

CONCORD IN UGARITIC
IN THE LIGHT OF COMPARATIVE SEMITICS

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Concord in Ugaritic in the Light of Comparative Semitics

Sandra Lynne Littman

Ugaritic, a North-west Semitic language known only from alphabetic tablets dating to about 1300 BCE, displays many features in common with classical Semitic and is generally considered a fairly conservative language. This thesis is an investigation of number and gender concord in Ugaritic nouns, verbs, and numerals, in various syntactic structures, and with reference to related phenomena in other Semitic languages, prompted by the many phrases which are apparent exceptions to the presumed 'rules' governing concord and which are too numerous to be attributed to scribal error.

The difficulties inherent in the ^{orthography} consonantal system of orthography affect the recognition of concord. Determination of number and/or gender of individual nouns is further complicated by occasionally insufficient textual evidence. While many nouns use the morphemes \emptyset , -m, -m for masculine singular, dual, and plural, and -t, -tm, -t for feminine singular, dual, and plural, as is the case generally throughout Semitic, there are many which do not fit this pattern. In the concord of verbs, Ugaritic appears unique in preferring a tQBR(n) form of the prefix conjugation with 3mpl subjects, particularly in the order subject-verb. In the suffix conjugation, Ugaritic allows a QBR form to precede feminine singular subject nouns and pronouns and the first person subject pronoun ank. The numeral 'two' appears to have been used as expected on the basis of comparative Semitics. Numerals 3 - 10 ending in \emptyset are attested with masculine and feminine nouns; those ending in -t occur mostly with masculine nouns. Ugaritic is unique among the Semitic languages in having three forms of the teen numeral: ^csr and ^csrh occur with masculine nouns; there is not sufficient indication that ^csrh is the preferred form with feminine nouns.

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Abbreviations

- AJSL American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
- BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
- BJRL Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
- BSLP Bulletin de la Societe de Linguistique de Paris
- BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
- CGSL Moscati, et al, Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of Semitic Languages
- CML Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends
- GAG von Soden, Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik
- GKC Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, Hebrew Grammar
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
- JBL Journal of Biblical Literature
- JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies
- JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies
- JSS Journal of Semitic Studies
- PRU V Virolleaud, ed., Le palais royal d'Ugarit, V.
- RA Revue d'assyriologie
- RSO Revista Studia Orientalia *Review degli studi orientali*
- TO Caquot, (et al, Textes Ougaritiques
- Ug.V Nougayrol, ed., Ugaritica V.
- UF Ugarit-Forschungen
- UT Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook
- ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
- ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
- ZDMG Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft

87

11
C...

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to attempt to explain number and gender concord in Ugaritic nouns, verbs, adjectives, and numerals, in various syntactic structures and with reference to related phenomena in other Semitic languages. The need for this study stems, in part, from phrases in the Ugaritic texts which seem contrary to the widely applicable Semitic rules of concord and is accentuated by the virtual absence of vowel markings in the Ugaritic texts. However, before concord in Ugaritic can be examined, it is desirable to define concord both generally, in terms of linguistic theory, and specifically, in terms of Semitic patterns of agreement.

Concord, or agreement, is a means of control of various words in syntactic groupings and may be defined as the requirement that two or more words of specific word classes that stand in a formal syntactic relationship with one another shall also be characterized by the same paradigmatically marked category or categories¹ (e.g., masculine, feminine, singular, plural).

At its most basic, the requirement of concord in Semitic languages is that words in noun-adjective and noun-numeral phrases must agree with respect to number and gender, and in the case of subject-verb phrases, agreement must include person as well. Semitic languages distinguish two genders (masculine and feminine) and three numbers (singular, dual, plural). With respect to verbs, there are three persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd) in the singular and plural; dual is marked for second and third

1. R.H. Robins, General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey, page 235.

persons only.¹ In the second and third persons, masculine and feminine agreement (can) be expressed; in the 1st person, both singular and plural, gender is not distinguished: there is only common gender. The number, gender, and person distinctions are fairly precisely mirrored by the personal pronouns, both independent and suffixed.

Paradigmatic descriptions of number and gender morphemes for adjectives, numerals, and verbs do not, as a rule, require particularization: there are few, if any, exceptions to the usages implied by such statements. The reconstructed paradigms for the prefix and suffix conjugations are as follow:

	<u>prefix conjugation</u>	<u>suffix conjugation</u>
1cs	'AQBURU	QABARKU
2ms	TAQBURU	QABARTA
2fs	TAQBURI(NA)	QABARTI
3ms	YAQBURU	QABARA
3fs	TAQBURU	QABARAT
2cd	TAQBURĀ(NI)	QABARTUMĀ
3md	YAQBURĀ(NI)	QABARĀ
3fd	TAQBURĀ(NI)	QABARATĀ
1cpl	NAQBURU	QABARNA
2mpl	TAQBURŪ(NA)	QABARTUMU
2fp1	TAQBURĀ/NA	QABARTIN(N)A
3mpl	YAQBURŪ(NA)	QABARŪ
3fp1	YAQBURĀ/NA	QABARĀ

These paradigms are based on the material in CGSL, as are those that follow for the adjectives and numerals. I have used the root QBR for

1. There is, in Ugaritic, evidence suggestive of a first person dual, but this is unique among the Semitic languages.

the same reasons that it was used in CGSL: it is found in all the languages and none of its consonants functions as an affirmative in any Semitic language. I am listing the reconstructed Proto-Semitic paradigms here rather than particularizing those from each and every Semitic language; where particulars are relevant, they shall be mentioned.

Some of the number, gender, and person distinctions are effected by means of consonants, but the details are not possible without the use of vowels, either the alternation of long and short vowels, or, as in some languages, the presence or absence of a suffixed vowel ($v \sim \bar{v}$ or $\emptyset \sim v/\bar{v}$). The result is that in the prefix conjugation, the distribution of consonantal morphemes is:

1cs	'-			1cpl	n-
2ms	t-			2mpl	t-(n)
		2cd	t-(n)	2fpl	t- \emptyset /n
2fs	t-			3mpl	y-(n)
3ms	y-	3md	y-(n)	3fpl	y- \emptyset /n
3fs	t-	3fd	t-(n)		

or t- is generally used for the second person, y- for the third person, and t- occasionally for third person feminine. Without the vowels, some confusion would inevitably result both in the prefix and in the suffix conjugations:

1cs	-k/t			1cpl	-n
2ms	-t			2mpl	-tm
		2cd	-tm	2fpl	-tn
2fs	-t			3mpl	(- \bar{v})
3ms	- \emptyset	3md	- \emptyset	3fpl	(- \bar{v})
3fs	-t	3fd	-t		

ambiguities?
The confusion resulting from verbal morphemes expressed only by consonants contributes to the difficulty in studying concord in Ugaritic, which is written in an alphabet which provides vowels only for alephs

(i.e., a + ', i + ', u + ').

The number and gender morphemes used with adjectives are:

	singular	dual	plural
masculine	vM	ayM	\bar{v} M
feminine	(a)tvM	tayM	\bar{a} tvM

where v is a short case vowel (except in those languages where case has been lost) and \bar{v} is its lengthened equivalent; M is mimation or nunation, where present and relevant; t is the suffix used with adjectives showing feminine concord, and ay is a diphthong, occasionally reduced and occasionally lost. In general, \emptyset ending is used with adjectives taking masculine singular concord, -t for the feminine singular, long vowel plus nunation/mimation for masculine plural, and long at for feminine plural. This formulation is a reconstruction based on the situation in all the Semitic languages.

The marking of number and gender onto nouns is not as simple to formulate. Most grammar books begin discussion of gender in nouns with a statement to the effect that a -t ending is used with feminine nouns, \emptyset with masculine ones, but this distribution at (particularly) the most basic level does not accurately describe gender markings: many feminine nouns end in \emptyset and some masculine ones end in -t.¹ Consequently, noun-adjective concord in Semitic may be expressed by phonologically similar forms in the two words (e.g., Akkadian sarru dannu (masculine singular) 'mighty king', sarratu dannatu (feminine singular) 'mighty queen'), but not always (e.g., isdu dannatu (feminine

1. I think it would be worth pointing out that when speaking of gender, each noun has an intrinsic gender that may have nothing to do with its morphemes or morphology, which may be secondary accretions. The morphemes can be described as -t or \emptyset , but it would be inaccurate to state that they are feminine or masculine: by convention they are often so described. There is the possibility that this convention obscures more than it illuminates. With verbs, numerals, and adjectives, the endings described as masculine and feminine are so termed as a short-hand form for 'used with masculine nouns' and 'used with feminine nouns', respectively.

generalized

Quite - but general rule can't be stated

?!

Yes

?

§/ §/ §/

singular) 'mighty leg'). The essential point is that feminine nouns all take feminine concord and the adjective is so marked; the masculine nouns similarly take masculine concord and the adjectives used with them are marked masculine. A similar situation occurs with respect to number: the morphemes generally used for singular, dual, and plural, masculine and feminine are as follow:

	singular	dual	plural
masculine	vM	ayM	v̄M
feminine	(a)t	tayM	āt

These endings are used with nouns. Although there are many exceptions to this formula, with what is described as the masculine plural ending used with feminine nouns, and conversely, the ending conventionally called feminine plural appearing with masculine nouns. Agreement expressed by marked adjectives usually reflects the intrinsic number of the noun, as it reflects its intrinsic gender, although very occasionally, an accompanying adjective agrees with the form of the noun instead of its underlying number or gender.

Numerals greater than three have -t ending when used with masculine nouns and ∅ ending when used with feminine nouns. The numerals 'one' and 'two' are treated as adjectives in most Semitic languages, and consequently used the pattern described above for adjectives. In those languages where this is not the case, divergences can be attributed to the analogic influence of the numerals between three and ten.

As implied above, the Semitic languages present a fairly uniform picture of a language group. Regular morphemic features can be traced throughout the group; the loss of a set of morphemes generally provokes

seems to
manifest?

is this really so?

the same replacement or compensatory mechanism in each Semitic language; the disappearance of certain number and gender distinctions seems to follow the same pattern throughout; there is the tendency to lose the same features, in the same order.¹

except p'36. !!

Not only are regular features the same, generally, throughout the languages, but some irregularities are held in common. Among the nouns, body-parts occurring in pairs take feminine concord although they lack the -t ending. Similarly feminine without the -t ending are some natural phenomena. Masculine nouns are less frequently encountered ending in -t than feminine ones in \emptyset ; in this too there is a measure of uniformity throughout the language group.

Another peculiarity consistently encountered throughout Semitic is the system of concord of noun-numeral phrases. The numerals greater

- analogy or Systemzwang*
1. Within Semitic, a trend towards simplification of number, gender, and case is discernible: Old Akkadian contains a system of case endings for singular and plural which are consistently employed; by the Late Babylonian and Assyrian periods (about 1500 years later) they have become confused and are often used interchangeably without regard to their previous functions, if they are used at all. Case endings have been lost in all other Semitic languages except Arabic, and there too, there is a tendency for them to be dropped in modern colloquial speech. The dual number, assumed to have been of widespread occurrence throughout Semitic, is rarely encountered in Late Babylonian or Assyrian, and is confined to a small class of nouns in many of the other Semitic languages. To a certain extent, the feminine plural in Ethiopic has been extended to the masculine plural in more recent manifestations of that language area. The 3rd masculine plural forms of the prefix and suffix conjugations in Hebrew (katbū and yikt^ebū) have been extended to 3rd feminine plural, and I am told that in modern spoken Hebrew, the \emptyset form of the numeral is used with both masculine and feminine nouns: both changes are relatively recent.
- attenuated? not quite so simple*
- Ug., ESA Eth.*
- no*

No - only when in answer to a question by recent immigrants

Such simplifications just outlined and others like them are to be found in the more recent stages of Semitic languages; older stages of such languages preserve the more complex array within the categories of number, gender, and case to varying degrees of completeness.

when?

no than three have \emptyset ending when used with feminine nouns, -t when used with masculine nouns, which is the complete opposite of the system of noun-adjective agreement where \emptyset adjectives are used with masculine nouns and -t adjectives with feminine ones.

A final point of pan-Semitic ^{agreement} concord is the apparent relaxation of rules of concord with respect to subject-verb agreement. What may be described as an obligatory rule, (mentioned above: that subject and verb agree with respect to number, gender, and person) becomes optional, according to some grammarians, when word order other than subject-verb is encountered.¹

The above, then, describes the general measure of uniformity with regard to concord in Semitic. Fairly predictable changes occur between the oldest and youngest stages of any given language in the areas of phonology and morphology (and probably in syntax and lexicography, although the last have not been as well documented); attendant upon these changes have been certain variations in the system of concord used by each language. It is for this reason that seeming irregularities in the system of concord in Ugaritic are of interest: the variations in concord have no analogs in phonology and morphology as might be expected; the phonology and morphology of Ugaritic, when compared with those in other Semitic languages, prove to be fairly conservative. There has been little change, such as shown by Hebrew, Akkadian, or Ethiopic, in the course of their development. Further, the Ugaritic

1. Notable among the grammarians who insist on the existence of such variations in concord is G.R. Driver who states: 'there is a well-known rule of Semitic syntax that, when the verb precedes the subject, it may stand in the simplest form, i.e., the masculine singular third person, instead of agreeing with it' ('Reflections on Recent Articles', JBL 73, page 129.)

this is much too general!

What might they be?

of

what change?

far too unrefined in their form

are they?

lexicon seems to have a high incidence of common Semitic words and a low percentage of foreign words (although a fair number of foreign personal names) which militates against assumptions of language borrowings and subsequent foreign influence on sentence structure and concord. Nor can problems of concord be attributed to a general degenerate state of the language.¹ Essentially from all aspects/except that of concord, Ugaritic appears to be a perfectly ordinary Semitic language more notable for its affinity to classical Semitic than for its differences.

average (by definition of 'common')

the two are not directly connected

indeed

obvious!

why?

?

quite so

correctly?

A part of the problem in dealing with concord in Ugaritic is recognizing the system of agreement. The recognition of concord depends upon correct analysis of morphemes, of sentence structure, and at times of meaning. How concord is recognized is difficult to describe: the mental processes involved in analysing a sentence are complex/and while some of the process may be described, the order in which it occurs is difficult to pinpoint; much is a simultaneous assessment of many factors. Words are examined and possible nouns and verbs are identified. The probable subject and verb are measured against each other to determine grammatical fit; so too are nouns compared with adjectives and numerals. The resulting information is then assembled; a structure and meaning of the sentence under analysis can be put forward, to varying degrees of correctness. This process can be undertaken several times if the function of each word is not clear, but ultimately, the possible interpretations can be ranked according to the order of likelihood. This has been accomplished, not necessarily explicitly, but

1. Ugaritic has practically the full complement of sounds attributed to the reconstructed Proto-Semitic and otherwise found only in Arabic and Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA).

accomplished nonetheless, for most sentences in the extant corpus of Ugaritic literature. There remain several sentences, however, where either the function or meaning of the constituents is uncertain and these provide areas of disagreement among scholars. While such sentences are individually interesting, and some will be included below, they are not the prime concern of this study. This study is prompted by the number of phrases and sentences which are understood and yet exhibit patterns of agreement which are unexpected when compared with the norm (outlined briefly above) in other Semitic languages and ^{which are} generally assumed to hold in Ugaritic; ^{as well} in other words, known morphemes are used in unexpected and unfamiliar ways. The use of these morphemes will therefore be analysed to determine if there is a pattern to their employment, and, if so, what that pattern is.

As mentioned above, a part of the problem in dealing with concord in Ugaritic stems from the multivalence of some morphemes as obscured by the ^{rigidly} consonantal system of orthography. Most of the time, it is clear when QBR functions as a verb, as opposed to a noun or adjective, although occasionally even such distinctions are not clear. ^{unambiguous}

The problems arising from the graphic convergence of QBR as a finite verb of the suffix conjugation, infinitive absolute, participle, and imperative will be discussed below. An unmarked word, described as having \emptyset ending, could be a verbal root QBR or might represent a masculine singular noun or a masculine dual/plural noun in the construct state. Suffixed -m is the graphic representation of masculine dual and plural nominal and adjectival endings; it functions also as an enclitic ending and as such is encountered attached to verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Suffixed -t is also used with nouns, adjectives, and verbs, in addition to numerals. Among its functions is the graphic representation of feminine singular and plural; as a verbal morpheme,

is it the
merger of
to such of
collocations
and
patterns?

Yes

Yes

it marks 1cs, 2m/fs, 3fs, and the feminine participle. In addition, it is likely to serve in Ugaritic, as in other Semitic languages^{h)} as a formative element in the derivation of certain groups of nouns. Prefixed t- marks several persons in the prefix conjugation; it is also used as a formative for some nouns, although in this^{role} it is rarely a problem. Prefixed y- also signals several different persons in the prefix conjugation; further ambiguity of this y- element stems from roots whose first radical is y- (e.g., ysa, ytn, ybl). Part of the purpose of this thesis will be to examine the range of contexts in which the above occur, and to determine whether a change in word order gives different results in terms of concord.

Another part of the problem stems from certain unusual phrases in the Ugaritic texts. Foremost among these is a tendency for the general Semitic pattern of noun-numeral phrases to be ignored, with the result that numerals ending in \emptyset are attested with masculine nouns and numerals ending in -t with feminine nouns. The extent to which this occurs is of great interest, because in this aspect of concord there is^{otherwise} much agreement throughout the Semitic languages. Among sentences using the suffix conjugation, several are attested where an apparently masculine form of the verb is used with a feminine subject. This requires investigation, as does the use of some of the morphemes of the prefix conjugation, which are attested with subjects of an unexpected number and gender.

The common feature of all these phrases is that the intrinsic number and gender of the noun (or subject) determines the category into which the accompanying verb or numeral is placed, and the morphemes that mark it. The starting point, therefore, of this study must be number and gender in nouns. As mentioned above, the^{base} morphemes used

? Contrary to the noun-adj. pattern

is there such a thing apart from natural sex?

with nouns are not reliable indicators of number and gender. The inflection of adjectives, however, provides such information more accurately. Thus, chapter 2 below, is taken up with nouns and their number and gender. The chapters on verbs (chapter 3) and numerals (chapter 4) are, to a certain extent, based on the findings of the chapter on nouns. When the meaning, number, and gender of a noun are determined, patterns of noun-numeral and subject-verb concord, as well as the function of various number and gender morphemes can be discerned by reference to the agreement that different combinations of morphemes require, with reference to the order of words in the sentence.

7
is this
not
obvious?

An examination of the treatment of concord by various schools of linguistic thought and practice makes it quite clear that there is no single approach to a study of concord. The method I shall adopt is best labelled 'descriptive'; I aim to provide a description of concord in Ugaritic based primarily on internal evidence. Although it would perhaps be thought desirable to ignore the results of comparative Semitic work in relation to concord and morphology, and to discount the expectations of certain forms and patterns based on those found in Arabic and Hebrew (in particular), it will, I trust, be appreciated that this is impossible to achieve entirely. Instead, controlled comparison with other Semitic languages would provide a means of appreciating the differences and similarities found in Ugaritic.

don't
do we have
any other

in the case
of Ug.

is Aracy's

CHAPTER 2: NOUNS

In noun-adjective, noun-numeral, or subject-verb phrases, the gender and number of the noun or subject generally determines the morphemes to be used with the other word or words. Consequently, the starting point for a study of concord must be the gender and number of nouns. In general, nouns ending in -t are said to be feminine, nouns ending in \emptyset are called masculine in Semitic languages; ^{is conventional?} ^{prima facie} this statement is not ^{invariably} always applicable: some nouns in \emptyset are feminine and some in -t are masculine, thus indicating that as far as nouns are concerned, -t and the 'feminine' ending and \emptyset and the 'masculine' ending, ^{respectively,} are not invariably synonymous. The question is to what extent the above generalization is ^{essentially} true in Ugaritic and the extent to which the pattern resulting from examination of some Ugaritic nouns corresponds to that, for example, of Hebrew nouns. ^{substantives}

The approach to concord involves examination of the context in which each noun occurs: to avoid going around in logical circles, the evidence provided by verbs and numerals (other than one and two) will not be considered unless other information is totally lacking because the pattern of concord used by those two groups (verbs and numerals) ^{requires further} elucidation. Adjectives, including the numeral adjectives ^{is n'c} ^{adj. ?} one and two are used consistently with regard to gender; pronouns ^{not always?} occasionally point to the gender of the noun to which they refer. Less reliable is the information provided by cognates in other Semitic languages; it is not necessarily the case that gender is a common feature, although this is often so. ^{Yes}

The nouns examined below were chosen because they provide a fairly representative sampling of nouns in Ugaritic. I have, for the most part, avoided the classic examples of feminine nouns ending in \emptyset ,

masculine nouns in -t; there is little to be gained by going over the same information well-treated by Semitic grammars. Some of the nouns below are of fairly low frequency of occurrence, some are included because their shape is interesting, some because they are used in interesting contexts, and some because they form a part of larger semantic groups: the choice is eclectic but not random. Of the various ways of presenting the nouns below, I have decided to divide them, for the most part, into categories of masculine and feminine gender; the subdivisions are then masculine nouns ending in \emptyset , in -t, in -m, and feminine nouns ending in \emptyset , in -t. Inevitably there are some nouns whose gender is not clear in the Ugaritic texts and cognates are not available, and others which seem to have been used as both masculine and feminine. These are grouped together as 'nouns of uncertain gender'. Those nouns which provoke the question of number, rather than gender, concord are grouped together in the section dealing with 'plural and/or collective nouns'. Some nouns, such as body-parts, derived nouns, nouns with vowel changes, and nouns which add -h- to form the plural, are more interesting when viewed as part of a group with shared features and are consequently presented as such. The final group of nouns are divine names which occur in pairs (such as ktr whss, qdš wamrr): the question that arises is whether these names represent one person or two. The contexts in which each name occurs will therefore be analysed to determine the concord that it attracts.

choice
brilliant

?

not clear why this particular selection was made 19.

Masculine nouns

The following nouns are all masculine and are attested with \emptyset ending in the singular; the first group discussed below form plurals ending in -m, the second group have attested plurals in -t, the third group are attested with both -m and -t, and the last have no certain plural forms.

Masculine nouns with plurals ending in -m

According to Gordon (UT Glossary 645), dd 'pot' or 'a certain unit of dry measure' is either masculine or feminine. This is based on the use of dd in:

you begin with problems mentioned

3.44 \check{s} .dd \check{s} mn gdlt w[] sheep, pot of oil, large (head of cattle?)

12.1 []dd gdl tt dd \check{s} ^crm pot large, 6 measures of barley

Other occurrences of dd are in conjunction with numerals:

171.1 \check{s} ^crm ddm kbd[] l alpm mrim 20 full measures for a pair of fat oxen

1098.4 wtn \check{s} ^csrh dd l rps and 12 measures for Rps

1098.13 w \check{s} ^crm l mit dd hpr[] bn \check{s} m and 120 measures for men's rations

1099.3 hm \check{s} ddm l htyt 5 measures for Htyt

1099.26 tt ddm l gzzm 6 measures for Gzzm

The context in which dd is used in 3.44 does not indicate the gender:

gdlt is probably used in this line, as in others in the same text, as a noun referring to a large head of cattle, and only s \check{s} mn can properly be grouped with dd 'a pot of oil'. Tentatively, masculine gender could be assumed on the basis of the masculine singular adjective gdl in 12.1 dd gdl 'a large pot'; the gap preceding dd adds some uncertainty.

Also suggestive of masculine gender is 171.1: s \check{s} rm ddm kbd[] '20 full measures' (literally 'heavy measures'), if the restoration is correct.

The Hebrew cognate of dd is masculine: hadud 'ehad (Jer. 24.2) 'the one pot'.

not all sure

nence unsuitable as word?

The singular of h_{dr} 'room' occurs in Krt 26: y^crb b_hdrh 'he enters his room' and possibly in 1151.6: b_hdr mškb 'in the bedroom', if the restoration is correct. Plural h_{dr}m in ^cnt vi 5.34: bšb^ct h_{dr}m 'in seven rooms' may be masculine, but evidence provided by a numeral is not conclusive. The Hebrew cognate is masculine and uses the -m ending in the plural.

The moon, yrh, occurs with ∅ ending; on the basis of 77.16-17: ylak yrh nyr šmm^c m hr_hlb mlk qz tn nkl yrh yrh 'Yrh, the lamp of heaven, sent to Hr_hb, king of Qz: 'hand over Nkl, Yrh would wed her'', it is clear that it attracts masculine concord. The plural yrhm 'months' occurs in 49.2.26-27: ym ymm y^ctqn lymm lyrhm 'a day, two days pass, the days become months'.

The gender of krm 'vineyard, grove' is clear from its use with the masculine numeral adjective in 1081.15: krm ahd 'one vineyard' where it is singular. tn krm_m 'two vineyards in 1081.26 is masculine dual. The plural is probably intended in both the following phrases where krm(m) is preceded by a numeral between three and ten:

1081.11 tt krm<m> six vineyards

1081.19 tt krmm six vineyards

The plural of krm might have been used in 2114.10: ap krmm hlq 'they even destroyed the vineyards/even the vineyards were destroyed', depending on the subject of hlq.

here could be verb lbš occurs with ∅ ending in 1106.4: lbš allm lbnm 'clothing of white allm'; it occurs with -m ending in 1107.9: šb^c lbšm allm 'seven allm garments'. Depending upon the function of the adjective lbnm in the first example above and the connection between lbšm and allm in the second, lbšm might be the masculine plural form of the noun, the adjective agreeing with the noun it modifies.

it is a pity you have chosen so many numeral adj.'s before discussing these but evidential value!

concern shape!

Yes

A good example of the use of accusative and genitive case-endings in Ugaritic is provided by ll' 'lamb, kid', although the gender of the noun, usually taken to be masculine because of the \emptyset singular and -m plural and dual endings, is not indicated by its use in these sentences:

Expressly

Krt 159ff. lqh imr dbh bydh lla klatnm

he took a sacrificial lamb in his hand, a kid in both hands

49.2.22-23 <k>imr bpy klli btbrnqy

like a lamb in my mouth, like a kid in my gullet

51.6.43 ⁴⁰⁻tbh ... imr qms lllim

he slaughtered ... sheep, lots of lambs

nhr 'river, stream' occurs in Ugaritic with \emptyset and -m endings.

but the evidence is not clear

It is probably masculine, as suggested by the person of tpt nhr 'Judge River', a masculine deity:

137.17 thm ym b^clkm adnkm tpt nhr

Message of Ym, your master, your lord, Judge River

In the following, the use of nhrm parallel to thmtm suggests that two rivers are intended; the -m ending on nhrm could be dual or plural, but the -tm of thmtm is plainly dual:

What is the evidence for intended to show?

51.4.21 ^cm il mbk nhrm qrb apk thmtm

with Il at the confluence of the two rivers, in the midst of the streams of the two deeps

smd 'stick, club' and gl^c 'sling' are both weapons; smd is also used with the meaning 'yoke' and 'pair'. From 68.11: ktr smdm ynht

This is the meaning of smdm - some examples

'Ktr produces two sticks', and from the narrative that follows this line, it is clear that smdm is dual. In 2113.1: tlt smdm is plural, probably referring to 'three yokes/pairs'; it plainly means pairs in 1123.7:

numerical, concord

arb^c smdm apnt 'four pairs of wheels'. The singular occurs in 68.15: yrtqs smd bd b^ci 'the club swoops in B^c1's hand'. This use of the y-prefix, combined with the dual and plural morpheme -m, suggests that

is not as firmly but it is not as anyway

smd is a masculine noun. ql^c is also attested in the singular, dual, and plural:

- 321.1.9 ilmkr qst wql^c ilmkr, a bow and a sling
- 1123.3 tn ql^c_m two slings
- 1122.10 [a]rb^c ql^c_m four slings

The use of tn indicates masculine gender; ql^c uses \emptyset ending for singular and -m for dual and plural.

Masculine nouns with plurals ending in -t

On the basis of the contexts in which it occurs, it appears that

apnt is the plural form 'wheels':

num. gender!

- 1121.1-3 tmn mrkbt dt ^crb bt mlk yd apnt hn
eight chariots which entered the king's house with(?) their wheels
- 1123.7 arb^c smdm apnt four pairs of wheels

these are not in order

apnm occurs only in broken texts and so its number and gender are not confirmed; it is likely, on the basis of the -m to be dual, and masculine, although the -t ending attested with apnt points to feminine gender. Gordon (UT Glossary 305) reconstructs apn as (the) singular.

?!
!

This corresponds to Hebrew 'ofan 'wheel' which is a masculine noun, the plural of which is 'ofanim.'

פ' - 12/10

h/n

Singular gg 'roof' has the plural ggt:

- 2Aq 2.22 th ggy bym tit who patches my roof on a day of mud
smears (plaster)
- Krt 171-2 yrd krt lggt Krt got down from the roofs
went

Yes - P'ES and N'ES

The Hebrew cognate is masculine and similarly has a plural ending in -t.

hpn is a type of garment and occurs in the Ugaritic economic and administrative text in conjunction with numerals, the different types of fibres from which it is made, and occasionally, the purpose of the hpn:

- 2049.3 wt_n ^csrh hpnt and 12 h.-garments
- 2049.6f. wtlt ^csrn hpnt sswm and 13 h.-garments for horses

*you make a meal of this
unimportant note*

- 1113.9 arb^c hpnt ptt four linen h.'s
- 1113.10 hms hpnt s^crt five hair-shirts
- 1109.2 s^crm hpn 20 h.-garments
- 1115.2 [h]pn ahd btqlm one h.-garment for two shekels
- 1115.4 hpn pttm linen h.-garment

If the restoration of [h]pn is correct in 1115.2, hpn is a singular form of a masculine noun, on the basis of ahd. The assumption might be made that hpnt is plural, although there is little in the texts that confirms it: hpnt is used following numerals 3 - 10 where the plural is expected on the basis of comparative material in other Semitic languages, and

not quite following numerals greater than 10, which usually call for the singular.

tlhn 'table' takes masculine concord as seen in 51.1.39: tlhn il dmla mnm 'a goodly table full of things (edible)', where mnm has the \emptyset ending associated with masculine forms. The dual ending is -m, seen in ^cnt 2.30: thtsb bn tlhnm 'she battled between ^{two} the tables', and the plural ends in -t: ^cnt 2.36: t^cr ksat lksat tlhnt ltlhn 'arranged chairs ^{as} chairs, tables ^{as} tables'.

as in keb.
hence unsuitable for your purposes
lh 'tablet' occurs only once in a somewhat dubious context, 117.16-17: wrgmy lh / lqt. It is difficult to determine whether lh should be read separately from lqt on the following line, or whether they ought to be joined, reading lhlqt -- perhaps l + hlq + t, the difficulty being the absence of a root hlq in the Ugaritic texts. If lh is correct, it accords well with the cognate ^s in other Semitic languages. Hebrew luah is masculine singular and its plural luhot would correspond to the Ugaritic lht, which may be singular or plural; it is difficult to determine in sentences such as the following:

(a) no;
(b) compare to incomplete to tell

137.26 (ahd) ilm t^cny, lht mlak ym let (one of) the gods reply to the tablets of Ym's messengers

belongs to previous phrase

138.6ff. iky lht spr dlikt ^cm tryl where are the inscribed tablets
which you (or I) sent with Tryl?

2009.5 lht šlm k lik[t] umy ^cmy ht ^cm ny
the tablet of greeting which my
mother sent me is with me (= my
mother's letter has arrived)

2060.17 wlht ak1 ky likt ^cm špš and the food list(s) which I sent
with špš

mtr 'rain' occurs with \emptyset ending in 51.5.68: wn ap ^cdn mtrh 'and
even the season of his (B^cl's) rains' and with -t ending in 67.5.6ff.: *h plur.*

qh ^crptk rhk mdlk mtrtk 'take your clouds, your winds, your lightning,
your rains'. The difference, if any, between the two forms is unclear, *!*

although on the basis of the Hebrew cognate mātar/m^etārōt which is
masculine, mtr might be singular and mtrt plural. *almost certainly so*

ntb 'path' is another noun occurring with \emptyset and -t endings, as
does its Hebrew cognate n^etīb/n^etībōt, which is a masculine noun.

Ugaritic ntb occurs in 2Aq 6.43-44: lagryk bntb pš^c lbn**t**b gan

'if I should meet you on the path of transgression, find you(?) on
the path of pride'. All other occurrences are of ntbt, and are unfortu-
nately limited to the following:

1001.rev.7 watb lntbt and I shall return to the paths

2006.7ff. ntbt b.mitm ^cšrm kbd hrs paths(?) at 220 heavy gold (shekels?)

2007.10/11 ntb /barb ^c

šm(t) 'name(s)' also occurs with \emptyset and -t endings also has a
Hebrew cognate that is masculine, taking \emptyset ending in singular and -t in
the plural. Ugaritic šm(t) occurs in:

68.11, 19 šmk at ygrs, šmk at aymr you, your name is Ygrš/Aymr

138.12-13 prgm lmk šmy and mention my name to the king

^cnt pl.x 4.14 šm bny yw il the name of my son is Yw-Il

68.11, 18 wyp^cr šmthm and he pronounced their names

The singular then appears to be šm, the plural šmt.

Masculine nouns with plurals ending in -t and -m

grn 'threshing-floor' occurs in 2Aq 5.7: tht adrm dbgrn 'beside the dignitaries who are on the threshing-floor'. It has attested plural forms grnt (e.g., Krt 111f.: bšdm htbh bgrnt hpšt 'from the fields (drive out?) the wood-gatherers, from the threshing-floors the gleaners'; 121.2.6: mgy rpum lgrnt 'the Rpum arrived at the threshing-floor'), and grnm as in Krt 214f.: bšdm htb wbgrrm hpšt. Since Krt 214 is the only attested occurrence of grnm, it might be an error. Gender is not clear from these occurrences; the Hebrew cognate is masculine, and like the Ugaritic, has a plural form ending in -t. *it is!*

obv kbkb 'star' is singular: 51.4.16f.: šb^cr amrr kkbkb lpm 'Amrr blazes like a star in front'. Both kbkbm (e.g., 1Aq 200: yd^ct hlk kbkbm 'she (Pšt) who knows the course of the stars') and kbkbt (6.17: l^clkbkbt n^cm 'on pleasant stars (?)') are attested, although the difference, if any, between them is not clear; gender is not indicated either. The Hebrew cognate, kōkāb, is masculine and has the plural form kōkābīm.

Masculine nouns with no certain plural forms

On the basis of the adjective in the following sentence, it appears that ks 'cup' requires masculine concord: ^cnt 1.13: ks qdš ltphnh att 'a sanctified cup that no woman shall see'. The few occurrences of ksm are in texts which are not fully understood: they might refer to ksm 'spelt' rather than represent a plural form of ks. The Hebrew cognate is feminine, which suggests that caution be exercised in the use of cognate words to determine number or gender of Ugaritic nouns.

mznm 'scales, balances' appears to be dual. In text 77, after the marriage of Yrh and Nkl is agreed, her family prepare to deal with the bride-price:

77.34	adnh yšt msb mznm	her master sets the beam of the scales
	umh kp mznm	her mother (sets) the pans of the scales

mzn, without the -m ending, seems to mean 'weight', possibly an object put on one side of the scale:

5.5	l ^l tl ^l tt mzn	for three weights
2100.1	ššrt hrs tqlm kbd ^c šrt mznm	chain of heavy gold shekels-- 20 weights

Although the evidence provided by numerals is not conclusive, that mzn(m) is used with tl^ltt and š^crt in the sentences above suggests that it is a masculine noun. In Hebrew, the cognate mo'znayim is masculine.

In Ugaritic, 'water' is expressed by my, m (+ suffixed pronoun), and mym. As a mass noun, the concept of 'a single water' is a difficult one, although the idea of water from one or more sources is not. It is difficult to determine the difference, if any, between my and mym; the -m suffix of the latter does not seem to function as a dual or plural morpheme; it would appear that the two are occasionally used inter-

changeably.

1Aq 55 tš^l[m^c]pğt tkmt my Pğt, the water carrier, obeyed

1Aq 190 wt^cn pğt tkmt mym and Pğt, the water carrier, replied

The gender of my(m) is not indicated by the contexts in which it occurs: in other Semitic languages it is masculine.

spl, probably a metal vessel of some sort, occurs twice in the Ugaritic texts:

145.17 wspl tit mat and a vessel -- 300

2050.3 spl mšlt wmqhm a vessel, a mšlt, and tongs

Gordon points out that if mšlt is an adjective and the -t ending is a feminine morpheme, then spl is a feminine noun (UT Glossary 179). This is unlikely since mšlt does not occur without the -t and is used as a noun in other texts (2101.14: tmn lbšm wmšlt ludmym 'eight garments and a mšlt for Udmym' and Ug.V.9.1.19: šb^c mšlt arb^c hpnt 'seven mšlt and four h-garments'). spl occurs twice in Hebrew but neither occurrence gives an indication as to its number or gender.

t^c is of infrequent occurrence, used parallel to uz 'goose' and is probably some sort of edible bird. It is identified as a bird by its Hebrew cognate ayit^c which similarly occurs without ending and is a masculine noun.

š 'sheep or goat(s)' occurs, for the most part, in lists of offerings to gods and is not attested in the literary texts or letters. Consequently, its number or gender morphemes are difficult to determine on the basis of the Ugaritic material alone. Assuming that tn 'two' is used only with masculine nouns, 3.48: tn šm 'two sheep' shows that š is masculine and the -m ending here is dual. In Hebrew, the cognate does not occur in the plural and although more often treated as masculine (as in Gen. 30.32: kol-seh nāqōd v^etālū 'every spotted and speckled

sheep') it is occasionally feminine (as in Je. 50.17: seh p^ezūrāh yisra'el: 'Israel is like scattered sheep').

šmm 'heavens' is attested in that form only. All occurrences suggest that it is plural or dual because third person forms such as the following are orthographically the same:

°nt 3.23	abn brq dl td° šmm	I understand the lightning that the heavens do not know
49.3.6	šmm šmn tatr _n	the heavens will rain oil
6.26	šmm tmr zbl mlk	the heavens will bless <u>zbl mlk</u>

The possibility that šmm is dual is considered primarily because the Hebrew cognate is vocalized as a dual and the Ugaritic -m ending serves both masculine dual and plural. In other Semitic languages, the cognate is not vocalized as dual (Arabic sama'i, ESA smy, Akkadian šamû). From its use in Ugaritic, the gender of šmm is not clear; in other Semitic languages it is masculine.

Feminine Nouns

The use of urbt 'window(s)' is an example of the problems that can arise in distinguishing feminine singular from feminine plural when both end in -t. It is thought that urbt takes feminine concord, although gender is not clear from its use in Ugaritic:

51.5.123 bl ast urbt bbh[tm] I'll certainly not put windows
into the house(s?)

51.7.25#. ypth hln bbhtm urbt bqrh hk[lm] Let a window be opened in the houses
portal(s) in the palace

If hln above is singular (in 1151.15: tmn hlnm 'eight windows' it has the -m plural ending), the parallel urbt might also be singular. The Hebrew cognate, 'arubāh, plural 'arubōt, is feminine.

arh is feminine and singular in the following sentence which compares the way animal mothers seek out their young, with ^cnt searching for B^c1:

49.2.28 klb arh l^cglh like the heart of a cow for her calf

arht is attested once but the sentence is broken:

76.3.2 [m arht tl[dn(?) cows will bear(?)

išt 'fire' is feminine in Ugaritic: 51.6.24-25: tikl išt bbhtm 'fire consumes the houses'. It is the name of one of the enemies of B^c1 destroyed by ^cnt: ^cnt 3,42: mhšt klbt ilm išt 'I destroyed the god's bitch Išt'. The order singular-dual occurs in 137.32: išt ištm yitmr 'he sees one fire, two fires'. The use of išt as a plural noun is not clear in any texts thus far.

Both dqt 'small cattle' and gdlt 'large cattle' are derived from adjectives: dqq 'small' and gdl 'large'. Both are most probably feminine.

hrmtt 'sickle' occurs ten times in texts 2048 and 2053, occasionally following \emptyset forms of the numeral, e.g., 2048.11: tmn hrmtt 'eight

sickles'. A clue as to its gender is provided by 2048.1: batlg tlt
hrmtt ttm mhrhn 'in Atlg, three sickles, their mhr is 60'. Whatever
mhr means, the -hn suffix, feminine plural, refers to hrmtt.

lbnt 'bricks' seems to be used as a plural in:-

51.4.61f. hm amt atrt tln lbnt should Atrt's handmaid make bricks?

51.5.73 hm bt lbnt y^cmsn behold, he has made him a house of
bricks

51.6.35 hrs nsb llbnt gold was moulded into bricks

The gender of lbnt is not clear from the attested uses; the assumption
 might be made that it is feminine on the basis of the -t ending. The
 Hebrew cognate l^ebenah, plural l^ebenim, is a feminine noun.

nqpt occurs only twice, parallel to ynt 'years' which suggests
 that it refers to a period of time:

52.66-7 šb^c ynt tmt tmn:nqpt seven years shall you die, eight
periods of time

It might be feminine, on the basis of the -t ending, and plural for
 the same reason, as is also suggested by the preceding numeral; the
 evidence of numerals is, however, not conclusive owing to the variations
 in their use.

rpt 'clouds' is most frequently encountered in B^c1's epithet
rkb rpt. It is also attested in other sentences: in 1Aq 40: rpt
tmtr 'let the clouds rain' it is followed by a t- prefix verb which
 suggests that it takes feminine or plural concord, or both.

qst 'bow' is singular, qstm is dual, and qst is plural:

1Aq 1.16 ap qsth ltn ly but give me his bow

321.3.18 tt qstm two bows

321.3.21 tlt qst wltl ql^cm three bows and three slings

šblt 'ear of grain' may be singular in 1Aq 69: (yph) šblt bak<1>t
 '(Dnil sees) an ear of grain in the granary'; the other plants that
 Dnil sees are expressed in the singular. Hebrew šibolet is feminine,

although its plural is morphologically masculine: šibalīm, it also has a plural that ends in -t: šibōlōt. Arabic sunbul is a collective, with a nomen unitatis sunbulat, and plural sunbulāt. It may be that the Ugaritic šblt is a nomen unitatis like the Arabic sunbulat.

šnt 'year' is singular in 124.13: ^cglm dt šnt 'year-old calves'; the sequence singular dual occurs in 2060.16: šnt šntm 'one year--two years'; and the plural in 1Aq 42: šb^c šnt ysrk b^cl 'may B^cl trouble you for seven years' and 602.10: btk ugrt lynt špš wyrh wn^cmt šnt il 'in the midst of Ugarit, for the days of the sun and the moon and the goodness of the years of Il'. In addition to šnt, šnm occurs in Il's epithet ab šnm. Several explanations have been proffered to account for this name; the most likely is 'venerable' = 'father of years'¹. This šnm is a second plural form alongside šnt, comparable to the Hebrew šanaḥ 'year', which has both šanīm and šanōt as attested plural forms.

1. See Ullendorff, 'Ugaritic Marginalia IV', Ginsberg Festschrift, page 18.

Feminine nouns ending in Ø with plurals ending in -t

The gender of ks' 'chair' is not entirely clear from its use in the Ugaritic texts, although Gordon (UT Glossary 1277) considers it feminine on the basis of the verb in 51.5.108: t^cdb ksu wyttb 'a chair is prepared and he is seated', where ksu, which is in the nominative case, is understood to be the subject. The plural is ksat: 51.6.52: špq ilht ksāt 'he provided chairs for the goddesses'. In 75.1.18: qh ksank 'take your saddle', ksank is probably singular; this form occurs only once in Ugaritic. The Hebrew cognate kise', plural kisbt is masculine.

Assuming that ktn and ktnt both mean 'coat, garment', the relationship between them is not clear. Both occur following tl̄t:

1126.1 tl̄t ktn three garments

2101.18 tl̄t ktnt three garments

None of the occurrences of either ktn or ktnt clarify the number and gender concord required. Particularly baffling is 1110.6: wtt ktnm hmšt wns̄p ksphm 'and two (fem.) garments, 5½ their (masc. dual/plural) cost'; ktnm might be feminine dual on the basis of tt, or masculine plural/dual on the basis of the -hm ending suffixed to ksp.

The singular of thm occurs in 52.30: lgp ym wys^c(?)d gp thm 'at the edge of the sea, he proceeds along the shores of the ocean'; the dual is found in 51.4.22: qrb apk thmtm 'near the streams of the two deeps'; and the plural in ^cnt 3.22: (tant šmm^c n ars) thmt^c m kbbm '(the conversation of the heavens with the earth,) the oceans with the stars'. thm(t) is probably feminine in Ugaritic; the use of the -tm dual ending points most strongly to feminine gender.

Feminine nouns ending in Ø with plurals ending in--m:

abn 'stone' is feminine in other Semitic languages; in Ugaritic, its gender is not discernible from the contexts in which it occurs:

- ^cnt 3.20 w^hšt abn and the whispering of stone
 52.66 tm tgrgr labnm there you/they will be ground by stones
 1001.rev.13 k^csm lttu kabnm do not make the trees like stones

It is likely that abnm is the plural form.

uz is clearly a feminine noun taking feminine concord:

- 1128.20 uz mrat mlht a fat salted goose
 1128.21 arb^c uz^m mrat four fat geese

hrb 'sword' also uses Ø and -m endings usually associated with masculine nouns and takes feminine concord:

- 137.32 yitmr hrb ltšt he gazes upon a burnished sword
^cnt 1.7 bhrb mlht with a salted knife

The only occurrence of hrbm is 68.4: tl^cm tm hrbm 'there the swords are rusted' (so TO, page 135), which could be dual or plural.

On the basis of 2050.7: tt mrhm 'two spears', mrh is likely to be feminine; mrhm would be the dual form. The singular is attested in 49.1.23: ly^cdb mrh^cm bn dgn 'he would not be able to set spear against Dgn's son.'

Feminine nouns with no certain plural forms

ars 'earth' is given feminine concord in other Semitic languages, and in Akkadian, has the -t ending associated with feminine gender:

ersetu. In Ugaritic, it is likely to be feminine also, although there is no proof of this in its use, nor is there any indication of a plural of ars in the texts.

The most dramatic use of a htr 'sieve' or 'instrument for scattering' is in 49.2.32: bhtr tdrynn 'with a sieve she winnows him', describing part of ^cnt's treatment of Mt. The other occurrence of htr is in a text which begins spr nps 'a list of garments', 2050.2: tt htrm tn kst 'two sieves, two covers', where the context of the clothing suggests that htr may be a sort of mesh or open-work garment. On the basis of the numeral tt, htr appears to be a feminine noun.

Gordon (UT Glossary 1303) suggests that krk may mean 'shovel'. It is listed among agricultural implements in text 2048. In line 6: krk aht, the feminine form of the numeral 'one' shows that the noun here is feminine singular. Possible plural forms are not attested.

The cognate of npš in other Semitic languages is feminine; npš has a range of meanings, as can be seen in the following:

3Aq obv.24f.	<u>tsi km rh npšh</u>	his life-force left like the wind
127.11	<u>npšh llhm tpth</u>	his appetite responded to the food
51.7.47f.	<u>yqra mt bnpšh</u>	Mt said to himself
49.2.17	<u>npš hsr̄t bn nšm</u>	spirit is lacking among the people
49.3.19	<u>wtnh bir̄ty npš</u>	and (my) soul will repose in my breast
2106.1	<u>spr npš d^crb bt mlk</u>	a list of persons who entered the king's house
120.13	[^c]šrm npš	20 persons

npš here takes feminine concord: tsi, tpth, tnh; when used referring to collective persons, as in 2106.1, the unmarked form of the verb c_{rb}

is used. Following the numeral for twenty, it takes no suffix, which is as expected. In 134.9: tt npš , it follows the -t form of 'two'. There is no attested plural in the Ugaritic texts.

In 3Aq obv.25-6 and 36-7, rh, itl, and qtr 'wind', 'gust', and 'smoke' are used parallel to each other: (ysat) km rh npšh km itl brlth km qtr baph 'his life-force (went out) like a breeze, like a gust of wind, his spirit, like smoke in his nostrils'. rh also occurs in 67.5.7: qh^c rptk rhk 'take your clouds, your winds', but none of these indicates number or gender. The Hebrew cognate rūah takes feminine concord most of the time (only rarely does it appear with masculine agreement); in Arabic rīh is feminine. It is possible that Ugaritic rh is also feminine. Words cognate to itl have not been identified and as a result, nothing can be surmised about its number or gender. qtr occurs in the sentence above and also in 2Aq 1.28: lars mšsu qtrh 'one who brings his spirit out from the earth'; neither attestation indicates number or gender. Hebrew qītōr is masculine, q^etōrah and q^etōret are feminine.

The sun, špš, occurs with \emptyset ending; on the basis of 49.2.24: nrt ilm špš shrrt 'the gods' torch špš shined' it is clearly feminine.

Nouns of uncertain gender

From the contexts in which it occurs, it is clear that bsql is some sort of plant or shoot. Its number and gender are not indicated, although it may be masculine if it is the subject in the following:

1Aq 65: bsql ynp^c bpalt 'may the young sprout flourish in the garden' (so TO, page 446).

From the contexts in which hbs 'girdle' occurs, it is not possible to determine its number or gender in Ugaritic.

hbrt 'fire-pot' is probably a loan-word from Hittite and occurs parallel to hptr, the origin of which is unknown, in 51.2.8: št hptr lišť hbrt lẓr phmm 'put a hptr on the fire, a pot on the top of the coals'. There are no indications as to the number or gender of these nouns in this sentence.

hndlt occurs once only in 1106.17: hmšt hndlt 'five-h-garments'. The evidence of numerals is, as noted previously, unreliable; on the basis of the general tendency of the syntax of Semitic numerals, this would be a masculine noun, possibly in the plural; on the basis of the -t ending, hndlt could be a feminine noun.

All five occurrences of hrt occur in the same phrase, 1Aq 141 (and four other places in Aqht): aštñ bhrt ilm ars 'I'll put him in the hollows of the gods of the earth'. Number and gender are not clear from the text; the -t might be compensating for a final -y root, such as occurs in Ugaritic (e.g., *ksy > kst) and in other Semitic languages (e.g., Akkadian harû > hirîtu 'hole').

ygb is probably some sort of edible animal. It occurs parallel to uz 'goose' and with the numeral mit 'hundred' in 1128.23. Even if it had a plural form, its use after a large numeral might not be required; singular could be used. Its gender cannot be determined from the contexts in which it occurs.

kd in ^cnt 1.16: alp kd yqh bhmr 'he takes a thousand pitchers of wine' might be referring to a 'pitcher', although here, as in the administrative texts it might be a definite measure of liquid: 12.8: kd nbt 'a measure of honey'. In text 1086, which accounts for the consumption, distribution, or sale of wine, line 4 records that: wbrb^c kdm yn 'two measures of wine' were used on the 4th day, whereas on the 5th day, only one was used: line 5: wbhm^s kd yn. kd seems to be singular, kdm here appears to be the dual. In 1126.8: tt kdm ztm 'six measures of olives', it is plural. It is not possible to discern the gender from these occurrences. The Hebrew cognate seems to take both masculine and feminine concord; masculine in the plural, e.g., Ju.7.16: ve-kadīm rekīm 'and empty jugs', and feminine concord in the singular, e.g., 1Kings 17.14: kad ha-qemah lo' tikleh 'and the flour container was not depleted'.

kdrt 'vulture' occurs only twice, 131.8 and ^cnt 2.9: kkdrt riš^v 'heads as (numerous) as vultures'. It is used parallel to the plural irby 'locusts' in ^cnt 2.10 and is therefore likely to be either plural or a collective. Gender cannot be determined from the attested uses.

krsn is attested only with the -m suffix; Gordon (UT Glossary 1310) suggests that it is a liquid measure, less than half, perhaps a third of a kd: 1086.3 btlt kd yn wkrsnm 'on the third (day), a kd of wine and two krsn's. Text 145.13, which according to Gordon contains the plural krst, is broken.

mšlt is some sort of commodity, although its precise meaning is not known. Its use with a numeral ending in \emptyset , RS 24.643.19: šb^c mšlt 'seven mšlt' suggests that it is feminine and plural, although this is by no means certain.

šsw 'horse', gl 'heifer', and pr 'bovine animal' are all attested with \emptyset (masculine), -t (feminine), and -m (plural) endings:

^c nt 3.41	mt ^c gl il ^c tk	I smote the god's calf ^c tk
49.2.28	klb arh l ^c glh	like the heart of a cow for her calf
67.5.18	yuhb ^c glt bδbr	he loves a calf in the wilderness
124.13	^c glm dt šnt	year-old calves
2158.1.3	ljalp pr b ^c l	thousand cattle for/of B ^c l
67.5.18	prt bšd šhlmmt	a cow in the field of šhlmmt
1138.1	[t]n prm b ^c šrm	two cattle at twenty
1138.2	arb ^c prm b ^c š[r]m	four cattle at twenty
2158.1.6	šsw ^c ttrt	horse of ^c ttrt
1127.6	šstm bšb ^c m	a pair of horses at 70
1012.31f.	tmgyy hn alpm ššwm hnd	let these 2000 horses reach me

With the above nouns, it appears that -t is used for feminine singular, \emptyset is used only for masculine singular. In 1138.1, the -m ending is masculine dual on the basis of the numeral tn. In the plural, -m ending is the only one attested; there is no way of knowing whether gender distinctions were made for feminine plural horses, calves, or cattle.

spr is an animal whose identity is uncertain. As Gordon (UT Glossary 2186) points out, it could correspond to 'bird' or 'buck' (sipōr or sāpīr in Hebrew) in Krt 122: lg^ct alp hrt zgt klb spr '(King Pbl could not sleep) because of the lowing of his plow-ox, the yapping of his hunting-dogs'. This is the sense of klb spr, according to TO, page 523. There although taking spr to mean 'buck', it is observed that the intent of the phrase is generally the same whether derived from 'bird-dog' or 'stag-hound' (similar to the modern fox-hound). Although there is no clear written evidence that dogs were used as companions on the hunt in Ugarit, the Assyrian palace reliefs include dogs in the pictorial representations of the royal lion-hunt. On the basis of

cognates, spr probably has a plural form and is a masculine noun.

The use of spr in 1129.8: tl̄t̄ alp spr dt ahd hr̄th ahd is difficult to interpret. spr as 'bird' makes little sense (3000 birds) and the plural alpm 'thousand' would be expected following tl̄t̄; similarly '3000 bucks' is contextually improbable. One possible translation '3 ox-bucks that are in the possession of one of his plowmen' is based on the assumption that spr here is used to further describe alp.

t^crt 'scabbard, sheath' seems to be singular as used in 3Aq obv. 28: kn̄sr bh̄b̄sh km diy bt^crth '(she put him) like an eagle in her belt, like a flying creature in her scabbard', and while it may be feminine, its gender is not clear from the texts.

Derived Nouns

drkt 'rule, dominion' is a noun derived from drk 'to tread'. The singular occurs in 68.10: tqh mlk^c lmkdrkt dt drdrk 'take your eternal rule, dominion for generations'. Neither here nor in any other place is the gender of drkt indicated: this might be a feminine noun with a -t ending, an example of the use of -t as a noun formative, or both.

Gordon (UT Glossary 787) states that hnk 'levy' is the singular and hnkt its plural. From its use in the Ugaritic texts it is difficult to discern such a difference between the two nouns, as the following shows:

- 1012.22f. wmlk b^cly lm škn hnk l^cbdh and the king, my lord, why has he imposed a levy upon his servant
- 2061.12 wbn^y hnkt yškn anyt ym and let my son impose a levy on sea-going ships

Although the -t ending suggests feminine gender, there is no proof available.

mdbh 'altar' is derived from a verbal root dbh 'to sacrifice by means of a preformative m-'. In Hebrew, the cognate is a masculine noun, forming a plural by means of a -t ending, mizbeah, mizb^chōt. In Ugaritic also it is attested with and without the -t ending:

- 3.24]mdbht bt i[1 altars of I's house
- 3.41 []b md^bh b^cl[at B^cl's altar
- 6.16 m[]m wmd^bht --- and altars
- 173.44 b[md]bh b^cl at B^cl's altar

but from its uses in Ugaritic, neither number nor gender is clear.

mškb 'bed', mtn 'gift', and mtb 'dwelling' are all attested with both \emptyset and -t endings, and are derived by means of m- prefix from the verbal roots škb, ytn, and ytb. The relationship between the \emptyset and -t endings used with these nouns is not clear. mškbt might be the plural of mškb:

1151.6 b[h]dr mškb in the bedroom

2050.10 mrbd mškbt bed-coverings

mtb is probably singular in 51.1.19: mtb arsy by y^cbdr 'the dwelling of Arsy, daughter of Y^cbdr', and plural in:

3.51]arb^c mtbt four dwellings

52.19]mtbt ilm t^mn t[dwellings of eight gods(?)

It is difficult to determine whether t^mn ought to be grouped with ilm; on the basis of general Ugaritic practice it would seem unlikely as numerals rarely follow the nouns they quantify. The texts in which mtn and mtnt occur are either broken or difficult to understand. The genders of mtn, mškb, and mtb are not indicated in the Ugaritic texts. In Hebrew, miškāb is masculine, and so is the cognate of mtb, mōšāb. matan, too, is masculine, functioning as a collective, and matānāh, plural matānōt is feminine; it is not clear to which the Ugaritic mtn(t) corresponds.

Four derived nouns occur with m- prefixes and final -t suffixes: mknt 'place', msdt 'foundation(s)', mqdšt 'sanctuary', and mšknt 'dwelling', from kwn, ysd, gdš, and škn, respectively. The final -t here is most likely a formative element, not a feminine marker, although it is possible that the -t formative function has been confused with the -t feminine with the result that these nouns attract feminine concord. Gender, however, is not clear from the attested usages. Context suggests that mknt is singular:

Krt 11 krt grdš^v mknt Krt is deprived of place

msdt could be singular or plural; similarly, the number of mqdšt is not clear:

51.1.39ff. t^lhn il dmla mnm dbbm dmsdt arš
a magnificent table which is filled
with all sorts of food from the
depths of the earth

2011.15 mqdšt^c b[dm]k the sanctuary of ^cbdmlk

Hebrew makōn is masculine; mūsād and mōsad, plural mōsādōt, are masculine nouns, mūsādāh is feminine. miqdāš, plural miqdāšim is masculine, and so is miškan, miškanōt.

mtpdm, related to the root tpd 'to set feet (on a footstool)' occurs only in the phrase tn mtpdm tht^c nt ars^c (nt 4.79) 'two leagues beneath the springs of the earth'. mtpdm is probably masculine and dual on the basis of the numeral tn which precedes it.

Another possible derived noun is ^cdbt which seems to mean something like 'arrangements' in 5l.6.38: ^cdbt bht[h b^c]l y^cdb hd^cdb [^cdb]t(?) hklh 'B^cl made the arrangements for his house, Hd saw to the order of his palace'. Neither number or gender are indicated by the use of this noun.

rbt 'myriad' is singular in 2Aq 5.10: balp šd rbt kmn 'in a thousand fields, myriad of hectares'; the dual is likely to be rbtm as in 5l.1.31: kt il dt rbtm 'a magnificent object made of thousands (of precious jewels, silver ??)'; and the plural rbbt as in 5l.1.28: hrs ysqm lrbbt 'gold was cast by the myriads'. In Hebrew, the cognate r^ebābāh, feminine singular, has a plural r^ebābōt.

Since tintt means 'womankind' (vs. 'mankind') it is likely to be feminine, but whether singular or plural cannot be determined from the context in which it occurs, 2Aq 6.40: ht tsdn tintt 'would women hunt?'. It might be a collective noun.

tdrq 'tread, gait' occurs parallel to hlk and seems to be a masculine singular noun:

5l.2.14f. kt^cn hlk btlt^c nt tdrq ybmt [Limm] l
as she sees the walk of Btlt^c nt, the
tread of Ybmt Limm

2Aq 5.11 wy^cn tdrq hss l
and he sees the approaching tread of
hss

If tdrq were a verb or an adjective, a different form would be expected with Btlt^cnt and with Hss, one agreeing with a masculine name, the other with a feminine name.

All seven occurrences of t^cdt 'messenger' are in text 137, all in the same phrase, e.g., line 30: ahr tmḡyn mlak ym t^cdt tpt nhr 'after the envoy(s) of Ym arrived, the messenger(s) of Tpt Nhr'. On the basis of tmḡyn, mlak is likely to be plural or dual (mlak is masculine), which suggests that the intent of the parallel t^cdt is either plural or collective. The semantic force of tmḡyn extends to t^cdt, but the verb need not agree with the subject of the second and parallel clause. It is thus difficult to determine the gender of t^cdt, although since female messengers are rarely encountered, it probably refers to male beings.

trbs is probably derived from rbs, in Hebrew 'to crouch, lie down'; the noun is attested in Ugaritic meaning courtyard:

Krt 56, 129, 273 tlt sswm mrkbt btrbs three-horse chariots in the courtyard

but Krt 141 tlt sswm mrkbt btrbst

The single occurrence of trbst in a phrase which occurs three times with trbs is probably an error. Neither number nor gender is clear from this use of trbs.

^cpr ^czmny 'to the earth will fall our force, and to the dust our might'. The absence of cognates in other Semitic languages prevents knowing whether there might be a plural form for ul; its use in Ugaritic suggests that it may be a collective.

It is impossible to tell whether ary 'kinfolk' has a plural form in Ugaritic. It is always used with pronominal suffixes and thus, if it had a suffixed plural morpheme, it would have been removed before the pronoun. All occurrences suggest that ary has a collective sense:

51.4.49 ilt wsbrt aryh the goddess and band of her kinfolk

51.6.44 sh ahh bbhth a[r]lyh bqrh hklh
he invited his brothers to his house, his kinfolk to the midst of his palace

2Aq 1.20 wšrš km aryh and offspring like his relatives

bnš 'man, personnel' is, according to Gordon, a compound of either bn + nš or bn + š (= Akkadian relative pronoun ša) and is treated as a single word. It has a singular and plural form. The plural bnšm occurs after numerals 3 - 10, and following a construct noun:

2103.2 ^cšr bnšm ten men

2040.3 arJb^c bnšm four men

1008.16 bnš bnšm lyqhnn no man (= a man among men shall not) shall take it

1098.15 w tmnym l mit dd hpr bnšm and 180 measures, rations of men

bnš is used when the noun is in the construct, as in 2067.1.1: spr bnš

mlk dtaršn ^cmsn 'a list of the king's men who are seeking work'. In

this last sentence, bnš mlk took a t- prefix form of the verb, taršn, in

contrast to 1029.15: hmšm lmit bnš ld yškb l bbt mlk '150 people who

did not rest in the king's house' where it takes a y- prefix; it may be

that following the large number (150) bnš is construed as singular.

dmr seems to represent a group or a class of soldiers; it uses no plural ending in Ugaritic:

^cnt 2.13 brkm tḡlllḡbdm dmr to her knees she wades in the blood of soldiers

^cnt 2.34 [t]rḡs ydh bdm dmr she washes her hands in the blood of soldiers
[u]ḡsb^cth bmm^c mhrm her fingers in the guts of fighters

The meaning of dmr as a type of soldiery is clear from its use parallel to mhrm; it is also likely that the intent is a plural number of dmr, either as a plural without ending or a collective noun. In 2Aq 2.17: dmr atrh, dmr is likely to be a participle: 'one who guards his place'.

hmlt, which seems to convey the idea of a collective 'folk, people, hoi polloi', is used parallel to plural nouns such as:

^cnt 3.24 rgm ltd^c nšm wltbn hmlt ars
a message that men would not know, nor the multitude of the earth understand

62.1.6 my lim bn dgn my hmlt who is for the nation of Bn Dgn, who is for the people?

137.18 tn ilm dtqh dtqyn hmlt hand over, gods, the one you protect, the one that the masses shelter

It does not take masculine singular concord; verbs used with hmlt are all t-(n) forms. It could be feminine singular or plural, or masculine plural; whichever gender associated with hmlt, it is likely to require plural concord.

hzm and its variant hzm are usually translated as 'swine' on the basis of the Hebrew cognate. Loewenstamm, however, pointed out the unlikely nature of rendering it as 'swine' and suggested 'workmen' of an unskilled sort, as opposed to the skilled workers, hršm.¹

1. Loewenstamm, "The Numerals in Ugaritic", Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies, page 172.

It occurs in the Ugaritic texts without consonantal ending and its use in the following suggests a collective noun:

- 1024.3.4 tmn h_zr w arb^c hršm 8 workmen and 4 craftsmen
 1024.3.7 tttm h_zr w^cšt^c šr hrš 12 (2 x 6) workmen and 11 craftsmen
 1024.3.9 tttm h_zr dt tb^cln bgt hr^mtm 12 workmen who work in Gt Hr^mtm
 67.5.9 ^cmk šb^ct ġl^mk tmn hnzrk with you, your seven lads, your eight workmen

It is used parallel to ġl^mk, hrš, and hršm, in all cases with a numeral. The idea is clearly one of plurality; a numeral from 3 - 10 is thought to require an object in the plural if the numeral precedes, which would appear to be the case in arb^c hršm, whereas the numbers 11-99 take the (accusative) singular in their objects, such as št^c šr hrš. This is generally the case in Arabic. Although this formulation has variations in Ugaritic, it generally holds true, and the sentences above suggest such a pattern. Against this, the endingless h_zr/hnzr seems likely to be a collective.

hpt designates some sort of soldier and occurs without ending in the Ugaritic texts:

Krt 90 tl_t mat rbt hpt dbl spr tnn dbl hg
 three hundred thousand, hpt that
 can't be counted, tnn not reckonable

128.1.6 arh tzġ l^cgl bn hpt lumhthm
 as the cow longs for her calf, so
 the young hpt for their mothers

In the Krt passage, it seems that hpt is used either as a plural or as a collective; the parallel noun tnn occurs elsewhere with -m ending characteristic of masculine dual and plural. It is possible that hpt and tnn are used representing a very large number and consequently, the singular was used as it is in Arabic, when the numbered object is very large. In text 128, bn hpt clearly is masculine plural, evidenced by the

use of the pronominal suffix -hm. The difficulty is in knowing which element, the construct bn or its genitive hpt, or both, is to be construed as plural.

Another noun referring to soldiers of some sort is kmyr which occurs without ending in Ugaritic. It occurs twice, in the same phrase in Krt 92, 180: h1k alpm hdd wlrbt kmyr 'the marching of thousands of foot-soldiers and myriads of infantry(?)'. hdd occurs also in 60.20, 34, where the text is broken and the intent unclear. Both hdd and kmyr might be collectives or might be singular nouns used after large numbers.

mhr seems to refer to yet another type of soldier when used in the literary texts:

^c nt 2.11	kp mhr ^c tktl	she attached the palms of warriors
^c nt 2.14	hlqm bmm ^c mhrm	to her neck (she waded) in the gore of fighters
3Aq 4.27	ytpn mhr št	Ytpn, the Sutu(?) warrior
^c nt 2.21	tt ^c r ksat lmhr	she arranged chairs as warriors
	t ^c r tllnt lsbim	organized tables as troupes

mhr seems to serve both as a singular masculine noun in the epithet of Ytpn, ^cnt's henchman, and as a collective or plural without ending in kp mhr and tt^cr ksat lmhr; in the latter, mhr parallels sbim 'troupe' which is masculine plural. A plural form is attested in mm^c mhrm, where it is used parallel to dm dmr.

phr 'assembly, convocation, totality' is clearly a collective noun in form, function, and meaning:

51.3.14	wywptn btk p[hl]r bn ilm	and he spits in the midst of the assembly of the junior gods
137.14	pnm] al ttn ^c m phr	do not present yourself to the assembly
Krt 25	hn šph yitbd wbp _h yrh yrt	behold, offspring has been lost and so too, in his (family) circle, an heir

phyr is probably derived from phr; it may be a diminutive, or simply be a variant form. It seems to have the same general range of meaning as phr.

There does not seem to be much difference between sbr and sbrt; both mean 'team, band, group'. The former occurs in the economic and administrative texts, and from its use with the numeral ahd 'one', appears to be masculine, supported by its use with the numeral 'two', tn:

2073.3 sbr ahd bar one band in Ar

2073.1 tn sbrm b uškn two teams in Ušk

sbrt is attested only in the literary texts:

51.4.49 ysh atrt wbnh ilt wsbrt aryh then shouted Atrt and her sons,
the goddess & band of her kinfolk

Parallel to bnh, the phrase sbrt aryh is likely to be plural, at least in meaning.

The only sentence in which tnn occurs in Krt 91: tnn dbl hg 'soldiers without number', which it seems to refer to many beings. All other uses of tnn are in the economic texts where it has suffixed -m, indicating the plural:

1029.1 ts^{VC} tnnm nine soldiers

1030.1 šb^C tnnm seven soldiers

1031.1 tnnm tt soldiers, six

There seems to be a tendency when nouns such as mhr, dmr, tnn, and ib are used, for the \emptyset form to be used in the literary texts, almost to the exclusion of the -m plural ending; both \emptyset and -m endings occur in the administrative texts and letters, where \emptyset is singular and -m is dual or plural. In general, it would seem that some poetic device, active in the literary texts, allows the -m plural endings to be dropped.

The following nouns all refer to animals, some singly and some in groups.

There would appear to be little difference in terms of number between irby and irbym 'locusts':

^c nt 2.10	^c lh kirbym kp	above her, palms (as numerous) as locusts
Krt 103	kirby tškn šd	like the locust(s), you'll invest the field

In both sentences, irby is used as a metaphor for a great number, locusts being rather difficult to count. The -m ending is more likely to be a stylistic variant than a plural morpheme.

In the literary texts, hbl is used to describe a group or a band, as in 1Aq 1.33: ^cl bt abh nšrm tr[ħpn]ybsr hbl diym 'above her father's house the eagles flew, a band of winged creatures soared'. If hbl is the subject of ybsr, it is likely to be masculine; the number of the noun is not indicated by this y- prefix verb that precedes the subject. In the administrative and economic texts, hbl is used meaning 'rope', attested only with the -m ending:

1128.30	tn hblm alp alp amt?	two ropes, each 1000 cubits (long?)
1128.31	tmn hblm šb ^c šb ^c mat	eight ropes, each seven hundred(?)

These are likely to be dual and plural respectively.

hšn 'grasshopper' occurs only in Krt 103: kirby tškn šd km hšn pat mδbr; it could be translated as singular or plural: 'like the locust(s) they inhabit the field, like the grasshopper(s), the edges of the wilderness'.

The only clear use of npr as a common noun, as opposed to a proper noun or personal name, is 49.2.35: širh ltkly ^csrm mnth ltkly npr 'the birds finish off his remains, the fowl complete the pieces of him', where it is parallel to plural ^csrm and is likely to function as a collective.

phd occurs only in 2Aq 5.17 and 23: t^cdb imr bphd. It is usually translated as 'flock', identified with the Akkadian puhadu, thus 'she prepares a lamb from the flock'. There is, however, a possibility that phd should be translated as 'meal, grain' on the basis of Akkadian pahīdu (so TO, page 428) 'a type of cereal'. This accords with the repast provided by Abraham when he had visiting angels and prepared bread and meat for them (Gen.18.6ff.). Thus the Ugaritic sentence would be translated 'she prepares a lamb with rice (or other grain)'. In either case, phd appears to be a collective noun.

The following nouns are all inanimates; some of them might be collectives.

Hebrew 'āniy and 'āniyāh are collective and nomen unitatis respectively meaning 'ships, fleet' and 'ship'. 'āniy is used as both masculine and feminine; 'āniyāh is feminine only. It is possible that Ugaritic any/anyt function in a manner similar to the Hebrew cognates. any occurs following a large number and so might be the singular form, or might be a collective:

2062.A4 hmsm lm[i]t any tškn 150 ships are located

Unfortunately the break in the text after tškn prevents certain identification of any as the subject of this t-prefixed verb. any might be the collective 'fleet' in 2059.10: anykn dt likt msrm hndt bsr 'your fleet, which you sent to Egypt, is now in Tyre', where hndt refers to any. In the same text, line 24: wanyk tt by^cky^c ryt 'and now, your fleet is stationed in the city of Akko' (so PRU V, text 59), the use of any is likely to be the same. In the following the number intended is not clear; not knowing the price of ship-outfitting, anyt could be one or many ships in the first sentence. In the second sentence, it could be feminine singular, or masculine or feminine plural as it precedes the t-prefixed verb:

- 2106.14 whmšm ksp lqh mlk gbl lbš anyth
and the king of Byblos took 50
silver (shekels) to outfit his
ship(s)
- 2008.2.11 wanyt hm t^crb and as for the fleet, if it arrives
- 2008.2.13 mlkt ybqt anyt the queen may seek out ships

Another term that may refer to ships occurs in 2057.3: arb^c
ctkm], is parallel to [t]lt brm 'three ships', and occurs following
anly]t mlk 'the king's ship(s)'.

htm 'wheat' occurs only with the -m suffix; it may be a collective
in plural form.

The use of h**l**b 'milk' in Ugaritic texts such as:

- 128.2.26 ynq h**l**b at]rt he drinks A]rt's milk
- 1135.5 alp mitm kbd t]t h**l**b 1200 heavy (shekels) for 3 milk(?)
- suggests that it is a mass noun or a collective, like its English
equivalent. The Ugaritic texts give no indication as to its gender,
although perhaps, like the Hebrew cognate it is also masculine.

The number or gender of h**pr** 'ration(s) (of food and drink)' is
not clear from the contexts in which it occurs:

- 1098.17 t]tm dd h**pr** bnšm 12 measures of rations for the men
- 1098.19 šb^cm dd arb^c kbd h**pr** bnšm 70 measures (for?) 4 heavy shekels
rations for the men
- 2011.1 spr h**pr** bnš mlk a list of the rations of the king's
men

Virtually all of the occurrences of h**pr** are in the construct state.

yn 'wine', qnh 'flour', and šmn 'oil' all occur with \emptyset ending
and are used in the Ugaritic texts in such a way as to suggest that they
are mass nouns or collectives:

- 1085.6 arb^c yn four wine
- ^cnt 4.87 t]l šmn šmn ars the dew of heaven, the fat of the
land
- 128.4.16 tpth rhbt yn she opens large jars of wine

- 1084.1 hmš ^cšr yn tb fifteen of good wine
- 2093.1 qmh dkly bbt skn flour completed in the house of Skn
- 1094.4 tmnym šmn bd adnn^cm 80 oil in the possession of Adnn^cm
- 2100.20 wšb^c ^cšr šmn dl ysa bt mlk and 17 oil which did not go out of
the king's house
- 1083.4 arb^c šmn ^cl ^cbdn four oil on ^cbdn's account

Of the above sentences, only once does it seem likely that the noun should be vocalized as plural, namely ^cnt 4.87: šmn ars, primarily on the basis of the Hebrew mital hašamayim unišmanay hā'ares in Gen. 27.28. Otherwise, Ugaritic does not seem to need plural forms of yn, qmh, or šmn.

nbt 'honey' is attested with and without an -m suffix:

- 12.2 kd nbt a pitcher of honey
- Krt 165 bgl hrs nbt (pour) mead into a golden cup
- 49.3.13 nhlm tlk nbtm the wadis flow with honey

It is unlikely that nbtm is the plural of nbt; the -m is probably enclitic and was used for stylistic reasons.

The plural phmm refers to '(burning) coals':

- 51.2.8 štt hptr lišt hbrt l^rzr phmm put the pot onto the fire, the fire-
pot to the top of the coals

The singular phm is also attested:

- 1130.3 arb^c alpm phm four thousand coal

On the basis of its use parallel to iqnu, Gordon (UT Glossary 2034) suggested that it is a semi-precious stone, perhaps carbuncle. This would attribute two meanings to the two forms of phm(m). While this sort of semantic development is possible, the evidence of parallel words in the economic texts is not as conclusive as that feature in the literary ones. It is likely that in the last example, phm means 'coal', used as a collective. The gender of the word is not clear from its use.

Although Gordon (UT Glossary 2135) lists ptt as singular and pttm as plural, the use of both in the Ugaritic texts suggests that they are interchangeable and that ptt(m) 'flax, linen' is a collective:

1113.8	<u>tt</u> pld <u>ptt</u>	six <u>p</u> .-garments of linen
1112.1	<u>tn</u> pld <u>ptt</u>	two <u>p</u> .-garments of linen
1115.4	<u>hpn</u> <u>pttm</u>	<u>h</u> .-garment of linen
1113.9	arb ^c <u>hpnt</u> <u>ptt</u>	four <u>h</u> .-garments of linen

Its gender is not clear from the contexts in which it occurs.

Both \emptyset and -m endings are used with š^cr 'barley' although the latter is by far more common:

1099.33	<u>hmš</u> dd <u>š^crm</u>	five containers of barley
1099.23	ddm <u>š^crm</u> l <u>htn</u>	two containers of barley for <u>Htn</u>
2102.7	<u>tl_t</u> mat dd <u>š^crm</u>	300 measures of barley
1 Aq 50	<u>šm^c</u> <u>pšt</u> <u>tkmt</u> m[ly] <u>hspt</u> l <u>š^cr</u> <u>tl</u>	listen <u>Pšt</u> who shoulders water, draws dew to the barley

The quantitative difference, if any, between š^cr and š^crm is not clear. š^cr is attested only in literary texts as part of Pšt's title 'she who gathers the dew to/from the barley', and consequently may be a poetic use of the term.

^cnt 2.9ff.: thth kkdrt ri[š] ^clh kirbym kp kqsm grmn kp mhr 'heads beneath her as numberless as grasshoppers, above her, palms as numerous as locusts, the palms of soldiers like pieces of straw', requires the plural 'palms' as well. Parallel to the singular riš 'head' the first kp in the above sentence is probably singular also; the second might be plural, in the construct state. In 77.33ff: adnh yšt msb mznm umh kp mznm 'her father sets the balance of the scales, her mother the 'palm' of the scales', kp is again in the construct state. As a body part occurring in a pair, kp is likely to require feminine concord, although number and gender information is not provided by its use in Ugaritic.

ktp 'shoulder' is not attested in Ugaritic in such contexts as indicate its gender, nor does it occur with any endings other than \emptyset .

p^cn 'foot' takes feminine concord although it occurs with \emptyset and -m endings usually associated with masculine nouns. In the Ugaritic texts, all attestations of p^cn refer to the dual 'feet' whether ending in -m in the status absolutus or in the construct state with a pronominal suffix:

49.1.31	<u>p^cnh ltmgynh hdm</u>	his feet did not reach the footstool
^c nt 3.16	<u>^cmy p^cnk tlmn</u>	with me, let your feet run
^c nt 3.29	<u>bh p^cnh tt̄</u>	her feet falter

qrn 'horn' is attested with \emptyset , -m, and -t endings and like other paired parts of the body is likely to be feminine. The -m ending is dual, 75.1.30: bhm qrn km trm 'on them are horns like bulls', and the -t ending is used to refer to both horns of a living being, 2Aq 6.22: adr qrnt by^clm 'the best horns (that can be found) on ibexes' and the horns of an inanimate object, 613.30: qrnt tlhn 'corners (= horns) of the table'.

Dual rhtm 'palms' occurs parallel to ydm 'hands' in 51.8.6 and 67.5.14: ša gr^c1 ydm hlb l^r rhtm 'lift the mountain onto the hands, the hill onto the back of the palms'. It is attested in Ugaritic in this form only which, assuming that the root is *rh and the ending in -tm, indicates a feminine dual.

špt 'lip(s)' is attested only with the -t ending in Ugaritic. The singular is intended in 67.2.2: [špt la]rs špt lšmm 'one lip to the earth, one lip to the sky'. The text refers to the dual pair of lips in 52.49: špthm yš[lq] 'he kisses their lips' and in 52.50: hn špthm mtqtm 'behold, their lips are sweet'. The adjective mtqtm takes the -tm ending used only for feminine dual which indicates the number and gender of špthm here.

tkm 'shoulder' is singular in Krt 157f: yrhs ydh amth usb^cth^cd tkm 'he washes from his hands to the elbow, his fingers right up to the shoulder'. The plural occurs in Krt 165ff.: w^cly l^r mgdl rkb tkmm hmt 'he went up to the top of the tower, he rode the shoulders of the walls', although the construct of tkm would have been expected here. tkmt in 1Aq 55: p^gt tkmt my is probably a participle 'P^gt who shoulders water'.

Parts of the body not occurring in pairs are generally masculine.

dnb 'tail' in 601.19: hby b^c1 q^rnm w^dnb 'Hby, possessor of horns and tail' is singular. The dual occurs in 1003.7: dnbtm tnn the two tails of Tnn'. The -tm ending suggests a feminine noun; in other Semitic languages it is masculine. It is possible that the -tm feminine dual ending was used this once by mistake, an extension of the generalization that some body parts are feminine.

ksl 'back' occurs often, but mostly in the same sentence: bh p^cnm t^tt b^cdn ksl t^tbr (^cnt 3.29f. and others) 'her feet falter, upon her, her back creaks'. The difficulty here, and in all occurrences of

this phrase, is in determining whether the individual faced with a surprise visitor and possible bad news is the subject of ttbr, or whether ksl is. If the latter, ksl might require feminine concord; if the surprise visitor is the subject, then masculine concord may occasionally be necessary. The last is marginally more likely because although broken, in 1Aq 93: [bh p^cnm] ttt^c (1/d)[n]ksl y[tbr , the y- prefix verb in this standard phrase suggests that tbr agrees with the person, not the back. In this case, it would be agreeing with Dnil, in all others, with nt or Atrt. This accords well with the Hebrew cognate meaning 'loins' which is masculine and has the plural ending -im associated with masculine nouns. There is one occurrence of Ugaritic kslm in 1106.9: lmitm kslm , but the text, a list of clothing allocations, is broken and the intent is unclear.

In Ugaritic, lšn 'tongue' is attested with \emptyset and -m endings, as in 67.2.3: l]šn lkbkm y^crb [b^c]l bkbdh 'with a tongue (reaching) the stars, B^c1 entered his innards', and in 1003.5: lšnm tlhk šmm '(two or more) tongues lick the sky'. lšn is attested throughout the Semitic languages as a masculine noun.

usb^c 'finger' occurs only once in Ugaritic in 1Aq 1.8: kš[rlknr usb^ch 'like the strings of a lyre, his fingers ...' (so TO, page 141). All other uses are of usb^ct which is probably the plural 'fingers', e.g., 51.4.29: ykrkr usb^cth '(El) cracks his fingers'. The context does not prove conclusively that usb^ct is plural but suggests it quite strongly. The gender is not knowable from the texts; in other Semitic languages it is a feminine noun.

pnm in 2Aq 2.9: pnm tšmh 'his face is happy', might refer to the singular 'face' of Dnil; the verb has the t- prefix associated with third feminine singular or third common plural. In 75.1.33, the cgqm 'devourers' are said to have B^c1's face: bhm pn b^c1; pn is in the

construct state. Hebrew pānīm is plural, taking masculine concord in Proverbs 25.23: pānīm niz^camīm 'an angry face' and feminine concord in Ezek.21.21: 'anāh pānayik mū^cadōt 'wherever your face is set'. The morphologically plural form, whether in the status absolutus or constructus is the only attested in Hebrew.

ymn 'right (hand)' and šmal 'left (hand)' are attested only with ∅ endings; their genders are not indicated by their use. Hebrew yāmīn is feminine; the gender of šmal is not indicated by the concord that it takes; Akkadian and Arabic cognates are masculine. ymn and šmal might be feminine on the basis that they are 'hands' and hands are feminine.

Nouns with Vowel Changes

There are a few nouns with aleph among their consonants which reflect internal vowel changes from presumably singular to plural. These include mit/mat, pit/pat, riš/raš(t), šir(?) /šurt(?), tant/tunt, and tat/tut. Some of these vowel changes have equivalents in other Semitic languages, notably Hebrew.

Singular mit 'hundred' and plural mat 'hundreds' occur frequently in the Ugaritic texts; mat is always preceded by a numeral greater than three and less than ten which modifies it; mit does not occur in such a context. The dual mitm 'two hundred' is formed from the singular and is likewise not attested with a numeral adjective. In Hebrew, the cognate is singular me'āh, plural me'ōt. It is possible that Ugaritic mit reflects mi't+ case vowel, whereas mat = mi'at corresponds to the Hebrew me'ōt < *mi'at.

The phonetics of mit/mat are probably the same as in pit/pat (*pi't/*pi'at), although the latter is not as well attested in Ugaritic as the former. pat 'corner(s)' occurs in the literary texts in the phrase pat mabr 'edges of the wilderness' (e.g., Krt 105) where it could be plural. In 1141.1-4: tš^c smdm tltm bd ibrtlm wpat aht in bhm '9 tilled (?) yokes in the possession of Ibrtlm and not one pat is in/on them', the use of feminine aht, agreeing with pat, shows that here it is feminine and singular. Of the three attestations of pit, two occur without sufficient context to be intelligible. The third is broken at the t, 2Aq 2.9: pnm tšmh w^cl yshl pit '(Dnil's) face is happy, and above, his brow gleams'; the i in pit is clearly visible.¹ Emendations

1. I have checked the photograph and the copy of this text in Virolleaud, La légende phénicienne de Danel, and the i is definitely there. Any other reading appears to be an emendation.

to ph 'mouth' make sense grammatically, for if pit is feminine, the verb with the y- prefix is difficult to explain. The Hebrew cognate pe'ah, plural pe'ot, is feminine.

riš 'head' is a masculine noun as in 49.1.32: rišh lymgy apsh
 'his head did not reach its top'. It has three attested plural forms:
rišt: 137.23 tgly ilm rišthm the gods lowered their heads
 137.24 lm gltm ilm rištkm why, gods, did you lower your heads?
rašt: 137.27 šu ilm raštkm gods, lift your heads
 137.29 tšu ilm rašthm the gods lifted their heads
rašm: ^cnt 3.39 šlyt d šb^ct rašm Šlyt of the seven heads

The last occurs only as part of Šlyt's epithet. The Hebrew cognate rō'š is a masculine noun; the plural is ra'šim. This reflects an original a vowel, as does the Arabic ra's and Akkadian rēšu.

Gordon (UT Glossary 2372) observed that šir has two distinct meanings. In RS 22.225.3-5: tspi širh lbl hrb tšt dmh lbl ks 'she eats his flesh without a knife, she drinks his blood without a cup' and in 49.2.35f.: širh ltikl^c srm mnth ltkly npr 'the birds eat his flesh, the fowl demolish his portions'; here šir means 'flesh'. In this sense it occurs without an ending. The other meaning, according to Gordon, has something to do with 'land', as in 1079.5-8:

<u>širm šd khn</u>	two <u>šir</u> , the field of Mr. Cohen
<u>tl^t šd wkrm šir d hli</u>	three fields and a vineyard, the <u>šir</u> of <u>hli</u>
<u>širm šd šd^c šy</u>	two <u>šir</u> field, the field of <u>šy</u>
<u>wšir šd krm dkrwn</u>	and a <u>šir</u> , field, vineyard of <u>Krwn</u>

In this sense, šir and širm occur only in text 1079 which Gordon describes as a land registry. šir, as used meaning 'flesh' occurs with a pronominal suffix and thus could be singular or plural; its meaning more closely approximates a collective. The difficulty in attributing two separate

meanings to šir lies in describing an etymology for each. Hebrew š'er (= šir 'flesh') is related to Arabic t'r 'blood revenge', which is attested in Ugaritic, in Krt 15: tar um tkn lh '(the responsibility of) a blood revenge for a mother was his' and 129.21: ytir tr il abh 'he avenges Tr Il, his father'. This then is as the phonological equations would predict: Proto-Semitic t, Ugaritic t, Hebrew š, Arabic t. There is a better phonological fit if šir is related to Hebrew šā'ar, Arabic sa'ira 'to remain, be left over'. Semantically, this makes sense as well: tspi širh 'she eats his remains' and širh ltikl ^csrn 'the birds eat his remains' (paralleled by mnth 'the little pieces of him'). Consequently, in text 1079, šir might refer to parts of fields and vineyards. With this in mind, it would be as well to consider the relationship of this šir to šurt, which occurs only in text 92, where it seems to refer to parcels of land. šurt is used with numerals such as tmn ^cšr '18', tmn '8', hms '5', tltm '30', and with a -m ending: tn šurtm 'two parcels of land'. On the basis of the numeral adjective tn, it would appear that šurt is a masculine noun. šir, as used in text 1079, seems to be singular, and širm suggests a masculine dual or plural noun.

tant occurs three times, tunt occurs once, all in the same phrase: ^cnt 3.21: tant šmm ^cm ars, ^cnt ix 3.14: tunt šmm 'the conversation of the heavens with the earth'. The last might be an error; certainly no conclusion can be drawn from this one occurrence: This could be understood either as singular or as plural; gender is not clear from the limited use of this word.

tat is feminine 'ewe' on the basis of the context in 49.2.7: klb ta[t] limrh 'like the heart of a ewe for her lamb', where several animal mothers are described seeking their young. If tut is correct in 1153.3: tut t_h stqn 'Stqn sacrificed/slaughtered sheep', if it is related to tat, and if it is plural, it provides an interesting example

of an internal vowel change from singular to plural.

The above are the only nouns that appear to have internal vowel changes from singular to plural, and as seen, few are certain examples of this type of change. It is unfortunately impossible to determine whether internal vowel changes occur as a regular plural forming device in Ugaritic as is the case in some other Semitic languages because the consonantal system of orthography hides vowels (and so vowel changes) other than those occurring with aleph. Further, most of the changes in the vowels of the above words reflect a change of vowel length affecting the writing of aleph rather than the genuine change of thematic vowel found, for example, in Arabic.

There are five nouns in Ugaritic which regularly and consistently form plurals ending in -ht. None have the -h- in the singular, although some end in -t: ilt/ilht, um/umht, amt/amht, bt/bhtm, and qr(y)/qrht.

ilt is feminine singular 'goddess' as in 49.1.12: tšmh ht atrt
wbnh ilt wsbrt aryh 'then let Atrt and her sons rejoice, the goddess and band of her kinfolk', where ilt is parallel to the name of the goddess, Atrt. Where the plural 'goddesses' is intended, ilht is used:

51.6.48 špq ilht hprt he provided the goddesses with rations

51.6.52 špq ilht ksat he provided the goddesses with chairs

77.40 asr ilht krt I shall sing of the Krt goddesses

In Hebrew, this singular-plural alternation is not attested in the feminine, but is usual in the formation of the masculine plural: 'el - 'elohim.

Another feminine noun that forms its plural with the addition of -h is um 'mother', plural umht:

Krt 9 dšb^c [a]lhm lh tmnt bn um of his seven brothers, eight mother's sons

128.1.5 arh tzg l^cglh bn hpt lumthm
as the cow yearns for her calf, so the young hpt-soldiers for their mothers

amt 'handmaid' has the plural form amht:

51.4.61 hm amt atrt tlbn lbnt should a handmaid of Atrt make bricks

51.3.20 wdbh tdmm amht and a banquet where the handmaids behave badly (so TO, page 201)

The above three nouns, taken in conjunction with their Semitic cognates, suggest that this plural forming device while not a prevalent feature is nonetheless of some antiquity. Such is not the case with the other two nouns attested in Ugaritic: the equivalent of bht(m) and qrht is not found in other Semitic languages.

bht(m) is not the only plural of bt 'house', nor is it plural

only:

51.5.75	sh hrn bbhtk	summon caravans to your house
51.5.80	wbn bht ksp whrs	and build a house of silver and gold
^c nt 2.3	klat tgrt bht ^c nt	she locked the gates of ^c nt's house
51.6.8	al tšt u'rb'lt bbhtm	don't put windows in the houses
51.4.62	ybn bt lb ^c 1 km ilm	let a house be built for B ^c 1 like the other gods
80.1.16	hrs ^v bhtm	house craftsmen
2067.14	hrs ^v btm	house craftsmen

There do not appear to be any clear differences in the texts between bhtm as singular or plural. bt is used more often as singular than it is as plural, and btm as a plural form is decidedly rare.

qrht is, on the other hand, consistently used as the plural of qr(y)t 'city':

109.1	qrht d tššlmn tlr ^v bh	the cities which Tlr ^v bh subdued
1173.2-3	msmt ^c bs arr d qrht	? ? ? of the city
1147.1	qrht (b/d)	

This noun is likely to be feminine on the basis of the dual which has suffixed -tm:

^c nt 2.6	thtsb bn qrytm	she battled between the two cities
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Divine Names Occurring in Pairs

Perhaps unique to Ugaritic among the Semitic languages are divine names occurring in pairs in the pattern A-and-B. The distinguishing feature of these names is the conjunction of two components (A, B) by means of w 'and'. Some of the elements in the name pairs are well-known, occurring often and independently; others are attested in combination only. The conjunction, when used, is always attached to the second element; the word divider is not found separating the w from the second element. Very rarely, the two elements A and B occur side by side without the conjunction (i.e., AB). Occasionally, A or B is used parallel to A-and-B. This may support the theory that each A-and-B name as a unit representing one god developed (and possibly, in the case of some names, was developing at the time of our texts) from A and B representing two gods; one the other hand, it could simply be poetic license applied to the single god with two names.

The question of whether the two names in the pair refers to one god (A-and-B) or two (A and B) is one of concord, and as such falls within the ambit of this study. It will be realised that these names, although similar in pattern and grouped together in this section, have to be examined individually; the concord of each of these names is related to the way that the nature of these gods was understood in Ugarit. Thus, that some name-pairs may refer to single gods does not imply that all do, and conversely.

When discussing these names, it is occasionally necessary to refer to a particular name by means of a pronoun. This means that he/she or they, for example, would have to be written every time; to avoid this cumbersome device, I shall use either the singular or the plural pronouns when presenting the textual evidence. Those reading this section are, of course, free to disagree with my choice of number.

The eight name-pairs discussed below are: gpn wugr, ktr whss,
qds wamrr, nkl wib, atrt wrhmy, mt wsr, šhr wšlm, and tkmn wšnm.

Gpn wugr

In text 51, B^C1 calls Gpn wugr, but whether he is calling one messenger or two is not clear:

51 frag.5	gm lglmh	aloud to his lads
6	b ^C 1 ysh ^h c ⁿ gpn	B ^C 1 shouts, (and) Gpn
7	wugr	wugr replied

Gpn wugr deliver Mt's message to B^C1 in the following:

67.1.9	tb ^C wl ytb ilm idk	the gods went without stopping
10	lytn pnm c ^m b ^C 1	immediately they presented themselves
11	mrym spn wy ^C n	to B ^C 1 in the heights of Spn, and
12	gpn wugr thm bn ilm	gpn wugr respond: Message of
13	mt ...	Mt, son of the gods

The concord required by gpn wugr in the above does not indicate number, although the use of the masculine dual/plural ilm 'gods' in line 9, if it refers to gpn wugr, suggests more than one being. Similarly, if the references in the c^{nt} passage below are all to gpn wugr, dual/plural number is indicated for this name-pair:

c^{nt} 3.29 hlm c^{nt} tph ilm suddenly c^{nt} sees the gods
 c^{nt} then reacts in a worried fashion, wondering why B^C1's servants should be approaching her, then:

32	tšu	she raises her voice and cries:
33	gh wtsh ik mgy gpn wugr	why have gpn wugr come?
34	mn ib yp ^C lb ^C 1	what enemy has opposed B ^C 1?

she then details the enemies of B^C1 that she has vanquished, asking again: what enemy has arisen ... ?

c^{nt} 4.49 [w?]cⁿ glm y^Cnyn lib yp^C and the lads reply saying: no enemy has arisen

gpn wugr then deliver B^Cl's message, ^Cnt repeats it,
and then says:

^Cnt 4.75 ap mtn rgmm again, I'll say this to you,
76 argmn lk lk ^Cnn ilm go, messengers of the gods,
77 atm bštm wan šnt you are slow and I, by contrast,
am quick

In this last line, both verbs bštm and šnt are emphasized by their respective personal pronouns atm and an. atm could be second masculine plural or second common dual (e.g., Arabic 'antum and 'antumā respectively). It is highly unlikely that the -m used on both atm and bštm is the troublesome enclitic; most probably it is part of pronoun and pronominal endings, thus dual or plural. If the references to ilm (line 3.39), šlmm (4.49) and ^Cnn ilm (4.76) relate to gpn wugr, it is then likely that this name pair refers to two beings.

Gordon (UT Glossary 609) describes gpn wugr as B^Cl's 'pair of messengers'. gpn 'vine' occurs only as a reference to a god (or as a messenger of a god) in the form gpn wugr. ugr can be related to the Akkadian ugaru 'cultivated field'¹; Gordon (UT Glossary 69) suggested that ugr might be the patron god of Ugarit. It is found independent of gpn in:

2.19 wnpy []ugr and for the protection? []of ugr
wnpy nqmd and for the protection of Nqmd (king
of Ugarit)

This text is described by Gordon as a 'ritual, with offerings to the gods, to protect all segments of the Ugaritic population'.² ugr also occurs in 134.1, 4, which is too broken to be of any assistance.

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1. TO, page 167, note f, where the name-pair gpn wugr is understood to refer to two separate beings.
 2. In UT, page 257, The Classification of the Ugaritic Texts.

It would be possible to attempt to link the meaning of gpn with that of ugr, but that would provide the only point in favour of the view that gpn wugr refers to one being; the evidence provided by the concord that this name-pair attracts suggests two messengers, gpn and ugr.

ktr whss

A house is being built for B^{C1} by ktr whss; the question of windows in the house arises:

51.5.120	wy ^C n ktr whss	and ktr whss replies:
121	šm ^C laliyn b ^{C1}	Listen Aliyn B ^{C1} !
122	bn lrkb ^C rpt	Understand Rkb ^C rpt!
123	bl šst urbt bbh[tm]	I will definitely put windows into the houses

There is no doubt that the lcs form, šst, is used here by ktr whss.

Similarly, the text continues (omitting those parts that are not relevant to the concord attracted by ktr whss):

51.6.1	wy ^C n kt[r whs]s	and ktr whss replies:
2	ttb b ^{C1} l hwty	B ^{C1} , you'll return to my words.
3	tn rgm k[tr whss]	Again, ktr whss spoke:
4	šm ^C m ^C la[lil]yn b ^{C1}	Listen here, Aliyn B ^{C1}
5	bl šst ur[bt] bbhtm	I will surely put windows into the houses
51.6.14	[]wy ^C n ktr	And ktr whss replies:
15	[whss] ttb b ^{C1} lhwty	B ^{C1} , you'll return to my words.
51.7.21	šh ^q ktr whss	ktr whss laughed,
22	yš ^u gh wyš ^h	he raised his voice and cried:
23	lrgmt lk lali	didn't I tell you Aliyn B ^{C1}
24	yn b ^{C1} t[t]bn b ^{C1}	that you, B ^{C1} , would return
25	lhwty	to my words.

and hyn dhrš ydm, who also appears in the Aqht story:

2Aq 5.16	šm ^c mtt dnty ^c db	Listen Lady Dnty: prepare a lamb
17	imr bphd lapš k[<u>t</u>]r	with meal for the appetite of K <u>tr</u>
18	whss lbrlt hyn d	whss, for the desire of hyn
19	hrš yd šlhm ššqy	of the handicraftsmen. Feed them,
20	ilm sad kbd hmt b ^c l	give them, the gods, to drink; feast,
21	hkpt il klh tšm ^c	honour them, the masters of the
22	mtt dnty t ^c db imr	entire hkpt il. Lady Dnty obeyed:
23	bphd lapš k <u>tr</u> whss	she prepared a lamb with meal for
24	lbrlt hyn d hrš	for the appetite of K <u>tr</u> whss, for the
25	ydm ahr ymgy k <u>tr</u> whss	desire of hyn of the handicraftsmen.
26	whss bd dnll ytnn	after k <u>tr</u> whss arrives, he
27	qšt lbrkh y ^c db	gives the bow into Dnll's hand,
28	qs ^c t	prepares the arrows at
		his knees

hyn dhrš ydm has at times been thought to be an epithet of ktr whss, but the plural hmt suggests that this is not the case.

Finally, in text 62, ktr, with enclitic -m occurs parallel to hss:

62.2.48	^c dk k <u>tr</u> m hbrk	K <u>tr</u> your companion,
49	hss d ^c tk	and hss your acquaintance
50	bym arš wtan	in the sea, Arš and Tnn
51	k <u>tr</u> whss	k <u>tr</u> whss
52	ytr k <u>tr</u> whss	k <u>tr</u> whss returns

That the name-pair can be split and the two components used in parallelism suggests that they are roughly equivalent and interchangeable. ktr is a cognate of Akkadian kašāru meaning 'to succeed' and hss is a cognate of the Akkadian hasāsu 'to be shrewd'; thus, the pair may be translated as 'skillful-and-clever'. This, however, does not prove that ktr whss refers to one deity.

The most convincing point in favour of ktr whss as a single being with a compound name is that it attracts singular concord in loc forms of the verb (e.g., ast, lrgmt), supported by the use of -h pronominal ending, the third masculine singular pronoun hwt 'he', and first common singular pronoun an 'I'. Further, it is interesting to note that ktr whss attracts the use of y- prefix verbs, both in the order subject-verb and verb-subject, which, as shall be seen in the discussion of verb (chapter 3), are less commonly found with plural subjects than i- prefix verbs. And, as van Selms pointed out¹, in text 68.5: lars ypl ulny wl^Cpr^Czmy 'our strength will fall to the earth, and to the dust, our might', the -ny ending of ul and zm is not the adverbial -ny (UT §11.3), but rather the first person dual ending (UT §6.9) referring to B^C1 who is speaking and to Ktr whss, to whom he speaks. This does not disagree with the idea that Ktr whss refers to one being because either the -ny is indeed adverbial and has nothing to do with the question of concord, or it is pronominal, referring to two persons, B^C1 and Ktr whss.

qdš wamrr

The name-pair qdš wamrr occurs in the following sections of the Ugaritic literary texts, part of the B^C1 and C^{nt} series. In the first section, qdš amrr occurs, without the conjunction; it is impossible to know whether this writing was intentional.

C ^{nt} vi 6.9	šmšr	Proceed
10	ldgy atrt	Fisherman/men of Atrt
11	mš lqdš amrr	Go, Qdš amrr
12	idk al ttn pnm	Do not present yourself/selves (literally 'face')

1. van Selms, UF 2/1970, page 264.

51.4.8	y sm c qd<š> wamr[r]	qdš wamrr obey(s)
9	mdl ^c r smd phl	he/they saddled a donkey, harnesses a horse
10	št gpnm dt ksp	attached trappings of silver
11	dt yrq nqbnm	harnesses of gold
12	^c db gpn atnth	prepared the trappings of her ass
13	yhbq qdš wamrr	qdš wamrr hold(s) her
14	yštn atrt lbmt ^c r	he/they place(s) Atrt on the back of the donkey
15	lysmst bmt phl	onto the beautiful(?) saddle of the horse
16	qdš yuhdm šb ^c r	qdš seizes it, amrr
17	amrr kkbkb lpm	blazes like a star in front

Unfortunately, neither of these passages provides much help in determining whether the name qdš wamrr refers to one god or two. mš and šmš are imperatives and could reflect QBAR or QBRŪ; ttn, a second person form could similarly be singular, dual or plural; ysmc precedes the subject and as such could be singular even if qds wamrr referred to more than one person. mdl, smd, št, and ^cdb are all QBR forms which could not only be singular, dual, or plural, but might reflect a participial or infinitive form. yhbq, like ysmc, precedes the subject, whilst yštn could be construed as singular, dual, or plural, with the energetic, or dual/plural with integral -n. This last verb, however, raises the possibility that qdš wamrr is singular: as shall be seen below (ch. 3, verbs), the y- prefix verbs occur very rarely following a dual or plural subject when compared with t- prefix verbs in a similar position. The name-pair qdš wamrr is split in 51.4.16-17, with qdš used parallel to amrr. There, as would be expected of a singular subject the y- prefix verb, yuhdm, is used following qdš; this does not, however, indicate whether qdš wamrr attracts singular concord, simply that qdš does.

That the two components can be split and used parallel to each other and to the name-pair does not in and of itself argue forcibly for the interpretation of qdš wamrr as one god or two. It does, however, suggest that the two names are equivalent and interchangeable.¹ The meaning of qdš wamrr suggests something similar: qdš, a well-known Semitic root, means 'holy'; amrr², on the other hand, is not as clear: it could be derived from mrr, which to judge from its use parallel to brk 'bless',³ means 'praise, commend'.

Gordon suggests that qdš wamrr, like the other name-pairs⁴, is likely to be the combination of a god's name with one of his epithets, or the identification and combination of names in the pantheon. From the entry in the UT Glossary (2210), it appears that Gordon considers qdš wamrr a single god with a name compounded of two masculine elements. A similar view appears in TO (page 78, note f) where qdš wamrr is described as a 'nom propre à deux éléments comme Ktr whss' and translations of the contexts in which qdš wamrr occurs have the singular.

It looks as if the name qdš wamrr refers to one deity, although the concord it attracts in the few occurrences of this name in the Ugaritic texts does not provide conclusive evidence of singular, dual, or plural.

-
1. While not constituting proof of any sort, it is interesting to note that the name-pair ktr whss, representing one god, is split and the components used in parallelism, whereas the name-pair gpn wagr, probably two gods, is not, so far, attested in such fashion.
 2. The form itself, amrr, is rarely encountered in Ugaritic, although there are some words which have what appears to be an 'a preformative, notably aliyn (from l'y), B¹'s honourific. Gordon (UT 38.40) cites other words with a followed by three consonants, but does not include amrr or aliyn among them. It is interesting to compare the formation of amrr with the personal name in 1046.21: ba ašbh, which Gordon (UT Glossary 2374) considers an elative of šbh meaning 'most praiseworthy'.
 3. e.g., 2Aq 1.24: ltbrknn ltr il aby tmrnn lbny bnwt 'that Tr Il, my father will bless him, the creator of creatures might commend him'.
 4. UT Grammar 38.61. Gordon lists atrt wrhmy, ktr whss, qdš wamrr.

nkl wib

nkl wib occurs only in text 77:

- 77.1 ašr nkl wib I sing of Nkl wib
 77.37 nkl wib dašr it is of Nkl wib that I sing
 ar yrh wyrh yark the light of Yrh, Yrh will light you¹

The components of this name-pair are also attested separately, in the same text, wherein Yrh seeks to marry Nkl wib and sends messengers to

Hrhb, King of Qz, saying:

- 77.17f. tn nkl yrh ytrh give Nkl, Yrh would marry
 ib t^crbm bbhth Ib shall enter his house
 watn mhrh labh and I will give her price to her father
 77.30f. wy^cn yrh nyr šmm but Yrh, nyr šmm, replied:
 wn^cn^cmn nkl htny and his response: it is with Nkl
 ahr nkl yrh ytrh that I wish to be wed. Thereupon,
 Yrh acquired Nkl as his betrothed

The name Nkl can be traced, via Hurrian, to the Sumerian NIN.GAL, literally, 'great lady', the name of the moon-goddess, and ib can be related to the Akkadian ebbu 'pure, shining'². Thus, the name-pair is made up of a divine name plus epithet, and in this respect, this formation is similar to both Ktr whss and Qdš wamrr. It is interesting to note that like Ktr whss and Qdš wamrr, the two elements of the name nkl wib are split and used in parallelism, suggesting that the components are roughly equivalent. This does not, however, prove that Nkl wib refers to a single being.

As can be seen, most of the occurrences of Nkl wib do not show the concord that this name attracts. It is only the use, in lines 17f., of

1. Translating ar, and the verbal form yar, as cognate to the Hebrew 'ōr 'light', as in TO, page 395, note a.

2. TO, page 391, note b.

the singular pronominal suffix, rather than the dual or plural 76.
one, attached to mhrh and abh that indicates that the reference is to
a single deity with a compound name.

atrt wrhmy

The name-pair Atrt wrhmy occurs only in text 52:

52.13 wšd šd ilm šd atrt wrhm the field (is) the field of the gods
the field of Atrt wrhm

52.28 šd ilm šd atrt wrhmy the field of the gods (is) the field
of Atrt wrhmy

Neither of these lines show the concord that Atrt wrhm(y) attracts nor
provides information as to whether this name-pair refers to one deity
or two. Rhmy occurs independently of the name of powerful goddess Atrt
in:

52.16 tlkm rhmy wšd []¹ Rhmy walks, and [] hunts

128.2.6].rhmy ršp zbl Rhmy Prince Ršp

The beginning of text 128, column 2, is broken and the context, which
lists several other deities in previous lines provides no clue to the
intent of the writer. Here, however, it appears unlikely that the
name-pair Atrt wrhmy was written because the conjunction w is absent,
although the word divider is clearly present before the writing of
Rhmy.

rhm is used as an epithet of ^cnt in 49.2.27: rh^cnt tngth 'the
girl ^cnt seeks him', which Gordon (UT Glossary 2321) sees as correspond-
ing to this goddess's more usual epithet Btl^cnt. The semantic fit
is perhaps better if rhm were related to the Hebrew rehem 'womb' and
the passage translated as '^cnt's innards yearn for him (as a cow for
her calf, etc)'. This etymology for rhm is proposed by TO (page 371,

1. It is possible that atrt should be restored in this line on the basis
of the other occurrences in text 52 of atrt wrhm(y); so TO, page 371.

77.

note m). Whilst Rhmy could refer to a separate goddess, it could also be an epithet of Atrt, which would accord well with this goddess who is called gnyt ilm 'the creator of the gods'.

mt wšr

Mt wšr occurs only in 52.8: mt wšr ytb bdh ht tkl bdh ht ulmn
'mt wšr sits, in his hand is the staff of bereavement, in his hand, the staff of widowhood'.

Mt is the well-known god of death, and šr means 'evil'; the entire name is translated by Gordon (UT Glossary 2479) as 'Death-and-Evil'. On the basis of the meaning of the name, it would appear that this is a compound of the god Mt and one of his epithets. No evidence of concord is provided by the verb ytb; as an initial y- verb it could represent the prefix or suffix conjugation. If the suffix conjugation is intended here, then ytb could be construed as singular, dual or plural. If, on the other hand, this represents the prefix conjugation, it would seem likely that mt wšr is considered a single being because the y- prefix rarely occurs following plural or dual subjects¹. Further, in stating that bdh ht tkl bdh ht ulmn the text suggests that one god is meant by the name Mt wšr: it is highly unlikely that the first bdh refers to one hand of Mt and the second to that of Šr. That would seriously disrupt all notions of parallelism in Ugaritic literature. Most likely, it is the single hand of one god, Mt wšr.

1. As shall be seen below, ch. 3, verbs, page 91.

šhr wšlm

šhr wšlm are encountered in text 52.52-53:

tldn šhr wšlm rgm lil ybl a[tt]	they give birth to šhr wšlm. The news is brought to Il: 'the wife
il y[l]t mh ylt yldy šhr wšlm	(wives?) of Il have given birth' 'what is born?' 'my children šhr wšlm

There is little doubt that in this text, called 'the birth of the gods', Il has two wives; this accords with tldn 'they (fem. dual/plural) bear'; ylt can similarly be understood as the feminine dual/plural of the suffix conjugation 'they gave birth to'; yldy is probably the noun yld which could be singular, dual, or plural as it is in the construct state before the first common singular possessive -y 'my child(ren)'. The two wives conceive and bear children who are apparently both born at the same time, called šhr wšlm by Il. šhr means 'dawn' and šlm might refer to the 'completion' of the day; the pair are understood by TO (page 376, note 1) as referring to the morning and evening stars, two separate beings in the text. That šhr and šlm refer to stars is supported by Ug.V 7.52: šhr wšlm šmmh 'šhr and šlm in the sky', a text which names the other gods in their respective abodes.

tkmn wšnm

tkmn wšnm is a name-pair that occurs fairly often, but not in the literary texts and consequently is not well-known. Little is known of his/their role and less of the character of tkmn wšnm. Gordon lists tkmn wšnm among the other compound names such as Ktr whss and Mt wšr which implies that he considers that tkmn wšnm refers to one god.¹ Most of the occurrences of this name-pair are in various lists of gods, usually with the offerings alongside each name. The only other attestation is:

Ug.V 1.1.17 il hlk lbth yštql Il went to his house, reached

1. Gordon, UT Grammar §8.61.

Ug.V 1.1.18 lhtrh y^cmsn nn tkmn his chamber; tkmn wšnm supported 79.
19 wšnm him

The verb y^cmsn precedes the subject, tkmn wšnm (-nn probably refers to Il), and as such provides no information regarding the concord required by this name-pair.

The meaning of this compound name is not known: tkmn, which suggests the root tkm 'shoulder', could perhaps be translated as 'bearer, carrier'¹. Gordon describes šnm as the name of a son of Il, as indicated by Il's epithet: mlk ab šnm, and links this šnm to Tkmn wšnm.² Whilst Il could be the father of šnm or even the father of Tkmn wšnm, the apparent unimportance of Tkmn wšnm in the Ugaritic texts makes it unlikely that this would be chosen as Il's epithet. More likely, the ab šnm refers, as Ullendorff points out,³ to the father of years = the venerable Il. At present, the identity of Tkmn wšnm remains unknown.

* * *

Other name pairs are attested in Ugaritic⁴ but they occur primarily in lists of gods, in ritual texts (but not in the literary texts), and some in broken texts only; as a result there is insufficient material to analyse the concord that they attract, although they are interesting in and of themselves.

1. This form is not encountered as a name elsewhere; Gordon, UT Glossary 2676, lists it separately from tkm 'shoulder' and provides no translation. There is no mention of Tkmn in TO as all occurrences are outside the literary texts with which that book is concerned.
2. UT Glossary 2451. This is an entry solely devoted to šnm as in mlk ab šnm and tkmn wšnm, but no translation is provided for either name.
3. 'Ugaritic Marginalia IV', Ginsberg Festschrift, page 18.
4. See, in particular, de Moor, UF 2/1970, page 227. Among others, he lists il whrn, ars wšmm, tt wkmt, yrh wkša, ngh wsrr, and šgr witm.

Of the eight compound names discussed above, four (Ktr whss, Mt wšr, Nkl wib, and Qdš wamrr) refer to one deity; one, Atrt wrhmy, is probably singular; two refer to two beings (Gpn and Ugr and Šhr and Šlm); and the last, Tkmm wšnm, is uncertain. It is interesting to note that the two elements in each of the name-pairs are closely related semantically in most cases, but very much more so in those names which can be seen to attract singular concord. It is interesting too to note that certainty regarding number is more easily attained when proving single units and there is greater ambiguity when the concord is dual/plural. This can probably be traced to the tendency for word order to be subject-verb with the consequent result that 3ms may precede dual or plural subjects; further it would appear that concord is more rigorously maintained in the singular.

Summary: Nouns

It was not possible to control the number of nouns chosen for their use of each attested combination of morphemes nor did it seem desirable to attempt to do so. If the above random selection of nouns can be relied upon as indicative of the situation in Ugaritic, then it is clear that no 'rules' apply to relate -t endings to feminine gender or -m to masculine. Masculine nouns have plurals ending in -t and/or -m; feminine nouns are similarly marked for the plural. In the singular, most masculine nouns end in \emptyset ; feminine ones occur with both -t and \emptyset . Derived nouns display a similar range of singular and plural endings. In the section pertaining to plural and/or collective nouns the ambiguity inherent in the unpointed Ugaritic system of orthography is decidedly evident; here, and in the section on divine names occurring in pairs, it is clear that singular agreement is easier to recognize than plural. The absence of number and gender information is particularly obvious in the section where body-parts are discussed: the body-parts occurring in pairs are known to be feminine in all other Semitic languages, and this is assumed to be the case in Ugaritic as well. However, out of ten lexical items, only two can be seen to be feminine on the basis of internal textual evidence, which highlights the lack of information provided by the Ugaritic texts. There are few nouns with vowel changes evident in Ugaritic, primarily because vowel changes would appear only where a voweled aleph occurs in the relevant part of the word. It is doubtful that this change is a common device in Ugaritic as it occurs rarely in other Semitic languages apart from Arabic. Similarly, the addition of -h(t) to form the plural is of limited occurrence.

In trying to determine the number and/or gender of various nouns in Ugaritic, the problems inherent in analysing patterns of concord in

*the same is true
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81.

*progen -
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g - m
-t - t*

this language become obvious. Nouns are, to a certain extent, more difficult to analyse than verbs or numerals because they must be treated individually, and so tentative generalizations derived from one sure set of examples cannot be applied to similar but less certain others. Whilst much of the difficulty is inherent in any unpointed Semitic language, the effect of a limited corpus of texts and an occasionally obscure vocabulary cannot be minimized, especially with regard to the analysis of nouns.

Information regarding the number and/or gender of particular nouns came from adjectives (including the numeral adjective for one and two), numerals 3 - 10, verbs, pronouns, context, and cognates in other Semitic languages, notably Biblical Hebrew. Obviously, the information provided by cognates is of limited value; as seen, occasionally, the cognate word had a different gender from its Ugaritic counterpart, or was attested as both masculine and feminine in one or the other languages, or occurred in two different forms in Biblical Hebrew, one masculine, one feminine, and it was not possible to determine which of these corresponded to the Ugaritic word in question. Adjectives provided more certain information but appear infrequently; they seem to occur more often as predicate-adjectives in nominal sentences than as descriptive ones in noun phrases. As such, they were not available to corroborate the evidence provided, for example, by verbs. Pronouns appear to have been relatively consistently used with regard to number and gender; numerals other than one and two do not. Verbs, like numerals, require investigation into their patterns of concord and so too, their evidence is limited. Context did not often point to the number and/or gender concord attracted by any particular noun, but was useful in a limited number of instances.

CHAPTER 3: VERBSThe Prefix Conjugation

The verbal prefixes used in Ugaritic are ', n, t, and y; in certain instances, an -n suffix is used in conjunction with the t- or y- prefixes. The use of ' as lcs and n as lcpl present no problems: they are used consistently within the Ugaritic verbal system and are in accord with verbal prefixes in other Semitic languages. All second person verbal forms are marked in the consonantal text by the t- prefix, with or without suffixed -n; as a result it is occasionally difficult to determine which second person gender and number combination is intended. The ambiguities are further compounded by the use of the t- prefix for 3fs and for third dual and plural forms, again with or without the suffixed -n. The y- prefix is used to mark third person forms (except 3fs), with or without suffixes -n. The use of t- and y- prefixes to mark the various third person forms is not, in and of itself, exceptional: there are comparable verbal forms in other Semitic languages, where the ambiguity produced by the same two consonants marking many different number, gender, and person combinations is reduced by means of vocalic alternations. The question to be answered in this section is how, to the extent that such information is recoverable from the consonantal texts, was the verb marked in the prefix conjugation to express third person masculine/feminine, singular/dual/plural and to represent agreement with nouns in the appropriate categories.

I have read through the texts in Gordon's Ugaritic Textbook and those in Ugaritica V, and below, I shall analyse the use of the y- and t- prefixes (with and without the -n suffix). A useful starting point is the evidence provided by the group of final aleph verbs; presumably, if alternations in the final vowel were used to mark different number and gender categories, such variations might be retrievable from the

Final aleph verbs

Of the fifteen final aleph verbs attested in Ugaritic, three are not found in the prefix conjugation and one occurs only in a broken text; two (ys' 'to go out' and yr' 'to fear') present the problem of determining whether the y- is the prefix conjugation morpheme or the first consonant of the root, a problem inherent in the consonantal representation of all initial y verbs.

In theory but scarcely in context

Of a total of 92 occurrences of final aleph verbs (excluding those where either the context is lacking, the subject broken, or the verb morphology not clear), the following distribution of morphemes may be noted:

	3ms	3fs	3cpl	2pl	collective	?
yQBu	33					
a	2					
i	5					6
tQBu		35	1			
a			2			
i		2				
tQBun				1	1	
an			1	1		
in				2		

QBR represents a trilateral root and consequently, QB stands for the

1. Among the Semitic languages, Arabic has the greatest number of number-gender distinctions for 3rd person, effected by means of vowels, and in the feminine, suffixed -n, for like the other Semitic languages, it only has the t- and y- prefixes at its disposal for third persons. In some languages, the singular has no vowel ending, but the plural has, thus effectively allowing the use of the same prefixed morpheme for both 3ms and 3mpl, e.g., Hebrew yiqbor and yiqb^erū. In Akkadian, 3cs is iprus, 3mpl iprusū and 3fpl iprusā, again using the same 3rd person prefix for singular and plural, marking number distinctions by means of suffixed long vowel (i.e., $\emptyset N \bar{V}$) and plural gender distinctions by use of different vowels (ū \bar{N} ā).

*ESA
all this is well-known & is not part of your brief*

the ex. below cannot be cited out of context, as they occur in dependent clauses

Final a is also encountered with a masculine singular subject:

- 51.7.47 yqra mt bnpšh Mt says to himself
- 75.1.37 wymza^c qqm and he reaches the devourers

tQBa is encountered with a plural or dual subject in:

- 1Aq 89 tša g[hm wtsh they raise their voices and shout
- 67.2.16 tša ghm wtsh they raise their voices and shout

dependent clause!

and similarly:

- Krt 303 tšan ghm wtsh they raise their voices and shout

The last three sentences appear to have the same meaning. Second person dual seems to be the intended subject of the following:

- 2.1.14 uthtin bapkn and you sin with your mouths
- 51.8.20 thtan you will be vanquished by him

92 seems a good number!

Although the number of attested final aleph forms is rather limited, the results of the above are useful for two reasons. First, the distribution of morphemes y-u for 3ms and t-u for 3fs is clearly indicated. Second, the above count suggests patterns of usage which may be borne out by evidence of non-final aleph verbs. It prompts the following questions: to what extent, if any, is y- used as a plural prefix (in final aleph verbs it is not used at all); is the y- prefix used at all with a feminine singular subject; what is the preferred form for 3pl; and what is the range of t-n?

Yr

y- prefix forms of the verb

There are many examples of y- prefixed verbs both before and after masculine singular subjects in the Ugaritic texts. This is as expected on the basis of comparative Semitic material and consequently, needs no discussion. I will, however, examine the other subjects with which this form of the verb occurs.

? sentence / Who is the subject in ^Cnt 2.30: ymh bbt dm dmr ysq šmn 'he/she wipes the soldiers' blood from the house, pours out oil'. In the previous ^{and following} few lines, ^Cnt is the subject of several t- prefix forms of the verb. The goddess is unlikely to be doing her own house-cleaning and it is more probable that the two verbs are passives here, thus, 'someone wipes' and 'oil is poured',

The subject in ^Cnt pl.vi 5.44: ysh atrt wbnh ilt wbrt aryh 'Atrt and her sons shout, (ditto) the goddess and band of her kinfolk' is one female being and several male ones. It would appear that the subject is regarded as masculine and plural as it is preceded by a y- form of the verb. *continued*

In translating 2Aq 2.9: w^Cl yshl pi[t 'and above, his forehead gleams', TO (page 424, note c) has treated the subject as ph 'mouth', *emended* in part because the editors preferred the sense of the line with that reading, and possibly in part due to the influence of the y- prefix form of yshl, which does not usually occur with feminine subjects.¹

A similar problem occurs in 1Aq 82: wl ytk dm^Ch km rb^Ct tqlm 'and surely his tears ^{pour down} fall like quarter-shekels' where a y- prefix verb also occurs with a broken subject. This sentence can be contrasted with Krt 28: tntkn udm^Cth km tqlm arsh 'his tears ^{pour down} fall like shekels to the ground'. In the Aqht sentence, TO (page 448) takes the tears as object

1. For more on this sentence, see above, page 60.

= conjecturally restored?

of the verb, while in the Krt passage (page 507) they are the subject.

It would be interesting to know the extent to which the different interpretations were influenced by the different prefixes on the verb.

I would think it more likely that 'his tears' is the subject in both sentences, but that the Ugaritic writer may have distinguished between the gender of udm^ct and a collective noun dm^c 'weeping', giving one feminine, the other masculine concord. The situation in Ugaritic might be similar to that found in Hebrew: dim^cah, plural d^ema^cot 'tear(s)' is feminine, dema^c 'tearfulness' is masculine. *collective!*

A curious case of concord occurs in 1Aq 171ff.:

^c rb bkyt bhklh	weeping women entered his palace
mššpdt bhzrh {pḡ} pzḡm ḡr	professional mourners, his courtyard mortifiers of the flesh
ybk laqht ḡzr	they weep for young Aqht
ydm ^c lkdd dnll mt rpi	cry for the son of Dnll, Mt Rpi

Here, the y- prefix is used for a feminine plural subject which precedes the verb ybk and ydm^c. The subject is not likely to be Dnll alone, despite the use of the y- prefix form of the verb; the original, feminine plural subject bkyt and mššpdt appears to have been forgotten. Could the intervening pzḡm ḡr have influenced the gender concord of ybk and ydm^c that follow it, or could it be that the combined subject of the mourners and Dnll requires a masculine form of the verb? *why not?*

The subject of 1Aq 200: dyqny ddm yd mhst a[qh]t ḡzr could be Ytpn, or Ytpn could be the speaker, referring to ^cnt as 'the one who owns the fields, his/her hand is that which smote young Aqht'.

In Krt 12f.: att sdqh lypq mtrht yšrh, a y- prefix verb follows an apparent feminine subject. However, this is best translated with att sdqh as the object: 'he did (not?) find his lawful wife (nor) his rightful bride', which fits the next sentence: att trh wtb^ct 'he took a wife but she departed'.

No -
ybk etc
continues
c rb

At the end of the extant Krt text, Krt sends the messengers back to King Pbl and then:

Krt 300 ttb^c mlakm lytb

idk pnm lytn^c mm pbl mlk

tšan ghm wtshn

the messengers depart, *verily they return* they do not tarry *pl' is not tarry* immediately they present themselves to King Pbl they raise their voices and proclaim

Here, a verb with t- prefix precedes a dual or plural subject (the former seems more likely) which is then followed by verbs with what appears to be the y- prefix, and then the introductory phrase to the messengers' speech has verbs with t-n affirmatives. Both y**t**b and y**t**n might be construed as the appropriate suffix conjugation forms because QBR and YQBR forms of initial y- verbs fall together in the consonantal system of orthography. Other uses of the idiom tb^c ... y**t**b do not indicate whether the standard phrase required the prefix or suffix conjugation for y**t**b. y**t**n occurs in the phrase idk pnm y**t**n in the prefix conjugation, as seen in 49.4.31 and 51.5.84 where the verb ttn is marked to agree with a feminine subject and consequently, might be prefix conjugation here, agreeing with a masculine subject. Another possibility is that the subject of y**t**n is not the messengers but King Pbl, and that the phrase should be construed such that ^cmm = ^cm + m 'with them (suffixed dual/plural pronoun), the messengers'. The problem is that this suffixed -m < *hm, while common in Hebrew, is not attested as third masculine dual/plural in Ugaritic. If this is indeed the prefix conjugation, it represents one of the very few attested occasions where a verb with y- prefix is used with a clearly masculine dual or plural subject in the order subject-verb.

A common phrase in the Ugaritic letters is,¹ as in 2061.4-5: yšlm

1. The language used in the letters does not appear to differ markedly from that in other types of text. Consequently, such divisions of material into text type are not necessary for the analysis of the concord of verbs.

equivalence of tb^c & lytb!

main point is that subj. throughout the same!
true - but unlikely

?
yes

yes

lk ilm tgrk tšlmk. If ilm is the subject of yšlm, then the entire sentence ought to be translated 'may the gods give you peace, may they guard and preserve you', otherwise, 'may there be peace for you, may the gods guard and preserve you'. If the former is the case, then it is interesting to note that the y- prefix is only used before the masculine plural subject; it appears that the t- prefix must be used when the verb follows this plural subject.

In a letter to the king, which is broken at the edge and middle, one reads, 2008 rev. 13: mlkt ybqt anyt w at 'let-the queen request ships and you? ...'. This is the only instance of a y- prefix verb following a feminine singular noun, but the broken state of the text makes analysis somewhat uncertain.

In the following:

Ug.V 1.1.9	^c ttrt w ^c nt ymgy	^c ttrt and ^c nt arrive
	bhm yg ^c r tgr bt il	the gatekeeper of Il's house rebukes them

the y- prefix verb follows the names of two well-known goddesses which is unexpected, not only because this form is rarely used for feminine concord, but also because it is rarely used following a plural or dual subject. Similarly, it is unusual to find, as here, bhm used for feminine subjects; bhn is the expected form.

Text 5, described by Gordon (UT §17.1 'The Classification of the Ugaritic Texts') as a ritual text, is difficult to understand, so although all the words in lines 24, 25:

atr ilm ylk p ^c nm	where the gods go on foot
mlk p ^c nm yl[k]	the king goes on foot

are known, the intent is unclear. It is fairly clear, however, that masculine dual/plural ilm 'gods' precedes the y- prefix verb ylk.

There are few examples of this form of the verb with other subjects: feminine singular subjects are statistically too few to consider, and so

too are feminine dual and plural ones. The most interesting point is the relative absence of y- forms of the verb after plural subjects, although they occur in the order verb-subject.

y-n forms of the verb

Verbs in the form y-n are used with masculine singular, dual, and plural subjects. The question that arises in connection with verbs of this form is whether the -n suffix represents the energetic, a stylistic variation, a suffixed pronoun, or marks number or gender concord.

In a letter, the beginning of which is missing, the writer concludes with:

2065.18	wap ank mnm	and as for me, whatsoever
19	<u>hsrt wuhy</u>	is lacking, let my brother
20	y ^c msn <u>tmn</u>	undertake (it) there
21	w ^l ulhy al yb ^c rn	and let my brother not refuse

It is not clear what objects or materials the writer is referring to in this letter but it is clear that uhy, masculine singular, is the subject of both y^cmsn and yb^crn. The -n suffix is unlikely to mark masculine singular agreement; that has been done by the y- prefix. The energetic is likely to be the intended function of the -n in this text, which is the only occurrence I have found of the y-n form in the Ugaritic letters.

The lines preceding 51.3.12-13: ydd wyqlsn yqm wywptn btk p[h]r bn ilm are somewhat broken and the subject is not clear. Perhaps it is B^c1, perhaps Mt, who says: '□]is quick to provoke, he stands up and spits in the assembly of the junior gods'. The content of these two lines may have required the energetic.

In 51.4.13-14: yhbq qdš wamrr yštn atrt lbmt^c r 'Qdš wamrr holds and places Atrt on the back of the ass'. A similar action occurs in 1Aq 59, where Pgt places her father on his mount: tštn lbmt^c r. Both

occurrences are singular, the former masculine, the latter feminine, and both are likely to be the energetic use of the -n suffix.

When Il sees Atrt in text 5l.4.27: hlm il kyphnh, the writer may have used the energetic -n, or the -n may be the 3fs pronominal suffix. In 1Aq 135: bnšī^cnh wyphn and 2Aq 5.9: bnšī^cnh wyphn Dnil, the subject 'looks up and sees'. It is likely that the energetic is used here also. Every time this phrase occurs, whether with a y- or a t- prefix to the verb, it has the -n suffix.

Twice, 1Aq 170 and 2Aq 2.24: dnil bth ymḡyn 'Dnil arrives at his house', parallel to yštql dnil lhklh 'Dnil reaches his palace'. The same lines occur with ^cnt as the subject in ^cnt 2.12: ^cnt bth tmḡyn tštql ilt lhklh '^cnt arrives at her house, the goddess reaches her palace'. The words are the same, although the verb is marked for different subjects with t- or y- prefixes for feminine or masculine concord; in both cases, it is likely that the -n was used for metric reasons, to balance the two verbs, and hence the two parallel lines.

In 2Aq 5.25: ahr ymḡy ktr whss bd dnil ytnn qšt 'afterwards, Ktr whss arrives, he gives the bow over into Dnil's hand' (= 'he hands the bow over to Dnil'), a y-n form of the verb follows the subject, and a y- prefix precedes it. It is followed by a parallel line, with a y- form of the verb, line 27f.: lbrkh y^cdb q^ct 'he prepares the arrows at his knees'; it is likely that ytnn was used to balance the metre length of the line that follows.

The same root is used before and after the masculine dual/plural subject in ^cnt 4.49: [w?] ^cn ḡlmm y^cnyn 'the (two?) lads replied, stating: ...'. This might be a form comparable to the Arabic yaqburūna where the -n is part of the plural marker, or might be the energetic.

A similar use of the y-n form of the verb might have occurred in the description of the fight between B^C1 and Mt in:

49.6.17	ynghn krumm	they gore like bulls
19	yntkn kbtnm	they bite like snakes
20	ymshn klsmm	they buck like broncos

Two sentences in the order verb-subject with masculine plural subjects are from text 52.9-10: yzbrnn zbrm gpn ysmdnn smdm gpn 'the vine-pruners prune it, the vine-binders tie it'. The -nn is likely to be the pronominal suffix, especially as the line that follows: yšql šdmth km gpn 'they measure(?) out his fields like vineyards' has a direct object and lacks the suffix that the preceding two verbs have.

The subject of 49.2.26: ym ymm y^Ctqn lymm lyrhm 'a day, two/many days pass, the days become months' is likely to be ymm, which could be dual or plural. In either case, the -n suffix is not likely to be pronominal, could be energetic, or might be a part of a plural morpheme as found in the Arabic form yaqburūna, as suggested above in relation to y^Cnyn.

All attested y-n forms of the verb occur with masculine subjects. As noted throughout the above, the -n might have been used as an energetic mood marker, for metrical reasons, or as an integral part of the morphological system marking number and gender. The paucity of examples makes definite statement about the function of the y-n form difficult. However, the fact that only two out of 16 uses are following a dual or plural subject and two more precede plural subjects whilst the remaining 12 occur with singular subjects, makes it unlikely that the y-n specifically marks the plural or dual. It may be worth considering the possibility, thus far not suggested, that the -n is occasionally used in Ugaritic, with both t- and y- prefixes to indicate some sort of verbal continuity of action, akin to the -ma in Akkadian which is used

(according to von Soden, GAG §123) to join two sentences and occasionally replaces the conjunction u 'and', conveying the sense of 'and then' or 'therefore'. If this were so, the multivalence of the -n could start to reach unacceptable proportions.

t- prefix forms of the verb

The t- prefix form of the verb is well attested in Ugaritic as a second person marker and for third feminine singular; as such, it is well within the general pattern of Semitic verb morphemes. Its apparent use with other third person forms, notably masculine dual and plural, is important to the study of concord in Ugaritic.

The following sentences are particularly interesting because the subjects are clearly masculine plural or dual and the t- prefix verb occurs in both verb-subject and subject-verb orders. This suggests a taqburu form as 3mpl.

137.22	hlm ilm tphhm tphn mlak ym	suddenly the gods see them, they see the messengers of Ym
137.23	tgly ilm rišthm	the gods lower their heads
137.29	tšu ilm rašthm	the gods raise their heads
67.2.16	tša ghm wtsh	(the two gods) raise their voices and proclaim
121.2.2 ¹	tdd atrh tdd il[nym	they hurry after him, the gods hurry after ...
3	ašr sswm tsmd dL	they harnessed their horses, they yoke ...
4	t ^c ln lmrkbthm ti[ty	they mount their chariots, they go...
124.21	hm ym wtn tlhm rpum	behold, a day and a second, the Rpum eat
128.3.17	tbrk ilm tity	the gods bless and go
18	tity ilm lahlhm	the gods go to their tents

1. Lines 2-3 are translated by TO, page 478, as 2pl; there is no problem with either rendering. Similar phrases occur in texts 122.4, 12, and 123.6, 11. The one quoted above is the least broken.

The text in 128.3.23: bn krt kmhm tdr is difficult because the subject of tdr is not clear: 'the sons of Krt were as had been promised' or perhaps 'like them, the sons of Krt promised'; perhaps Il made the promise to Krt, perhaps a different god, or perhaps Krt had made a vow to do certain things if his offspring met certain conditions.

In Krt 192: km irby tškn šd, the subject is third person, either masculine or common plural: 'like locusts they settle in the field'.¹

The use of the t- form of the verb with a masculine plural subject is particularly noticeable in the standard greeting formula of Ugaritic letters: yšlm lk ilm tgrk tšlmk 'may there be peace unto you, may the gods guard you and give you peace' (95.7, 101.2, 117.7, 1015.4, 2059.4, and others). The t- prefix is also encountered in 1012.30: hn hm yrgm lmlk b^cly tmgyy hm alpm sswm 'and if this is explained to the king, my lord, then the 2000 horses might reach me'; this letter is written to the queen asking for her influence with the king to be wielded to the writer's benefit.

Several sentences have šmm 'heavens' as the subject, a noun which in Hebrew is plural and might be so in Ugaritic as well. It occurs in:

^c nt 3.23 ²	abn brq dl td ^c šmm	I understand the lightning that the heavens do not know
6.26	šmm tmr zbl mlk	the heavens will praise the prince the king (= the crown prince?)
27	šmm tlak []tl	the heavens will send dew

1. Probably line 104: kirby tškn šd, but I am not entirely certain that tškn in this line is third person. In the text of Krt's dream, lines 62-153, Krt is told what to do and what will occur, some of which is expressed by means of imperative and second person forms. It might be the case that the first occurrence of kirby tškn šd represents the second person: 'you will invest the field like locusts'.

2. Also in ^cnt 4.61; see also šmm šmn tmtrn, below, t-n forms of the verb, page 100.

In the following, it appears that the t- form of the verb is taken up by a y- form of the same verb in a later sentence; it is more likely, however, that the suffix conjugation is intended with this initial y- verb:

51.5.77	tblk ḡrm mid ksp	the mountains will bring you much silver
78	gb ^c m mhmd hrs	the hills, the choicest of gold
79	yblk udr ilqsm	they'll bring you the best of gems

and also:

51.5.93	tblk ḡrm	the mountains will bring you
94	mid ksp gb ^c m mhmd hrs	much silver, the hills the choicest of gold
100	yblnn ḡrm mid ksp	the mountains brought him much silver
101	gb ^c m lhmd hrs	the hills, the best gold
102	yblnn udr ilqsm	they brought him the finest of gems

Gordon (UT Grammar S9.4) points out that it is not uncommon to find a prefix form of the verb taken up later by either a verb in the suffix conjugation, or in the infinitive absolute.

In ^cnt 3.24 (and ^cnt 4.59, 60; pl. ix 3.15): rgm ltd^c nšm wltbn hmlt ars 'speech that men do not know and the multitude of the earth do not comprehend', masculine plural nšm follows the t- form of the verb, as does hmlt ars, which may be feminine as it is in Hebrew. td^c and tbn appear to be functioning as third person common gender verbs; it could be, however, that the subject nouns are feminine collectives.

Another possible collective, again parallel to a masculine plural noun occurs in text 49.2.35: širh ltikl^c srm mnth ltkly npr 'the birds will eat his remains, the fowl will finish off the pieces of him'.

The masculine plural nhlm precedes the verb in 49.3.7, 13: nhlm tlk nbtm 'the wadis flow with honey'; this is preceded (lines 6, 12) by šmm šmn tmtrn, where a t-n form of the verb follows the masculine plural subject.

In 51.7.35, 36: tihd y^crm šnu hd 'the enemies of Hd seize the forests', the subject is masculine and likely to be plural.

The t- form of the verb again precedes a plural subject in 49.1. 11ff.: tšmh ht atrt wbnh ilt wšbrt aryh 'let Atrt and her sons rejoice now, the goddess with her band of kin'.

In ^cnt 3.5f.: w^crbn lp^cn^c nt hbr wql tšthwy wkbd hyt 'and enter at the feet of ^cnt, salute (her) and lower (yourselves), bow down and honour her', the verbs are likely to be second person and imperative forms because B^c1 is telling the messengers what to do when they arrive at ^cnt's establishment.

Another masculine plural noun used with a t- form of the verb, in the order subject-verb occurs in 2Aq 2.9: pnm tšmh '(his) face is happy'.

The fractions expressed in Krt 16: młltt ktrm tmt 'one-third die in good health'¹ and Krt 20: mšb^ct hn bšlp ttpl 'one-seventh fall by the sword' may be feminine nouns.² It is difficult to determine whether they have been accorded singular or plural agreement.

^cnt 2.25: tğdd kbdh bshq 'her belly shakes with laughter'. If kbd is feminine, as it is in Akkadian and other Semitic languages, the use of a t- prefix is as expected. The phrase itself is reminiscent of the English idea of a 'belly-laugh', and is an image often encountered in Akkadian literature, where the 'innards' are thought to be the seat of the emotions.

In text 68.6: wttn gh kgr tht ksi zbl ym 'and makes a noise (=literally, gives his voice) like a groaning beneath the chair of Prince Ym' -- who makes the noise? At the beginning of the text, B^c1

1. So translated by TO, page 505, note 1.
2. Hebrew mahasit 'one-half' is feminine; although it appears to have a morphology similar to the Ugaritic fractions, it does not mean that the Ugaritic ones have the same gender.

appears to be plotting his attack, and following line 6, Ktr speaks, offering his formula for success. TO (page 135) translates this as a feminine singular subject, on the basis of the t- prefix of ttn. There is, however, no feminine singular person mentioned in the preserved part of the text.

Hd appears to be the subject of 75.2.55: wtkms hd 'and Hd falls'; the parallel line 54: npl b^c1 'B^c1 fell' confirms that the subject is masculine singular. To explain tkms (i.e., t- form of the verb with a masculine singular subject), TO (page 349) suggests that tkms is a passive perfect with t- affirmative thus 'has been prostrated', paralleled by npl, translated as 'has been thrown down'.

In 51.5.108-9: t^cdb ksu wyt^utb lymn aliyn b^c1 'a chair is prepared and he (Ktr whss) is seated to the right of Aliyn B^c1', ksu has a final u vowel which suggests that it is in the nominative case, and thus likely to be the subject of t^cdb. However, as my translation of this sentence indicates, the verb might be passive; ksu is a masculine noun.

51.7.40-41: ^cn b^c1 qdm ydh ktgd arz bymnh 'the eye of B^c1 precedes his hand as he grasps a cedar in his right hand'. TO (page 218) observes that there is no plausible etymology for tgd, and translates this as 'quand le cèdre s'abat sous sa droite'. From this translation, it would appear that considerations of concord resulted in B^c1 not being the subject of a verb that appears to have a t- prefix.

The t- verbal prefix, in addition to its use with feminine singular subjects in the order verb-subject and subject-verb, occurs both before and after plural subjects, masculine and feminine. This suggests that the taqburu form serves in Ugaritic much as the y- prefixed equivalent does in Hebrew where it indicates, for the most part, common gender. In Biblical Hebrew, however, the yiqb^eru form is rarely, if ever, used with plural nouns denoting female persons, whereas the Ugaritic taqburu form is used with plural nouns denoting male persons. In those sentences where the t- form of the verb occurs with a masculine singular subject, whether before or after the verb, every attempt has been made to interpret the sentence to avoid the association of t- with 3ms. These are so uncommon that the few that are attested may be errors on the part of the scribe, or misunderstandings on the part of the modern reader.

t-n forms of the verb

The t-n forms of the prefix conjugation are used in a variety of ways in the literary texts. The list below gives some idea of their distribution:

	3ms	3md	3mpl	3fs	3fd	3fpl	2	?	total
subject-verb	1	0	29	27	11	0	1	1	70
verb-subject	2	2	4	7	0	4	8	6	33

As can be seen, the t-n forms occur twice as often after mention of the subject than before. To a certain extent, this may be attributed to sentences of the pattern y- subject, t-n₁, t-n₂, etc., thereby producing compound sentences of one subject and many verbs. The number of occurrences of t-n forms of the verb might have been inflated by the use of suffixed pronouns with t- verbs. Gordon (UT Grammar §6.17) pointed out the suffixed 3ms use of -n, -nn, and -nh as well as -h. Consequently, it is occasionally difficult to know whether a t-nh/nn/n form is to be construed as t- plus suffix or t-n plus suffix. Finally, the use of the energetic -n may account for a substantial number of occurrences of t-n forms of the verb.

As seen above (page 95), smn is used with t- forms of the verb. It also occurs with t-n forms in 49.3.6, 12: smn smn tmtrn 'the heavens rain oil'. It is possible that t- forms of the verb are, for the purposes of concord, interchangeable with t-n forms.

hmlt occurs with t- forms of the verb (above, page 96) and with t-n forms: 137.18, 34: tn ilm dtqh dtqyn(h) hmlt ars 'gods, hand over the one you harbour, whom the people harbour'.

In a letter, 1018.21-22: lpn amn wl pn il msrm dt tgrn 'before Ammon and before the gods of Egypt who will guard', the t-n form of the verb is preceded by a plural subject. Such is also the case in 2067.1: spr bnš mlk dtaršn^c msn 'a list of the king's men who are seeking work'.

In 51.3.23-26, t-n forms of the verbs mgn and gzy occur:

101.

ahr mgy aliyn b ^c l	after Aliyn B ^c l arrived
mgyt btlit ^c nt	Btlit ^c nt turns up
tmgnn rbt atrt ym	they entreat Rbt Atrt Ym
tgzyn qnyt ilm	beseech the gods' creator

Most translations (including that in TO, page 201) understand ^cnt to be the subject of tmgnn and tgzyn, believing the t- to be 3fs and the -n to be energetic. It would suit the sense of the two lines if the subject were understood as B^cl and ^cnt, both entreating Rbt Atrt Ym to act on B^cl's behalf. Both are introduced onto the scene at the same time and presumably act here in unison.

The last few sentences in 1Aqht are somewhat difficult to understand, in part because there are some small gaps in the text and in part because it is difficult to determine who is speaking. Here Pgt has reached Ytpn's encampment and he says:

1Aq 215ff. qhn wtšqyn yn[take (her) and give her to drink [put?
ks bdy qb ^c t bymny qh	a cup in my hand, a goblet in my right
pgt wtšqynh tp[h? ks]	Pgt takes and drinks it, she see(?)
bdh qb ^c t bymnh	a cup in her hand
	a goblet in her right

The first sentence is probably imperative: Ytpn is commanding his servants to take the woman¹ and give her something to drink, and to provide him with something as well. The use of qh is problematic. tqh is expected for a feminine subject and qh is the imperative (UT Grammar §9.45).

It is, as a result, difficult to know who the subject of qh is, and consequently, the subject of tšqynh, assuming that the subject of the two verbs is the same. In light of Ytpn thinking that ^cnt is drinking with

1. I think that Ytpn thinks the woman is ^cnt, cf. line 213: agrtn bat 'our employer (fem.) has come'. It is known that ^cnt employed Ytpn; that Pgt did is not stated in the preserved sections of the text:

him, it is unlikely that Ytpn is commanding his servants to 'take Pgt', having just done so in line 215. The remaining possibility that Pgt is the subject of qh and tšqynh may be the correct one.

The t-n form of the verb occurs with what appears to be a masculine subject in 52.17: lthgrn ġzr n^cm 'the likeable hero girds'. The end of the previous line and the end of this line are both broken so ġzr might not be the intended subject. It is, however, likely to be singular; n^cm following ġzr is an adjective which is masculine singular.

Another third masculine singular subject with a t-n form is in 1Aq 76: bnšⁱ ^cnh wtp^hn 'looking up, he sees'. The subject is either Dnil or Aqht, although TO (page 447) preferred ^cnh 'eyes' as the subject because of the verbal affirmative. As seen above, (page 92), the same phrase occurs with y-n affirmative with a singular masculine subject (1Aq 134, 2Aq 5.9 bnšⁱ ^cnh wyphⁿ) and in all other uses of this phrase, yphn/tphn agrees with masculine/feminine subjects respectively. This one instance might be an error.

The occurrence in Krt 194: tlkn ym wtn 'they go a day and a second (day)' is interesting; later in the narrative, after the stop at the shrines of Atrt srm and Ilt sdyⁿm, there is, in line 207: ylk ym wtn, the same meaning, but with a different verbal prefix. In view of the army accompanying Krt and the fact that t-n and y-n are attested with third masculine plural subjects, but t-n is rarely found with masculine singular, the reading of plural is more likely for both sentences.

Use of t-n forms of the verb with masculine dual, third persons, is rare, mostly the result of choosing to interpret nouns as dual rather than plural.

The subject of 76.2.3: wt^c nyn ġlm b^cl 'and B^cl's lad(s) respond', could be singular, dual or plural; dual or plural is possible because ġlm is in the construct state and thus the -m suffix that would have

indicated number has been dropped. The dual is most likely because 103. it is thought that B^C1 had two servants, Gpn and Ugr (so TO, page 167, note f). Similarly, 137.30: ahr tm^gyn mlak ym 'after the messengers of Ym arrive', the subject could be singular, dual, or plural. 51.5.104: ktlakn ḡlmm 'as the lads send' could also be dual, although the difficulty here is in determining whether ḡlmm is the subject or someone else is sending the lads.

There is a distinct preference for the use of the t-n form after a masculine plural subject (contrast 28 subject-verb occurrences with 5 verb-subject). This use of t-n forms is evident in 1Aqht where the eagles are examined for traces of Aqht; when all the eagles are addressed, t-n forms are used:

1Aq 109	tqln th<t> p ^C ny	may they fall beneath my feet
115	tqln tht p ^C nh	they fall beneath his feet

When speaking of Hrgb, the father of the eagles (lines 124, 129), yql is used, and for Sml, the mother of the eagles (lines 138, 143), tql occurs. This distinction points to a subject-verb use of yql for 3ms, tql for 3fs, and tqln for 3c(?)pl.

There are many occurrences of t-n with feminine singular subjects, some of which may be the use of the energetic, others may be the pronominal suffix.

Several times, the phrase bnš^Ci nh wtp^hn occurs; in 51.2.12, Atrt is the subject, in 1Aq 76, Dnil appears to be the subject, although I think Pḡt to be the more likely subject there; as far as can be determined from the broken lines preceding it, ^Cnt is the subject in 2Aq 6.10. The remaining four (out of a total of eight) occurrences of this phrase use y-n forms of the verb. It is worth noting that all occurrences of this set phrase, whether y- or t- prefixes are used, have final -n suffixes. This strongly suggests that this is the use of the energetic.

Similarly energetic may be the -n used describing ^cnt's actions ¹⁰⁴.

in the following:

- ^cnt 2.23 mid tmthsn she strikes out wildly
^cnt 4.86 thspn mh she draws water
^cnt 2.17 whln ^cnt lbth tmgyn and then, ^cnt arrives at her house

The energetic may have been used in Krt 33: šnt tluan 'sleep overcomes him', although the ending could simply be the 3ms pronominal suffix only.

The energetic might have been used with the feminine singular subject in 1Aq 57: bkm tmdln ^cr 'weeping, she saddles an ass'. A couple of lines later, when Pgt, having saddled the ass for her father, goes to help him mount, the energetic may also have been used, but quite definitely, the 3ms pronominal suffix is employed as well: 1Aq 59: tšū abh tštñn lbmt ^cr 'she lifts her father, she puts him (-nn or -n?) onto the back of the ass'. The same verb occurs in 3Aq obv. 28, also with a pronominal suffix: tštñ knšr bhšh 'she puts him like an eagle in her girdle'.

Finally, there is the sentence in 2Aq 6.40 where Aqht states: ht tšdn tintt 'what! would women hunt?'. This could be the use of the energetic for emphasis.

Generally, it appears unlikely that t-n is a morphological marker for third feminine singular. Most uses, when analysed, are more likely to be t- plus energetic -n and/or pronominal suffix. This is evident too in the description of ^cnt's treatment of Mt in 49.2.32ff.:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| bhrb tbq ^c nn | with a sword she splits him |
| bhtr tdrynn | with a sieve she winnows him |
| bišt tšrpnn | with fire she burns him |
| brhm tthnn | with millstones she grinds him |
| bšd tdr ^c nn | in a field she sows him |

Most of the occurrences of feminine dual subjects with t-n

forms of the verb involve 'feet':

49.1.31 p^cnh ltm^gn hdm his feet did not reach the footstool
 c^cnt 3.16 c^cmy p^cnk t^lsmn with me, let your feet run

In all, the subject precedes the verb. Similarly, a feminine dual subject precedes the t-n form of the verb in text 52.39, 43, 46: attm tshn '(Il's) two wives shout', and twice, in the same text, the same two wives go into labour, and present Il with children, lines 51, 58: tqtⁿsn wtldn.

There are very few occurrences of feminine plural subjects, and hence it is difficult to determine whether the absence of sentences of the pattern subject (fem. pl.) - verb (t-n) indicates choice or chance.

In text 68.17: ltngsn pⁿth 'his extremities do not tremble' and 68.26: tngsn pⁿth 'his extremities do tremble', the subject is feminine plural, corresponding to the Hebrew pīnōt 'edges, corners'. The -n may be the use of the energetic or may represent t-n as an affix; it is difficult to know what is intended.

Krt's tears fall like shekels in line 28: tntkn udm^cth km tqlm and may do so with the help of the energetic.

Another instance of feminine plural with a t-n form of the verb occurs in 1001.4: ktgwln šntk 'when your teeth enunciate'. Here too, as in the preceding three sentences, the subject follows the verb. Whether this is significant is difficult to determine at present. It may be that the Ugaritic writer used t-n as an energetic here, specifically preceding the subject for added emphasis.

From the above uses of the t-n forms of the verb, the following points can be noted: t-n is very rarely used with a masculine singular subject; of the three examples, one is from a broken text where the

verb may belong to a preceding and missing subject; one may be dual and the last is probably masculine singular, third person. t-n as 3^{md} is rare, but y- as 3^{md} is not frequently encountered either, suggesting that it is the category of 3^{md} that is uncommon. There are many occurrences of t-n as 3^{mpl}, and there is a distinct preference for the t-n verb to follow the subject. With feminine singular subjects, it is difficult to determine whether t-n functions as a variant of the t- form marking third person, or the -n is a pronominal suffix or the energetic. In most cases, unlike the dual and plural subjects, the sense of the sentence appears to require energetic or pronominal suffixes. With feminine dual subjects, all with the word order subject-verb, the -n is not pronominal; it may be energetic, or might, with the t- constitute the marking for third person. However, feminine dual subjects rarely occur in the Ugaritic texts; consequently, there are insufficient samples to support definite grammatical statements. Finally, feminine plural subjects occur rarely, all such attested sentences are of the pattern verb-subject, and in the four examples above, the -n could be energetic, or the t-n form of the verb might simply represent 3^{fs}, which could precede the subject.

t-m forms of the verb

t-m forms of the verb occur four times in Ugaritic literature:

- 52.16 tlkm rhmy wtsd [atrt²] Rhmy roams and Atrt hunts¹
 52.33 tirkm yd il kym Il's penis (lit. hand²) stretches
 out like the sea
 77.18 ib t^crbm bbhth let Ib enter his house
 68.28 bšm tg^crm ^cttrt by name ^cttrt rebukes them

This -m could be the use of an enclitic much as it is used in Akkadian.³

There is insufficient evidence to draw conclusions about patterns of concord regarding prefix conjugations with suffixed -m. It is worth noting that with one exception, t-m is used with feminine subjects (the expected patterns for t- verbs) and y-m is used with what may be, if correctly reconstructed⁴, a masculine subject which would be expected on the basis of y- as 3ms marker. The one exception is 52.33: tirkm yd il; logically the subject can only be masculine and y- is expected as the prefix. The t- prefix suggests that the Ugaritic writer, accustomed to giving yd 'hand' feminine concord, made a mistake here.

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1. To, page 371, restores wtsd atrt on the basis of the other occurrences of atrt wrhmy.
 2. TO, page 374, and others understand this as a euphemism. The concord however, shows agreement of the verb with the feminine yd.
 3. von Soden, GAG §123, on the -ma enclitic in Akkadian. This might serve to stress the verb or indicate continuity of action. As a suffix to verbs in the prefix conjugation, it is, however, rarely encountered.
 4. ^cnt ix 2.8: mt]m ymtm['men surely die', which is too broken to provide much information.

The Suffix Conjugation

In the suffix conjugation, number and gender are marked by morphemes attached to the root. In Ugaritic, as is generally the case in Semitic, the total of specific and distinctive consonantal morphemes is considerably less than the number and gender variations that the language is assumed to possess. The grammatical status of -tm (2cd, 2mpl), -tn (2fpl), and -ny (1cd) is easily recognized. Recognition of the syntactic correlations of \emptyset (QBR) and -t (QBRT) is not as easy. QBR represents finite verbal forms (3ms, 3md, 3m/fpl), imperatives, participles, and infinitives.¹ QBRT could be 3fs, 2m/fs, lcs, or 3fd. The uses of QBR and QBRT will be examined below to determine the extent to which their multivalence can be assessed and correlated in syntactic terms.

QBR forms of the verb

As mentioned above, QBR could represent imperative, participle, or certain perfect finite forms of the verb. The intended concord is easily recognized when, as in the following sentences, all in the order verb-subject, the subject is masculine singular and the form QBR may be construed as 3ms:

51.2.22 ik mgy aliyn b^cl why has Aliyn B^cl come?

51.5.118 alp šd ahd bt the house occupied a thousand acres

1155.1-3 bym hdt byrh pgrm lqh b^clm^cdr
on the first day of the month of
Pgrm, B^clm^cdr took

The concord is also easily recognized in sentences such as the following where the order is subject-verb, and the subject is masculine singular:

51.1.24 hyn^cly lmp_hm Hyn went up to the bellows

1. This confusion is likely in other unpointed Semitic languages.

ambiguities

to relate to

49.6.21-22	mt ql b ^c 1 ql	Mt fell, B ^c 1 fell
1Aq 115	b ^c 1 tbr diy hmt	B ^c 1 broke their pinions
2Aq 5.32	hyn tb ^c lmšknth	Hyn departed for his dwelling
84.1	šlmym lqh akl	šlmym took food
1005.8-9	nqmd mlk ugrt ktb spr hnd	Nqmd, king of Ugarit, wrote this account
2093.1	qmh dkly bbt skn	flour which was finished at Bt Skn
2094.1	qmh dkly ksh illdrm	flour which was finished at the order of Illdrm

Excepting the last two sentences, the masculine singular subjects of the above sentences are rational animate males. This distinction, as shall be seen below, does not appear to be of syntactic significance in Ugaritic.¹ Further, in sentences such as the above, the order subject-verb or verb-subject appears to make little difference.²

QBR forms are also used with plural subjects, both masculine and feminine³:

67.1.9	tb ^c wlytb ilm	the gods departed and did not tarry
137.19	tb ^c glm	the lads departed
121.2.6	mgy rpum	the Rpum arrived
1Aq 171	^c rb bkylt bhklh	weeping-women entered his house
2Aq 2.26	^c rb bbth ktrt	the Ktrt entered his house
2Aq 3.39	tb ^c bbth ktrt	the Ktrt left his house
^c nt 2.2	kpr šb ^c bnt	as the seven girls fled

-
1. A distinction is made in Arabic between animate and inanimate, rational and irrational nouns for purposes of concord.
 2. On the other hand, grammarians of Arabic distinguish between the order subject-verb and verb-subject; the former is referred to as a nominal sentence, the latter, a verbal one.
 3. There are many more occurrences of masculine plural subjects than there are feminine plural; the four sentences with feminine plural subjects above are virtually the only ones.

In all of the above sentences, the verb precedes the subject, and as such, it is possible that QBR represents a 3ms form of the verb rather than a plural one. This is highlighted by the occurrence of ^cnt vi.

5.26¹: la šmm byd bn ilm mt 'the heavens are weak in the grip of Bn Ilm Mt'. šmm, usually understood as masculine dual or plural, is the subject of la, which has the final aleph characteristic of third person masculine singular or dual in Semitic.² lū would be expected for masculine plural and thus it is impossible to construe the verb as plural. This verb could be read here as masculine dual (lā), or, since the order is verb-subject, the masculine singular (la) is possible if Ugaritic follows the general Semitic pattern which allows a singular verb to precede a plural or dual subject provided the gender agreement is maintained.

1. Also 49.2.25; 51.8.22-24.

2. The evidence provided by final aleph verbs in Ugaritic is unfortunately scant. What there is clearly indicates 3ms qabara, points to 3mpl qabarū, suggests 3md qabarā. For example:

49.2.23 htu hw 'he is vanquished' (this may be inf. absol.)

1Aq 113 bph rgm lysa 'the words had scarcely left his mouth'

125.52f. -t- ysb pnh tgr ysu 'Ysb poked his face out of the gate'

67.2.6 yraun aliyn b^c1 'Aliyn B^c1 feared them'

Krt 167 nša [y]dh 'he lifted his hands'

51.3.17 tm dbhm šna b^c1 'there are two sacrifices that B^c1 hates'

51.1.39 tlhn il dmla mnm 'a godly table full of things'

(this and the previous sentence, the verbs could be participles)

90.1 tlt dysa bd šmmn 'copper which went out in the possession of šmmn'

1109.1 spr npsm dysa bmlh 'a list of garments which went out from Milh'

2099.1 bnšm d bu 'men who came'

3fs is of the form qabarat, e.g., 1Aq 213: agrtn bat 'our (fem.) employer has come'; there is no information available as to whether 3fpl is qabarā or qabarū.

If number and gender agreement must be maintained in Ugaritic (as is the case in other Semitic languages) when the order is subject-verb, the verb QBR represents a plural form in the following:

1013.16	whm ht ^c 1 wlikt ^c mk whm l ^c 1 wlakm ilak	if the Hittites arose then I'd have sent to you, and if they don't come then I'll also inform you
1121.1-2	<u>t</u> mn mrkbt dt ^c rb bt mlk	eight chariots that entered the king's house
1161.1-2	spr ^c rbrnm dt ^c rb	a list of entrants who entered
2079.1	rišym dt ^c rb bbnšhm	leaders who entered with their men
2106.1	spr npš d ^c rb bt mlk wb spr l št	a list of persons who entered the king's house and who were not put in a(nother) list

In one sentence, a masculine and a feminine subject are joined:

51.4.18	atr btlt ^c nt wb ^c 1 tb ^c	after Btlt ^c nt and B ^c 1 left
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Although it is difficult to retrieve the vocalized form underlying the graphic pattern of QBR in sentences such as those detailed above, the distribution of agreement can be assumed to be similar to that found in other Semitic languages.

There are, however, some passages in Ugaritic literature where the form represented by QBR is not apparent. In 67.6.8f., Mt states:

mğny lb^c1 npl lars

mt aliyn b^c1

hlq zbl b^c1 ars

Here, npl could be construed as 3ms, but the sense of the text is better conveyed if this verb is taken as a participle, and that of the two sentences which follow as 3ms. Thus: 'Both of us came across B^c1 fallen to the ground: Aliyn B^c1 is dead, the Prince, Lord of the Earth is destroyed'.

A similar problem arises in the recitation of the activities of the ideal son in 2Aq 1.26ff.¹ Most of the verbs could be finite forms, but because two of them (mšsu and m^cms) have the m- prefix characteristic of participles, it is likely that they all should be so construed²:

wykn bnh bbt šrš bqrb	he will have a son in his house and offspring in the midst of
hklh nsb skn ilibh bqđš	his palace, one who erects a monument in sanctuary to his ancestral deity, a shrine of his people, who delivers from the earth his spirit, from the dust guards his place, who pursues the lives of his slanderers, and chases those who rebel against him,
ztr ^c mh lars mšsu qtrh	who takes his hand when he is drunk, supports him when he is replete with wine, who eats his portion in B ^c l's house,
l ^c pr dmr atrh t̄bq lht	his meal in l's house, plasters his roof on a day of the winter storm, and washes his clothes when they are dirty.
[t]ish grš d ^c šy lnh	
[a]hd ydh bškrn m ^c msh	
[k]sb ^c yn spu ksmh bt b ^c l	
[? m]nth bt il th ggh bym	
[ti t]r̄hs npsh bym rt	

A participle used as the predicate in nominal sentences is encountered in other Semitic languages as well.

QBR is not always a finite verbal form or a participle. In the following sentences, where it is used in conjunction with a finite verb of the same root, the QBR form represents the infinitive absolute, emphasizing the idea conveyed³:

51.4.33 r̄gb r̄gbt	are you very hungry?
hm ġmu ġmit	have you great thirst?

1. Also 2Aq 1.45ff., 2.16ff.
2. The -u ending of spu suggests a participle, but is not, in and of itself, as conclusive a piece of evidence as the m- prefix.
3. This construction is found in other Semitic languages; Hebrew (before the verb): Gen.2.17: mōt tamūt 'you will surely die', Is.9.6: bō' yabō' 'he will surely come' (compare Ug. bu tbu); (after the verb): Josh.24.10: waybārek bārōk 'and he assuredly blessed' (compare Ug. brkm brk). In Arabic, the maf^cul mutlaq construction similarly emphasizes the action of the verb. Similarly, in Akkadian: ālākūmma ula nittalak 'we are decidedly not going', hadūmma hadi 'he is absolutely delighted' (these and others, GAG p.202, §150). CGSL (p.146f., §16.70) points out the absence of common infinitive forms in Semitic.

Krt 97	almnt škr tškr	the widow will surely hire herself out	113.
Krt 99	^c wr mzl ymzl	the blind man will follow the course of the zodiac	
127.3	bt krt bu tbu	she enters Krt's house	
1013.19	lakm ilak	I will definitely send to you	
2Aq 6.38	wan mtm amt	and I too will surely die	
54.7	hti nhtu ¹	they have been decidedly vanquished	
121.2.10	yspi spu	he will surely eat	

All the uses of the form QBR listed above conform readily to sentence types found in other Semitic languages. There are occurrences of QBR in Ugaritic that are not expected in this language which displays so many points of contact with what is assumed to be classical Semitic. In some sentences, the QBR form is followed by a pronoun; where the pronoun is the 3ms hw 'he', as in the following, the pattern of concord presents no difficulty; it is assumed that the pronoun is used to provide emphasis.

52.70	wpth hw prs b ^c dhm	and he opened an opening on their behalf
52.75	mğ hw lhn lg yn	he provided a measure of wine for them
49.2.23	htu hw	he is vanquished
2008 rev.6	wrgm hw	and he said

-
1. hti in the above is problematic: other infinitives absolute of final aleph verbs end in -u: gmu gmit (51.4.34) and yspi spu (121.2.10) and bt krt bu tbu (127.3); such infinitives construct as are attested of final aleph verbs end in i: bnši^cnh (51.2.12), but inf. construct are not found emphasizing a finite verb of the same stem. The i might be an error, or might reflect a colloquial gabāri form (such as is found in the Amarna letters from Byblos). This is the only example of an inf. absol. with final aleph in the letters; all others come from the literary texts, possibly reflecting a more formal speech habit, comparable with the Akkadian parāsu(mma) iprus. Another possible explanation could lie in the use of the 'i as plain aleph without a vowel; hti would then be a word without vocalic ending, perhaps reflecting a tendency in the colloquial language to drop final short vowels (a process which led, in Hebrew, to the loss of case endings).

Similarly, the plural hm 'they' might have been used to stress the subject in the following:

52.68	wngš ^v hm ngr mdr ^c	and they met the Watchman of the Sown
52.69	wshhm ^c m ngr mdr ^c l	and they shouted to the Watchman
52.71	w ^c rb hm	and they entered

It is possible that the use of the pronoun is a device particularly beloved of the scribe of text 52: five of the seven examples of hw and hm cited above are taken from that one literary text. The same cannot, however, be said of the following sentences; these come from several different texts. The first person pronoun ank (or an) is preceded by a QBR form of the verb:

49.2.21	ngš ^v ank aliyn b ^c l	I met Aliyn B ^c l
22	^c dbnn ank <k>imr bpy	I arranged him like a lamb in my mouth
51.4.59	p ^c db an ^c nn atrt	So, am I intended as an aide of Atrt?
60	p ^c db ank ahd ult	Am I intended as one who holds a trowel?
1021.6	wtb ^c ank	And I departed
2008 rev.12	wrgm ank	And so, I said
2059.23	wttb ank lhm	And so I replied to them

QBR also occurs once following a second person subject pronoun:

2064.19-20	wat ngt ^v wytn hm lk	If you apply, then he will give them to you ^c
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1. The use of the prepositional phrase ^cm ngr mdr^c confirms that hm is the subject of sh in line 69; it is likely to be so in lines 68 and 71 as well. Context precludes understanding hm as the subject in line 73: w^cnhm ngr mdr^c 'and the Watchman answered them'; in the previous line they are asking him, the Watchman, if he has food and drink available.
2. This is not a very clear example: the meaning of ngt is not entirely clear, and no etymology has been found for it. Gordon (UT Glossary 1672), understands it as a noun: 'a person to whom horses are due because of his status or position', translating the above as 'since thou are an n., (the king) will give them (the horses) to thee'. The only other occurrence of this word is at the beginning of the same text which is unfortunately broken.

In all of these sentences, a QBR¹¹⁵ form of the verb is expected on the basis of the preponderance of attestations of that form as 1cs and 2m/fs in Ugaritic, a pattern which occurs throughout the Semitic languages.

A problem also arises in the following six sentences where a QBR form precedes a feminine personal name which functions as the subject, instead of the expected QBR¹¹⁵ which is well-attested both before and after feminine subject nouns:

- 3Aq rev.19 [shq btl]t^c nt idk lttⁿ pnm
 3Aq rev.22 wshq btl]t[^cnt] tš^u gh wtš^h
 49.1.25 w^cn rbt atrt ym blt nmlk^c ttr^c rz^c
 51.2.28 šmh^h rbt a[trt] ym gm lglmh k[tš^h]
 51.5.82 šmh^h btl]t^c nt td^cs p^cnm
 51.5.87 shq btl]t^c nt tš^u gh wtš^h

All of these occur in the literary texts, two in the Aqht story, the other four in the B^c1 and ^cnt epic; it is possible that this pattern is a literary device. The three verbs used above (shq 'laugh', šmh 'rejoice', and cn 'reply') are used with masculine singular personal names in an apparently similar construction:

- 68.7 w^cn ktr whss lrgmt lk zbl b^c1
 49.2.13 w^cn bn ilm mt mh taršⁿ lbt]t^c nt
 49.3.14 šmh^h ltpn il dpid p^cnh lhdm ytpd
 67.2.20 šmh^h bn ilm mt [yš^u g]h wyš^h
 51.5.97 šmh^h aliyn b^c1 sh hrn bbhth
 51.6.7 w^cn ali[yn] b^c1 al tšt u[rb]t
 51.6.35 šmh^h aliyn b^c1 hty bnt dt ksp
 51.7.21 shq ktr whss yš^u gh wyš^h

In all of the above sentences, the initially placed QBR form provides a prelude to further speech (introducing a different speaker) or indicates the start of some action. w^cn, when introducing direct speech, seems

to have the force almost of a stage direction, indicating simply who ^{116.}
is speaking, and in one instance of šmh, how the speaker is to deliver
his lines (51.6.35). Thus, the above sentences could be translated as
follows:

- 49.1.25 Rbt Atrt Ym (answering): 'why don't we crown c^cttr c^crz?'
68.7 (in response) Ktr whss: 'I told you so, Prince B^cl!'
49.2.13 Bn Ilm Mt (answering): 'what do you want, Btl^c nt?'
51.6.7 Aliyn B^cl (replying): 'don't put in windows....'
51.6.35 Aliyn B^cl (happily): 'I've built my house of silver'

It is interesting that all five uses of w^cn occur in sections of the
text containing continuing dialogue; their function appears to be to
point out a change of speaker. Thus, in the exchange between B^cl and
Ktr whss, the second time B^cl proclaims his intention not to have win-
dows in his new palace, his statement is introduced by w^cn. Similarly,
when Rbt Atrt Ym and Ltpn are discussing candidates for the replacement
of B^cl, her second nomination, c^cttr c^crz, is prefaced by w^cn.

The sentences in which the QBR form introduces action can be
translated as follows:

- 3Aq rev. 19 Btl^c nt laughs, thereupon sets face ...
3Aq rev. 22 Btl^c nt laughs, raises her voice and cries
51.2.28 Rbt Atrt Ym rejoices, calls aloud to her lads
51.5.82 Btl^c nt is happy, stamps her feet
51.5.87 Btl^c nt laughs, raises her voice and cries
49.3.14 Ltpn Il Dpid rejoices, puts his feet up on the footstool
67.2.20 Bn Ilm Mt is pleased, raises his voice and cries
51.5.97 Aliyn B^cl rejoices, calls caravans to his house
51.7.21 Ktr whss laughs, raises his voice and cries

In the above sentences, the QBR form has been translated as if it were
a third person singular form of the verb (without gender in those in-

stances where it precedes a feminine subject). The sense conveyed by this type of sentences is quite clear; the problem arises in determining the grammatical form represented by this particular use of QBR.

Most of the uses of QBR described above present little problem other than that arising from an unpointed text in any Semitic language. Sentences such as hyn tb^c lmsk^vnth, ^crb bkyt bhklh, spr^c rbnm dt^c rb are easily recognized as uses of a finite verbal form, and m^gny lb^c1 npl lars and ahd ydh b^skrn can be construed as participles. They all have numerous parallels within classical Semitic. Sentences such as ng^s ank, ^cdbnn ank, and šmh btlt^c nt, on the other hand, do not readily find parallels in the same classical Semitic languages. The few similar sentences in Hebrew, for example, are rare and problematical and it is only in seemingly isolated dialect areas (notably the Amarna letters from Byblos¹ and the Phoenician Karatepe inscription²) that these constructions appear to be part of the language.

1. W. Moran, "The Use of the Canaanite Infinitive Absolute as a Finite Verb in the Amarna Letters from Byblos", JCS 4/1950, pp.169-172. QABARI, an Akkadian infinitive form, is attested in these Amarna age letters from Byblos, where sometimes with, sometimes without the enclitic -ma/-mi ending, it replaces a finite verb, usually in sentence initial position, and is followed by a subject noun or pronoun. In the ten examples cited by Moran, qabari is sentence initial in five, preceded by an adverb in two, and by a clause containing a finite form of qabû 'to say' in three. The occurrence of this construction in the Amarna letters from Byblos and in Biblical Hebrew has been seen as evidence for construing qtl 'nk in the Karatepe inscription as further Canaanite use of the infinitive absolute as a finite verb. (Moran, above; Gordon, "Azitawadd's Phoenician Inscription", JNES 8/1949, pp.109-115).
2. The Karatepe inscription of Azitawadd contains some 20 uses of the construction qbr/yqbr 'nk (where yqbr is the yif^cil hif^cil conjugation. There is some disagreement about the intended construction underlying this form. Moran (op.cit., p. 172) states "the fact is at least clear that we are dealing both in Amarna and in the Karatepe inscription with the same construction: the infinitive absolute + independent personal pronoun". Gordon (op.cit., p.112, notes to lines 3, 4, etc.) describes these as "adverbial infinitives ... used historically". He adds that "the subject pronoun that follows is matched in KLMW's text (lines 7-8) wškr 'nk 'and I hired', a little after Azitawadd's time and a little southeast of Azitawadd's realm". He also cites wp^c1 'nk 'and I made' (YHWM^lK of Byblos,

continued on next page...

Opinion is divided as to the form underlying the verb in sentences such as ngš ank, dbnn ank, and šmh btl t^c nt; it has variously been argued that it is 3ms perfect, participle, or infinitive absolute.

Driver¹ suggested that QBR is a finite verb of the suffix conjugation in sentences of the type w^cn rbt atrt ym, šmh btl t^c nt, and dbnn ank, as well as yhw 'nk, p^cl 'nk, yrdm 'nk, and yšbm 'nk from Karatepe.² He concluded that³:

the most probable explanation of the Phoenician construction is to suppose that it is an extension of the well-known Semitic rule that, when the verb precedes the subject, it is put in the simplest form, i.e., the masculine singular third person, whatever the gender and number of the subject may be ... its presence, however, also in the Ugaritic dialect suggests rather that it is a legitimate inner-Semitic development. It will then be an idiom which has otherwise died out except in outlying and perhaps isolated centres of Semitic speech ...

Driver's conclusion that qtl 'nk is a local idiom appears well-founded for this usage is not attested in languages outside of North-west Sem-
from previous page ...

lines 3, 6). G.R. Driver, "Some Uses of QTL in the Semitic Languages", Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies held in Jerusalem, pp. 61-64, describes them all as uses of 3ms treated as the simplest uninflected form of the verb which may be used when the verb precedes the subject regardless of number or gender. Driver adds that this construction is not usual when the subject is a pronoun (p.63). Whichever form is indeed underlying the written qtl/yqtl 'nk, it is interesting to note that in the Karatepe inscription there are 20 uses of that pattern as opposed to perhaps 3 or 4 instances of a more conventional first person form of the verb (I 16: w'nk 'ztwd štnm 'but I, Azitawadd, put them' -- this might be št or a contraction of št + t (first person); I 20: w'nk 'ztwd cntnm 'but I, Azitawadd, subjugated them'; II 1: yšbt šm 'I settled there'; II 5: wbynty 'nk 'št -- this is a passage whose meaning is uncertain: Gordon understands 'št as 'ēšet, translating it as 'in my days, a woman (could walk ...)' which leaves the pronoun 'nk unaccounted for. Driver translates this as 'in my days, I established control (over the highways)'). This suggests that whatever may have been the norm in other inscriptions, the pattern qtl/yqtl 'nk was preferred by the author of this Karatepe inscription, although the language did possess another means of expressing lcs.

1. G.R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends, page 131, and more recently, Proceedings, etc., op. cit.
2. Lines 3, 10, 20, in the Karatepe Inscription; for these and many more examples, see Gordon, JNES 8/1949, pp. 109-115.
3. Driver, Proceedings, etc., p. 63f.

itic -- it occurs in Ugaritic, Canaanite of Byblos, and Phoenician, and rarely in Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic -- but the form is not necessarily third masculine singular. Driver's "well-known Semitic rule" concerning the use of 3ms is perhaps at its weakest here. In Arabic, the "rule" of concord, applicable to sentences such as šmh btl̄t^c nt, is that if the subject is feminine and animate and it immediately follows the verb, then the verb is usually in the feminine singular. In Hebrew, when the verb precedes the subject, the form QBR is occasionally found, but in none of those cases is the subject a feminine proper name or a pronoun denoting first person, or third feminine singular.¹ In Ethiopic, although there are variations in number and gender agreement, concord is generally observed if the subject is a noun referring to persons or a proper name.² The "well-known Semitic rule" cited by Driver is not applicable all of the time in all Semitic languages, and calling it a "rule" is a somewhat doubtful proposition. While it will be agreed that the verb is in its simplest consonantal form, without number or gender in sentences such as ngš ank and šmh btl̄t^c nt, there is little in general Semitic use to support the supposition that it is third masculine singular.

Driver construes the verb in 49.2.21-22: ngš ank aliyn b^cl^c dbnn ank kimr bpy (and other such sentences) as a participle, stating that it is freely used as a finite verb in Ugaritic.³ The most conclusive evidence in favour of the participle explanation for b^cdbnn ank is the -nn ending, because unlike the infinitive absolute, in languages such as Biblical Hebrew, the participles may take suffixes.⁴ The participle

1. GKC, p. 465, §145o.

2. Dillmann, Ethiopic Grammar, page 501, §195.

3. Driver, CML, page 131.

4. GKC, p.357, §116f. On the 'rigidity' of the infinitive absolute, GKC, p.123, §45b: if the infinitive absolute took a suffix, it would cease to be absolute.

explanation is a likely one where the subject is the pronoun ank; in sentences such as šmh btlt ^cnt this explanation is unlikely because in Ugaritic the -t ending signifying a feminine participial form¹ is expected.

A third possible explanation is that QBR is the infinitive absolute. Gordon explains sentences of the type šmh btlt ^cnt and ngš ank as the use of the infinitive absolute.² Moran thinks that the pattern of the Karatepe sentences such as ml' 'nk is the same as that found in the Amarna letters from Byblos where the infinitive absolute occurs, in the form qabāri-ma/mi.³ The use of the enclitic ma/mi in these Amarna letters helps to account for the -m ending in the Karatepe inscription on verbs such as yšbm and yrdm. The various parallels do not, however, provide a solution for the -nn ending used in Ugaritic dbnn ank. It is not necessarily the case, however, that the Hebrew rule that prevents suffixed pronouns being used with the infinitive absolute is applicable to the QBR form as it is used in Ugaritic. As Gordon states: "the attachment of the suffix in Ugaritic and Phoenician is a fact, despite the long established notion that nothing can be added to the infinitive absolute. In such cases it is better to bear with the somewhat outmoded terminology than to compound confusion by new labels."⁴

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1. Gordon, UT Grammar, page 78, §9.24: 51.2.3: ahdt plkh '(she) takes her spindle'.
 2. Gordon, UT Grammar, p.80, §9.29.
 3. Moran, JCS 4/1950, pp. 169-172.
 4. Gordon, UT Grammar, p. 121, §13.57, note 1. He refers also to the examples in the broken mythological text 1002.38: wrgm ank ['and I said'; 41: rgm hy ['she said'; 42: mgy hy 'she came'; 50: rlgm ank 'I said'.

Sentences of the type ngš ank, °dbnn ank, and šmh btl t °nt are to be found to varying extents only in Ugaritic literary texts and letters, the Amarna letters from Byblos, Phoenician inscriptions, and Biblical Hebrew, all North-west Semitic. In Akkadian, although the form parās- (ūmma) is attested, it does not replace the finite verb. In Epigraphic South Arabian, the infinitive replaces finite verbs, but is not used in sentence initial position, preceding a subject noun or pronoun.¹

Dillmann's characterization of the Ethiopic gerund (= Akkadian stative) as "the verb deprived of tense"² renders it in that sense comparable to the problematic uses of QBR in Ugaritic. Through its obligatory suffixed subject pronouns, the Ethiopic gerund is comparable to the Akkadian stative; both have a means of expressing number and gender which is lacking in the North-west Semitic uses of QBR discussed above.

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1. Beeston, A Grammar of Epigraphic South-Arabian, page 21; Höfner, Altsüdarabische Grammatik, page 64, §54; and Höfner, "Die Kultur des vorislamischen Südarabien", ZDMG 99(NF 24)/1945-1949, page 27.
 2. Dillmann, Ethiopic Grammar, page 264, §123.

I have found no clear uses of an -n suffix in conjunction with the suffix conjugation; it might only be used to signify the as yet unattested first common plural form of this conjugation: QBRN.

There are a few occurrences of QBR with suffixed -m:

126.5.12 ¹	my bilm ydy mrs grsm zbln	who among the gods can remove sickness, drive away disease?
67.1.24	wlhm ^c m ahy lhm	and eat food with my brother(s)
51.4.35	lhm hm stym	Eat here -- drink!
51.1.28-9	ysq ksp lalpm	silver smelted by the thousands
	hrs ysqm lrbbt	gold smelted by the tens of thou- sands
1Aq 191	qrym ab dbh lilm	make, father, a sacrifice to the gods

This limited use suggests that whatever the function of the suffixed -m, it was not to mark number or gender variations onto QBR forms in the suffix conjugation.

QBRT forms of the verb

The form QBRT is used as 3fs, 2ms, 2fs, 1cs, and 3fd. Of course, QBRT is vocalized differently in each of the above cases so that no two forms would sound alike, but in the consonantal Ugaritic texts, they all look alike. The problem thus is the recognition of the different functions of the one form.

Where the subject of the sentence is stated, there is little problem in recognizing the intended concord as feminine singular, third person, as in the following:

Krt 14 att trh wtb^ct he took a wife but she departed

1. Also lines 15, 18, 21; it is possible to complete the sentences, which are broken in places, on the basis of the unbroken segments found in the four occurrences.

- 1Aq 213 agrtn bat b^udk our employer (fem.) has come to your field(s)
- 49.2.24 nrt ilm šps šhr^rt the gods' light, Špš, shone brightly
- 29.2.17 npš h^srt bn nšm spirit is lacking among the people
- 143.2 ^cr^bt špš tgrh Špš entered her gate
- 1083.1f. arb^c ^cšrh šmn dlqht tlgdy 14 oil which Tlgdy took
- Ug.V 7.2 um phl phlt bt abn bt šmm wthm qrit lšpš umh
Phlt, mother of Phl, daughter of stone, daughter of heaven and the deep, called to Špš her mother

QBRT is frequently used in letters; there the occurrence of pronominal endings on nouns and prepositions enables one to construe QBRT as first or second person, where appropriate, with relatively little difficulty. For example, first person seems intended in the following:

- 89.6 lp^cn adty ... qlt at the feet of my lady ... I fall
- 1013.17f. wlikt ^cmk and I sent with you
- 1015.7f. td^c ky ^cr^bt lpn špš know that I entered before Špš
- 2008.6 ankⁿ rgmt lb^cly I myself said to my lord
- 2065.18f. wap ank mmm h^srt as for me, I lacked nothing

Second person appears the likely concord in the sentences below:

- 138.6f. iky lht spr dlikt ^cm tryl where are the accounts which you sent with Tryl
- 1012.25 rgmt ^cly you told me
- 2059.10f. anykn dt likt mšrm your ships which you sent to Egypt

In the literary texts there are fewer clues as to first or second person; it is still fairly easy, at times, to recognize the intended concord:

- 51.3.14f. štt^c l^c tbtlhny qlt bks ištynh
I(?) put on my table, shame that I drink from my cup
- 67.1.25 wštt ^cm a[r]ly<y y>n and I drank wine with my kin

^cnt 4.77 atm bštm wan šnt ugr you are slow, and I, for my 124.
part, am leaving Ugr.

68.7f. w^cn ktr whss lrgmt lk and Ktr whss replied: didn't I tell
lzbl b^cl tnt lrkb ^crpt you, Zbl B^cl, repeated to Rkb ^crpt

Context is important, of course, especially in a section of
text such as:

^cnt 3.35 lnhšt mdd didn't I defeat Il's favourite, Ym?
36 il ym lklt nhr il rbm didn't I destroy Nhr, the god of
the great (waters)?
37 ištbn tnn išbmLn]h I shall surely muzzle Tnn, I will
envelope him
38 mhšt b^ctn ^cqltn I defeated the twisting serpent
39 šlyt dšb^ct rašm Šlyt of the seven heads

Were it not for the change from suffix to prefix conjugation, it would
have been difficult to know whether first, second, or third person was
intended; the use of ištbn (line 37) confirms first person as the
most likely choice.

For 51.2.23: ik mgyt b[t]lt ^cnt two translations are possible:
'why did you come, Btlt ^cnt?' or 'why has Btlt ^cnt come?'. The pre-
ceding line 22: ik mgy aliyn b^cl 'why has Aliyn B^cl come?' suggests
that the latter translation of line 23, as third person, is the
correct one.

In the following passage, it appears that QBRT is used first
as third person (lines 31, 32), and then as second, but this is by no
means certain:

51.4.31 ik mgyt rbt atr[t y]m why has Rbt Atrt Ym come?
32 ik atwt qnyt i[lm] how has the gods' creator come?
33 rgb rgbt wtgt[] are you hungry and ?
34 hm gmu gmit are you thirsty?

Although it can, at times, be difficult to determine whether
first, second, or third person is meant when QBRT occurs in Ugaritic,
the problem is simply one of reading an unvocalized text. Unlike the

occurrences of QBR, QBRT is not found with subjects or in constructions which are unexpected on the basis of classical Semitic.

QBRTM forms of the verb

There are few attestations of the form QBRTM:

51.3.30	off. mgntm tr il dpid	did you entreat Tr il dpid
	hm ġztm bny bnwt	have you approached the creator of creatures?
^c nt ix 3.19	atm bštm	you are slow
^c nt 4.77	atm bštm	you are slow
137.24	bhm yg ^c r b ^c l lm	B ^c l rebukes them:
	ġltm ilm rištkm	why, gods, did you lower your heads?

There is little problem in the recognition of concord since this form is used for 2cd and 2mpl only; there is simply the question of whether two or more persons are being addressed. Interestingly, Gordon (UT Grammar S9.7) does not include examples of 2cd in the section detailing the suffix conjugation, but includes such a category in the QBR paradigm at the end of his grammar. 51.3.30-32: mgntm ... hm ġztm is the only example of second person plural given in the Ugaritic Textbook although from the context, it is clear that only B^cl and ^cnt are being addressed.

Summary: Verbs

In many respects, the patterns of agreement of Ugaritic verbs are as expected on the basis of the norm in other Semitic languages. Where differences exist, there is often sufficient evidence to suggest that the Ugaritic manifestations are not scribal errors.

Prefix conjugation

The y- prefix is used with masculine singular subjects in the order subject-verb and verb-subject; this is as expected. Similarly expected, y- forms with feminine subjects, whether singular, dual, or plural, are too rarely encountered to be significant. y- is well-attested with masculine dual and plural subjects in the order verb-subject, but in the order subject-verb, the y- prefix is surprisingly absent. This suggests that y- is used to mark third person masculine singular to the virtual exclusion of the other categories, that a third masculine singular form could precede, but not follow masculine dual or plural subjects, and thus, that a distinction was made in Ugaritic between a subject-verb and a verb-subject order.

y-n is primarily attested with masculine singular subjects; it occurs relatively infrequently with dual and plural subjects. This pattern is similar to that of the y- forms of the verb, which suggests that whatever the function of this -n suffix, it was not the marking of number or gender variations onto the y- prefix verb.

A complementary pattern emerges in the use of the t- and t-n forms of the verb. Both t- and t-n are well-attested with feminine singular, dual, and plural subjects, which is as expected. Masculine singular subjects occur rarely with either t- or t-n, which is also as expected. t-n with masculine dual subjects is rare, but so is y-n, which suggests that the category of masculine dual is itself of infrequent occurrence. Both t- and t-n are usually found with plural

subjects, which suggests that t- is the preferred form of the prefix conjugation and that the -n suffix here, as in the y-n forms, does not serve as a number or gender morpheme.

Paradigmatically, this could be expressed as:

	VS	SV		VS	SV		VS	SV
3ms	y	y	3md	y/t	t	3mpl	y/t	t
3fs	t	t	3fd	t	t	3fpl	t	t

In other words, it would appear that only masculine subjects, and particularly masculine singular subjects, consistently attract orthographically distinct morphemes to show concord in the prefix conjugation.

In many ways this is comparable to the situation in other Semitic languages. The prefixes and their distribution are as follows:

	3ms	3fs	3md	3fd	3mpl	3fpl
Arabic	y	t	y	t	y	y
Ethiopic	y	t	-	-	y	y
Akkadian	*y	*y	-	-	*y	*y (written <u>i</u> in texts)
Hebrew	y	t	-	-	y	t
Syriac	n	t	-	-	n	-

The surprising aspect of Ugaritic prefix conjugation verb morphology is that 3ms is distinct, and the same morpheme is used for 3fs, 3m/fd, and 3m/fpl, whereas in other Semitic languages, this situation is usually reversed with 3fs marked distinctively and 3ms and 3m/fpl sharing the same consonantal morpheme.

Suffix conjugation

In the suffix conjugation, the problem proved to be largely one of recognizing the intended forms although some unexpected patterns emerged regarding the use of QBR.

QBR as 3ms, 3mpl, and 3fpl presented little problem when viewed in the light of comparative Semitics; similarly, the use of QBR as

participle and as infinitive absolute was, for the most part, as expected. However, QBR with feminine subjects and with the first person pronoun ank is not expected, although there appears to be sufficient evidence to show this to have been accepted practice in Ugaritic rather than scribal error. Whatever the label attached to QBR when used in this fashion, be it 3ms as simplest form of the verb, participle, or infinitive absolute, the fact remains that it was used in the Ugaritic texts with feminine singular subjects and the first common singular pronoun ank, despite the fact that there exists the well-attested QBRT which is expected with such subjects in Ugaritic as in other Semitic languages.

Enclitic endings are attested with the QBR form, although from their use in Ugaritic, it is clear that their function was not to mark number or gender.

The use of QBRT was as expected on the basis of other Semitic languages: it is attested as 3fs, second persons, and first common singular. Similarly, the form QBRTM, although rarely encountered, was used in a manner consistent with expectations based on other Semitic singular. Similarly, the form QBRTM, although rarely encountered, was languages.

CHAPTER 4: NUMERALS

Any discussion of numerals in Semitic must begin with the well-known 'peculiarity' of Semitic numerals 3 - 10, namely, that system of reverse markings which occurs throughout the language group. That is, throughout the Semitic languages, numerals ending in \emptyset are used with feminine nouns and those ending in -t are used with masculine nouns, unlike adjectives, for example, where for the most part, a feminine noun requires an adjective with -t suffix and a masculine one has an adjective ending in \emptyset . There are several apparent exceptions to this polarity in the use of numerals in Ugaritic, too many in fact to dismiss them as scribal errors or omissions. There are also some apparent inconsistencies in the use of the numeral two, which functions as an adjective with regard to gender agreement. As a result of the syntactic peculiarities in the use of numerals, 'two' will be examined separately below, 'three - ten' will be grouped together, and '11 - 19' will form a third group. The numeral 'one' will be omitted from this study, as will those for 20, 30, 40, etc., and 100, 1000, and 10,000, because there is little question about their grammatical relationships with the objects they number.

The 'rules' of concord involving numerals are formulated on the basis of what is attested and statistically the most frequent. Thus, a description of the syntactic use of numerals in Ugaritic must begin with an analysis of the attested forms of the numerals and the contexts in which they occur. Sources for the numerals cover the entire range of texts: letters, religious texts, and epics, but most especially, the many administrative lists and economic texts discovered. The material here analysed is based on the Concordance of Ugaritic Literature (Whitaker). While no claim can be made that the material included below

is a complete collection of Ugaritic numerals so far attested, it is hoped that it is a representative sample.

The numeral 'two'

The root tny 'two' is attested in the forms tnt, tt, tn, atny, štn, mtn, ytny, tnm, tny, tnnt, ttm, tttn. Of these, atny, štn, ytny, and tttn are probably verbal forms based on a verb tny 'to say a second time, to repeat', and as such are outside the scope of this investigation. mtn is a nominal or verbal form, possibly a participle meaning 'repetition'. The remaining forms are distributed as follows:

<u>tn</u>	188 uses	73.72%
<u>tt</u>	46	18.04
<u>tny</u>	12	4.72
<u>tnm</u>	5	1.96
<u>tnt</u>	2	.78
<u>tnnt</u>	1	.39
<u>ttm</u>	1	.39
<hr/>		
total	255	100%

As can be seen, the overwhelming majority of occurrences are those of tn, representing 73.72% of the total. tn appears to be a masculine form; it has \emptyset ending associated with masculine in adjectives. However, unlike adjectives which take -m ending when modifying masculine dual substantives, tn has no apparent need of this ending because it already indicates duality. In 321.1.2, 3: wtn ql^cm 'and two slings', it is used as a numeral meaning 'two'; in 1001.4: tn pk 'and your mouth said'; and in 51.5.3: tn rgm 'he said a second time', tn is used as a verb; in Krt 207: ym wtn 'a day and a second (day)', it is an ordinal. Thus, not all of the 188 occurrences of tn ought to be taken as the numeral meaning 'two'.

tt, by far the second largest group, appears to be morphologically feminine on the basis of the -t suffix. Unlike tnt, where the n of the root is preserved, it appears to have been assimilated to the -t suffix in tt. This suggests that the two forms are not the same, that tt occurs with the *nt together, thus facilitating assimilation whereas in tnt there is a vowel between the n and the t. This may suggest different meanings associated with each, although there appears little textual evidence to support this. It could be that tnt is in the construct state, and that tt has a vocalic ending. Virolleaud (cited in UT Glossary 2703) defined tnt as 'a pair' which makes sense in a context such as 2102.5: hms tnt alpm 'five pairs of oxen'; this could help account for its scarcity when compared with the number of occurrences of tt.

tnm means 'twice', and according to Gordon (UT §7.65) 'we are probably dealing with an adverbial accusative' as indicated by the -m ending.¹ Gordon suggests (ibid.) that tnnt means 'second time'. It occurs only once in a broken context (126.5.8). tny is explained by Gordon (UT Glossary 2705) as a verbal form (imperative) meaning 'say' or 'repeat'. ttm occurs only once in 2054.11: b.bn.ttm.tltm; this text is a list of personal names, each followed by a numeral. Here ttm tltm might be an error for tt tltm '32', or less likely, the personal name bn ttm as all lines in this text are of the form b bn X numeral 'to/from the son of X, quantity'.

Only tn and tt are used for the numeral two, and are of significance statistically. The question is how they differ.

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1. 3Aq obv.22: hlmn tnm qdqd tltid ^c1 udn (also line 33, 1Aq 78)
'strike him twice on the head, three times on the ear'. The use of tnm parallel to tltid suggests this translation. The other two occurrences of tnm, 1Aq 4.224 and 1145.1.7, are not as informative as this one.

tt attm 'two wives' occurs four times (119.7, 11, 18, 20), tt bth 'his two daughters' occurs once (119.22), and tt pgtm 'two girls' also occurs once (119.19). All three nouns are morphologically and semantically feminine; attm and pgtm are in the dual, bth is in the construct state. The inanimate¹ qšt 'bow' is morphologically feminine; tt qštm 'two bows' occurs 18 times in text 321, tt qst occurs twice in the same text (321.1.29, 3.16) and tt qšm occurs once (321.3.34). The last mentioned ought perhaps to be read as qš<t>m as in the other occurrences.

In 1103.19: tt mqrtn, the numbered object is feminine and dual, translated by Gordon (UT Glossary 1538) as 'an ornamental beverage vessel'. Similarly feminine dual are 1121.6: tt mrkbtm 'two chariots', 2100.10 tt tprtm 'two garments', and nit 'an agricultural implement' in 2048.5: tt nitm. Throughout Semitic, npš is feminine, as it is here: 134.9: tt npš 'two souls'.

In 9.1.4: tt pl gdlt the meaning of pl is uncertain, although gdlt is translated (Gordon, UT Glossary 562) as 'a female head of large cattle (for sacrifice)', making it feminine. The meaning of glt as in Ug.V, 3.1.8: tt glt is uncertain although it appears morphologically feminine. All of these with the possible exception of tt pl gdlt have the feminine form of the numeral used with a feminine substantive.

In tt tnt d alp (1130.13) it would appear that the numbered object, tnt, is taken as a feminine substantive and used also with the feminine numeral, hence, 'two pairs of oxen'.

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1. In Arabic, a distinction is made between animate and inanimate objects for the purposes of concord: inanimate objects are frequently treated as feminine although morphologically they appear to be masculine. Although this does not apply in the case of qšt, which is a feminine noun to begin with, it could be of importance when other nouns are examined. However, as far as can be determined, this distinction does not apply in Ugaritic.

The remaining occurrences of tt are not with morphologically feminine nouns. tt mrhm 'two spears' occurs three times (2047.3, 5; 2050.7); according to Gordon (UT Glossary 1547) mrh is feminine because it occurs with a feminine numeral.

The exact translation of 1161.4: bhbth hwt tth is not clear; apparently (according to Gordon, UT p.227) this text describes three men from one town becoming human pledges as bail for two other men. It is in this context that tt occurs.

In 2156.5: tt hrt[m?], the object counted is an unknown word.

Gordon described the numbered object in 2050.2: tt htrm 'two garments' as a feminine noun because it occurs with tt (UT Glossary 1027).

Similarly, ktnm is described as feminine because it occurs with the feminine numeral in 1110.6: tt ktnm 'two garments'; the plural ktnt and the Biblical cognate k^etōnet both provide support for the view that this is feminine.

Despite a few uncertainties arising from nouns not encountered elsewhere in Semitic, it is quite clear that tt is used with feminine nouns.

tn is attested with a large number of masculine nouns; this is as expected and as such requires no further comment. Those instances where tn appears to have been used with a feminine noun, however, require investigation.

In Krt 101, 190: ltn atth, tn appears to have been used with a feminine noun, if the phrase is to be translated as 'for his two wives'. However, this is perhaps better as 'he drives his wife to a second person' (yb^cr ltn atth) because tn is paralleled by nkr 'a stranger' in the following line.

In 2068.10: tn glyt 'his two ---?' the meaning of the counted object is not known, although the external gender appears to be feminine, on the basis of the -t ending.

šurtm (as in tn šurtm, 92.3, 8, 17) is translated by Gordon (UT Glossary 2373) as referring to parcels or measures of land. Inasmuch as ars 'land' is feminine, perhaps subsections of land have the same gender. šurt does have the -tm suffix associated with feminine dual. It occurs only in text 92, which Gordon described as a list of rations for court personnel (UT p.261). In this text, the word šurt occurs with several other numerals (tmn, arb^c, tlt, hmš, tt) all of which have Ø ending commonly used in Semitic with numerals occurring with feminine nouns. This would suggest that šurt is a feminine noun. But even if šurt is a noun of ambivalent gender, it is unlikely that it would be treated as masculine and feminine in the same short text. The use of tn may be an error here, the result of analogy with the other numerals without the -t ending in the same text.

In 1112.6: tn mrtd 'two garments', the numbered object occurs only in this text and its meaning is somewhat uncertain. The only basis for considering mrtd a feminine noun is the final -t ending, which is not conclusive evidence.

Finally, in 2050.2: tn kst is also an example of tn with what is possibly a feminine noun, kst, taken from the root ksy 'to cover', hence 'two coverings'.

Of the 188 occurrences of tn, only eight (atth x 2, kst, mrtd, glyt, and šurtm x 2) are with nouns that appear to be feminine, of which tn in tn atth is probably not used as a numeral, and the other words are of uncertain meaning and/or gender. Even assuming that all of these nouns are feminine, the occurrence of six feminine nouns with the masculine tn is not sufficient proof that tn may be used with fem-

inine nouns; there is no doubt, however, that tn is used with masculine nouns.

The numerals 3 - 10

The occurrences of numerals 3 - 10 analysed below are also collected from Whitaker's Concordance of Ugaritic Literature, and were found under tl̄t, rb^c, hms^v, td̄t, šb^c, tmn, tš^c, šr^c, respectively, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. As was seen with tny, included in each entry are uses of the root as cardinals, ordinals, fractions, and at times as verbs. Thus before the number and distribution of occurrences of each numeral can be examined, it is important to distinguish, if possible, those instances where the root was used as a cardinal from those where it functions as an independent substantive or verb. This is not always possible, as of the ordinals, only '4th' rb^c and '6th' td̄t, are orthographically distinct from the cardinals arb^c and tt; all others are indistinguishable. The distribution¹ of the occurrences of these numerals is as follows:²

	∅	%	-t	%	ord.	%	total	%
3	212	93.39	15	6.61			227	19.19
4	187	85.0	21	9.55	12	5.45	220	18.6
5	185	80.43	45	19.57			230	19.44
6	94	85.45	5	4.55	11	10.0	110	9.3
7	93	80.17	23	19.83			116	9.8
8	58	79.45	15	20.55			73	6.17
9	24	92.31	2	7.69			26	2.2
10 ³	127	70.17	54	29.83			181	15.3
total	980	82.84	180	15.22	23	1.94	1183	100%

notes 1, 2, and 3 are on the following page ...

A few comments on the above: first, it will be obvious that this study cannot include all numerals in Ugaritic, but having utilized all the material in Whitaker's Concordance, it is hoped that this reflects a representative sampling of the occurrences of numerals and the types of text in which they are found. Second, the above compilation is of all uses of numerals found in the Concordance, many of which are in broken texts, used simply in apposition to a name, or in other contexts which give little information regarding the concord of numerals. As a result, the number of actual phrases available for analysis is considerably less. Finally, despite the fact that 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10 have not been adjusted to account for the ordinals (only a small percentage is likely to be involved in any case), it is plain that numerals with a \emptyset ending comprise an overwhelming majority of the attested material.

from previous page ...

1. It is interesting to note the distribution of attested uses of numerals, although not directly germane to the problems of concord. The numerals 3, 4, 5 occur with almost equal frequency (19.19, 18.6, 19.44% respectively), as do 6 and 7 (9.3, 9.8%). The numerals 8, 9, and 10 are all different (6.17, 2.2, and 15.3%).
2. I have excluded fractions, numerals for 20, 30, etc., and obvious nominal and verbal forms because they have no bearing on the question of numeral concord.
3. I have not included all occurrences of $\overset{c}{\check{s}}r(t)$ in the above chart; only those where the independent numeral 'ten' occurs have been counted. Three different forms, $\overset{c}{\check{s}}r$, $\overset{c}{\check{s}}rh$, and $\overset{c}{\check{s}}rt$, are used to form the numerals 11 - 19, and as such, would reflect patterns of use other than implied by the alternation of $-t$ and \emptyset endings in the numerals 3 - 10. To combine the attestations of $\overset{c}{\check{s}}r/t/h$ plus unit with the numerals for 3 - 10 would result in an unnecessary distortion of the statistical analysis.

Before proceeding to examine the various individual occurrences of numerals, the following might provide an interesting point of comparison; this is a count of the occurrences of numerals in the Bible as recorded in S. Mandelkern's Concordance:

	ø	%	t/h	%	total	%
3	168	41.07	241	58.93	409	20.78
4	149	49.67	151	50.33	300	15.24
5	164	48.52	174	51.48	338	17.18
6	132	61.68	82	38.32	214	10.87
7	160	42.67	215	57.33	375	19.05
8	57	52.78	51	47.22	108	5.49
9	40	70.17	17	29.83	57	2.9
10	56	33.53	111	66.47	167	8.49
total	926	47.05	1042	52.95	1968	100%

Leaving aside the question of the relative sizes of the extant corpus of Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew materials, the differences in the distribution of numerals is most interesting. Perhaps most striking is the fact that the Biblical Hebrew numerals are, for the most part, divided more or less evenly between the ø and -t endings, unlike the situation in Ugaritic where the numerals ending in ø outnumber those ending in -t by more than 5 to 1. Among the individual numerals, there are more uses of the -t ending for 3, 4, 5, 7, and 10 than of ø, whilst for 6, 8, and 9, the reverse is true. In Ugaritic, the ø endings are consistently more numerous.

Numerals ending in Ø

As is expected on the basis of Semitic languages in general, numerals ending in Ø are attested with feminine nouns, as follows:

119.16	[t]lt att adrt	3 mighty women
2080.3	warb ^c bnt	and his 4 daughters
c _{nt} 2.2 ¹	kpr šb ^c bnt	as the 7 girls/daughters fled
119.17	hmš ^v n ^c rt	5 girls
1128.21	arb ^c uzr mrat	4 fat geese
2101.22 ²	tš ^v sin btš ^c t ksp	9 sheep at 9 silver
1128.17	c ^v sr bnt alp mri	10 saddles of fat ox
1113.9	arb ^c hpnt pt	4 h.-garments of linen
2048.7	hmš ^v hrmtt	5 sickles
1151.15	tmn hlnm	8 windows
1127.9	c ^v sr ydt	10 hands
1110.2	wltt ktnt bdm	and 3 linen coats
2102.7	tl _t mat dd š ^c rm	300 measures of wheat
1109.4	hmš ^v mispt	5 garments
1111.11	tmn mrbdt	8 covers
1122.5	tl _t mrkbt	3 chariots
3.51	arb ^c mtbt	4 dwellings
52.67	tmn nqpt	8 periods of time (years?)
5.7	šb ^c pamt	7 times

1. Also 130.3, 23. The concord of this phrase appears to be as expected on the basis of comparative Semitics, although the phrase as its context make little sense in its present state of preservation.
2. This is an interesting phrase: a distinction in terms of concord is made between sin, taking a Ø numeral and ksp, taking a numeral ending in -t, showing that for at least this scribe, two different forms existed for numeral-noun agreement.

321.2.21	<u>tlt</u> qš ^v t	3 bows
92.6	<u>tlt</u> šurt	3 parcels of land
75.2.45	šb ^c šnt	7 years
2102.5	hmš ^v <u>tnt</u> alpm	5 pairs of oxen
1097.5	hmš ^v t ^c dt	5 fresh dates

Many of these nouns are attested with \emptyset numerals other than those cited above. The question of the gender of some of the above nouns is discussed in chapter 2 above. The order is numeral-noun in all but one phrase: 52.20: pamt šb^c '7 times', but see 5.7: šb^c pamt.

Numerals ending in \emptyset in Ugaritic occur also with many masculine nouns. Some of these masculine nouns represent male persons, and some are in the plural, as follows:

Krt 1.8	šb ^c ah ^m	7 brothers
2080.2	<u>tlt</u> b ^c lm	3 husbands
1050.6	<u>tlt</u> lmdm	3 apprentices
119.6	<u>tlt</u> ġzrm	3 youths
2080.5	w <u>tlt</u> n ^c rm	and 3 lads
2076.11	arb ^c bnš ^m	4 men
1024.3.5	warb ^c hrš ^m	and 4 craftsmen
1029.2	warb ^c hsn ^m	and 4 military personnel
2103.9	arb ^c ġzlm	4 spinners
1029.9	arb ^c trtn ^m	4 members of professional guild
1028.1	hmš ^v tnn ^m	5 soldiers
2052.6	<u>tt</u> hrt ^m	6 plowmen
128.2.23	šb ^c bnm	7 sons
1117.1	šb ^c hdġ ^l m	7 guild members
1031.12	hbt ⁿ m tm ⁿ	8 workers
63.1	khn ^m tš ^c bnš ^m	priests 9 men
63.3	qdš ^m tš ^c	sanctified ones 9

1028.6	tš ^c hbtmm	9 workers
170.8	[^c]šr ksdm	10 guild members
170.9	[^c]šr mhsm	10 butchers
1030.3	^c šr mkrm	10 merchants
1030.6	^c šr mrum	10 commanders

Almost all of the above occur more than once with numerals ending in Ø; the exceptions are gzlm, khnmm, qdšm, and mhsm, which are attested just this once with numerals.

Other masculine nouns signifying male persons are in the construct state:

2008.25	wltt n ^c rh	and his 3 lads
2052.11	arb ^c hrš qtn	4 makers of qtn
1029.8	tl̄t bn mrynm	3 junior charioteers
67.5.9	tmm hnzrk	your 8 workmen

A few others appear to be in the singular or functioning as collectives:

144.5	tt hsn	6 military personnel
1024.3.4	tmm hzr	8 workmen
2052.8	^c šr hrš	10 craftsmen

Numerals ending in Ø are also attested with many non-human and inanimate masculine nouns, many in the plural:

2057.3	w tl̄t brm	and 3 naval vessels
125.84	tl̄t yrhm	3 months
305.4	tl̄t klbm	3 dogs
1081.9	tl̄t krm	3 male lambs
Krt 140	tl̄t sswm mrkbt	3 horse chariots (= troikas)
93.15	tl̄t spm	3 jars
317.1	tl̄t smdm	3 yokes
321.3.21	w tl̄t ql ^c m	and 3 arrows/slings

51.3.17 ¹	tn dbhm <u>šna</u> b ^{c1}	2 sacrifices B ^{c1} hates	141.
	tl̄t rkb ^c rpt	3, Rkb ^c rpt	
1130.5	arb ^c alpm iqni	4 thousand lapis lazuli	
2040.21	arb ^c hm[r]m	4 donkeys	
2051.4	arb ^c kkrm	4 talents	
1122.11	arb ^c m ^u drnm	4 m.-weapons	
19.17	arb ^c ^c sr̄m	4 birds	
2057.3	arb ^c ^c tkm	4 ships	
1138.2	arb ^c prm	4 cows/cattle	
1134.2	hm ^š alpm	5 oxen	
109.8	w hm ^š ymm	and 5 days	
1130.8	hm ^š rt̄m	5 r.-garments	
1126.8	tt̄ kdm	6 jars	
1081.25	šb ^c krmm	7 vineyards	
1107.9	šb ^c lbšm allm	7 a.-garments	
1128.31	tmm hblm	8 ropes	
2101.14	tmm lbšm	8 garments	
1097.1	^c šr štpm	10 of some kind of livestock	
2012.18	arb ^c ddm	4 pots	
2090.22	tl̄t šdm	3 fields	

Numerals ending in \emptyset are used as follows with masculine nouns

in the construct state:

2044.5	wtl̄t alph	and his 3 oxen
2100.3	bd ^c bdym tl̄t kkr š ^c rt	in the possession of ^c bdym, 3 talents of wheat

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1. In this sentence, which occurs in one of the epic texts, the poetic device of parallelism is used and both the verb (šna) and the numbered object (dbhm) are omitted in the second line. The concord of tn dbhm is as would be expected; tl̄t is expected when used with dbhm on the basis of comparative Semitics. Here, the shorter form of the numeral might have been used for stylistic reasons.

1086.5	hmš kd yn	5 pitchers of wine
1113.7	hmš pld š ^c rt	5 garments of hair(?)
2038.17	hmš smd alpm	5 yokes of oxen
2052.14	tt nsk hdm	6 casters of <u>h.</u> (type of metal?)
1113.8	tt pld ptt	6 p.-garments of linen
3.52	šb ^c klbh	his 7 dogs
1099.33	hmš dd š ^c rm	5 pots of barley
2092.4	tš ^c dd htm	9 pots of wheat

The following masculine nouns, used with numerals ending in Ø appear to be in the singular:

1129.8	tlt alp spr	3 thousand birds
2004.25	tlt yn	3 wine
1029.11	tmnym tlt kbd	83 heavy (shekels)
172.1.9	tlt kbd sin	3 heavy sheep (??)
2004.33	tlt msb	3 <u>msb</u> -wine
^c nt 4.80	tlt mth šyrm	3 fast stretches
84.2	tlt šmn	3 oil
1084.7	wttm arb ^c kbd yn	and 64 heavy (shekels of?) wine
1127.14	arb ^c kkr	4 talents
1084.4	^c šr yn tb	10 good wine
310.8	^c šr sp	10 jars
2120.5	tlt dd	3 pots
1079.3	tlt šd	3 fields

In almost all phrases, the order is numeral-substantive. There are very few instances where the noun precedes its numeral:

63.1	khnm tš ^c bnšm	priests 9 men
63.3	qdšm tš ^c	sanctified ones 9

1143.5 ¹	wkkr <u>tl̄t</u>	and talents, 3 ²	143.
1031.12	hbt̄nm <u>tm̄n</u>	workers, 8 ³	
1031.6	mrum ^c šr	commanders, 10 ⁴	

The above examples (and the many like phrases in Ugaritic not quoted above) of numerals ending in Ø used with masculine nouns are at odds with the expected pattern of numeral-noun concord as encountered in the other Semitic languages. As mentioned before, these phrases are statistically too numerous to be considered scribal errors.

Numerals ending in Ø are used with masculine nouns in other Semitic languages, although these phrases are difficult to find in the classical Semitic languages, and most frequently, are encountered in those languages and dialects that have had more contact with other, non-Semitic speaking peoples. In fact, excepting the Ugaritic material, the only sure instances of Ø numerals with masculine nouns are to be found in Punic and Ethiopic. Except for Ethiopic, where by and large the use of the Ø form has been extended to masculine nouns to the virtual exclusion of the -t form, and Punic, which is a late dialect of Phoenician used by colonists with much foreign contact, there is no Semitic language which shows the use of Ø numerals with masculine nouns to the extent that Ugaritic does.

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1. Also 1143.2: kkrm tl̄t. It is possible that tl̄t in this text is to be translated as a metal (see UT Glossary 2691, tl̄t III). Other lines list mitm ksp '2 hundred silver' and mit ksp 'one hundred silver' in the same text, suggesting that this text could be a list of quantities of metals of various kinds.
 2. Compare 2100.3: tl̄t kkr š^crt.
 3. In the order numeral noun, 1028.6: tš^c hbt̄nm.
 4. Contrast 1029.3: ^cšr mrum.

Numerals ending in -t

There are relatively few occurrences of numerals ending in -t in Ugaritic (180, or some 15% of the total of numerals 3 - 10), and by the time those used with ^cšrt to form numerals 13 - 19 (56 out of 180) and those used following a personal name (51 out of 180) are excluded (the former will be examined with the rest of the numerals 13 - 19, the latter are not relevant to the study of concord), very few remain for analysis of the concord of numerals ending in -t.

Many of the numerals ending in -t are to be found in the administrative texts. ksp 'silver' occurs 23 times with a numeral ending in -t, which is as expected for a masculine noun on the basis of general Semitic practice. It is attested only once with a numeral ending in \emptyset (1143.5: tl_t ksp '3 silver'). kbd 'heavy (shekel)' is attested 9 times with a numeral ending in -t and more than 50 times with the numeral ending in \emptyset , which suggests that it might have been a feminine noun. However, the use of kbd with the numerals ahd and tn 'one' and 'two' suggests that it is to be considered a masculine noun because these two numeral adjectives appear to have been used with greater regard to matters of concord in Ugaritic than were the numerals 3 - 10.¹ A third term assumed to have been used for monetary measures in Ugaritic, tql 'shekel' is attested only twice with numerals 3 - 10: 1131.3: ^cšrt tqlm kbd '10 heavy shekels', and 1131.10: arb^c t tqlm šlmm '4 whole shekels'.

The above accounts for most uses of the numerals ending in -t. Of those that remain, the following are to varying extents complete and susceptible to analysis.

1. kbd is attested with 'one': 2052.1: ahd kbd and 'two': 1098.23 tn kbd, and 12 other times with these two masculine numeral adjectives.

In text 5.5: ltltt mzn 'for 3 weights' and 2100.1: ᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜ ᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜ
mzn 'its 10 weights', mzn is treated as a masculine noun would be in
 other Semitic languages.¹

The concord of 2100.5: hmšt hrs bt il '5 gold for Il's house'
 is similarly in accordance with that of a masculine noun, as is 1130.17:
hmšt kkr '5 talents'.

On the other hand, both 1106.17: hmšt hndlt '5 h.-garments'²
 and 2054.2.25: ᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜ trbyt '10(?) interest' appear to be feminine nouns.

In text 603.3: šb^ct brqm 'seven flashes of lightning' parallels
tmnt isrr^ct 'eight claps of thunder'. Morphologically, brq is masculine;
 the gender of isrr^ct may be feminine on the basis of the -t ending, but
 its meaning is uncertain and it is only attested here.

Another phrase with numerals in parallel is Krt 8f.: dsb^c ahm
lh tmnt bn um 'who has seven brothers, eight mother's sons'. Here,
 the numbered objects are masculine; the numeral in one instance ends
 in ∅ (šb^c), the other ends in -t (tmnt). šb^c, however, occurs at the
 end of the line, and so it may be that the -t ending is no longer
 visible.

In 49.6.8: šb^ct ḡlmh 'her seven lads', the numeral has the -t
 ending and the noun is masculine. The same phrase occurs in 67.5.8:
ᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜ ᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜ ḡlmk tmn hnzrk³ 'with you, your seven lads, your eight work-
 men'. In both instances, the numbered object appears to be masculine;
 in the first, the numeral ends in -t, in the second, in ∅.

bšb^ct hdrm btmnt ap sgrt 'in seven rooms, in eight closed
 chambers' occurs twice in ᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜ (ᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜ 5.19, 34). Here one numeral ending

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1. For more on mzn, see above, ch. 2, page 26.
 2. Discussion of hndlt is in ch. 2, page 36.
 3. For more on hnzr, ch. 2, page 46f.

in -t is used with hdr, which is masculine, and another is used with ap sgrt. It is difficult to determine whether ap is masculine or feminine, although on the basis of the adjective sgrt, it would appear to be feminine. In this phrase, meter does not appear to be the factor used to determine the form of the numeral. Rather, it would seem more likely that analogy is important, resulting in the same form of the numeral in both parts of the parallelism.

The only two occurrences of a numeral ending in -t combined with a plural numeral by means of the preposition l are in text 75.2. 49, 50: kšb^ct lšb^cm ahh ym[]t^mnt lt^mnym 'as his 77 brothers (died?), 88 ... '. Here, as in the Krt passage above, ahh, a masculine noun, is used with a numeral ending in -t.

Generally in Semitic, r'^v is a masculine noun, which accords with its use in the phrase dšb^ct raš^m (^cnt 3.39; 67.1.30) 'of seven heads'.

In 1Aq 177: ^cd šb^ct šnt ybk laqht g^rzr, the numeral may be an ordinal. This phrase could be translated either as 'until the seventh year' or 'until (the end of) seven years, he will weep for the youth Aqht'.

It appears unlikely that ^cšrt in the following is a cardinal number: 613.5; 9.1.11: yrh ^cšrt. This could refer to the 'tenth month'. For 9.1.11, UT has yrh tšrt instead of ^cšrt as in Whitaker's Concordance; this would then be 'the month of tšrt', perhaps equivalent to the Hebrew and Babylonian month-name Tishri. yrh ^cšrt might refer to the 'month of tithes' or perhaps to the 'month of sacrifices or libations'.¹ ^cšrt probably means 'libation' in 125.41: krtn dbh dbh mlk ^cšr ^cšrt 'our Krt sacrificed a sacrifice, the king poured out a libation'.

1. See Gordon, UT Glossary 1932, ^cšr II, 'to pour out libations, to pour out or serve drinks'.

In Krt 28-30: tntkn udm^cth km tq^lm arsh kmhmšt m^tth, it is difficult to determine the meaning and function of kmhmšt. The beginning of the sentence may be translated as 'his tears fall like shekels to the ground'. The parallelism is perhaps best retained by constructing km hmšt m^tth 'like five (shekel-pieces?) onto his bed' or k mhmšt m^tth 'like fifths (of a shekel) onto his bed'. The latter explanation finds support in the sentence in lAq 82: wl ytk dm^ch km (83:) rb^ct tq^lm 'and his tears will surely (not?) fall like quarter-shekels', where rb^ct is an ordinal number (arb^ct would be the cardinal).¹

Finally, there is the phrase in 8.2-4: šb^ct ghl ph tmnt nbluh 'seven ..., eight ...', where both numerals ending in -t are used with substantives of uncertain meaning.

In general, the numerals ending in -t, like those ending in \emptyset , are found preceding the numbered object. As might have been expected, few examples occur outside the administrative texts. Of the complete phrases with numerals ending in -t found in the myths, epics, and legends, šb^ct 'seven' (at times paralleled by tmnt 'eight') is the most prevalent. šb^ct in the above examples is used with masculine nouns. tmnt occurs with masculine nouns, once in a context where the numbered object is unknown but parallel to a masculine noun (75.2.49, 50: ahh); it also occurs with one object whose meaning is uncertain (603.3,4: isrr^ct), and one whose gender is uncertain (ap sg^rt in ^cnt 6.19,34). All of the occurrences of šb^ct are with objects in the plural, or perhaps, with objects that have the -m ending associated with masculine dual and plural, except for two which have a suffixed personal pronoun (ahh, glmk, glmh). isrr^ct, if feminine, could be singular or plural, bn um could be singular, dual, or plural, depending on the vocalization of bn,

1. TO, page 507, note t, suggests reading this as tmh mšt m^tth 'the covering of his bed is soaked'. This eliminates any problem arising from numerals.

because a suffixed morpheme would be dropped when the noun is in the construct state. hnzr may, as mentioned above, be a collective, and ap sgrt could be singular or plural. The concord of mzn, hrs, and kkrr, all apparently masculine singular, and their numerals ending in -t is in accord with general Semitic practice. The use of numerals ending in -t with the apparently feminine nouns hndlt and trbyt is not as would be expected of a Semitic language as conservative as Ugaritic. ksp and tql are used with numerals ending in -t, although there are a few examples of ksp with \emptyset numerals. The picture presented by kbd is not as clear as that of other substantive-numeral combinations but this one noun appears to be an exception in this instance. While it can be said that numerals ending in -t are used with masculine substantives, the above scarcely seems sufficient evidence for the formulation of hard and fast rules.

In other Semitic languages, numerals ending in -t occur regularly with masculine nouns; few variations are attested. Most of the exceptions occur in Ugaritic, Hebrew, Punic, Aramaic, and Ethiopic, and in Hebrew and Aramaic the exceptions are rare. Punic, probably because it is a later form of Phoenician used by colonists in contact with other non-Semitic languages, allowed the use of the unmarked form with masculine nouns as an extension of the simplest form for both genders; this is supported by the relative absence of -t forms in Punic. In Ethiopic, the function of the -t form appears to have been largely supplanted by the \emptyset one. In Ugaritic, the \emptyset form of the numeral is likewise preferred with both masculine and feminine nouns, and although the -t form is similarly used with both genders, it does not occur as often as the \emptyset one.

The Numerals 11 - 19

The syntax of the numerals 11 - 19 is potentially more complicated than that of those from 2 - 10; there are two numeral elements ('unit' and 'teen') instead of just one ('unit'), thereby increasing the number of different possible combinations of numeral and substantive. The numerals 11 and 12 will be examined separately; the pattern of concord used with the numerals 1 and 2 in Semitic is different from that used with numerals 3 - 10, and the same pattern generally appears again with the teen numerals 11 - 12 and 13 - 19.

Numerals 11 and 12

In Ugaritic, there are few occurrences of the numerals 11 and 12; in all, only fifteen sentences¹ are attested with the order unit-teen:

1024.3.7	w ^c št ^c šr hrš	and 11 plowmen
2103.7	^c št ^c šr bgpn	11 in Gpn
1083.11	^c št ^c šrh šmn	11 oil
2011.41	^c št ^c šrh bn	11 ---
2103.5	tn ^c šr bgt ir[bs]	12 in Gt Irbs
110.9	irab tn ^c šr	Irab - 12
1087.1	tn ^c šr yn lkps]lm	12 k.-wine
110.2	h l b krd tn ^c šr	h l b krd - 12
1098.4	w tn ^c šrh dd lrpš	and 12 containers for Rps
1098.29	w tn ^c šrh dd[]	and 12 containers
1098.33	tn ^c šrh d[]	12 con[tainers]
2049.3	w tn ^c šrh hpnt	and 12 h.-garments
1098.2	w l hrš ^c rq tn ^c šrh	and for the plowman/men of ^c rq - 12

1. Two of these sentences are broken at or near the numeral and so analysis is uncertain:

2092.17	tn ^c šr[dd h]tm	12 containers of wheat
118.19	tn[^c srh]mn	?12?? <u>mn</u> '

and there are three sentences where the order is teen-unit:

- 1111.10 $\overset{c}{\check{s}}r \underline{tn}$ kbd pğdrm 12 heavy garments of a certain kind¹
 1081.4 $\underline{tmry} \overset{c}{\check{s}}r \underline{tn}$ k[rm \underline{tmry} -- 12 vineyards(?)
 1081.21 [\underline{t}]lrby $\overset{c}{\check{s}}r \underline{tn}$ kb[d \underline{tlrby} - 12 hea vy (shekels?)

$\overset{c}{\check{s}}r$ and $\overset{c}{\check{s}}rh$ appear to be the two contrasting forms of the 'teen' element in Ugaritic numerals 11 and 12.² Ugaritic $\overset{c}{\check{s}}rh$ and Biblical Hebrew $\overset{c}{e}sr\bar{e}$ (consonantly written $\overset{c}{s}rh$) both function as $\overset{c}{a}\check{s}rat$ does in Arabic. Morphologically, the origin of the Hebrew $\overset{c}{e}sr\bar{e}$ is obscure; the \bar{e} ending of the Hebrew numeral was thought to be vocalic but the $-h$ ending of the Ugaritic suggests that the $-h$ of the written $\overset{c}{s}rh$ was originally consonantal.³ The feminine form of the numeral two, \underline{tt} , is not attested as part of a teen numeral in Ugaritic, nor is one, $\underline{ahd/t}$, used to form 'eleven'. Instead, Ugaritic uses $\overset{c}{\check{s}}t$ ⁴ and the \emptyset form of two, \underline{tn} , with both $\overset{c}{\check{s}}r$ and $\overset{c}{\check{s}}rh$.

1. So Gordon, UT Glossary 2079.

2. A third form, $\overset{c}{\check{s}}rt$, also occurs in Ugaritic numerals, but not in the formation of 11 and 12; this $\overset{c}{\check{s}}rt$ looks, on the basis of its morphology, like a $-t$ equivalent of $\emptyset \overset{c}{\check{s}}r$. Its relationship to both $\overset{c}{\check{s}}r$ and $\overset{c}{\check{s}}rh$ will be examined below, numerals 13 - 19, where all three forms of the 'teen' element occur.

3. So Gordon, UT Grammar §7.20.

4. $\overset{c}{\check{s}}t$, which occurs in the Ugaritic numerals $\overset{c}{\check{s}}t \overset{c}{\check{s}}r$ and $\overset{c}{\check{s}}t \overset{c}{\check{s}}rh$ in place of the numeral for one, $\underline{ahd/t}$, is cognate with the Hebrew $\overset{c}{a}\check{s}t\bar{e}$, used also in the formation of the numeral eleven. This element has been identified with the usual Akkadian numeral for one, $\underline{ist\bar{e}n}$, from which language it was probably borrowed by both Ugaritic and Hebrew.

$\overset{c}{s}t \overset{c}{s}r$ is used with hrš 'plowman/men' which is a masculine noun. $\overset{c}{s}r \overset{c}{t}n$ is used with yn 'wine', also a masculine noun. $\overset{c}{s}r \overset{c}{t}n$ is attested with kbd¹ and krm², both also masculine. These suggest that $\overset{c}{s}t \overset{c}{s}r$ and $\overset{c}{t}n \overset{c}{s}r$ are the forms of 11 and 12 that are used with masculine nouns, although this is by no means certain on the basis of such scant evidence. $\overset{c}{s}t \overset{c}{s}rh$ is used with šmn 'oil'. It is not clear from the Ugaritic texts whether šmn is masculine or feminine; in Hebrew it is masculine. $\overset{c}{t}n \overset{c}{s}rh$ is used with dd 'pot, container', a noun which is probably masculine, and with hpnt, the gender of which might be masculine in the singular, but looks feminine in the plural. The concord of $\overset{c}{s}t \overset{c}{s}rh$ and $\overset{c}{t}n \overset{c}{s}rh$ is not clear from the evidence available at this time.

In the other Semitic languages, the concord of the numerals 11 and 12 is essentially fairly simple. Both the unit and the teen have the same gender and this is the same as the gender of the substantive they quantify. The substantive is in the plural in some languages; in others, it is in the singular, and in some, there are instances of both. In general, the substantive follows the numeral, although the order numeral-substantive may be inverted, usually for emphasis, but then only rarely. The order teen-unit or unit-teen varies with each language.

The order unit-teen, followed by the substantive, is most common³ in Semitic.⁴ Occasionally, this order is inverted and the substantive

1. kbd is a masculine noun, see 2052.1: ahd kbd 'one heavy (shekel)', and 1098.23: tn kbd 'two heavy (shekels)'.
2. krm: 1081.15: krm ahd 'one vineyard'.
3. By most common, I mean that it occurs more often in more languages than any other construction.
4. For example: Hebrew: Dt.1.23: šenaym casar anašim '12 men'; Ex.26.7: cašte esreh yericoṭ '11 curtains'; Akkadian: Enūma Eliš V.73: ištenešret nabnissa ša tiamat ibnū 'her 11 creatures which Tiamat had created'; ESA: td cšr nhlm '11 palmgroves'.

precedes the numeral.¹ Most often, the substantive is in the plural; the singular occurs less frequently. In Hebrew², this occurs for the most part only with certain nouns;³ in Arabic, this is the preferred construction of numerals greater than ten;⁴ in Mishnaic Hebrew and in Syriac, the singular occurs, as in Biblical Hebrew, with only a few substantives. In Ugaritic, although some of the substantives may be collectives, most attested uses of 11 and 12 appear to be with singular nouns. It is interesting to note that I have found no instances of a numeral preceded by a singular noun, which suggests that if the noun precedes, the use of the plural signals, to some extent, the numeral quantity that is to follow.

The order teen-unit occurs in Ethiopic⁵ and in Phoenician/Punic⁶ where the two numeral components are joined by w 'and', thus 'ten-and-one', 'ten-and-two'.⁷ The order teen-unit also occurs in Ugaritic where the two numeral elements are simply juxtaposed as when the order is unit-teen (ᶜᶢsr tn or tn ᶜᶢsr).

1. For example, Hebrew: Nu.29.30: pārīm ᶜᶢstē ᶜᶢsār 'bulls - 11'; Neh.5.14: šānīm šᶜtaym ᶜᶢsrēh 'years - 12'.
2. E.g., Ex.24.4: šᶜtaym ᶜᶢsrēh mašēbāh '12 pillars'; 2Kings 23.36: wa'ahat ᶜᶢsrēh šānāh 'and 11 years (he ruled)'.
3. Notably, yōm, šānāh, šᶜr, nefeš, šēbet, mašēbāh, and sometimes, 'amah, hōdeš, šᶜr, and šegel.
4. E.g., 'ahada ᶜᶢšara raḡulan '11 men'; 'ihdā ᶜᶢšrata malikata '11 queens'.
5. Ethiopic: Gn. 14.4: ᶜᶢšarta wakel'ēta ᶜᶢāmata '12 years'; Jos. 4.2: ᶜᶢšarta wakel'ēta ᶜᶢedewa '12 men'. Different endings are rarely encountered on the teen and the unit, e.g., Ju.8.10: ᶜᶢšartu wakel'ē 'elef be'esī '12 thousand men'; Jos.21.7: ᶜᶢšru wakel'ē 'ahgūr '12 cities'.
6. Punic: b'sr w'hd lzyb 'on the 11th (of the month) of Zyb'; pᶜm't ᶜᶢsr w'ht '11 times'. In both instances, the form of the ten is the same, morphologically masculine; in the former, the unit is masculine, in the latter, feminine. The \emptyset form, ᶜᶢsr is used with units ending in \emptyset ; the -t forms of the teen are attested but once in Phoenician, used with a -t form of the unit.
7. This type of conjunction is commonly used for numerals greater than 20 in Semitic.

With the exception of Ugaritic, the Semitic languages use either the construction unit-teen or teen-unit, but not both. Ugaritic is also unlike the other Semitic languages in that it has five different ways of expressing 'twelve', namely: (1) 1087.1: tn ^csr 'two-ten'; (2) 2049.3: tn ^csrh 'two-ten'; (3) 1111.10: ^csr tn 'ten-two'; (4) 1127.5: tt tt 'six-six'; and (5) 1024 rev.7, 9f.: ttn 'twice six' (six with the dual ending).

The numerals 13 - 19

The numerals 13 - 19 in Ugaritic occur with three different forms of the teen: ^csr, ^csrt, and ^csrh.¹ The unit ending in \emptyset is used with ^csr and ^csrh, unit ending in -t occurs with ^csrt. There are 85 occurrences² of numerals 13 - 19, distributed as follows:

	whole	broken	total	%
\emptyset ^c sr	29	10	39	45.88
\emptyset ^c srh	14	3	17	20.
t ^c srt	26	3	29	34.12
total	69	16	85	100%

With three different forms of the teen and only two different requirements for numeral-noun concord (masculine/feminine) it is inevitable that there be some sort of overlap in function. First, however, the function of each form must be determined.

\emptyset ^csr is attested as follows:

2038.2	w <u>tl</u> <u>tl</u> ^c sr bnš	and 13 men
2076.6	<u>tt</u> ^c sr bnš[<u>lm</u>]	16 men
2038.5	w arb ^c ^c sr bnš	and 14 men

1. Ugaritic is unique among the Semitic languages in using three different forms of the teen; all others have but two.
2. The teen numerals are attested, almost exclusively in the administrative texts; there are about 6 occurrences of numerals 11 - 19 in the various ritual and sacrifice texts, mostly ordinals of the type 'on the 14th day of the month of X'.

1029.13	šb ^c c ^v sr hsnm	and 17 military personnel
109.7	hmš ^v c ^v sr ymm	15 days
1084.1	hmš ^v c ^v sr yn tb	15 good wine
1031.9/10	mrynm / tlt ^c c ^v sr	charioteers 13
1113.11	tlt ^c c ^v sr kdwtm	13 k.-garments
1029.7	tlt ^c c ^v sr mkrm	13 merchants
1028.2	tlt ^c c ^v sr mrynm	13 charioteers
1029.5	tš ^c c ^v sr mrynm	19 charioteers
93.10	hmš ^v c ^v sr sp	15 jars
2081.1	arb ^c c ^v sr gzrm	14 youths
2038.10	tt ^c c ^v sr smd	16 yoke
1.28.29	hmš ^v c ^v sr qn n ^c m	15 goodly reeds
1081.18	c ^v sr arb ^c kbd	14 (ten-four) heavy (shekels)
2100.20	w šb ^c c ^v sr šmn	and 17 oil
2092.16	tš ^c c ^v sr [d]d ksmm	19 containers of spelt

All of these are masculine nouns, most are in the plural. ø c^vsr is attested but once with a possibly feminine noun: 92.1: tmm c^vsr šurt '18 parcels of land'. In text 57, one of the 'mirror-written' texts (so Gordon, UT Texts page 176, note 1) ø c^vsr numerals also occur:

57.2	bšš ^v c ^v sr šmn	at 16 oil
4	bhmš ^v c ^v sr L	at 15
5	bhmš ^v c ^v sr L	at 15
11	bhmš ^v c ^v sr šmn	at 15 oil

The combination ø c^vsrh occurs in the following:

1126.5	tt ^c c ^v srh yn	16 wine
1030.2	tmm c ^v srh mrynm	18 charioteers
2105.1	hmš ^v c ^v srh prs	15 measures/rations
1079.1	arb ^c c ^v srh šd	14 acres
1024.4.1	hmš ^v c ^v srh šrm	15 singers

1083.1	arb ^c c ^y rh šmn	14 oil
1099.2	tš ^c c ^y rh dd	19 measures
2048.4	tt c ^y rh hrmtt	16 sickles

The above are all masculine nouns, excepting hrmtt, the gender of which is not entirely clear from its use in Ugaritic. There is one occurrence of the numeral following the noun: 1106.14:]š^crt šb^c c^yrh['hair - 17', but it is not possible to determine whether the numeral quantifies š^crt, or some other noun in the broken line that follows. It is interesting to note that yn, mrynm, šmn, and dd all occur with ø c^ysr and with ø c^ysrh forms of the teen numeral, which suggests that for these four nouns, at least, the scribes did not distinguish between the two forms of the numeral.

The combination -t c^ysrt is attested as follows:

2100.16	arb ^c t c ^y srt hrs	14 gold
1144.6	[ar]b ^c t c ^y srt kbd	14 heavy (shekels)
2100.4	ttt c ^y srt ksph	its 16 silver
2100.6	hmšt c ^y srt ksp	15 silver
2101.15	tmnt c ^y srt ksp	18 silver
1131.4	šb ^c t c ^y srt c ^y srt šlm	17 whole/peace offerings
1131.5	tmnt c ^y srt c ^y srt šlm	18 whole/peace offerings
1131.6	šb ^c t c ^y srt c ^y srt šlm	17 whole/peace offerings

Gordon observed (UF Grammar S7.20) that 'except in 1083 and 1131 and 1144, the first numeral is without -t, and the second may or may not end in -h, regardless of gender'. There are more attestations in different texts of -t c^ysrt forms, not all of them, however, are complete with noun quantified. These texts include 2100, 2101, as quoted above, as well as 2053, 2054, 173, and Ug. V, texts 12 and 13.

2100.16 arb^Ct ^Cšrt hrs 14 gold
 20 w šb^C ^Cšr šmn and 17 oil

The above is not a complete listing of all the teen numerals in Ugaritic, but includes those that are complete and susceptible to analysis. As seen, \emptyset ^Cšr forms of the numeral are used with masculine nouns, some plural, some singular, and one noun of uncertain, although possibly feminine gender (šurt). \emptyset ^Cšrh is used with masculine singular and plural nouns, and two of uncertain gender, of which hpnt is most likely masculine, and hrmtt could be either masculine or feminine. One noun precedes a \emptyset ^Cšrh numeral in a broken text; it is probably feminine although its number may be singular or plural (š^Crt). Three masculine singular (hrs, ksp, kbd) and one probably feminine noun (š^Crt šlm) follow -t ^Cšrt numerals. Thus, while there are few nouns used with two different forms of teen numeral, the same grammatical forms of the nouns are used with ^Cšr, ^Cšrh, and ^Cšrt. All are attested with masculine nouns, and feminine nouns occur too rarely with any of the teen numerals for conclusions to be drawn regarding their patterns of concord.

There are many ways that the comparative Semitic material for the numerals 13 - 19 could be approached, but perhaps the simplest and most illuminating would be to look at the numerals 13 - 19 in these languages according to whether they use 'mixed forms', 'same forms', or both. By 'mixed forms', I mean numerals where the unit and the teen appear to have different morphemes (i.e., \emptyset ^Cšrt, \emptyset ^Cšrh, -t ^Cšr), and 'same forms' refers to numerals where the unit and the teen have the same morphemes (i.e., \emptyset ^Cšr and -t ^Cšrt, and -t ^Cšrh in those languages, like Hebrew, where ^Cšrh has replaced ^Cšrt); some languages use a combination of 'mixed' and 'same' forms as described above.

The use of mixed forms is generally postulated as the norm for Semitic, particularly as typified by Arabic where these are the only

permitted constructions.¹ Hebrew is the only other Semitic language which uses mixed forms exclusively. Unlike Arabic, which requires that the substantive be in the singular, plural forms of the noun are more common in Hebrew than singular ones;² the singular is used in Hebrew only with certain substantives.³ In both Hebrew and Arabic, the -t form of the unit is used with masculine substantives, the \emptyset with feminine ones; this is the same polarity as occurs with the numerals 3 - 10.

Like Hebrew and Arabic, mixed forms occur in both Syriac⁴ and ESA⁵, but same forms are also attested; these languages tend to use the same form of the teen with both the \emptyset and -t forms of the unit, unlike Akkadian where the unit remains the same with the teen ending in either \emptyset or -t.⁶ Ugaritic also uses both same and mixed forms of

1. For example, in Arabic: talatata^c ašara raḡulan '13 men'; tis^c a^c aš-rata 'imrātan' '19 women'.
2. E.g., Hebrew: 2Sam.9.10: hamiššāh^c āsar bāmim '15 sons'. The units in the Hebrew numerals 13 - 19 are usually in apposition to the teen; it is only rarely that they occur in the construct state, and then it is most recognizable in the -t forms of the numeral, as in 2Sam. 19.18: waḥamēšet^c āsar bānaw 'and his 15 sons'; Ju.20.25: šēmōnat^c āsar 'elef 'Is' '18 thousand men'. esrēh is used in Hebrew numerals instead of the independent form of 'ten' asarāh; its function is that of cašratu in Arabic, e.g., Jos.21.19: š^elōš^c es-rēh^c cārīm '13 cities'.
3. As above, page 152, note 3.
4. Brockelmann, Syrische Grammatik, page 77, §157, lists, for example, both hamša^c sar and hamešta^c sar for masculine (i.e., \emptyset cšr, -t cšr), and hamša^c esre and hamša^c s^ere (\emptyset -h, \emptyset -h) for feminine. Other teen numerals show similar variation in their forms; the contrasting forms for the 'teen' c sar and esre/c^ere ensure that there is no confusion as to the intended form.
5. In ESA, the unit is used with the same polarity in the teens as in the numerals 3 - 10, whilst the teen has the same form, cšr, throughout. (Beeston, A Descriptive Grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian, page 41, §35.12)
6. von Soden, GAG, §69d, lists the teens in Akkadian. The forms marked * have been reconstructed: *šalaššer, *šalaššeret, *erbešer, *erbešeret, *hamiššer, hamiššeret, *šeššer, *šeššeret, sebēšer, *sebēšeret, samanēšer, samānēšeret, *tišēšer, *tišēšeret. The preferred use of ciphers makes it difficult to determine patterns of use.

the teen numeral, but the situation in that language is somewhat different, owing to the presence of two possible morphemes for the unit (\emptyset and -t) and three morphemes for the teen (\emptyset , -t, -h) unlike any other Semitic language.

There are two languages which use 'same form' constructions only: Punic and Ethiopic. In Ethiopic, -t ^Cšrt occurs with greatest frequency, used with all substantives, regardless of gender.¹ In Punic, on the other hand, \emptyset ^Cšr is the most common; there is little evidence of -t ^Cšrt in Punic, but that it is attested in Phoenician suggests that it did exist in Punic, if only to a limited extent.²

A general comment on case endings may be in order: of all the Semitic languages, only in Arabic does case figure. Case distinctions have either (1) been lost (as in Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Syriac), (2) become difficult to determine (as in Ugaritic, ESA), (3) become greatly reduced and/or confused (as in Ethiopic), or (4) become difficult to determine because the language has so few examples of numerals 13 - 19 (as in Akkadian).

To summarize: only Hebrew and Arabic use 'mixed forms' exclusively, and restrict the \emptyset unit to feminine nouns and the -t unit to masculine ones. They both use the order unit-ten, with the noun following the numeral more often than preceding. Akkadian, ESA, and Syriac use both mixed and some forms; the pattern of gender concord in Akkadian

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1. For example, Ethiopic: Jos.24.33: ^Cašarta wasamanta ^Camata '18 years'; Jos.21.4: ^Cašartū wašalastu 'ahgūr '13 cities'; Gen. 46.22: ^Cašartū wasamānitū naf'es we'etū 'there were 18 people'; the construction involving \emptyset ^Cšr is rare: e.g., Jos.21.6: ^Cašrū wašalās 'ahgūr '13 cities', so Dillmann, Ethiopic Grammar, page 486.
 2. Punic: ^šcnt ^Cšr ^{wš}clš 'year 13'; ^pcm't ^Cšr ^{w'}rb '14 times'; ^{bš}nt ^Cšr ^{w'}rb 'in the 14th year'; Phoenician: ^{bym} ^Csrt ^{wšlš}t 'on the 13th day'. These examples are from Friedrich, Phönizsch-punische Grammatik, p. 110.

is not clear; in ESA the -t unit is used with masculine plural substantives, the \emptyset with feminine plural, and the teen remains the same for both; in Syriac, there is a tendency to leave the -t morpheme off the unit, hence the appearance of 'same form' numerals. These three languages, like Hebrew, use the order unit-teen and the substantive follows the numeral for the most part. Punic and Ethiopic are the only two languages that use same forms of the numerals, a pattern employed by almost three-quarters of the Ugaritic numerals 13 - 19 (all those with ^Csr or ^Csrt). Ugaritic uses the order unit-teen almost all the time, although the teen-unit word order used in Punic and Ethiopic is also attested in Ugaritic.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

Having completed a detailed examination of the nouns, verbs, and numerals in Ugaritic, an over-all view of some aspects of the grammar of this language would appear to be in order.

Nouns

The classic paradigm for masculine nouns in Ugaritic supposes the use of \emptyset ending for singular, and -m for dual and plural. Many nouns attracting masculing concord have this distribution of morphemes. Many others, however, do not follow this pattern: some form plurals by means of -t ending, others have -t in the singular, -m in dual and plural, and still others have plurals in both -t and -m. Adjectives used with masculine nouns use the morphemes \emptyset , -m, -m for singular, dual, and plural quite consistently. Presumably, vocalization would provide a distinction between the dual and plural -m endings, and between the singular and dual/plural \emptyset in the construct state. This inherent ambiguity in the consonantal writing system makes it difficult to recognize intended concord, particularly number agreement. The difficulty is compounded by occasional inconsistencies in the use of many of the nouns themselves.¹

In most cases, the gender information provided by the Ugaritic texts is in accord with that in Biblical Hebrew, although there are instances where the same noun has different genders in these languages.² The use of morphemes \emptyset , -m, -m for masculine singular, dual, and plural

1. For example: the use of lbš in the following highlights some of the problems: in 1106.4: lbš allm lbnm 'clothing of white allm', lbš appears to be in the construct state, with the unknown allm as its possible dependent genitive, and lbnm is an adjective marked to show masculine dual or plural agreement (with allm?). However, 1107.9: šb^c lbšm allm '7 allm garments' contradicts the previous: if allm is a noun, lbšm should be in the construct, without the -m suffix. Further, the use of šb^c, the \emptyset form of the numeral with a presumed masculine lbšm is contrary to general Semitic practice, and in another language where the system of polarity is more rigidly adhered to, would suggest that lbš is a feminine noun.
2. On next page...

in Ugaritic matches that in Biblical Hebrew and other Semitic languages. It is quite common to find nouns attracting masculine concord with other combinations of morphemes, and indeed, many of the more basic nouns in the Proto-Semitic lexicon do not display the usual \emptyset , -m, -m morphemes of masculine nouns. In this respect, Ugaritic is not markedly different from other classical Semitic languages.

The classic paradigm for feminine nouns in Ugaritic posits -t ending for singular, -tm for dual, and -t for plural. There were probably different vocalization patterns for feminine singular and plural, but the consonantal system of orthography does not show them, thus, providing an ambiguity that inevitably limits the ability of the present-day reader of Ugaritic texts to recognize the intended concord, similar to that occurring with the writing of masculine dual and plural as -m, and masculine singular and construct dual and plural and \emptyset . There seem to be fewer examples of nouns with morphemes other than -t, -tm, -t attracting feminine concord than of their masculine equivalents, but there also appear to be fewer instances of feminine nouns in general. Like the masculine nouns, there are many points of agreement between nouns that can be seen to be feminine in the Ugaritic texts and the situation as it is known in Biblical Hebrew.

There are, however, many more nouns of uncertain or ambiguous gender and/or number in Ugaritic than are encountered in Biblical Hebrew. The uncertainty stems in part from the consonantal system of orthography, and in part from some perhaps unique aspects of the corpus of Ugaritic texts. Nouns occurring in the narrative parts of Ugaritic such as epics, ritual texts, and to a certain extent in the letters, can for the most part be identified, but many more nouns occur only in the

2. from previous page. For example: ks 'cup': in Ugaritic ^Cnt 1.13: ks qdš is masculine on the basis of the adjective; the Hebrew cognate is feminine.

administrative lists where the syntactic structures in which they occur are frequently noun-numeral phrases (and numerals are not reliable indicators of number or gender) or they are simply listed or used in apposition to a personal name. If no etymology can be described for such a noun, chances of determining its number or gender then become slight. This is the case with many nouns (such as hndlt, ygb, mšlt) in the economic texts. There are other nouns where perhaps the reverse is true: in the case of many derived nouns, etymology and meaning are quite clear, but the Ugaritic texts provide no information as to the number or gender concord that they attract, nor does the Hebrew cognate provide such information: frequently there are two forms, one masculine, one feminine, in that language corresponding to the consonantal form attested in Ugaritic.¹

The main question in the section on plural and/or collective nouns is the determination of number concord attracted by certain nouns, many of which are well-attested in the Ugaritic texts. The gender of many of these nouns is known, but the ambiguities in marking number by -t for feminine singular and plural, and the use of \emptyset for masculine dual and plural construct in addition to masculine singular become increasingly manifest. In some instances, such as ary, yn, šmn, hmlt, hxr, no other form is attested, suggesting a collective. In others, such as sbr/sbrt, mrh(m), tnn(m), there occasionally appears to be little difference between the two forms. In the case of mhr, dmr, and ib, for example, there appears a tendency to use the \emptyset form in the literary texts almost to the exclusion of the -m ending; both \emptyset and -m forms occur in the administrative texts and in letters, where the \emptyset is singular and -m is dual or plural. There are some nouns such as bnš(m) which

1. For example, Ugaritic mtn(t), Hebrew matan and matānāh/matānōt.

according to their use in the Ugaritic texts have clearly distinguished singular and plural forms.

The section on the parts of the body which naturally occur in pairs is in a sense the most controlled study of nouns possible, in terms of comparative Semitics: these nouns are known to be feminine on the basis of the situation in other Semitic languages and yet out of ten lexical items, only two can be seen to be feminine on the basis of internal Ugaritic evidence (a 20% figure of certainty, fortunately exceeded among other groups of nouns). Another aspect of number and gender marking that can be seen quite clearly among these nouns is the marking of the dual. Those nouns with the singular in \emptyset use -m for the dual even though they might mark the plural in -t.¹ This is not of universal application however. With regard to body parts not occurring in pairs, all of the ambiguities and uncertainties encountered with other nouns re-appear, lacking as it were the safety net provided by general Semitic practice. Gender information is almost totally lacking in all seven body-parts in Ugaritic discussed in that section, although cognates in other Semitic languages are well-attested and their genders are generally known.

There are six nouns which display internal vowel changes in Ugaritic discussed above (page 60f.); there could well be more, but the writing system provides vowels for alephs only. However, in light of the rarity of vowel change as a plural formation device in most Semitic languages other than Arabic (where it is very common), it would appear more likely that such internal vowel change was not common in Ugaritic. In nouns such as mit and pit, and possibly others, the vowel

1. For example: yd-ydm-ydt 'hand(s)'; knp-(pl.)knpt 'wing(s)'; grn-grnm-grnt 'horn(s)'; tkm-(pl.)tkmm 'shoulder(s)'; but špt-(dual)šptm 'lip(s)', as in špthm mtqtm. But thm-(dual)thmtm-thmt 'deep(s)' shows that this is not always so.

change, occurring from singular to plural might be due to a shift in stress owing to the lengthening of a vowel such as would occur in the formation of the plural and a resulting change in the writing of vowel + aleph to aleph + vowel, with orthographic consequences as seen here.

There are five nouns which add -h- to the singular to form the plural, a change which in three of these nouns (ilt/ilht, um/umht, and amt/amht) is attested in other Semitic languages. These three nouns, taken in conjunction with their Semitic cognates, appear to use -h- as a regular plural forming device, which is not a common one, although it appears to be of some antiquity. The equivalents of bht(m) and qrht are not found in other Semitic languages, although bt(m) and qr(y)t are. The -h- in bt and qr(y)t could represent a plural morpheme or might reflect a vocalic sound change not represented elsewhere in the script, but this is unlikely.

The question of concord arising from the divine names occurring in pairs (pages 66-80) reflects in microcosm, many of the problems of concord in Ugaritic: these names are unique to Ugaritic; like other nouns, each name must be analysed separately; in some cases, the contexts in which they occur are broken or unclear; and their analysis depends on the information provided by numerals, adjectives, and particularly pronouns and verbs. In a sense, these nouns provide a proving ground for other aspects of concord, especially verbs, and highlight the ambiguities inherent in the marking of concord, particularly the fact that certainty regarding number is more easily attained when proving single units, especially masculine singular, and the greater difficulty in recognizing the intended concord when it is dual or plural.

In general, it is not possible to formulate 'rules' for morphemes and patterns of agreement of nouns in Ugaritic, as the following brief outlines indicate:

masculine singular: most masculine singular nouns end in \emptyset , although there are many nouns, particularly derived nouns, whose gender is not clear from their use in the Ugaritic texts, ending in -t, and some of these might be masculine. E.g., bnš, gg, dd, ks, riš.

feminine singular: nouns ending in \emptyset and others ending in -t are attested as feminine in Ugaritic. As in other Semitic languages, some of the more basic feminine nouns end in \emptyset in the singular. E.g. um, arh, lbnt, abn, ars, npš, yd.

masculine dual: for the most part, masculine dual is indicated by -m suffix. There are a few nouns with duals apparently ending in -tm, most of which are nouns with -t as part of the root taking -m in the dual.

feminine dual: mostly -tm is used, although some feminine nouns ending in \emptyset in the singular form the dual by means of -m. E.g., ydm, šptm, thmtm, p^cnm, attm.

masculine plural: nouns attracting masculine plural concord end in -m, in -t, and occasionally -m and -t. E.g., gg(t), grnm/t, mtr(t), rišt/rašt/rašm.

feminine plural: nouns attracting feminine plural concord are attested ending in -t or -m, but rarely, if ever, both. E.g., abnm, kpm, ydt, att.

\emptyset , -m, -m for masculine singular, dual, and plural, and -t, -tm, and -t for feminine singular dual and plural, are used relatively consistently with accompanying adjectives. While some nouns show morphemes similar to those used with adjectives, there are many which do not. There are also many ambiguities where information is available and the writing system compounds the confusion. It is however, difficult to determine whether this situation is, in fact, any different from that in other Semitic languages: even in those languages where 'rules' can

be formulated for noun agreement, the exceptions to those rules usually run to several paragraphs, if not pages, in the standard grammar books. In this respect, Ugaritic is not outstandingly different from the other languages, especially when the system of orthography, the limited corpus of texts, and the varied subject matter of these occasionally poorly-preserved texts is taken into account. The over-all picture of noun concord in Ugaritic is a somewhat confused and uncertain one, and the classification of all nouns by number and gender is difficult to achieve.

Verbs

Interestingly, the uncertainty in determining concord patterns of Ugaritic nouns does not appear to affect the general analysis of verb-subject agreement, partly because subject nouns do not cover the wide range of nouns in Ugaritic. Where sufficient information is available it is generally quite clear, and there is sufficient textual evidence that patterns of agreement do not have to be based on one or two doubtful examples. The broad outline of the concord of verbs is in many respects in agreement with that in other Semitic languages, and in those respects where Ugaritic differs, particularly from the classical languages such as Arabic and Hebrew, those differences often appear to represent genuine Ugaritic practice rather than scribal error.

This is particularly noticeable in the third persons of the prefix conjugation where the distribution of morphemes is somewhat other than that in other Semitic languages, and yet occurs consistently in Ugaritic. As seen above, the third persons of the prefix conjugation (pages 83-107) are inflected as follows:

third masculine singular: tends to attract yQBR both in the order subject-verb and verb-subject; yQBRn is also used both before and

after masculine singular subjects.¹ tQBR with masculine singular is rare, as is tQBRn, and in many instances, the subject is not clear.

third feminine singular: tQBR occurs both before and after the subject,² whilst tQBRn tends to occur more frequently with feminine singular subjects in the order subject-verb than verb-subject.³ However, as is the case with all uses of the -n suffix, it is difficult to determine when the -n represents the energetic or the 3ms suffix pronoun; there is, however, little in its use to support the idea that it marks either number or gender. Feminine singular subjects are very rarely used with yQBR, and yQBRn is not attested in that context.

third person dual: subjects attracting dual concord, whether masculine, feminine, or common gender, are relatively rare when compared with the number of subjects requiring singular or plural concord. Third person masculine dual subjects are attested with yQBR(n) forms of the verb.⁴

1. E.g., 49.5.1: yihd b^{c1} 'B^{c1} seizes'; 1Aq 119: b^{c1} ybn 'may B^{c1} restore (their pinions)'; 137.24: bhm yg^c r b^{c1} 'B^{c1} rebukes them'; cnt 4.83: hlk ahth b^{c1} y^cn 'B^{c1} sees his sister's approach'; 2065.19-21: wuhy y^cmsn tmn wluhy al yb^crn 'let my brother undertake it there, and let my brother not refuse'; 51.4.27: hlm il kyphnh 'Behold, when Il sees her'; 1Aq 170: dnil bth ym^gyn 'Dnil arrives at his house'.
2. For example: 49.4.45: wt^cn btl^t cnt 'and Btl^t cnt replies'; 49.4.30: ttb^c btl^t cnt 'Btl^t cnt departs'; 67.6.26: cnt t^tlk wt^gd kl gr 'cnt roams and hunts on all the mountains'.
3. For example: cnt 2.17: whln cnt bth tm^gyn 'and then, cnt arrives at her house'; cnt 2.23: mid tmthgn '(she) strikes out wildly'; cnt 4.86: thspn mh 'she draws water'; 1Aq 59: t^gu abh t^ttnn lbmt cr 'she (Pgt) lifts her father, puts him onto the back of the ass'.
4. For example: 67.1.11f: wy^cn gpn wugr 'and Gpn and Ugr reply'; 49.4.49: [w?]^cn glmm y^cnyn 'and the lads reply, saying ...'; 49.6.16-21: yt^cn kgmrm mt cz b^{c1} cz ynghn krumm mt cz b^{c1} cz yntkn kb^tnm mt cz b^{c1} cz ymshn klsmm mt ql b^{c1} ql 'they stare at each other like champions (so TO, p.268), Mt is strong, B^{c1} is strong; they gore like bulls, Mt is strong, B^{c1} is strong; they bite like snakes, Mt is strong, B^{c1} is strong; they buck like bronchos, Mt falls, B^{c1} falls'; 49.2.6: ym ymm y^ctqn 'one day, two days pass'.

tQBR(n) forms are also attested¹. The yQBR and tQBR forms occur with relatively equal frequency with masculine dual subjects, both in the order subject-verb and verb-subject. It is possible for some of the above subjects to be construed as plural rather than dual subjects, notably ḡlmm/ḡlm b^cl, mlakm/mlak ym; conventionally it is understood that the messengers and lads mentioned represent two persons.

There is one occurrence of a common dual subject, with tQBRn.²

Feminine dual subjects use a t- prefix form of the verb.³ The y- prefix occurs only once, and this is likely to be an error.⁴

Third person masculine plural: yQBR forms of the verb occur before masculine plural subjects,⁵ but it is possible that the verb represents a simple masculine singular form. In other Semitic languages, 3ms verbs may precede masculine plural subjects; in the absence of final vowels⁶ it is only the distribution of yQBR(n) predominately before plural subjects and tQBR(n) both before and after plural subjects that suggests that the former is masculine singular. tQBR(n) is found in verb-subject and subject-verb sentences.⁷

1. For example: Krt 300: ttb^c mlakm lytb ... tēan ḡhm wtshn 'the messengers departed, not tarrying ... they raised their voices and cry'; 76.2.3: wt^cnyn ḡlm b^cl 'and B^cl's lads reply'; 137.30: ahr tmḡyn mlak ym 'after the messengers of Ym arrive'; 1003.5-7: lānm tlhk ḡmm ttrp ym dnbtm 'the two tongues lick the heavens, the two tails swish the sea'.
2. B^cl and ^cnt in 51.25-26: tmḡnn rbt aḡrt ym tḡzyn qnyt ilm 'they beseech Rbt Aḡrt Ym, entreat the gods' creator'.
3. For example: 49.1.31: p^cnh ltmḡyn hdm 'his feet do not reach the footstool'; cnt 3.16: cmy p^cnk tlmn 'with me, let your feet race'; 52.39: attm tshn 'the two wives shout'; and 52.51: tqtšn wtldn 'they (the two wives) labour and bear'.
4. Ug.V.1.1.9: c^tttrt w^cnt ymḡy 'c^tttrt and ^cnt arrive'.
5. For example: 52.9ff.: yzbrnn sbrn ḡpn ysmdn smdm ḡpn yšql šdmth km ḡpn 'the vine-pruners prune it, the vine-tyers bind it, they measure out his fields as vine-yards'.
6. The information provided by final aleph verbs is scant, and does not, in any event, indicate whether an alternation of short and long final vowels marked singular and plural forms that are otherwise orthographically identical.
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Third person common plural appears to attract the same concord as masculine plural, as appears from the few such subjects that are attested.¹

Third person feminine plural uses tQBR(n) forms of the prefix conjugation;² feminine plural subjects are not commonly found in the Ugaritic texts.

Whatever the functions of the -n suffix, they clearly do not include marking number and/or gender variations onto the third person forms of the verb in the prefix conjugation. Both tQBR and tQBRn forms of the same verb are occasionally attested in the same text.³

The first and second person forms of the verb are in accord with those found in other Semitic languages, and as such do not require investigation as the third person forms do. While the widespread use of tQBR with masculine plural, and to a lesser extent with masculine dual, is unique to Ugaritic, in other respects, the prefix conjugation appears relatively conventional when compared with that in other Semitic languages.

The situation regarding the suffix conjugation is somewhat different. Many of the problems of concord stem, as in other aspects of Ugaritic grammar, from the inherent ambiguity of the consonantal system of orthography: here the major difficulty is in determining the

7. from previous page...

Examples of 3mpl tQBR(n): 137.23: tgly ilm rišthm 'the gods raise their heads'; 6.26-27: šmm tnr zbl mlk šmm tlakl ltl 'the heavens will bless the prince king, the heavens will send dew'; 2067.1: spnš mlk dtaršn cmsn 'a list of the king's men seeking work'.

1. Cnt vi 5.44: ysh ařrt wbnh 'Ařrt and her sons shouted'; 49.1.11: tšmh ht ařrt wbnh 'then let Ařrt and her sons rejoice'.

2. For example: 68.17: ltngsn pnth 'his extremities do not tremble'; 1001.4: ktgwlh šntk 'as your teeth enunciate'.

3. For example: 124.21-22: tlhm rpum tštyn and 23-24: tlhmn rpum tštyn both meaning 'the Rpum eat and drink'.

underlying form and function of a written QBR or QBRT. The suffix conjugation is inflected as follows:

third person masculine singular: QBR is used with masculine singular subjects in the order verb-subject and subject-verb.¹

third person feminine singular: feminine singular subjects attract QBRT forms of the verb, for the most part,² although they are occasionally found with QBR forms of the verb, in the order subject-verb;³ these, however, are limited to about 10 occurrences.

second masculine singular: subjects use QBRT forms of the verb.⁴

second feminine singular: subjects also attract QBRT forms.⁵

first common singular: for the most part, QBRT is used with first person subjects,⁶ although occasionally QBR forms of the verbs are used.⁷

1. E.g., 3ms: 5l.2.22: ik mgy aliyn bcl 'why has Aliyn Bcl come?'; 5l.1.24: hyn cly lmpm 'Hyn went up to the bellows'; 1005.8-9: nqmd mlk ugrrt ktb spr hnd 'Nqmd, king of Ugarit, wrote this account'.
2. For example: 1Aq 2l3: agrtn bat 'our (fem.) employer has come'; Krt 1l4: att trh wtbct 'he took a wife but she departed'; 49.2.24: nrt ilm spš shrrt 'the gods' torch spš shone'; 143.2: crbt spš tgrh 'Spš entered her gate'.
3. E.g., 5l.5.82: šmh btlt cnt 'Btlt cnt was happy'; 1002.42: mgy hy 'she arrived'.
4. E.g., 1012.25: rgmt cly 'and you told me'; 138.6f.: iky lht spr dlikt cm tryl 'where are the account books which you sent with Tryl?'.
5. For example, 2fs: 5l.4.33f.: rgb rgtb hm gmu gmit 'are you hungry? have you great thirst?'.
6. For example, 1cs: 1013.16: wlikt cmk '(and if the Hittites arose) then I'd have sent to you'; 89.6: lp^{cn} adty ... qlt 'at the feet of my lady ... I prostrate myself'; 2065.18f.: wap ank mm hert 'and as for me, I lacked nothing'.
7. E.g., 1021.6: wtb^c ank 'and I departed'; 2008.rev.12: wrgm ank 'and I said'; 49.2.21-22: ngš ank aliyn bcl cdbnn ank kimr bpy 'I met Aliyn Bcl, I prepared him as a lamb in my mouth'.

third person common dual: the one occurrence of third person common dual uses QBR.¹ QBR is also used for both masculine dual and feminine dual.²

second person common dual: a QBRTM form of the verb is used.³

first person common dual: QBRNY appears to be the form of the verb used for lcd, a category not found in other Semitic languages.⁴

third person masculine plural: QBR is the form of the verb attracted by masculine plural subjects; on the basis of evidence from final aleph verbs, this form is likely to have final -u vowel.⁵

third person feminine plural: QBR is used also.⁶

second person masculine plural: subjects attract QBRTM forms of the verb.⁷

second feminine plural: there are few attestations of feminine second person subjects; a QBRTN form is indicated.⁸

first person common plural: there are no attestations of first person common plural; it is assumed to take the form QBRN on the basis of comparative Semitics.

1. 51.4.18: atr btlt cnt wbc¹ tbc 'after Btl^c cnt and B^cl departed'.
2. 3md: 67.1.9: tb^c wlytb ilm 'the gods departed, not tarrying'; 137.19: tb^c glmm 'the lads departed'; 3fd: 52.53: a[tt] il y[ll]t mh ylt 'the two wives of Il have given birth; what have they had?'.
3. 2cd: 51.3.30: mgntm tr il dpid hm gztm bny bnwt 'have you entertained Tr Il Dpid, beseeched the Creator of Creatures?'.
4. 67.6.5: mny ln^cny ars dbr ... 8: mny lb^cl npl lars 'we two arrived at the pleasantness of the wilderness land... we two came across B^cl fallen to the earth'; 95.5-7: lp^cn adtny mrh^ctm qlay 'at the feet of our lady, the two of us fall from afar'.
5. 3mpl: 121.2.6: mny rpum 'the Rpum arrived'; 2099.1: bnšm d bu 'men who came'; 2079.1: rišym dt crb bbnšhm 'leaders who entered with their men'.
6. 3fpl: 1Aq 171: crb bkyt bhklh 'weeping women entered his house'; cnt 2.2: kpr šb^c bnt 'as the seven daughters fled'.
7. 2mpl: cnt 4.77: atm bštm 'you are slow'; 137.24: lm gltm ilm riš[tl]km 'why, gods, did you lower your heads?'.
8. 2fpl: 1002.42: lk. yritn 'you feared'.

The above accords readily with the patterns of agreement found in other Semitic languages. The main difference between Ugaritic and the other classical Semitic languages is in the use of a QBR form of the verb with unexpected subject nouns and pronouns.¹ The form represented by QBR in such sentences has been the subject of some debate. It has variously been suggested that QBR is the third masculine singular form of the suffix conjugation (qabara), the participle (qābir-), or the infinitive absolute (qabār-). Each of these explanations has its merits, and its problems, particularly as these explanations have been formulated with recourse to comparative Semitic practice. The inherent difficulty is that parallels to this construction are rarely, if at all, encountered outside the north-west Semitic, notably Amarna-age Byblos and Phoenician Karatepe inscription, language areas, which suggests a relatively restricted idiom. As such, grammatical terminology used to describe classical Semitic languages is all that is conventionally available to explain a construction which is not found in Arabic or, except rarely, Biblical Hebrew. Thus, to a certain extent, the problem lies in inadequate grammatical terms for the sentences in Ugaritic (and those in the Amarna letters of Byblos and the Karatepe inscription). The similarity of the Ugaritic, Byblos, and Karatepe sentences suggests a shared idiom, which in turn suggests that the same underlying form of QBR, the infinitive absolute, was used. This is the explanation that (as detailed above, page 120) I find the most convincing: the use of the infinitive absolute would account for all such constructions both within Ugaritic, and in other north-west

1. E.g., 51.5.82: ymh btlit c'nt 'Btlit c'nt was happy'; 1002.42: mgy hy 'she arrived'; 1021.6: wtbc ank 'and I departed'; 2008 rev. 12: wrgm ank 'and I said'; 49.2.21-22: ngš ank aliyn b'cl cdbnn ank kimr bpy 'I encountered Aliyn B'cl, I prepared him as a lamb in my mouth'.

Semitic languages, and is confirmed as such by the cuneiform writing of qabāri-(ma/mi) found in the Amarna letters of Byblos.

Numerals

One of the more interesting points in the above study of Ugaritic numerals concerns the distribution of nouns and numerals: the distribution of the two forms of the numeral two, tn and tt, with its overwhelming preponderance of \emptyset forms is matched by that of the numerals 3 - 10.¹ This is unexpected in light of the system of polarity of Semitic numerals which would have tn and -t numerals 3 - 10 used with the same masculine nouns, and tt and \emptyset numerals 3 - 10 similarly used with feminine nouns. The implication is therefore that the use of either two or 3 - 10 is at variance with the classical pattern of Semitic numerals, and this variance is seen in the use of the numerals 3 - 10.

The numeral two occurs primarily as expected: tt is attested, for the most part, with feminine nouns, and tn occurs predominately with masculine nouns (only 8 out of 188 are with possible feminine nouns).

Numerals 3 - 10 ending in \emptyset are used with both masculine and feminine nouns, both in the singular and in the plural. Those ending in -t are not as well-attested as their \emptyset counterparts, and are used primarily with masculine nouns. In general, it would appear that the -t form of the numeral, whether of 'two' as expected with feminine nouns, or of 3 - 10 as expected with masculine nouns, is used in accordance with the pattern found in classical Semitic; this suggests that where a numeral ending in -t was used, an effort was made to use it in accordance with the Semitic system of polarity.

1. tn accounted for 73.72%, tt for 18.04% (see p. 130); \emptyset forms of 3 - 10 are 82.84%, with -t forms accounting for 15.22% (page 135), of each total.

The numerals 11 - 19 occur relatively infrequently when compared with those from 3 - 10, and the overall picture of concord that the former presents is somewhat uncertain and incomplete. Ugaritic is unique among the Semitic languages in having three forms of the teen numeral: C^y sr, C^y srh, and C^y srt. Masculine nouns are well-attested with both C^y sr and C^y srh, and occur infrequently with C^y srt. Feminine nouns with numerals 11 - 19, and to a lesser extent with numerals two and 3 - 10, are not found often: it might be that they occur less often than masculine nouns. However, as suggested by the distribution of Hebrew numerals 3 - 10 (above, page 137), where the \emptyset and -t forms occur with almost equal frequency, this occurrence, or rather lack of occurrence, in Ugaritic is somewhat surprising: both the -t forms of the numerals, and the feminine nouns are not as common as the \emptyset forms and the masculine nouns. Specifically, it appears that C^y st C^y sr and tn C^y sr are used with masculine nouns, although the evidence is extremely limited. The concord of C^y st C^y srh and tn C^y srh is not clear from available textual sources. Similarly, it is difficult to determine whether the singular or plural of the noun is preferred in these constructions. Among the numerals 13 - 19, \emptyset C^y sr forms are used with masculine nouns, most of which are attested in the plural. Similarly, \emptyset C^y srh occurs with masculine nouns, but a smaller proportion of these are in the plural as compared with \emptyset C^y sr numerals. -t C^y srt numerals occur with masculine and feminine nouns, although this form of the numeral is not frequently attested. Thus, all three forms of the teen numeral occur with masculine nouns, and feminine nouns are not sufficiently attested for conclusions to be drawn about their patterns of concord.

There are some obvious points of agreement between the use of numerals in Ugaritic and the system of polarity assumed to have been part of Proto-Semitic. Interestingly, primarily Hebrew and Arabic

appear to adhere most rigidly to this Proto-Semitic pattern whilst the other Semitic languages, including Ugaritic, display varying degrees of divergence, such that for virtually every unexpected example attested among the Ugaritic numerals, a comparable one can be found in another Semitic language, excepting the appearance of three forms for the teen numeral C_vsr, C_vsrh, and C_vsrt.

Concluding Remarks

The predominantly consonantal writing system used for Ugaritic obscures many of the finer points of grammar, especially those involving vowels, and gives rise to many of the ambiguities of concord. However, this is also the case in other, unpointed Semitic systems of orthography, and for the most part, those languages using them can be understood and analysed, as is the case with Ugaritic. The major difference as far as orthography is concerned lies in the fact that most of the other languages with unpointed writing systems have a more or less unbroken tradition as written, if not spoken languages.

The varied corpus of Ugaritic texts provides a particularly varied lexicon, especially where nouns are concerned. It might also include both a literary use of the language, as encountered in the epics, ritual texts, and possibly in the letters, alongside a more popular use of language, reflected in the administrative texts. This is, however, in the realm of speculation; there is insufficient textual evidence to provide tentative suppositions.

There is the possibility, not hitherto mentioned, that other, non-Semitic speaking peoples influenced the every-day speech of Ugarit. The influence is likely to have been relatively minor inasmuch as there are few non-Semitic nouns, and practically no verbs for which a Semitic etymology is lacking. There seem to be a fair number of apparently non-Semitic personal names occurring in the various economic texts,

particularly, the lists of rations and personnel, which suggests a foreign presence. The extent to which this possible foreign presence affected the phonology and morphology of Ugaritic can not be gauged, however, and the effect on specific aspects of grammar such as the concord of numerals, which involves a peculiarly Semitic idiosyncrasy, can only be a matter for speculation.

By and large, Ugaritic is a conservative Semitic language, having much in common with the reconstructed Proto-Semitic, but with differences, most of which have analogs in other members of the language group. The patterns of agreement among Ugaritic nouns, verbs, and numerals can be determined to varying extents subject to the restrictions imposed by its consonantal system of orthography and a limited corpus of texts which provide our only knowledge of the language of the city-state of Ugarit.

The Relative/Determinative Pronoun d/dt

Whitaker's Concordance lists some 351 occurrences of d/dt in one section of which only 66 are uses of dt (and two of dtm), not all of which are sufficiently well-preserved to provide material for analysis. Those that are follow:

- 1129.8 tlt alp spr dt and hrth 3000? birds? which his plowmen took
- 1035.1.4 bdl ar dt inn mhr lhm merchants of Ar who have no soldiers
- 2071.1¹ mdrg^lm dt inn bd tlmyⁿ m.-soldiers who are not under Tlmyⁿ
- 2023.1.1 bnšm dt it alp^m lhm men who have oxen
- 2072.1 r^cym dt bd iytlm shepherds who are under Iytlm
- 1104.2 šd ubdy ilštm^c dt bd skn perpetual land-grant fields which are assigned through the governor
- 2021.1.1 [s]p[r] uškaym dt [bd] list of Uškaym who are ...
- 2059.10-12 anykn dt likt msrm hn dt bsr your ships which you sent to Egypt, these same are in Šr
- 1024.3.8² ttt^m h^zr w^cšt^c š^r hrš dt tb^cln bugrt 12 workmen and 11 craftsmen who work in Ugarit
- 1005.10³ ktb spr hnd dtbr^{rt} stqslm^c bdh wrote this account emancipating Štqslm, his slave
- 68.10 tqh mlk^c lmk drkt dt drdrk take kingship of your world, ruling of your generations
- ^cnt 3.32⁴ t^gs pnt kslh anš dt zrh the edges of her back trembled, weak are those of her back.
- 1Aq 54⁵ št gpm^y dt ksp dt yrq nqbny place harnesses which are of silver, trappings of yellow gold
- 314.2.10 [b]d^lm dt ytb[] merchants who reside

-
1. But compare 306.1: mdrg^lm d ian msgm lhm 'm.-soldiers who do not have weapons'.
 2. Also 1024.3.6, 10: dt tb^cln 'who work'.
 3. dtbr^{rt} in the above is construed as dt + br^{rt}.
 4. Also 51.2.20; 1Aq 2.96.
 5. Also 51.4.6; 51.4.11.

2047.1	[nq]dm dt kn npsh _m	herdsmen whose clothing is in order
1161.6	wmmn šalm dt tknn	whatsoever is asked for shall be provided
2068.1	bnš _m dt l u[]ttb	men who [
2068.17 ¹	bnš _m dt l mlk	men who belong to the king
2099.4 ²	šb ^c dt tqhn: ššlmt	seven which ššlmt took
1018.22	lpn amn wlpn il msrm dt tgrn	before Amn and before the gods of Egypt who protect
Ug.V.3.1.7	qrn[m] dt ^c l rišh	horns which are on his head
2079.1	rišym dt ^c rb bbnš _m	leaders who entered with their men
1161.1 ³	spr ^c rbnm dt ^c rb	a list of entrants who entered
1121.1	tmm mrkbt dt ^c rb	8 chariots which entered
2026.1	šd snrym dt ^c qb bayly	fields of the men of Snr which are located in Ayly
1171.1	spr ^c psm dt št ury _n	list of guildsmen who Uryn placed
124.13 ⁴	^c gim dt šnt	year-old calves (= calves which have one year)
1111.8	pldm dt š ^c rt	p.-garments which are of hair
1Aq 5.1	wm dt ytb lmspr	and this which returns to the narrator
136.2	wilht dt	and goddesses who/which
51.6.36-38	bhty bnt dt ksp hkly dtm hrs	I have built my house of silver, my palace which is of gold

As can be seen, most of the above uses of dt are with plural or collective nouns. There are phrases using d that are very similar to those attested with dt, occasionally even identical. This fact, combined with the relative scarcity of dt, suggests that written dt was being replaced by d, and that the language was losing at least the orthographic distinction of singular/plural that d/dt is presumed to have provided.

1. But compare 2099.1: bnš_m d bu 'men who came'.
2. Also 2099.2: tš^c dt tq[hn].
3. But 2106.1: spr npš d^crb 'a list of people who entered'.
4. Also 51.6.42; ^cnt x.4.31.

abn	33	dnb	57	ks	26	mt _p dm	42	q _p	36
am(h)t	64	hm _l t	46	ks'	32	nbt	53	q _h	30
any	51	hnk(t)	40	ksl	57	nhr	21	riš	61
epn	22	nbl	50	kpt	55	npr	50	rot	42
arh	29	hbš	36	krk	34	npš	34	rh	35
ary	45	hdr	20	krm	20	nqpt	50	rat	57
ars	34	htm	52	krsn	37	ntb	24	r	27
ib	44	hib	52	ktn(t)	32	spl	27	š _p	61
il(h)t	64	hpr	52	ktp	56	ssw	38	š _{pt}	61
irby	50	hsn	50	lbnt	30	^c gl	38	š _{rt}	30
išt	29	hrb	33	lbš	20	^c dbt	42	š _p	24
itl	35	hbr _t	36	lbt	23	^c t	27	š _{mal}	59
udn	55	h _z r	46	ll'	21	^c rpt	30	š _{rn}	28
uz	33	hndlt	36	lšn	58	^c tkm	52	š _{mn}	52
ul	44	hpn	22	mi/at	60	pi/at	60	š _{nt}	31
um	64	hpt	47	mdbh	40	ph _m m	53	š ^c r	54
usb ^c	58	hrm _{tt}	29	mhr	48	ph _d	51	š _{pš}	35
urbt	29	hrt	36	mznm	26	ph _r	48	š _{pt}	57
bnš	45	h _{tr}	34	m _{tr}	24	pnm	58	tant	62
bsql	36	ygb	36	mym	26	p ^c n	56	tint _t	42
brm	52	yd	55	mknt	41	pr	38	tdrq	42
b(h)t	69	ymn	59	msdt	41	ptt	54	thm	32
gg	22	yn	52	mqdš _t	41	sbr	49	t ^c dt	43
gdlt	29	yrh	20	mrh	33	smdm	21	t ^c rt	39
grn	25	kbkb	25	mškb	40	spr	38	trb _s	43
dd	19	kd	37	mšknt	41	q _{tr}	35	t _{at}	62
dqt	29	k _d rt	37	mšlt	37	ql ^c	21	t _{km}	57
drkt	40	kmyr	48	mtn	40	qm _h	52	tl _{hn}	23
d _{mr}	46	knp	55	mtb	40	qr(h)t	65	t _{nn}	49

The background reading to this thesis has been fairly extensive and spread over a number of years. The writing of this has also taken place over a relatively long period of time. It is unfortunately inevitable that there may be a book or an article which, having influenced my thinking on the subject of linguistics or Semitics, has inadvertently been omitted from this bibliography. For that and any other such sin of omission, I hereby tender my apologies and can but crave the reader's indulgence.

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