kpyn*, *krzn*, *ktkt*, *ktwn*, *kwy*, *mrtd*, *mšu*, *nhr*, *nhly*, *nkn*, *nn*, *nwrđ*, *pgn*, *pkly*, *pndn*, *pprn*, *pyn*, *qwhn*, *qwy*, *rpty*, *smyy*, *snt*, *sphy*, *srp*, *ssl*, *ssn*, *šnr*, *šrptn*, *šmtr*, *ššl*, *ššy*, *tg*, *tlgn*, *tlšn*, *tlz*, *tmy*, *tran*, *trbnn*, *ttn*, *tdđ*, *tiy*, *tbq*, *tbđ*, *tk*, *tlgn*, *tmyr*, *tqrn*, *ttty*, *y^cr*, *yky*, *zlb*, *zry*, *zzb* and *zmn*. Interestingly, several names may be explained by Aramaic and/or Syriac, for example: *urgy*, *bhl*, *gbln*, *gpp*, *gssn*, *grgs/š*, *hayn*, *hgln*, *kdrn*, *kpyn*, *krz*, *kwy(n)*, *pgn*, *qwh*, *rpty*, *smyy*, *tg*, *trbnn*, *tbđ* and *yky*. For other names (*atyn*, *itn*, *bdn*, ^c*gy*, ^c*nnn*, *ybnn*) syllabic spellings have been identified. Unfortunately, even when corresponding syllabic spellings are available, it is often difficult to determine the meanings of personal names in Ugaritic, so that generally speaking the proposals set out above are no more than tentative.

5. References

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6. Abbreviations

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- CDG W. Leslau, *A Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ehtiopic)*, Wiesbaden 1987.
- CHD H. G. Güterbock/H. A. Hoffner, eds, *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago*, Chicago 1980–.
- CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris 1881.
- DCH D. J. A. Clines, ed., *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, Sheffield 1993 –.
- DJBA M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, Ramat Gan/Baltimore 2002.
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- DUL G. del Olmo Lete/J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (English Version Edited and Translated by W. G. E. Watson) 2 vols., Leiden 2004².
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- EDHIL A. Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden 2008.
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- KTU M. Dietrich/O. Loretz/J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform alphabetic texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and other places*, Münster 1995.
- LS² C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Hildesheim 1966² (orig. ed. Edinburgh/Berlin 1895).
- LSU W.G.E. Watson, *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic*, Sabadell, Barcelona 2007.
- NH E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris 1966.
- NPN I. J. Gelb/P. M. Purves/A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, Chicago 1943.
- Payne Smith R. Payne Smith, *A Comprehensive Syriac Dictionary: Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith*, Oxford 1903.
- PRU *Palais royal d'Ugarit*, Paris.
- PTE R. Pruzsinszky, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Emar*, Bethesda 2003.
- PTU F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Rome 1967.
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- TVE G. Beckman, *Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar in the Jonathan Rosen Collection*, Padua 1996.
- UEM Umm el-Marr text.
- UG J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*, Münster 2000.
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