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Thy Name is Deer, Animal names in Semitic onomastics and name-giving traditions : evidence from Akkadian, Northwest Semitic, and Arabic
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Appendix

Animal Names in the Semitic Onomasticon

On the organization of the data

- In addition to Akk., NWS, and Ar., this appendix contains material from Eb. and AAr. (for motivation, see ↑1.4.1.4).
- As the term Amor. is used in this study for NWS names from the OAkk./OB periods, all unclassifiable non-Akk. Sem. names in cuneiform sources from the later periods (MA/MB to NA/NB) are listed under the category (N)WSC, i.e., Northwest Semitic in cuneiform sources (see 1.4.1.2).
- Names are taxonomically classified according to animal categories/subcategories (mammals, birds, reptiles, etc.).
- Names are listed within each category according to their roots in SED 2 (marked with *) or the roots I suggest.
- Names which occur in one or two languages but do not derive from Common Sem. roots are treated secondarily.

MAMMALS

I. FELINES

Lion

§1. **arway*- (SED 2, No. 17)

Ug.	<i>Rwy</i> (hypoc. ?) (Watson 2007: 109b).
Heb.	<i>ʾĀrīʾēl</i> “Lion of El/God”, <i>Hā-ʾaryē</i> (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 170; PHIAP 60, 75).
Aram.	OffAram. <i>ʾry</i> (Lemaire 2002: 265), Dura <i>Αρηρηλ</i> may be an error for <i>Αρηλ</i> , <i>ʾryʾl</i> (Grassi 2012: 145).

§2. **ʾaś/š(V)d*- (see the discussion in ↑4.1.3.1.2)

Eb.	<i>ʾAšda-Il</i> , <i>Aš-da-Il</i> “Il is a lion”, <i>Ḥinna-ʾašda</i> , <i>I-na-áš-da</i> “Have mercy, lion” (ARES 3 324; Krebern timer 1988: 76).
Amor.	<i>ʾAšdum</i> , <i>Aš-du-um</i> , <i>ʾAšdiya</i> , <i>Aš-di-ia</i> , <i>ʾAšda-aḥi</i> , <i>Aš-da-a-ḥi</i> “My brother is A.” <i>ʾAšdum-abī</i> , <i>Aš-du-um-a-bi</i> “My father is A.”, <i>ʾAbī-ašad</i> , <i>A-bi-a-ša-ad</i> “My father is A.”, <i>ʾAšdu-rāp</i> ʾ, <i>Aš-du-ra-pi</i> “A. is a healer”, <i>ʾAšdi-yapu</i> ʾ, <i>Aš-di-e-pu-uḥ</i> “My A. is radiant”, <i>ʾAšdi-yašar</i> , <i>Aš-di-e-sa-ar</i> “My A. is just”, <i>ʾAšdi-yašu</i> ʾ, <i>Aš-di-e-šu-uḥ</i> “My A. has helped”, <i>ʾAšdi-ki-El</i> “My A. is like a god”, <i>ʾAšdi-maṭar</i> “My A. is rain”, etc. (CAAA 13, 239, sub <i>√aśd</i>).
Aram.	Nab. <i>ʾšd</i> (PNNR 165), Palm. <i>ʾšdw</i> (PNPI 73), OSyr. <i>ʾšdw</i> (Drijvers and Healey 1999: Am 10: 2, 8).
AAr.	<i>ʾsʾd</i> , <i>ʾsʾd</i> , <i>ʾsʾdw</i> , <i>ʾsʾdy</i> , <i>ʾsʾdn</i> in Saf., <i>ʾsʾd</i> in Dad. and Tham. (HIn 7, 43), <i>ʾsʾdt</i> as (m) in Tham., Min., Qat., and (f) in Sab. ³²³ (Shatnawi 2002: 646; Schaffer 1981: 296).
Ar.	(<i>al</i> -) <i>Asad</i> , <i>al-Asad</i> , <i>Asada</i> , <i>Asīd</i> , <i>Usayd</i> (m + f), <i>Usayda</i> (f) (CIK 2 122, 195, 575; Iṣṭiqāq 33, 56, 501; Ikmāl 1: 57-8, 67-9, 70-71, 83, 20 153), nick. <i>Asad Allah</i> “Lion of God”, <i>Asad al-rasūl</i> “Lion of the Prophet”, <i>Asad al-baḥr</i> “Lion of the sea”, <i>al-Asad al-rahīṣ</i> “The brave lion”, <i>Suʾr al-asad</i> “The remaining food of the lion” (KN 57; MAAM 26ff), Bed. <i>Asad</i> (Littmann 1921: 6), CAO <i>Asad Al-lah</i> (UAE, No. 70069602), <i>Asad</i> as PN and FN, <i>al-Asad</i> , <i>al-Asadī</i> , <i>Abū Asad</i> (all

³²³ On Old Sab. theophoric names with *ʾsʾd* “warrior”, see Tairan (1992: 61-4).

	FN) (SAR 1, p. 7, 34; SAR 2, p. 14, 98, 173; SAR 3, p. 24; SAR 4, p. 15, 231, Gaza, No. 9799, 17342).
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§3. *ka/epīr*- “young lion” (HALOT 493, DNWSI 530)

Pho-Pun.	<i>Kpr</i> (PNPPI 239).
Aram.	OAram. <i>Kpr</i> (Maraqten 1988: 175).
Heb.	<i>Kpr</i> , <i>kprh</i> (f) (PHIAP 109; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
(N)WSC	<i>Ka-pi-ru</i> (PNA 605).

§4. **labV*’- (SED 2, No. 144)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Šu-la-pi</i> “He is my lion”, <i>Sar-ru-la-ba</i> “DN (or the like) is a lion”, <i>Ši-la-ba-at</i> , <i>Ši-la-ba</i> “She [Ištar] is a lioness”, <i>EŠ₄-DAR-la-ba</i> “Ištar is a lioness”, <i>A-mur-la-ba</i> “See, o Labba”, <i>It-be-la-ba</i> “Labba has come up”, <i>Be-lí-la-ba</i> “My lord is a lion” or “Labba is my lord”, <i>DINGIR-su-la-ba</i> “His god is a lion” or “Labba is his god”, <i>La-ba-na-da</i> “Labba is praised”, OB <i>La-ba-ilum</i> , <i>La-ba-DINGIR</i> “Labba is the god”, <i>I-zu-la-bi</i> “His arm is my lion” (MAD 2 147; MAD 3 159ff), OB <i>I-din-^dla-ba</i> “Labba has given” (CAAA, No. 2459; ARM 16/1: 116), <i>A-ḫu-la-ba-ša</i> “The brother is her lion” (?), <i>DINGIR-šu-a-bu-la-ba</i> “His god, the father, is Labba/a lion” (Bowes 1987: 279, 666), MB <i>La-ba-ka-šid</i> “Labba is victorious” (PKTN 130).
Amor. ³²⁴	<i>Labā/Lbba</i> , <i>La-ba</i> (ARM 25 785 I: 6), <i>Labu’ānu</i> , <i>La-bu-’a₄-nu</i> (OBTR 297: 5), <i>’Ammu-Labba</i> , <i>Ḫa-am-mu-la-ba-a</i> “Labba is the (paternal) ancestor”, <i>Šumu-Labba</i> , <i>Šu-mu-la-ba</i> “Descendant of Labba” (CAAA, No. 1908, 5674), <i>’Am-ti-la-ba</i> (ibid) could be normalized as <i>’Amti-Labba</i> “Maidservant of Labba” or <i>Amt-Ilaba</i> “Midservant of Ilaba” (both may also be Akk.) (Golinets 2016: 70, fn. 56). Millet Albà (2000: 479, 480) mentions three names without textual references: <i>ŠLabatum</i> “Lionne”, <i>Yasmaḫ-Laba</i> “Le-dieu-au-Lion-écoute”, and <i>Išḫi-Laba</i> “Le-dieu-au-Lion-est-mon-aide” (apparently confused with <i>Iš-ḫi-^dla-ma</i> in ARM 8 58: 10’ = CAAA, No. 3792).
(N)WSC	Amarna: <i>Lab’āyu</i> , <i>La-ab-a-ia</i> (Hess 1993: 103), MB Alalakh <i>Laba’u</i> , <i>La-ba-ú</i> and <i>La-ba-ta</i> (?) (von Dassow 2008: 455), MB Emar <i>Lab’u-Dagan</i> “Dagan is a lion” (Pruzsinszky 2003: 196), NA <i>Laba’û</i> , <i>La-ba-’u-u</i> , <i>La-ba-’u-u</i> (PNA 649),

³²⁴ Cf. ↑4.1.3.1.1.

	<i>Labâ</i> , ^f <i>La-ba-a</i> (Radner 2002 21': 3, 5).
Ug.	<i>'mlbu</i> (↑Amor. <i>'Ammu-Labba</i>), <i>Šmlbi/u</i> (↑Amor. <i>Sūmū-Labba</i>), <i>'bdlbit</i> "Servant of the lioness (goddess)", <i>Aḫi-labu</i> , <i>A-ḫi-la-bu</i> "My brother is a lion" or "L. is my brother", <i>Lab'iya</i> , <i>la-ab-ḫi-ia</i> (PTU 28, 154; PRU 6 72: 12; Watson 2007: 108).
Pho-Pun.	<i>Lb'</i> (PNPPI 133).
Aram.	OffAram. <i>Lb't</i> (Lemaire 2002: 273).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Lb'</i> , <i>Lb't</i> , Dad. <i>Lb'h</i> (HIn 508), His., Tham. <i>Lb't</i> (ENAH 456; Shatnawi 2002: 736), Qat. <i>Lb'm</i> (f), <i>Lb'</i> , <i>Lb't</i> (m + f), Sab. <i>Lb'tm</i> (f) (PQI 224; Sholan 1999: 37, 130), <i>Lb'n</i> in Min. and Sab. (Al-Said 1995: 155; Tairan 1992: 189).
Ar.	<i>Lab'</i> , <i>al-Labu'</i> , <i>Labū'</i> , <i>Labwān</i> (CIK 2 374ff; Iṣṭiqāq 324), CAO <i>Labwa</i> (f) (SAR 1, No. 72068; SAR 2, No. 33075).

§5. **layt-* (SED 2, No. 147)

Heb.	<i>Layiš</i> (PHIAP 145; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Aram.	OffAram. <i>Lyt'</i> (Porten and Yardeni 2014: 107).
AAr.	Saf., His. <i>Lt</i> (HIn 510; ENAH 457).
Ar.	<i>'by Lyt</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 78), <i>(al-)Layt</i> ³²⁵ (CIK 2 376; Iṣṭiqāq 546; Ikmāl 1: 75, 131, 2: 268), CAO: <i>Layt</i> is a frequent name in many Arab countries, especially Syria (SAR 1, p. 15; SAR 2, p. 5; SAR 4, p. 1, 3; UAE, No. 20012869; WB. No. 20000139).

§6. **nVhVš-*, **nVhVs-* (SED 2, No. 159)³²⁶

Akk.	NA <i>Nēšu</i> , <i>Né-e-šu</i> , <i>Ni-šú</i> (or a hypoc. of an Elamite name) (PNA 959), NB <i>Ni-e-šu</i> (?) (Weisberg 2003 169: 13).
Eb.	<i>Nēšum</i> , <i>Ne(NE)-šum</i> , <i>Nēši</i> , <i>Ne(NE)-ši</i> , ³²⁷ <i>Ḥayra-nēš</i> , <i>Ḥa-ra-ne(NE)-iš</i> "The (divine) lion is excellent", <i>Ḥāra-nēš</i> , <i>Ḥa-ra-ne(NE)-iš</i> "The (divine) lion has chosen", <i>Ša'da-nēš</i> , <i>Sa-da-ne(NE)-iš</i> "The (divine) lion is the protective deity" (ARES 3 317, 355, 360). ³²⁸

³²⁵ In CAR., *layt* also denotes "a certain kind of spider" (Lane 2684a).

³²⁶ Since this root is not very reliable, the Akk. term can also fit in **layt* ↑§5.

³²⁷ Krebern timer (1988: 99): NE-iš, NE-su, NE-šu could be from Akk. *nēšu* "to live".

³²⁸ If the interpretation of these names is correct, the element *nēšu* may indicate Leo.

Ar.	<i>Nāhis</i> (CIK 2 443; Ikmāl 6: 120, 7: 150), nick. <i>Nahhās</i> (KN 445).
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§7. *šab(V)*‘- “lion, beast of prey” (Lane 1298b)

Aram.	Nab. <i>Šb’</i> , <i>Šb’w</i> , <i>Šb’[’]lhy</i> “Lion of god” or “My god has satisfied (me)” (Canti-neau 1932: 148; PNNR 164-5), Palm. <i>Šb’</i> (PNPI 113), Hat. <i>Šb’</i> (Abbadi 1983: 166), which could also be a hypoc. of <i>šb’</i> -DN “Satisfaction (through DN)” (Beyer 1998, H 18,2).
AAr.	Saf. <i>š¹b’n</i> , <i>S¹b’</i> , <i>S¹b’l</i> “Lion of god” (?) (HIn 41, 309), Sab. <i>S¹b’</i> (Tairan 1992: 129).
Ar.	<i>Sabu’</i> , <i>Sabu’a</i> , <i>Subay’</i> , <i>Subay’a</i> (m + f), <i>Sibā’</i> (pl.), <i>al-Asbu’</i> (pl.), <i>al-Sabī’</i> , <i>Sab’ān</i> (CIK 2 491, 496, 512, 514; Ikmāl 1: 80, 4: 175-176, 251, 256, 363, 7: 438), nick. <i>Su’r al-sabu’</i> “The remaining food of the lion” (KN 271), <i>Qattāl al-sabu’</i> “He who killed the lion” MAAM 255), Bed. <i>Sab’</i> , <i>Sbē’</i> (Littmann 1921: 11; Zakariyyā 1983: 729), SG <i>al-Bū Sbē’</i> (Beduinen 4 111b), CAO: <i>Sab’</i> is a frequent name (e.g. SAR 2, No. 9824; UAE, No. 2011022450; Gaza, No. 138), as FN <i>Sab’ al-‘Arab</i> “Lion of the Arabs”, <i>Sab’ al-Dīr</i> “Lion of the city of Deir ez-Zor”, <i>Sab’ al-līl</i> “Lion of the night” (UAE, No. 20022036; SAR 4, No. 18649).

§8. *šibl*- “lion cub, whelp” (Lane 1499a)

Heb.	<i>Šōbāl</i> (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Šbylw</i> (PNNR 164).
AAr.	<i>Šbl</i> in Saf. and Tham., <i>Šblm</i> in Sab. (HIn 339).
Ar.	<i>Šibl</i> , <i>Šubayl</i> (Ištiqāq 519, 119, 318; CIK 2 529; Ikmāl 1: 43-44, 5: 17), nick. <i>Šibl al-dawla</i> “Cub of the state”, <i>Muwattim al-ašbāl</i> “He who made the cubs orphan” (MAAM 177, 318), Bed./CAO <i>Šibil</i> , <i>Šiblān</i> , <i>Šebēl</i> , <i>Šibli</i> (plus the hypoc. -ī) (Hess 1912: 31; Beduinen 4 113a, 115b; Gaza, No. 7335; SAR 1, No. 1219, 1728).

§9. Other names/by-forms for lion

Heb. <i>Šeber</i> (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Ar./AAr.
‘ <i>Anbas(a)</i> ³²⁹ (CIK 101, 189; Lane 1930b).

³²⁹ Cf. Ge‘ez ‘*anbasā* “lion” (Leslau 1987: 64).

‘ <i>Arandas</i> (Iṣṭiqāq 379).
<i>al-Ašras</i> (CIK 2 201; Lane 1532b), ‘ <i>s²rs¹</i> in His., Tham., and Sab. (ENAH 359; HIn 48; Shatnawi 2002: 648).
<i>al-Dalahmas</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60).
<i>Bahnas</i> (Ikmāl 1: 377).
<i>Bayhas</i> (Iṣṭiqāq 378; Ikmāl 3: 103, 7: 121).
<i>Damḍam</i> , <i>Ḍumāḍim</i> (√ <i>ḍmm</i>) (Iṣṭiqāq 228; Ikmāl 1: 568, 2: 164).
<i>Ḍayḡam</i> (√ <i>ḍgm</i>) (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; CIK 2 241; Ikmāl 2: 372), Saf. <i>Ḍgm</i> (?) (HIn 382), Bed. <i>Ḍayḡam</i> , FN <i>Āl Ḍayḡam</i> , <i>al-Ḍayāḡim</i> (pl.) (Zakariyyā 1983: 735; Beduinen 4 30; Al-Ġāsir 2001: 459, 461).
<i>Ḍirḡām(a)</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; Ikmāl 2: 414), CAO <i>Ḍirḡām</i> (UAE, 20009890), <i>Dirḡām</i> (<i>d < ḍ</i>) (SAR 1, p. 114, 272).
<i>Furāfiṣa</i> (√ <i>frṣ</i>) (Al-Aṣma‘ī 1994: 87; Ikmāl 7: 63).
<i>Furhūd</i> “Lion cub” (in the dialect of al-Azd, a South Arabian group) (CIK 2 247; Lane 2390), Bed. <i>Ferhūd</i> (Hess 1912: 44).
<i>Ġaḍanfar</i> (Al-Ġāḥiṣ 1966 1: 326; Lane 2268), nick. <i>Ibn al-Ġaḍanfar</i> (MAAM 233).
<i>Harṭama</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; Iṣṭiqāq 199), Tham. <i>Hrtm</i> (?) (HIn 613), Bed. SG <i>al-Harāṭima</i> (pl.) (Al-Ġāsir 2001: 888).
<i>Ḥaydara</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; Ikmāl 7: 268, 287; Lane 531). The name has become popular due to its association with ‘Alī b. Abi Ṭālib.
<i>Hirmās</i> ³³⁰ (Al-Aṣma‘ī 1994: 128; Ikmāl 1: 573).
<i>Hizabr</i> (Lane 1211) in the titular name <i>Hizabr al-dīn</i> “Lion of religion” (Al-Zarkalī 2002 8: 84, 138).
<i>Sā‘ida</i> (CIK 2 502; Lane 1363a).
<i>Usāma</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; Lane 59c), Sab. ‘ <i>s¹mt</i> (HIn 45), CAO: a frequent name (Hittī 2003: 82).

³³⁰ It also means “rhinoceros, buffalo”, which is clearly related to (or a loan form) Ge‘ez *harmāz* “elephant” (Leslau 1987: 219).

Leopard

§10. **namir*- (SED 2, No. 164)

Pho-Pun.	<i>Nmr</i> (PNPPI 239, 361).
Aram. ³³¹	OffAram. <i>Nmrw</i> (Maraqten 1988: 186; Porten and Yardeni 2014: 129), Nab. <i>Nmrw</i> , <i>Nnmr</i> ’ (PNNR 165), Dura <i>Naμapoσ</i> (Grassi 2012: 226; Gzella 2015a: 462b).
AAr.	<i>’nmr</i> , <i>Nmr</i> in Saf, His., Tham., Sab., and Qat., <i>’nmrm</i> in Qat. and Had., <i>Nmrt</i> in Tham., <i>Nmrh</i> in Dad. (HIn 80, 599, 600; ENAH 473; Shatnawi 2002: 652, 747; PQI 252; Tairan 1992: 218).
Ar.	<i>Anmār</i> (pl.), <i>Nimār</i> (pl.), <i>Namir</i> , <i>Namira</i> , <i>Nimrān</i> , <i>Numayr</i> (CIK 2 190, 445, 448; Iṣṭiqāq 74, 183, 515; Ikmāl 7: 192, 362-64, 414), Bed. <i>Nimr</i> , <i>Namr</i> (Littmann 1921: 19; Hess 1912: 51), SG <i>al-Bū Nimr</i> , <i>Nmūr/Nemūr</i> (pl.), <i>Numērāt</i> (pl.), <i>Benī Numēr</i> < <i>Numayr</i> (Beduinen 4 96b-7a), CAO <i>Nimir</i> is a quite popular name (e.g. Gaza, No. 143; SAR 1, No. 23942, 35112), <i>Anmār</i> (f+m) (SAR 1, No. 57151; SAR 2, No. 14037, 15468), <i>Nimra</i> (f), <i>Numyra</i> (f) (SAR 1, No. 6213, 43477; UAE, No. 20004694), the compound names <i>Maḥmūd-Nimr</i> (SAR 1, p. 201, No. 23489) and <i>Muḥammad-al-Nimr</i> (SAR 1, No. 31294), FN <i>Abū Nimir</i> , <i>Nimrī</i> , <i>Nammūr</i> (dimin.) (WB, No. 95, 1175; SAR 1, No. 6497).

§11. Other names/by-forms for leopard in Ar.

Fazāra “Leopardess” as (m) PN (CIK 2 246f; Lane 2393a), (*al-*)*Sabandī/tī*, lit. “Adventurous” (Iṣṭiqāq 378).

Cheetah

§12. Miscellaneous names

**pahd*- (SED 2, No. 171): *Fhd*, *Fhdt* in Dad., *Fhd* in Saf., *Fhdm* in Qat. and Sab.³³² (HIn 473; PQI 212), Ar. *Fahd*, *Fahdān*, *Fuhayd* (CIK 2 244; Iṣṭiqāq 527; Ikmāl 7: 76), nick. *Fahd*, *Ibn al-Fahhād* “Cheetah trainer” (KN 356; MAAM 248), Bed. *Fähād*, *Fihde* (f), *Fhayde* (f), *Fahhād*, *Fhaydān* (Hess 1912: 45; Littmann 1921: 17), SG *al-Bū Fahd*, *Āl Fahhād*, *Benī Fehēd*, *Āl Fhayde*, *Fuhūd* (pl.), *Fuhēdāt* (pl.) (Beduinen 4 42a, 46), CAO (see ↑5.4.5).

³³¹ On Aram. *nemr*, see the discussion by Beyer in ThWAT 9: 480-81.

³³² Note that *fhd* also denotes “protection” in Sab. (Beeston *et al.* 1982: 43).

Ar. *Hawbar* (CIK 280; Lisān 15: 16a; see *Hubayra* from the same root ↓§23)

Cat (domestic and wild)

§13. Miscellaneous names

*'a(n)z/ḏar “kind of wild cat” (SED 2, No. 9): Akk. *Azaru/Azzaru, A-za-ru-um* “Lynx” (CAD A/2 527), NA *A-zar-ri* (gen.) (PNA 239), Amor. *Ḫa-an-zu-ra, 'Anzura* (?) (CAAA, No. 1944) or from (↓§77).

bVss- “domestic cat” (Huehnergard 2008: 409): NA *Bassūnâ, Ba-su-na-a* “Little cat” (?) (PNA 277), N/LB *Bissâ, 'Bi-is-sa-a* (Zadok 1977:146), Palm. *Bs'* (PNPI 77), OSyr. *Bs'* (Drijvers and Healey 1999: P2: 29), Dura *Βασσος*, if not for Greek (?) *Basus* (Grassi 2012: 171), Saf. *Bs'* (HIn 105), Bed. *Bsēs* (f), *Bsaysa* (f) (Hess 1912: 12), *Bsēs, Bšēbiš* (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16), CAO *Bsayne* (f), *Bazzōn* (Beiträge 76; Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).

hīrr- “domestic cat” (Huehnergard 2008: 415): *Hr* in Saf., Tham., His., *Hrt* (f) in Min. (HIn 612; ENAH 475; Shatnawi 2002: 748; Al-Said 1995, 171), Ar. *Hirr* (m + f), *Hurayr, Huray-ra* (f) (CIK 2 284; Ikmāl 7: 409; Gratzl 1906: 53), *kunya: Abu Hirr/Hurayra* (Al-Dawlābī 2: 331-2; Al-Ğāḥiẓ 1966 5: 343), CAO *Hārūn* (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).

*šū/in(n)ār-, *šūrān- “cat” (SED 2, No. 206; Huehnergard 2008: 411): Akk. UR III, *Šurāu-um, Šu-ra-núm, Šu-ra-nu-um* (MAD 3 285), OB *Šu-ra-na-tum* (Rasmussen 1981: 490), NA *Su-ra-a-nu, Su-ra-nu* (PNA 1159), His *S'nr* (?) (ENAH 415).

Akk. *Murašû* “Wildcat”, NA *Mu-ra-su-ú* (PNA 770), N/LB *Mu-ra-ši* (gen.), *'Mu-ra-ši-tum, Mu/Mi-ra-šû-ú/u, Mu-ra-šu-nu* (Nielsen 2015: 214; NBN 113).

Ar. *Qutayṭ* “Little cat”³³³ (Al-Bağdādī 2001, No. 672).

II. CANINES

Dog

§14. *kalb- (SED 2, No. 115)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Kalab-Ea, Ga-la-ab-é-a</i> “Dog of Ea”, <i>Gal-pum, Ga-lí-bu-um</i> (MAD 3 145), OB <i>Kalab-Šamaši, Kalbu-išar</i> “The dog is reliable” (stative) (Millet Albà 2000: 486), <i>Ka-la-ab-ḏBa-ú</i> (UET 5 127: 8, 228: 9; YOS 14 229: 9), <i>Kalabša</i> “Her dog” (i.e., the healing goddess) (UET 5 112a iv 17, 112b iv 14), <i>'Kal-ba-tum,</i>
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³³³ On the etymology of *qitt*, see Huehnergard (2008).

	^f <i>Kal-bi-tum</i> (Abdi and Beckman 2007 36: 11', 24: 8), <i>Ka-al-ba-nu-um</i> (a scribe) (Lambert 1987, p. 194, line 69), MB <i>Ina-pī-kalbi-irih</i> , <i>I-na-pi-i-kal-bi-i-ri-ih</i> “He remained in the mouth of a dog”, <i>Kal-bi</i> (gen.), <i>Kalab-Baba</i> , UR.GI ₇ - ^d <i>ba-ba</i> ₆ (PKTN 100, 118), MA <i>Ka-al-bu</i> (NPN 306b), MA <i>Kalbi-Aia</i> , <i>Kal-bu-a-a</i> “Dog of Ea”, <i>Kalbi-Ukû</i> , [<i>Kal</i>]- <i>bi</i> - ^d <i>ú-ku-u</i> , [<i>Kal-bi</i>]- <i>ú-ku-u-a</i> , UR-KU- <i>ú-ku-ú-a</i> “Dog of Ukû”, <i>Kal-bu</i> , <i>Kal-bi</i> , <i>Ka-al-bu</i> , <i>Ka-al-bi</i> (PNA 598), N/LB <i>Kal-ba-a</i> (hypoc.), <i>Kal-bi</i> , UR- <i>a</i> , <i>Kal-bi-a</i> , ^f <i>Kal-ba-ti</i> , UR- ^d <i>a-a</i> , <i>Kal-bi</i> - ^d <i>ba-ú</i> , etc. (Nielsen 2015: 170; NBN 86-7), <i>Ša-pî-kalbi</i> (m + f), <i>Ša-KA-UR</i> , <i>Ša-pi(-i)-kal-bi</i> “He/She (who was rescued from) the mouth of a dog” (NBN 199; cf. also ↑3.3.2), and the title <i>Kalab Innin</i> , <i>Ištar</i> and <i>Nanā</i> (Weisberg 2003 10: 37).
Eb.	<i>Kalibu</i> , <i>Ga-li-bù</i> , <i>Ga-li-bu</i> ₁₄ (ARES 3 309; PEb G 13).
Amor.	<i>Kalbān</i> , <i>Ka-al-ba-an</i> (Huffmon 1965: 152), <i>Kalbum</i> , <i>Kal-bu-um</i> , <i>Kalbatum</i> , ^f <i>Ka-al-ba-tum</i> , <i>Kalbu-’Ami</i> , <i>K[a]-al-bu-^da-mi</i> , <i>Kalbu-’Anat</i> , <i>Ka-al-bu-^dha-na-at</i> , <i>Kalbu-’Aštar</i> , <i>Ka-al-bu-eš₄-tār</i> , <i>Kalba-’el</i> , <i>Ga-al-ba-il</i> , <i>Ka-al-ba-DINGIR</i> , <i>’Ayya-kalba</i> , ^f <i>A-ia-ka-al-ba</i> “Where is the dog/bitch?” (CAAA 135 sub <i>kalb</i> -; ARM 26/1 416; Durand 1997: 663; Millet Albà 2000: 486).
Ug.	<i>Klb</i> , <i>Klby</i> , <i>Kal-bu</i> , <i>Kál-bi-ia</i> (PTU 28, 150).
Pho-Pun.	<i>Klb’lm</i> , <i>Klb’l</i> “Dog of god,” and the shortened forms <i>Klb’</i> , <i>Klby</i> (PNPPI 331).
Heb.	<i>Kālēb</i> , <i>Klb</i> (PHIAP 74; IPN 30; Rechenmacher 2012: 164).).
Aram.	OAram. <i>Klbw</i> (Maraqten 1988: 174), OffAram. <i>Klby</i> (Lemaire 2002: 273), Hat. as DN: <i>Brklb’</i> “Son of the dog” (i.e., Nergal) (Abbadi 1983) or “The adoptive son of the Dog” (Beyer 1998: H 145, 317), <i>Klbml’</i> “The dog made full” (Beyer 1998: H 287), Palm. <i>Klby</i> and <i>Klb’</i> (PNPI 92), Nab. <i>’klbw</i> , <i>Klbw</i> , <i>Klb’</i> , <i>Klybw</i> , <i>Klybt</i> (f) (Cantineau 1932: 107), OSyr. <i>Klb’</i> , <i>Brklb’</i> (Drijvers and Healey 1999: P1: 24, As48: 1, As49: 5, As50: 5), Dura <i>Βαρχαλβας</i> (Grassi 2012: 169ff).
AAr.	Saf., His., Tham. <i>’klb</i> , <i>’klbn</i> , <i>Klb</i> , <i>Klbt</i> , <i>Klbn</i> (HIn 121, 503; Shatnawi 2002: 650, 735), Qat. <i>Klb</i> , <i>Klbm</i> , <i>Klbt</i> (f), <i>Klbn</i> , <i>Klyb</i> (PQI 221), Sab. <i>Klbt</i> (f) (Sholan 1999: 36, 128).
Ar.	<i>Kalb</i> , <i>Kalba</i> (m), <i>Kulayb</i> , <i>Kilāb</i> (pl.), <i>Aklub</i> (pl), <i>Aklab</i> and <i>Aklūb</i> “Rabid”, <i>Maklibī</i> , <i>Maklaba</i> “A land having dogs” (CIK 2 150f, 369, 371, 373, 396; Ištiqāq 20-2; Ikmal 1: 106, 272, 381, 541, 7: 174), nick. <i>Anf al-kalb</i> “The dog’s nose”, <i>Ḥuṭām al-kalb</i> “The dog’s halter” (MAAM 103, 132, 273; KN

	317), Bed. <i>Tselb</i> < <i>Kelb</i> , <i>Tslēb</i> < <i>Kulēb</i> , <i>Tslēbe</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 47), Č/Ġelballāh “Dog of God” (Littmann 1921: 18; see Islamic <i>Kalb-DN</i> in ↑5.3), SG <i>al-Bū Kulēb</i> , <i>Kelēbāt</i> (pl.) (Beduinen 4 70), CAO only as FN <i>al-Kalbānī</i> , <i>Klēbān</i> (UAE, No. 20037259, 70046660).
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§15. Another designation for dog in AAr./Ar.

(*al-*)*Nabbāḥ*, *Nubayḥ*, lit. “Barking”³³⁴ (CIK 2 439, 449; Ikmāl 7: 43, 332), Sab *Nbḥ* (HIn 578), Qat. *Nbyḥ* (PQI 246).

Fox

§16. **tV*′(*V*)*l*-, **ta*′*lab*- (SED 2, 237)

Akk. ³³⁵	OAkk. <i>Ša-le-ba</i> , <i>Ša-le-bi</i> , <i>Še-le-bu-um</i> , <i>Še-le-bu-tum</i> (m), <i>Še-le-ib</i> , <i>Še-le-bī-a</i> (MAD 3 258), OA <i>Šēlebum</i> (OAPN 98), OB <i>Še-le-bu</i> , <i>Še-le-bu-um</i> , <i>Šēlebya</i> , <i>Še₁₀-le-bu-tim</i> (gen.) (IPNOBS 326f; ARM 16/1 196), <i>Še-le-bu-tum</i> (YOS 13 168: 3), MB <i>Še-le-bi</i> (gen.) (PKTN 207), Emar <i>Šēlabu</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003 : 97), MA <i>Še-la-bu</i> , <i>Še-le-bu</i> , <i>Še-le-bi</i> , <i>Še-le-e-bi</i> (gen.) (NPN 314b), <i>Še-lu-bu</i> (OMA 462), NA <i>Še-le-pi</i> , [<i>Še?</i>]- <i>le-bi</i> (gen.), <i>Še-lu-bu</i> , <i>Še-l[u-bu]</i> (PNA 220; Gaspa 2008: 129), N/LB <i>Še-le-bi</i> , <i>Še-el-le-bi</i> (gen.) (Nielsen 2015 : 367 ; NBN 201b).
Eb.	<i>Ta′lab</i> , <i>Ša-la-ab</i> , <i>Ta′(l)ab</i> , <i>Ša-a-ab</i> , <i>Ta′la</i> , <i>Ša-la</i> , <i>Te′libu</i> , <i>Šè-lí</i> (NI)- <i>bù</i> (ARES 3 366-67).
Amor.	<i>Šu′ālān(u)</i> , <i>Šu-ḥa-la-an</i> , <i>Šu-ḥa-la-nu</i> (CAAA, No. 5926-27; Streck 2000: §5.70).
Ug.	<i>T′lbn</i> , <i>T′l</i> , <i>T′ln</i> , <i>T′lb</i> , <i>Ša′alānu</i> , <i>Ša-a-la-na</i> (PTU 28, 198).
Can-Heb.	<i>Š/Sū′alī</i> , <i>Su-a-li-i</i> (plus the hypoc. -i) (PNA 1153), <i>Šū′āl</i> , <i>Š′l</i> (PHIAP 112; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Aram.	OAram. <i>Ta′lā</i> , <i>Ta-a′-la-a</i> , <i>Ta-al-a</i> (PNA 1305).
AAr.	<i>T′l</i> in Saf., <i>T′l</i> in Saf. and Tham., <i>T′lt</i> as (m) in Tham.and His. and (f) in Qat., <i>T′lbn</i> in Sab. and His. (HIn 146; Shatnawi 2002: 663; ENAH 378; PQI 108; Tairan 1992: 90).

³³⁴ The term is based on Common Sem. *√nbḥ* “to bark”, e.g., Akk. (CDA 227), Heb. (HALOT 660), Aram. (Brockelmann 1928: 411; Sokoloff 1990: 339a), and Ge‘ez (Leslau 1987: 383).

³³⁵ AHW 1210: the names with the suffix -*tum* are uncertain. They could be hypoc. of *šēlebu* or from *šeleppātu* “turtle” (↓§120).

Ar. ³³⁶	<i>Tu'al</i> , <i>Tu'āla</i> , <i>Ta'lab</i> , <i>Ta'laba</i> , <i>Ta'labān</i> / <i>Tu'lubān</i> , <i>Tu'aylib</i> (CIK 2 553ff; Iṣṭiqāq 380, 386; Ikmāl 1: 207, 509, 510, 531, 4: 404, 3: 48), nick. <i>Ta'lab</i> , <i>al-Tu'aylib</i> , <i>al-Ta'ālibī</i> (KN 129; MAAM 66), Bed. <i>Ta'lab</i> (Littmann 1921: 7), SG <i>Benī Tu'al</i> (Beduinen 4 128b).
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§17. Other names/by-forms for fox in Ar./AAr.

<i>Turmula</i> “She-fox” as (m) name (Beiträge 80; CIK 2 554), Tham <i>Trmlh</i> (HIn 144).
<i>Hiğris</i> “Fox cub” and “Grivet” (Iṣṭiqāq 2: 329; Ikmāl 2: 270; Ma'lūf 1932: 119), SG <i>Hağāris</i> (pl.) (Beiträge 80), Bed/CAO <i>Hiğris</i> , <i>Hağras</i> as PN and FN, <i>Abū Hağras</i> as FN (Hess 1912: 52; Gaza, No. 14958, 15414).
<i>Habtar</i> “Fox” (Lisān 3: 12; Ikmāl 2: 23), nick. (KN 148).
Bed. <i>Hṣēnī</i> < <i>Huṣaynī</i> “Fennec” ³³⁷ (Littmann 1921: 8).

Wolf, jackal

§18. **ḏi'b*- “wolf” (SED 2, No. 72)

Akk./WS	NB <i>Zibā</i> , <i>Zi-ba-a</i> (with the hypoc. ending -a), <i>Zibu</i> , <i>Zi-i-bu</i> , which also means “Vulture” (CAD Z 106; Nielsen 2015: 408).
Eb.	<i>ḏi'bu</i> , <i>Ṣē-bù</i> , <i>Ṣē-ì-bu</i> , <i>ḏi'(ba)-Dār</i> , <i>Zé-da-ar</i> “Dār is a wolf”, <i>ḏi'ba-Qawm</i> , <i>Zé-ba-kam</i> , “Qawm is a wolf”, <i>ḏi'ba-dādum</i> , <i>Zi-ib-da-dum</i> “The beloved one is a wolf”, <i>ḏi'ba-Dāmu/ḏi'(ba)-Dāmu</i> , <i>Zi-ib/ib-damu</i> , <i>Zé-da-mu</i> “Damu is a wolf”, <i>ḏi'bi-na'du</i> , <i>Zi-bi'?(NE)-na-da</i> “The exalted one is a wolf”, <i>ḏi'bi-Šum</i> , <i>Zi-bu₁₆?(NI)-šum</i> “Šum (or the descendant) is a wolf”, <i>ḏi'ba-Kubī</i> , <i>Zi-ba-gú-bí</i> “Kubī is a wolf”, <i>Šū-ḏi'b-u</i> , <i>Zu-ṣē-bù</i> “He is a wolf”, <i>ḏū-ḏi'b-u</i> , <i>Zu-ṣē-bù</i> “Belonging to the wolf” (ARES 3 367, 384-5, 389).
Amor.	<i>ḏi'batum</i> , <i>Ṣi-ib-a-tum</i> (or ↑§18), <i>ḏi'bum</i> , <i>Zi-bu-um</i> , <i>ḏi'bān</i> , <i>Zi-ba-an</i> , <i>ḏi'batān</i> , [Z]i-ba-ta-an “Little wolf”, <i>ḏi'biya</i> , <i>Zi-bi-ia</i> “Little wolf” (CAAA 364-65, sub √ <i>šb</i>); Streck 2000: §5.70, 5.79).
(N)WSC	<i>Zībatu</i> , <i>Ṣi-ba-tu</i> (NPN 304).
Heb.	<i>Ze'ēb</i> (Glatz 2001: 29).

³³⁶ In CAR., *ta'lab* applies to the male, *ta'laba* to the female, *tu'al/tu'āl* to both, and *tu'āla* to the female (Lisān 2: 100ff).

³³⁷ In CAR., *Abū al-Huṣayn/Hiṣn* (i.e., immune) is the fox's *kunya*/epithet (Lane 587a).

Aram.	OArām. <i>Di'ḇâ</i> , <i>Di-i'-ba-a</i> (Lipiński 1994: 210; PNA 382), Nab. <i>D'ḇw</i> , <i>D'yḇw</i> (dimin.) (Cantineau 1932: 80).
AAr.	Sab. <i>D'ḇm</i> , <i>D'ḇn</i> (Tairan 1992: 115), Qat. <i>D'ḇm</i> , <i>D'yḇm</i> , <i>'mḍ'b</i> , meaning “The people/ancestor is a wolf” or “The people/ancestor has united” in view of Ar. <i>ḍa'aba</i> “to collect” (POI 136-7, 197), Tham. His. <i>D'ḇ</i> , Saf. <i>'ḍ'b</i> , <i>D'ḇ</i> , <i>D'ḇt</i> , <i>D'ḇn</i> (HIn 33, 246-7; ENAH 339; Shatnawi 2002: 689).
Ar.	<i>Dwyb</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 70), <i>Di'ḇ</i> , <i>al-Di'ḇa</i> (f), <i>Di'āb</i> (pl.), <i>Du'ayb</i> , <i>Du'ayba</i> , <i>Dībān</i> (CIK 2 235, 237-8, Iṣṭiqāq 48, 479; Ikmāl 2: 392, 3: 391-3, 5: 62), nick. <i>al-Di'ḇ</i> , <i>Su'r al-ḍi'ḇ</i> “The wolf's remaining food” (KN 222; MAAM 310), Bed. <i>D/Dīb</i> , <i>D/D(i)yāb</i> (pl.), <i>D/Dībān</i> , <i>el-Dwēb</i> (dimin.), <i>Dwayyib</i> , <i>Dwayibe</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 24; Littmann 1921: 10), SG <i>al-Diyābīn</i> (pl.), <i>al-Diyābāt</i> (feminine pl.) (Beduinen 4 33), CAO <i>Dīb</i> , <i>Dībe</i> (f) (SAR 1, No. 2276, 3762), <i>Dībū</i> (plus the hypoc. -ū) (SAR 1, No. 3646, 7615), the compound names <i>Muḥammad-Dīb/Dīb</i> (SAR 1, No. 168, 2145, 20350), <i>Aḥmad-Dīb</i> and <i>Šīḥ-Dīb</i> (FN) (SAR 1, No. 7598, 10179), FN <i>Sālim-Dīb</i> ³³⁸ (Gaza, No. 16964), <i>Dyāb b. 'Imād b. Dyāb Abū Dyāb</i> (WB No. 50), FN <i>Dayyūb</i> (dimin.) (SAR 2, No. 333).

§19. Other names/by-forms for wolf/jackal

Akk. <i>Barbarum</i> “Wolf” [<Sum.] (CAD B 108), OAkk. <i>Bar-bar</i> , <i>Bar-bar-NI-ia</i> (MAD 3 101), OA <i>Barbarya</i> (Sturm 2000, fn. 16), OB <i>Ba-ar-ba-ru-um</i> , <i>Ba-ar-ba-ri</i> (gen.), <i>Bar-bar-tum</i> (Durand 1997, fn. 241; Kienast 1978 137: 6, seal; IPNOBS 54), MB <i>Bar-ba-ri</i> (PKTN 47), NA <i>Bar-bar-a-ni</i> (PNA 269), NB <i>Bar-ba-ru</i> (Nielsen 2015: 57).
Ar. <i>'Amallas</i> “Wolf” [by-form] (Iṣṭiqāq 29, 561).
Ar. <i>'As'as</i> “Wolf” [by-form] (Iṣṭiqāq 379).
Ar. <i>Du'āla</i> “Wolf” (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 59; CIK 2 238), nick. <i>Abū Du'āla</i> (Ikmāl 3: 91), Saf. <i>D'l</i> , <i>D'lh</i> , Sab. <i>D'ln</i> Sab. (HIn 247).
Ar. <i>M'āwyh</i> , <i>Mu'āwiya</i> , lit. “Howler” (i.e., dog, wolf, or jackal) (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 189; CIK 416), Sab. <i>M'wyt</i> , Saf., Tham. <i>M'wy</i> , (HIn 558), Nab. <i>'wyw</i> (PNNR 164), Palm. <i>'wy</i> (PNPI 71).
Ar. <i>Nahšal</i> “Wolf” (CIK 2 443; Al-Baḡdādī 2001 15: 588, No. 7252-3), nick. (KN 445).

³³⁸ On these compound names, see §5.5.2.

Ar. (<i>al-</i>) <i>Sid</i> “Wolf” ³³⁹ (Ištiqāq 190, 241, 537; CIK 2 512), <i>Sidān</i> (pl.) (Ikmāl 4: 376), His. <i>S¹d</i> , Saf. <i>S¹d</i> , <i>S¹dt</i> , <i>S¹dn</i> (or from <i>sadda</i> “close, do what was right”, <i>swd/sāda</i> “rule”, etc., <i>S¹d^l</i> < <i>Sid</i> -’Il “Wolf of god” (?) (ENAH 409; HIn 303, 313ff).
Ar. <i>Sirḥān</i> “Wolf” (Ištiqāq 537; CIK 2 514), Bed. <i>Sirḥān</i> , <i>Srēḥān</i> (Hess 1912: 28-9; Littmann 1921: 11), SG <i>Abū Sirḥān</i> (Beduinen 4 120b), CAO <i>Si/arḥān</i> is a popular PN and FN (e.g. SAR 1, No. 2846, 20143; UAE, No. 2011010801).
Ar. <i>Wa’wa’a</i> , lit. “Howler” (a hypoc. of <i>wa’wa’</i> , “dog, jackal, or wolf”) ³⁴⁰ (CIK 2 588; Ma’lūf 1932: 47).
Ar. (Bed./CAO) <i>Wāwī</i> “Jackal” (CAr. <i>ibnu āwā</i>) ³⁴¹ (Littmann 1921: 20), FN (Beduinen 4 131a; SAR 1, No. 10901; SAR 2, No. 21709; SAR 4, No. 3762; Gaza, No. 9025).

III. VARIOUS CARNIVORA

Bear

§20. **da/ubb-* (SED 2, No. 65)

Akk.	OB <i>Da-bi-tum</i> (AHw 148; Stamm 1939: 253), <i>Da-bi₄-ia</i> (OMA 191).
Amor. ³⁴²	<i>Dabi’um</i> , <i>Da-bi-um</i> , <i>Da-bi-ú-um</i> (CAAA, No. 1412; Durand 1997: 644 xii 20), <i>Dab’atum</i> , <i>Da-ab-a-tum</i> , <i>Dabi’atum/Dabyatum</i> , <i>Da-bi-a-tum</i> , <i>Dabiya</i> , <i>Da-bi-a</i> (Durand 1997: 603, n. 60; 650 iii 58; 655 vii 54), <i>Šumu-dabi(’)</i> , <i>Su-mu-da-bi</i> “Descendant of the bear” (?) (CAAA, No. 5628, normalized as <i>ṭajbī</i>) and <i>‘Ammu-dabī</i> “The (paternal) ancestor is a bear” (Millet Albà 2000: 485 without textual references).
Ug.	<i>Dby</i> (Watson 2007: 109a).
Aram.	OAram. <i>Di-ib-ba-a</i> , <i>Dib-bu-ú-a</i> (Zadok 1977: 146). ³⁴³
AAr.	<i>Db</i> in Saf., His., and Tham. (HIn 233; ENAH 397; Shatnawi 2002: 685).

³³⁹ It also means “lion” in the dialect of Huḏayl tribe (Al-Sukkārī n.d. 561).

³⁴⁰ This form is clearly related to √*ww/y* “to howl”, probably a metathesis. In Levantine Ar., *‘aw* and *‘aw‘aw* are used in children talk for the dog (‘Abd Al-Raḥīm 2012 2 1655).

³⁴¹ Cf. **VwVy* (SED 2, No. 21).

³⁴² Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

³⁴³ See also the discussion by Lipiński in ThWAT 9: 181-183.

Ar.	<i>Dubb</i> (m + f), <i>Dubayb</i> (Beiträge 80; CIK 2 233), Bed. <i>id-Dubb</i> (nick.) (Littmann 1921: 9), CAO <i>al-Dubayb/Dubīb</i> , <i>al-Dabdūb</i> (all FNs) (Al-Ġāsir 2001: 225; UAE, No. 19811712).
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§21. Another name for bear in ES

<i>Asu</i> [< Sum.] (CAD A/2 344), OA <i>A-sà-num</i> , <i>A-sí-a</i> , <i>A-sí-i-a</i> (OAPN 15; Sturm 2000, fn. 16), OB <i>Asum</i> , <i>Asatum</i> (f) (Millet Albà 2000: 484), MA <i>A-sa-ni</i> (OMA 96). Eb. <i>Asu</i> (ARES 3 289).
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Hyena

§22. **ṣab(u)ʿ* (SED 2, No. 220)

Amor.	<i>ʿZi-ib-a-tum</i> : could reflect <i>Ṣibʿatum</i> “She-hyena” (Streck 2000: §4.7) or <i>Diʿbatum</i> “She-wolf” (↑ §18).
Heb.	<i>Ṣibʿōn</i> (Beiträge 79, Glatz 2001: 29).
AAr.	<i>Ḍbʿ</i> , <i>Ḍbʿt</i> , <i>Ḍbʿn</i> in Saf., His., and Tham. (HIn 380; ENAH 425; Shatnawi 2002: 716), <i>Ḍbʿ</i> (f) in Qat. and (m) in Min., <i>Ḍbʿm</i> (f/m) and <i>Ḍbʿn</i> in Qat. (Schaffer 1981: 299; POI 182; Sholan 1999: 34, 112).
Ar. ³⁴⁴	<i>Ḍabuʿ</i> , <i>Ḍibʿān</i> , <i>Ḍubayʿ</i> , <i>Ḍubāʿa</i> , <i>Ḍubayʿa</i> , <i>Ḍubayʿi</i> (Iṣṭiqāq 552; CIK 2 24-3; Ikmāl 5: 220), Bed. <i>Ḍabʿān</i> (Littmann 1921: 13), SG: <i>Ḍabāʿin</i> , <i>Abū Ḍbēʿ</i> (Al-Ġāsir 2001: 454; Beduinen 4 31), CAO <i>Ḍbēʿ</i> is attested only once as PN (SAR 4, No. 188, 22174), FN <i>al-Ḍabʿa</i> , <i>Ḍabʿān</i> , <i>Abū Ḍbāʿ</i> (pl.), <i>Abū al-Ḍabʿāt</i> (fem. pl.) (UAE, No. 2011013803, 20018918, 20035639; SAR 1, No. 46750; Gaza, No. 6546; WB, No. 382).

§23. Other names/by-forms for hyena in AAr./Ar.

<i>ʿAylān</i> “Male hyena” (only eponymous) (CIK 2 149; Lane 2231a), Saf., Tham. <i>ʿIn</i> (?) (HIn 432; ENAH 437).
<i>Ḥamʿ</i> , <i>Ḥumāʿa</i> (f) (Beiträge 79; Ikmāl 3: 190), Qat., Min. <i>Ḥmʿ</i> (PQI 131; Al-Said 1995: 100).
<i>Ḥazʿal</i> (also means a lame person) (Iṣṭiqāq 560), Qat. <i>Ḥzʿl</i> (POI 129), CAO <i>Ḥazʿal</i> as PN and FN (UAE, No. 20022705; SAR 1, No. 1234; SAR 4, No. 31235).

³⁴⁴ In CAR., *ḍabuʿ*, *ḍabʿ*, *ḍibʿān* are grammatically fem. and *ḍibʿān* masc. (Lisān 8: 17; Lane 766c).

<i>Hubayra</i> “Little hyena” (CIK 2 285; cf. <i>Hawbar</i> from the same root in ↑§12).
<i>Naʿtal</i> “Male hyena” (also fool, hairy person), nick. <i>Naʿtal Qurayš</i> (i.e., the third caliph ‘Utmān b. ‘Affān” (Ikmal 1: 337; Lisān 14: 198; MAAM 328).

Mongoose/ichneumon

§24. *nam(V)š-* (in view of Ar. *nims* Lane 2854; cf. also the discussion in ↑4.1.1.3)

Amor.	<i>Namašu/Namišu, Na-ma/mi-ši, Na-mi-ša</i> (gen.), <i>Na-mi-šum</i> (?) (CAAA 26, No. 4996, 5003).
Ug.	(<i>bn</i>) <i>Nmš</i> (PTU 28, 167; Watson 2006: 449).
Heb.	<i>Nimši, Nmš, Nmšy</i> (IPN 230; PHIAP 100; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
AAr.	<i>Nms¹, Nms¹t</i> in Saf. His., and Tham. (HIn 600; ENAH 473).
Ar.	nick. <i>Yazīd al-nims</i> (Ibn Ḥazm n.d.: 372), Bed./CAO as FN <i>Nemsān, al-Nims</i> (Beduinen 4 96a; Gaza, No. 3444; UAE, No. 20012574).

§25. Another name for mongoose in Akk.

<i>Šikkû</i> ³⁴⁵ (CAD Š/2 434), OB <i>Ši-ik-ku-tum, Ši-ik-ka-tum</i> (YOS 13 18: 3, 102: 3), MB Emar <i>Šikkû</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 97), N/LB <i>Sik-(ik-)ku-ú-a, Šik-ku-ú, Šik-ku-ut-tum</i> (Nielsen 2015: 368; NBN 180b), <i>Panī-šikkī</i> “Mongoose-face” (Stamm 1939: 371).

Whelp/cub

§26. **gūr-, *gury/w-* (SED 2, No. 82)

Eb.	<i>Gūr-a, Gúl-la, Gūr-u, Gú-lu, Gul-lu</i> “Whelp of DN” (hypoc.), <i>Gūr-i, Gul-li</i> “Whelp of DN” (hypoc.), <i>Gūr-āy-u, Gú-ra-u₉</i> “Little whelp” or “Whelp-like”, <i>Guwayru, Gú-wa-lu, Gūr-Šil, Gú-ra-zil</i> “Whelp of protection”, <i>Gūr-rā-num, Gul-la-núm, Gūri-Li'im, Gul-li-im</i> “Whelp of Li'im”, <i>Gūr-'ab-u, Gur-a-bu₁₆</i> “Whelp of the father”, <i>Hū-gūra, Û-gú-ra</i> “He is a whelp” (PEb G, 57, 59, 64, 67, 68, 70; ARES 3 315, 372ff).
Amor. ³⁴⁶	<i>Gūratum, Gu-ra-tum, Gu-ra-tim</i> (gen.), <i>Gūru, Gu-ri</i> (gen.), <i>Gūriya, Gu-ri-ia</i> “Little whelp” (CAAA, No. 1783-86).
(N)WSC	<i>Gu-ra-', Gur-ra-a-a, Gu-ri-ia, Gur-u-u-a</i> (PNA 431ff).

³⁴⁵ Cf. **sVkk-* “kind of a small mammal” (SED 2, No. 193).

³⁴⁶ ↑4.1.1.2.1.

Aram.	OffAram. <i>Gwr</i> , <i>Gwry</i> , <i>Gwrw</i> (Lemaire 2002: 267; Porten and Yardeni 2014: 33ff; for an alternative explanation, see the discussion in ↑4.3.1.1, sub No. 34), Palm. <i>Gwr'</i> , <i>Gwry</i> “My cub” (PNPI 81), Dura Γοραιος, Γοραια (f), Γορας (?) (Grassi 2012: 181ff).
Ar.	<i>Ġurw</i> , <i>Ġurwa</i> , <i>Ġurayy</i> , <i>Ġurayya</i> (CIK 2: 266; Beiträge 78; Ikmāl 2: 99), nick. <i>Ibn al-Ġurw</i> (Al-Ṣafadī 2000 11: 57), <i>al-Ġurw</i> , <i>Ġurw al-baṭḥā'</i> (a place in Mecca), <i>Ibn Ġurayy</i> (MAAM 72, KN 138), Bed. <i>Ġirw</i> , <i>Ġrēw</i> (Hess 1912: 15; Littmann 1921: 7), SG <i>Āl al-Ġarw</i> (Beduinen 4 36, 38), CAO <i>Ġi/arwān</i> is found only once as a PN, while <i>al-Ġarw</i> and <i>Ġarwa</i> are rather common as FNs (UAE, No. 70063051, No. 20021326; Gaza, No. 13268; SAR 1, No. 47838).

§27. Another name for whelp/puppy

Akk. <i>Mi/ērānum</i>, <i>Mūrānum</i> “Puppy”, OAkk. <i>Mi-ra-num</i> (MAD 3 182), OA <i>Me-ra-ni</i> (OAPN 82), OB <i>Me-ra-nu-um</i> (ARM 16/1 153), <i>Me-ra-nu</i> (IPNOBS 209), <i>Mu-ra-nu-um</i> (?) (AHw 658), <i>^fMu-ra-na-tum</i> (Dalley 2009 377: 15), MB <i>Mu-ra-nu</i> (PKTN 143), MA <i>Mu-ra-ni-ia</i> (NPN 308a), <i>Mu-ra-nu</i>, <i>Uqâ-mūrāni</i>, <i>Ú-qa-mu-ra-ni</i> “I waited for my puppy” (OMA 330, 495), N/LB <i>Mu/mi-ra-nu</i>, <i>^fMu-ra-na-tum</i>, <i>Mūrānu-Gula</i>, <i>Mu-ra-nu-^dgu-la</i> “Puppy of Gula” (Nielsen 2015: 241; NBN 112ff). Ug. <i>Mrnn</i> (?) (Watson 2006: 449).	
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IV. UNGULATES

Wild ungulates

§28 **arm-*, **arn-* “wild goat” (SED 2, No. 13)

Ug.	<i>Im</i> , <i>Um</i> (Watson 2007: 104).
Heb.	<i>'Arnān</i> (IPN 230).
(N)WSC	<i>Arnû</i> (f), <i>Ar-nu-u</i> (PNA 132).

§29. **arwiy-* “(wild) goat, gazelle” (SED 2, No. 18)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Ar-bī-um</i> , <i>Ar-wi-um</i> , <i>Ar-wi-tum</i> , <i>Ar-bī-tum</i> , <i>Ar-bi-tum</i> (MAD 3 60), <i>Ar-wi-tum</i> (Heimpel 2009: 352), OB/OA <i>Ar-wi-um</i> , <i>^fAr-wi-tum</i> , <i>^fAr-wa-tum</i> , etc. (CAAA, No. 917ff; IPNOBS 43, OAPN 15), MB <i>Ar-mi-i</i> , <i>^fAr-mi-ti</i> (gen.) (PKTN 39), NA <i>^fAr-bi-tú</i> (PNA 128).
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(N)WSC	Emar <i>'Aryu</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 154).
AAr.	Saf. <i>'rw</i> , Sab. <i>'rwm, 'rwy</i> (f) (HIn 38).
Ar.	<i>Arwā</i> (f) (pl. <i>urwiyya</i>) (Ištiqāq 80; Ikmal 6: 314; see also ↑5.4.5), CAO the name is rather popular (e.g. UAE, No. 70047072; Gaza, No. 1583; WB, No. 888; SAR 1, No. 44192).

§30. **'ayyal*- “stag, deer” (SED 2, No. 25)

Akk.	MB Emar <i>Ayyalu</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 75), MA <i>Ia-lu</i> , <i>'Ia-li-ti</i> (gen.) (NPN 294b), NB <i>A-a-lu</i> (Joannès 1989, No. 338).
Eb.	<i>Ayalu</i> , <i>A-a-lu</i> , <i>A-a-lum</i> , <i>Ayalutu</i> , <i>'A-a'a₅?(NI)-a-lu-du</i> , <i>Ayla(t)-šu</i> , <i>A-a-la-zu</i> “His satg” (ARES 3 273).
Amor. ³⁴⁷	<i>'Ayyala</i> , <i>'A-ia-la</i> , <i>'Ayyālum</i> , <i>A-ia-lum</i> , <i>'Ayyālān</i> , <i>A-ia-la-an</i> (CAAA, No. 301-02; ARM 16/1 73; Streck 2000: §5.70; Golinets 2016: 68).
Ug.	(<i>bn</i>) <i>Ayl</i> , <i>Ayln</i> , <i>Aylt</i> , <i>A-ia-li</i> (PTU 27, 94).
Heb.	<i>Yālōn</i> < <i>'Ayyālōn</i> (PHIAP 113).
AAr.	Saf. <i>'yl</i> (HIn 89).

§31. **bVb(b)*- “a wild hoofed animal, wild sheep” (SED 2, No. 54)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Bibbu</i> (uncertain names): ³⁴⁸ <i>Bí-bí</i> (gen.), <i>Bí-bí-a</i> , <i>Bibbī-il</i> , <i>Bí-bí-DINGIR</i> “The god is my wild sheep”, <i>Ea-bibbī</i> , <i>Éa-bí-bí</i> “Ea is my wild sheep”, <i>Bēlu(m)-bibbī</i> , <i>EN-bí-bí</i> “God/the lord is my wild sheep”, <i>Nārum-bibbī</i> , <i>ḏID-bí-bí</i> “The (divine) river is my wild sheep” (MAD 3 93ff), OB <i>Bibbi</i> (Millet Albà 2000: 484, without a textual reference), NB <i>Bi-ib-bu-ú-a</i> (Wunsch 2000 195: 14).
Eb.	<i>Bibb-ia</i> , <i>Bí-(NE)-bí-(NE)-a-a</i> , <i>Bibb-i</i> , <i>Bí(NE)-bí-(NE)</i> “My wild sheep” (ARES 3 292).

§32. *badan*- “old ibex” (in view of Ar.; cf. Lane 169b)

Heb.	<i>Bədān</i> (PHIAP 97).
Aram.	OffAram. <i>Bdn</i> (? < Ar.) (Porten and Yardeni 2014: 14).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Bdn</i> (?) (HIn 98).

³⁴⁷ Cf. ↑4.1.1.4, 4.1.2.4.

³⁴⁸ The OAkk. names are apparently not accepted in CAD B 217-19 and AHW 124.

Ar.	<i>Badan, Budayn</i> (Iṣṭiqāq 340; CIK 2 218).
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§33. *ḡVzāl- “gazelle” (SED 2, No. 92)

Akk.	<i>Huzālum</i> , OA <i>Hu-za-lá</i> (Bilgic and Bayram 1995 4: 4; 26: 6; 49: 2), OB <i>Hu-za-lum</i> , <i>Ḥu-za-la-tum</i> (IPNOBS 99; ARM 16/1 110), <i>Uzālum</i> , <i>U-za-lum</i> (Harris 1955 13: 5), MB <i>Hu-za-li</i> , <i>Hu-za-lu</i> , <i>U-za-li</i> (gen.) (PKTN 86, 233), NA <i>Hu-za-lu</i> , <i>Hu-za-la</i> , <i>Hu-za-li</i> (gen.) (PNA 484), N/LB <i>Hu-za-lu</i> (Nielsen 2015: 140; NBN 68a).
Eb.	<i>Ġuzālu</i> , <i>Hu-za-lu</i> (ARES 3 319).
Amor. ³⁴⁹	<i>Ġazāla</i> , <i>Ḥa-za-la</i> (Streck 2000: §2.95, 5.22), <i>Ġazālum</i> , <i>Ḥa-za-lum</i> (ARM 22 160), <i>A-za-lu-um</i> , <i>A-za-lum</i> , <i>Az-za-lum</i> (CAAA, No. 574-76), <i>Ġazālīya</i> , <i>A-sa-li-ja</i> , <i>A-za-la-ia</i> , <i>A-za-li-ia</i> “Little gazelle” (CAAA, No. 516, 571, 573), <i>Ġazālī</i> , <i>Ḥa-za-li</i> “My gazelle” (or hypoc.) (OBTR 307: 2’).
(N)WSC	<i>Ġazālu(m)</i> , <i>Ḥa-za-lum</i> , <i>Ḥa-za-la</i> , <i>Ḥa-za-li</i> , <i>Ġazālâ</i> , <i>ḡḤa-za-la-a</i> (PNA 469).
Ug.	(bt) <i>Ḥzli</i> , <i>Hu-zi-la-a</i> , <i>Ḥa-zi-lu</i> , <i>Ġzly</i> (PTU 28: 140; Watson 2007: 94).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Ġzlt</i> , Dad. <i>Ġzln</i> , Qat. <i>Ġzl</i> (f), Sab. <i>Ġzylm</i> (HIn 454f; POI 207).
Ar.	<i>Ġazāl</i> , <i>Ġazāla</i> (f), <i>Ġuzayl</i> , <i>al-Ġuzayyil</i> (CIK 2 274, 276; Ikmāl 7: 2), nick. <i>Ġazāl</i> , <i>Ibn ‘ayn al-Ġazāl</i> , lit. “The son of the gazelle’s eye” (MAAM 232; Ikmāl 7: 22), Bed. <i>Ġazāl</i> , <i>Ġazale</i> (f), <i>Ġzayyil</i> (f) (Littmann 1921: 16; Hess 1912: 43), SG <i>Ġazālāt</i> (fem. pl.), <i>Ġazālīyīn</i> (pl.) (Beduinen 4 48a), CAO <i>Ġazāla/e</i> (f) is rather frequent, particularly in Syria (SAR 1, No. 44557, 45211; UAE, No. 0114166), <i>Ġazāl</i> is found as FN and less as (m) PN, e.g. <i>Ibrāhīm b. Ġazāl Ġazāl</i> (SAR 1, No. 728, 4099, 17495).

§34. *ḡ/Vpr- “young of ungulate” (SED 2, No. 88)

Heb.	<i>Ēper</i> , <i>‘Oprā</i> (f) “Young fallow deer” (IPN 230; PHIAP 93).
AAr.	Saf. <i>’fr</i> , His. <i>’fry/w</i> , Sab. <i>Y’fr</i> (HIn 56, 676; ENAH 435), His. <i>Ġfrit</i> (ENAH 444).
Ar. ³⁵⁰	<i>’fyr</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 4), <i>Ya’fūr</i> , <i>Ya’fur</i> “Dusty-white antelope” (CIK 2 589; Ikmāl 7: 434, 436), <i>Yu’fur</i> , <i>Ya’fūr</i> (also the name of the Prophet’s donkey), <i>‘Ufayr</i> , <i>‘Ufayra</i> (f), <i>al-A’far</i> , <i>‘Ufār</i> (Ibn Ḥazm. n. d.: 209; Ikmāl 6: 228; Lisān 9:

³⁴⁹ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

³⁵⁰ Some of the *’f-r* names in CAr. could also mean “dusty”.

	282ff), <i>Ġufra</i> , <i>Ġufayr</i> “Little wild goat” (CIK 2 275; Ikmāl 6: 228), Bed. <i>el-‘Öfri</i> (f), <i>‘Öfēri</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 40).
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§35. **ri*’m- “aurochs, gazelle” (SED 2, No. 186)

Eb.	<i>Rīma</i> , <i>Rí-ma</i> , <i>Rīntu</i> , <i>ʾRí-in-du</i> (ARES 3 231, 359).
Akk.	OAkk. <i>Ri-im-Ḫaniš</i> “Wild bull of DN”, <i>Rīmuš</i> , <i>Rí-mu-uš</i> “His wild bull”, OB <i>Rīm-Sin/Adad/Ištar/Ninurta/Nūnu/ili</i> , etc. “Wild bull of DN”, <i>Addu/Ea/Sîn-rīm-ilī</i> “DN is the wild bull of gods”, <i>Sîn-rīm-Urim</i> “DN is the wild bull of Ur”, <i>Ištar-rīmti-ilī</i> “DN is the wild cow of gods”, <i>Aya-rīmti-ilātim</i> “DN is the wild cow of goddesses”, <i>Aya-rīmtum</i> “DN is the wild cow”, <i>ʾRīmtum</i> , <i>Rīmum</i> (abbr. or hypoc), MA <i>Aššur-rīm-nišēšu</i> “DN is the wild bull of his people”, MB <i>Rīmu</i> , <i>Ri-i-mi</i> (gen.), NA <i>Ri-mi-ia</i> , <i>Ri-mu-u-a</i> (abbr. or hypoc.) (CAD R 359b, 361-62; Bowes 1987: 1167-8 for more OB names).
AAr.	<i>R’m</i> in Saf., Tham., and Had. (HIn 262).
Ar.	<i>Ri’m</i> , <i>Rīm</i> (m + f) “White antelope” (Gratzl 1906: 53), <i>al-Ru’aym</i> , <i>Ruwaym</i> , <i>Riyām</i> (pl.) (CIK 2 491), Bed. <i>Rīmān</i> (also a name of a camel) (Hess 1912: 27), CAO <i>Rīm</i> (f) and <i>Rīmā</i> (f) are rather frequent (e.g. UAE, No.19802809; Gaza, No. 5775-6; SAR 1, No. 48150).

§36. **ṭaby*(-at) “gazelle, antelope” (SED 2, No. 242)

Amor. ³⁵¹	<i>Ṣabiyatum</i> , <i>ʾṢa-bi-ia-tum</i> , <i>Ṣabī</i> , <i>ʾṢa-bī</i> (ARM 23 236: 57; CAAA, No. 6343).
Heb.	<i>Ṣibyā</i> (f/m), <i>Ṣby</i> , <i>Ṣby’</i> (f) (PHIAP 84; Rechenmacher 2012: 171; Stamm 1980: 125).
Aram.	O/OffAram. <i>Ṭby</i> , <i>Ṭa-bi-i/ia</i> , <i>Ṭbyw</i> (Zadok 1977: 142; Maraqten 1988: 168; Porten and Yardeni 2014: 39), provided they are not the abbreviated forms of a compound name with the element <i>ṭāb</i> “good”. The fem. counterpart <i>Ṭabūtā</i> (i.e., clearly the Aram. form) was apparently reasonably frequent in Roman Palestine (cf. Acts 9: 36-40). Nab. <i>Ṣbyw</i> (Cantineau 1932: 138), if related to this root, is presumably Arabian, otherwise the /ṭ/ would have been written. It could also be from Ar./Aram. <i>ṣby</i> “to desire” or Ar. “to be young”.
AAr.	<i>Ṣby</i> in Saf. and Min., <i>Ṣby</i> m in Qat. and Sab., <i>Ṣbyn</i> in Min., Qat., and Sab. (HIn

³⁵¹ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

	391; POI 184-5).
Ar.	<i>Ṣaby</i> , <i>Ṣabya</i> (f), <i>Ṣa/ibyān</i> (Iṣṭiqāq 495; CIK 2 613; Ikmāl 5: 247, 251-2), <i>Ṣubayya</i> (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), <i>Abū Ṣabyān</i> (Ikmāl 2: 156, 5: 248), Bed. <i>Ṣabī</i> (f), <i>Ṣabye</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 37), CAO <i>Ṣabya/e</i> (f) is quite frequent, particularly in the Gulf States and Syria (e.g. UAE, No. 20001474, 20005147; SAR 1, No. 8157, 26762), <i>Ṣabyān</i> is attested only once (SAR 2, No. 19300).

§37. *w/ya‘īl- “ibex” (SED 2, No. 244)

Amor. ³⁵²	<i>Ya‘īlā</i> , <i>ʿIa-ḥi-la</i> , <i>ʿIa-i-la</i> , <i>ʿIa-i-la</i> , <i>Ya‘īlatum</i> , <i>ʿIa-ḥi-la-tum</i> , <i>ʿIa-ḥi-la-tim</i> (gen.), <i>Ya‘īlān(u)</i> (tribe), <i>Ja-ḥi-la-n</i> , <i>Ja-ḥi-la-nu</i> (CAAA, No. 3263-65, 3272, 3859, 3863; Streck 2000: §5.70).
Ug.	<i>Yʿl</i> (PTU 28; Watson 2006: 448).
Heb.	<i>Yā‘ēl</i> (f), <i>Ya‘ālā</i> , <i>Yʿl</i> , <i>Yʿly</i> (IPN 30; PHIAP 100; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Aram.	OAram. <i>Ya‘īlā</i> , <i>Ia-(-)la-a/’</i> (?) (Zadok 1977: 115, 317), OffAram. <i>Wʿlw</i> (Maraqten 1988: 156).
AAr.	<i>Wʿl</i> , <i>Wʿlt</i> , <i>Wʿln</i> in Saf. His., and Tham. (HIn 645; ENAH 482), Had. <i>ʿwʿlm</i> (f) < <i>Awʿālum</i> (pl.) (Sholan 1999: 32, 101).
Ar.	<i>Waʿla</i> (m + f), <i>Waʿlān</i> , <i>Mawʿala</i> “A land having ibexes” (Iṣṭiqāq 350; CIK 2 405, 586), CAO only FN <i>Āl Waʿlān</i> , <i>al-Waʿīl</i> (Al-Ġāsir 2001: 865; UAE, No. 70065623).

§38. Other names for wild ungulates

*dayš- “(male) cloven-hoofed animal” (SED 2, p. 287 without a translation): Akk. <i>Daššu</i> , <i>Da-áš-si</i> , <i>Da-si</i> “Buck” (MAD 3 115), Heb. <i>Dišōn</i> “Addax” (Glatz 2001: 29), Ug. <i>Taʿasi</i> , <i>t[a]-ʿa-si</i> , translated as “Buck” in view of Akk. <i>daššu</i> (Watson 2007: 106) seems irrelevant.	
*ṭalāy- “kid, lamb” (SED 2, No. 232): Saf. <i>Ṭlw</i> , Dan. <i>Ṭly</i> “Fawn” ³⁵³ (HIn 389).	
Akk. <i>lulīmu</i> “stag, red deer” (CDA 185) in theophoric names: <i>Ilīma-lūlim</i> “My god is truly (the) red deer” and <i>Ilum-lūlim</i> “The god is the red deer” (Bowes 1987: 1043).	
OAkk./Amor. <i>Meme-turāḥ</i> , <i>Me-me-tu-ra-aḥ</i> “Meme (i.e., DN) is ibex” (MAD 3 299), <i>ʿAlli-turāḥ</i> , <i>ʿAl-li-tu-ra-aḥ</i> “DN is ibex”, <i>ʿAlli-turāḥi</i> , <i>ʿAl-li-tu-ra-ḥi</i> “DN is my ibex” (CAAA 563,	

³⁵² Cf. §4.1.2.1.

³⁵³ In CAr., *ṭalā* signifies the young one of any of the cloven-hoofed animals, especially the gazelle when just born (Lane 1875).

No. 711-12). ³⁵⁴ Heb. <i>Tirḥānā</i> (?) (PHIAP 77-8).
AAr. <i>S²šr</i> “Young gazelle” ³⁵⁵ in Saf., Hism., Tham., and Sab., <i>’s²šr</i> in His. (probably pl.) (HIn 348; Shatnawi 2002: 709; ENAH 360).
Ar. <i>Buḥṭa</i> “Oryx” (Beiträge 83), Sab., Qat. <i>Bḥṭm</i> (HIn 123), provided it is not from <i>bḥt</i> “great, stranger, alien” (Beeston <i>et al.</i> 1982: 27).
Ar. <i>Farqad</i> “Little wild cow”, <i>Farāqid</i> (pl.) (Beiträge 48).
Bed. <i>el-‘Önūd</i> (f) “She-gazelle” (which leads the herd) (Hess 1912: 41).
Ar. <i>Ḥansā’</i> (f) “Oryx” (Gratzl 1906: 53; Ikmāl 10: 870a), CAO (e.g. WB, No. 8634, 8965; SAR 3, No. 21067).
Ar. <i>Ḥawla</i> (f) “She-gazelle” (Gratzl 1906: 53; Ikmāl 10: 870a), CAO (e.g. WB, No. 8758, 8786; UAE, No. 5588, 563868; SAR 2, No. 1309).
Ar. <i>Ḥiṣf</i> “Fawn” (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 1724; Lane 743b), <i>Ḥuṣayf</i> (CIK 2 349), Had. <i>Ḥṣyfm</i> (or < <i>ḥaṣīf</i> “sharp sword”?) (HIn 222), Nab. <i>Ḥṣpw</i> (?) (PNNR 166).
Ar. <i>Mahā</i> (f) “Oryx, Gzaelle” (Al-Iṣbahānī 1984: 205), Bed. (f) (Hess 1912: 49), CAO a frequent (f) name (e.g. WB, No. 1125, 1159; UAE, No. 203, 652).
Ar. <i>Raša’/ā</i> “Fawn” (Ibn Al-Ġazrī 2006 1: 258), Sab. <i>Rš’y</i> (HIn 278), Tham. <i>Rš’t</i> (Shatnawi 2002: 695), CAO <i>Rašā</i> (f) (UAE, No. 1311, 4920; WB, No. 1288, 1446; Gaza, No. 6126; SAR 2, No 35, 960).
Ar. <i>Šādin</i> (f) “Fawn, Young gazelle” (Al-Waššā’ 1953: 223; Lane 1521a), CAO (e.g. SAR 1, No. 51525, 55326).

Equids

§39. **ar(ā)d-* “wild ass, onager” (SED 2, No. 37)³⁵⁶

Amor.	‘ <i>Arādum</i> , <i>Ḥa-ra-di-im</i> (gen.), ‘ <i>Arādān</i> , <i>Ḥa-ra-da-an</i> ‘ <i>Ardāya</i> , <i>Ḥa-ar-da-ia</i>
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³⁵⁴ Golinetz (2016: 80ff) argues that these two names are Hurrian, meaning “starke Herrin”, and that the Akk. term for ibex *turāḥ* (CAD T 483ff; AHW 1372) could be a Sum. loanword (cf. also SED 2, p. 17). On the other hand, the Syr. term *trḥ/trḥ’* (Brockelmann 1928: 834) is considered an Akk. loanword (Landsberger 1934: 94).

³⁵⁵ Cf. Ug. *tšr* (Watson 2007: 69).

³⁵⁶ On the zoological designation and connotations of this animal, see the discussion by Beyer in ThWAT 9: 593-594.

	(CAAA, No. 1955, 2081). ³⁵⁷
Can-Heb.	MB Emar <i>‘Arādi</i> , <i>Ḥa-ra-di</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 152), NA <i>‘Ārād</i> (IPN 230; PHIAP 78), <i>A-ra-di</i> (Zadok 1977: 120).
AAr.	Saf., Dad. <i>‘rd</i> , Min. <i>‘rdn</i> (HIn 415).
Ar.	<i>Banū ‘Urayd</i> (Ištiqāq 552), Bed. <i>‘Erēd</i> , <i>‘Ardān</i> , <i>‘Āraydān</i> (?) (Hess 1912: 39). ³⁵⁸

§40. **‘ayr*- “(young) donkey” (SED 2, No. 50)

Eb.	<i>‘Ayirutu</i> (f) (ARES 3 279).
Amor. ³⁵⁹	GN <i>A-ia-ri-im</i> (gen.) (Charpin 1993: 188, A.2939:29; Golinets 2016: 61).
Can-Heb.	<i>‘Īrā(m)</i> , <i>‘Īrī</i> , <i>‘Īrū</i> , <i>‘yrm</i> , <i>‘yr</i> (PHIAP 145; Rechenmacher 2012: 171; Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 221), MB Emar <i>‘Ayarū</i> , <i>A-ia-ru</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 150), provided it is not from <i>ayyaru</i> I “flower” or <i>ayyaru</i> II “young man”, both being attested as PNs (AHw 24-5).
AAr.	Qat. <i>‘rm</i> (?), provided it is not based on “mountain, boundary crain” (POI 188; Beeston <i>et al</i> 1982: 19), Saf. and His. <i>‘r</i> (HIn 414; ENAH 432). ³⁶⁰

§41. *gaḥś/š* “young ass/gazelle” (in view of Ar.,; the Amor. form is highly uncertain, cf. ↑4.1.1.2.1)

Amor.	<i>Ga-aḥ-šu</i> , <i>Ga-ḥa-šum</i> , <i>Ga-ḥa-šum</i> (CAAA, No. 1705, 1734).
AAr.	Saf., Dad., His. <i>Gḥs²</i> , <i>Gḥs²t</i> (HIn 153; ENAH 379).
Ar.	<i>Ġaḥš</i> (Al-Aṣma‘ī 1989: 185), <i>Ġaḥwaš</i> , <i>Ġiḥāš</i> (pl.) (CIK 2 255, 262), nick. <i>Ġuḥayš</i> (KN 134), Bed. <i>Ġaḥš</i> , <i>‘Ġḥayš</i> (Littmann 1921: 7; Hess 1912: 14), SG <i>Benī Ġaḥš</i> , <i>Āl Ġaḥšān</i> (Beduinen 4 34b).

§42. **ḥimār*- “donkey” (SED 2, No. 98)

Akk.	Oakk. <i>I-ma-ru-um</i> , <i>E-ma-ru-um</i> (MAD 3 47), MA <i>I-ma-ru</i> (<i>rāb</i> Arraphajē “chief”) (NAOMA 64), NA <i>I-ma-ri-i</i> (either hypoc. or “From Emar”), <i>I-ma-a-ru</i>
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³⁵⁷ Names of the *qatl* form, i.e., *‘ard*- (CAAA 96), are dubious, as they may represent Akk. (*w*)*ardum* “slave” (Golinets 2016: 61, fn. 13). Alternatively, they could be connected to the wide scope of Ar. *√rd* (cf. the fn. below).

³⁵⁸ These names could also reflect other derivations of *√rd*, e.g., *‘ard* “hard, strong”, *‘arid* “distant”, *‘arād*-plant (Lane 1998).

³⁵⁹ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.1.

³⁶⁰ Saf. *‘r* “ass” is independently attested outside the onomasticon (Al-Jallad 2015: 203).

	(PNA 538).
Amor.	<i>Ḫimārum</i> , <i>Ḫi-ma-rum</i> (CAAA No. 2276-77; Streck 2000: §5.30), <i>Ḫi-ma-ra-ti</i> (ARM 16/1 108) reflects either <i>Ḫimāratu</i> “Little ass” or <i>Ḫimmara-tum</i> > <i>’Immaratum</i> “Little sheep” (↓§62).
(N)WSC	MB Emar <i>Ḫi-ma-rum</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 162), NA <i>Ḫi-ma-ru</i> , <i>Ḫi-ma-ri-i</i> (hypoc.) (PNA 472), N/LB <i>Ḫi-ma-ri-ia</i> (Zadok 1977: 130).
Heb.	<i>Ḥamōr</i> (Glatz 2001: 29).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Ḥmr</i> , <i>Ḥmrn</i> , Dad. <i>Ḥmrm</i> , His. <i>Ḥmrt</i> , Qat., Sab. <i>Ḥmrm</i> (HIn 200; ENAH 391); alternatively, these could denote the color <i>aḥmar</i> “red” or the meaning “to be strong” in view of <i>Ḥumar</i> and <i>Ḥumrān</i> (CIK 2 332-3).
Ar.	<i>Ḫimār</i> , <i>Ḫumayr</i> , <i>Ḫumayyir</i> (Beiträge 81; CIK 2 324, 332), nick. (KN 159), Bed. <i>Ḫimār</i> , <i>Ḫmayyir</i> (Musil 1928: 244; Littmann 1949: 14).

§43. **kawdan*- “mule” (SED 2, No. 124)

Akk.	<i>Kūdanu(m)</i> , <i>Gu-da-núm</i> , <i>Ku-da-núm</i> , <i>Gu-da-ni</i> (MAD 3 142), OA <i>Ku-da-nim</i> (gen.) (OAPN 72), MA <i>Ku-da-na-ia</i> (OMA 294).
Amor.	OB <i>Kūdinna</i> (f), <i>Kūdunnu</i> , <i>Kūdinān</i> (Millet Albà 2000: 486, but without textual references).
Ug.	(bn) <i>Kdn</i> (PTU 28).
Ar.	<i>Kawdan</i> (Ikmal 2: 320).

§44. **muhr*- “foal” (SED 2, No. 149)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>ḪMur-tum</i> (Heimpel 2009: 355), OA <i>Mu-ra-a</i> (OAPN 82), NA <i>Mūr-Aia</i> , <i>Mu-ri-ia</i> (PNA 770), N/LB <i>Mu-ú-ru</i> (NBN 113b).
Eb.	<i>Muhra</i> , <i>Mu-ra</i> , <i>Muhr-ia</i> , <i>Mu-rí-ia</i> (hypoc.), <i>Muhriš</i> , <i>Mu-rí-iš</i> “Foal-like”, <i>Muhr-ī</i> , <i>Mu-rí</i> “My foal” (ARES 3 352).
Amor. ³⁶¹	<i>Mūru-Dagan</i> , <i>Mu-ru-^dda-gan</i> “Foal of Dagan” (ARM 16/1 156; Golinets 2016: 73), <i>Mūru-‘Aštar</i> , <i>Mu-ru-x-iš_g-tár</i> “Foal of ‘Aštar” (IPNOBS 212).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Mhr</i> (?) (PNPI 93).

³⁶¹ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.2.

AAr.	Saf. <i>Mhr</i> , <i>Mhrt</i> , ³⁶² <i>Mhr'l</i> , either <i>Muhr-Il</i> “Foal of god” or the verbal form <i>Ma-har-Il</i> (HIn 571).
Ar.	<i>Ibn Muhayr</i> (Ikmāl 7: 101).

§45. **par(a)*’- “wild ass” (SED 2, No. 176)

Eb.	<i>Par'-ī</i> , <i>Bar-i</i> “My wild ass/onager” (ARES 3 228; PEb B 27).
Ug.	<i>Pri</i> , <i>Pru</i> (PTU 28; Watson 2006: 446).
Can-Heb.	<i>Pir'ām</i> (Layton 1990: 179; Glatz 2001: 29).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Pr'</i> (PNNR 164). ³⁶³
AAr.	Saf. <i>Fr'</i> , <i>Fr'n</i> (HIn 464).
Ar.	<i>Farān</i> (< <i>farā</i>) (CIK 2 245).

§46. **paras/š* “horse” (SED 2, No. 182).

Aram.	Nab. <i>Prs'</i> (PNNR 167).
AAr.	<i>Frs'</i> ¹ in Dad., Saf., ³⁶⁴ His., and Sab. (HIn 465; ENAH 446).
Ar.	<i>al-Faras</i> (CIK 2 245).

§47. **sVwsVw*- “horse” (SED 2, No. 199)

Akk.	OA <i>Sisiya</i> , <i>Zi-zi-ia</i> (Sturm 2000, fn. 16), NA <i>Zi-zi</i> (?) (Radner 2002 204: 5'), N/LB <i>Sisu</i> , ANŠE-KUR.RA (Graziani 1991 24: 11), <i>Si-si-i</i> , <i>Si-si-ia</i> (Wunsch 2000 194: 18, 78: 13).
Ug.	<i>Ssw</i> , <i>Susuwa</i> , <i>Śśw</i> (PTU 28, 186; Watson 2006: 446).
Heb.	<i>Sūsī</i> (PHIAP 143; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Sws'</i> (PNPI 101)

§48. Other names for equids

*'atān- “donkey-mare” (SED 2, No. 19): Ug. <i>Atn</i> (Watson 2006: 446).
*bağ/ql- “mule” (SED 2, No. 55): Saf. <i>Bğl</i> (HIn 113), Ar. <i>Bağl</i> , <i>Buğayl</i> CIK 2 220; Ikmāl 1:

³⁶² Or names such as *Mahra*, *Māhir*, and *Mahrī*, etc. (CIK 2).

³⁶³ It could be Arabian, though. Beyer (ThWAT 9: 593), for instance, suggests the word was not native to Aram.

³⁶⁴ Saf. *frs'* “horse” is independently attested outside the onomasticon (Al-Jallad 2015: 203). Yet some of these AAr. names could reflect *Fāris*, *Firās*, etc.

337), Bed. <i>Bağl</i> (Littmann 1921: 6).
* <i>pahl</i> - “stallion, ass”: ³⁶⁵ Ar. <i>al-Fahl</i> (CIK 2 244).
* <i>pVlw/y</i> - “foal, colt” (SED 2, No. 174): Tham., His. <i>Flw</i> (HIn 472; ENAH 448), Ar. <i>al-Filw</i> (nick.) (Ikmāl 7: 55), Bed. <i>Filw</i> , <i>Filwa</i> (f) (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16).
* <i>pi/ard</i> “an equid” (SED 2, No. 177): Ug. <i>Prd</i> “Mule”, <i>Prdn</i> , <i>Prdny</i> (f) (PTU 28; Watson 2006: 446).
Akk. <i>Agālu</i> “(kind of) equid”: OAkk./OB <i>’Ā-ga-lum</i> , <i>A-ga-la</i> (CAD A/1 141; TCL 10 118: 4), MB <i>A-ga-li</i> (PKTN 21).
Ug. <i>Udr(n)</i> , <i>Dwn</i> , and <i>Gmz</i> , all are thought to denote “kind of horses” (?) (Watson 2007: 108).
Nab. <i>’lg</i> “Wild ass” (? < Ar. <i>’ilg</i>) (PNNR 164).
Ar. <i>Aḥdari</i> “Onager” (patronym) (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 315).
Ar. <i>Tawlab</i> “Young ass, Foal” (Ištiqāq 184; CIK 2 545), Saf., Dad. <i>Tlb</i> (?) (HIn 135).
Ar. (Bed.) <i>Ḥṣayin</i> “Little horse” (< <i>ḥiṣān</i>) (Hess 1912: 18).
Ar. <i>Qarm</i> , <i>Quraym</i> “Stallion” (Beiträge 93).
Ar. <i>Miṣhal</i> “Ass” (Beiträge 81; CIK 2 409), <i>Ibn/Abū Miṣhal</i> (Ikmāl 7: 194).
Ar. <i>Nawṣ</i> “Wild ass” (CIK 2 447; Lane 2868), Saf. <i>Nṣ</i> and His. <i>Nṣt</i> (HIn 590), or from * <i>na/iṣ(ṣ)</i> - (↓§97).
Ar. <i>Ṣa’da</i> (f) “Donkey-mare” (also a GN) (Al-Aṣma’i 1989: 185), His. <i>Ṣ’dt</i> , which may also denote “high land” (ENAH 423).

Camel

§49. **ibil*- (SED 2, No. 2)

Ug.	<i>Ibln</i> (Watson 2006: 447).
Heb.	<i>’bl</i> (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 217).
AAr.	Saf. <i>’bln</i> (HIn 15), Qat. <i>’bln</i> and <i>’bl</i> , either <i>aqtal</i> form or <i>Ābil</i> “Cameleer” (POI 53, 62).

³⁶⁵ I suggest this PS root in view of Ug. *pḥl* (Watson 2007: 107), Akk. *puḥālu* (CAD P 479), Syr. *pḥal*, *pahlā* (Brockelmann 1928: 562), and Ar. *fahl* (Lane 2346a).

§50. *bV'Vr- “household animal, beast of burden, camel” (SED 2, No. 53)

Heb.	<i>Be'or</i> , <i>Ba'ārā</i> (f), <i>B'r</i> (PHIAP 81).
Aram.	OAram. <i>B'r</i> (Maraqten 1988: 142), OffAram. <i>B'rm</i> (Lemaire 2002: 267), Dura <i>Βαεῖρις</i> (?) (Grassi 2012: 153).
AAr.	<i>b'r</i> in Saf., <i>B'rn</i> , <i>B'r</i> in Qat. His., and Tham. (HIn 13, 111; ENAH 369; POI 98).
Ar.	<i>Ba'ūra</i> (CIK 2 225), nick. <i>Ibn al-Ba'ir</i> (Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 1: 339).

§51. *bV'kVr(at) “young (she-)camel” (SED 2, No. 56)

Heb.	Heb. <i>Beker</i> , <i>Bikri</i> , <i>Bkry</i> (PHIAP 78; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Aram.	<i>Bkrw</i> as (m) in Nab. and (f) in Palm. (PNNR 165; PNPI 9, 76), OSyr. <i>Bkry</i> (Drijvers and Healey 1999: As8: 3).
AAr.	<i>Bkr</i> in Tham. and Saf., and His., <i>Bkrm</i> in Had. and Min. (HIn 114; Shatnawi 2002: 565).
Ar.	<i>Bkr</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 260), <i>Bakr</i> , <i>Bakri</i> , <i>Bukayr</i> , <i>Abū Bakr</i> (CIK 2 123, 223, 229; Iṣṭiqāq 50; Ikmal 3: 87, 4: 316), 'Abd <i>Bakr</i> (see ↑5.3), CAO <i>Bakr</i> is rather popular, beside <i>Bū-Bakr</i> and <i>Abū Bakr</i> as PNs not <i>kunya</i> (Gaza 206; UAE, No. 70064086).

§52. *gam(a)l- (SED 2, No. 79)

Heb.	<i>Gmalli</i> , either denotes <i>gāmāl</i> “camel” (plus the suffix -i) or a hypoc. of a name like <i>Gamali'ēl</i> , from <i>√gml</i> “to wean, benefit” (PHIAP 28; see also Beyer 2004: 731, s.v. <i>Gml'</i>).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Gmlw</i> (PNNR 164), Palm. <i>Gml'</i> (PNPI 82), Dura <i>Γαμλ</i> (<Ar. <i>gamal</i>) (Gzella 2015a: 462b).
AAr.	<i>Gml</i> , <i>Gmlt</i> , <i>Gmlm</i> , <i>Gmln</i> in Tham., His., Saf., Qat., and Sab. (Shatnawi 2002: 667; ENAH 383; HIn 167).
Ar.	<i>Ġamal</i> (CIK 2 256; Iṣṭiqāq 413), nick. <i>Ġamal</i> (common), <i>Abū al-Ġamal</i> , <i>Ibn al-Ġamal</i> , <i>Ġamal al-layl</i> “Camel of night” (KN 71, 141-2; MAAM 75-6), Bed. <i>Ġamal</i> , <i>Ġimel</i> , <i>Ġamlā</i> (Hess 1912: 16), CAO only found among the older generations (grandfathers) and as FN (UAE, No. 70129478, 20036667; Gaza, No. 689).

§53. Other names/by-forms for camel

Ug. <i>Illm</i> (f), <i>I-la-la-[a]m</i> (Watson 2007: 94).
Palm <i>ʔply</i> and Saf./His. <i>ʔfl</i> probably reflect Ar. <i>āfil</i> “young camel” (PNPI 72; HIn 59; ENAH 362).
Ar. <i>Ḥuwār</i> “Young camel” (CIK 2 337), Nab. <i>Ḥwrw</i> , <i>Ḥwyrw</i> (PNNR 165), <i>Ḥwr</i> in Dad., His., Tham., and Saf., <i>Ḥwrn</i> (HIn 208; ENAH 392; Shatnawi 2002: 679). ³⁶⁶
Tham. <i>Grš</i> may reflect Ar. <i>ḡršu</i> “large camel/horse” (Shatnawi 2002: 665).
Ar. <i>ʿAdabbas</i> “Strong camel” (Iṣṭiqāq 379), <i>ʿAns</i> “Strong she-camel” (nick.) (Iṣṭiqāq 415; CIK 2 190), <i>ʿUmayla</i> “She-camel” (which is patient at work)” (Iṣṭiqāq 268), <i>Diʿbil</i> “Large (she-)camel” (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 65; Iṣṭiqāq 479), <i>Dawsar</i> “Strong (she-)camel” (Iṣṭiqāq 262), <i>Ḡazūr</i> “Camel” (that is slaughtered), <i>Qalūš</i> (f) “Young she-camel” (Gratzl 1906: 53) and as (m) nick. (KN 368), <i>al-Ṣaʿb</i> , <i>al-Ṣaʿba</i> (f) “Refractory (she-)camel” and “Lion” (CIK 2 534; Ikmāl 18 876a; Lane 1687a), <i>Mṣʿb</i> , <i>Muṣʿab</i> “Camel, Stallion” (untouched by a rope) (Al-Kilābi 2009: No. 276; CIK 2 437; Lane 1687b), <i>Wahm</i> “Thick and hard camel” (Iṣṭiqāq 391).

Large cattle

§54. *ʔalp- “bull, ox” (SED 2, No. 4)

Akk./Amor. ³⁶⁷	<i>ʔAlpān</i> , <i>Al-pa-an</i> (Huffmon 1965 151; Streck 2000: §5.70), MA <i>Al-pu-ia</i> is either Akk. or Hurrian (NPN 298a).
Ug.	<i>Alpy</i> , <i>Il(i)piya</i> (PTU 27ff).
Heb.	<i>ʔp</i> (Rechenmacher 2012: 170).

§55. *ʔarḥ- “cow, heifer” (SED 2, No. 12)

Akk./Amor. ³⁶⁸	<i>ʔArḥānum</i> , <i>Ar-ḥa-nu-um</i> , <i>ʔArḥum</i> , <i>ʔAr-ḥu-um</i> (CAAA 51, No. 901, 903; Streck 2000: §5.70), NB <i>ʔArḥaya</i> (Akk., hypoc.) (Cousin and Watai 2016: 12).
Heb.	<i>ʔʾraḥ</i> (PHIAP 70).
AAr.	Dad. <i>ʔrḥ</i> (?) (HIn 36).

³⁶⁶ For an alternative interpretation of the Nab. and AAr. names, see ↑4.3.1.3.3.

³⁶⁷ Cf. ↑4.1.1.4.

³⁶⁸ Cf. ↑4.1.1.4.

§56. **igʷal-*// **igl-* “calf” (SED 2, No. 28)

Ug.	‘gl, ‘gltn (Watson 2006: 447), (bn) ‘glt (PTU 28).
(N)WSC	<i>Iglâ, Ig-la-a, Iglānu, Ig-la-nu</i> “Little calf”, <i>Iglî, Ig-li-i</i> “His calf”, <i>Iglû, Ig-lu-u</i> “His calf” (PNA 507-8).
Pho-Pun.	‘gl (Jongeling 2008: 364)
Heb.	‘Eglōn, ‘Eglā (f) (PHIAP 80), ‘glyw “Calf of Yhw” (Rechenmacher 2012: 164).
Aram.	Palm. ‘glbwl’ “Calf of Bôl”, ‘gylw, ‘gyl’ (PNPI 104), Nab. ‘gl’ (Beyer 2004: 230, No. 15), Hat. ‘gyl, ‘bd’gylw, ‘bd’gyl’ (Abbadi 1983: 141f; Beyer 1998: 163-64), Dura Αγγουλ, Αγουλος (Grassi 2014: 283).
AAr.	‘gl in Saf. and Tham. (HIn 408).
Ar.	‘Iḡl, al-‘Uḡayl (CIK 2 353, 566), al-‘Iḡla (f) (Ikmāl 1: 383ff), Bed. Bu ‘Öḡēle (nick.) (Hess 1912: 39).

§57. **baqar-* “large cattle” (SED 2, No. 59)

Ug.	<i>Bqrt</i> (PTU 119-120).
AAr.	<i>Bqr</i> in Saf. and Tham., <i>Bqrt</i> in Saf., <i>Bqrm</i> in Qat. and Sab., <i>Bqrn</i> in Sab. (HIn 113).
Ar.	<i>Baqar, Abqūr</i> (Al-Saḥāwī 1992 3: 17; Beiträge 83), Bed. <i>Baqara</i> (f) (Musil 1928: 244).

§58. **li’(at)-, *la’ayat-* “head of large cattle” (SED 2, No. 142)

Eb.	DN: <i>Pū-ma-li’-a, Bū-ma-li-a</i> “Truly the word of the bull” (PEb B 63).
Ug.	<i>ʿLa-e-ia-a</i> (?) (PHIAP 71).
Heb.	<i>Lē’ā</i> (f) (PHIAP 71).
AAr.	Sab. <i>L’yt</i> (f) (?) (Schaffer 1981: 301), Dad. ‘ml’y (HIn 440) could mean “The people/ancestor is a (little) wild bull” in view of Ar. below.
Ar.	<i>La’āt</i> (f), <i>La’ā</i> “Wild bull/cow” (Beiträge 83), and <i>Lu’ayy</i> (still in use), which could be the dimin. form of <i>La’ā</i> (Al-Aṣma’ī 1994: 118-19; Iṣṭiqāq 24).

§59. **parr-* “young of small or large cattle” (SED 2, No. 181)

Eb.	<i>Parra, Ba-ra, ’Ay-parru, A-a-bar-ru</i> ₁₂ “Where is the young bull?”, <i>Ma(n)-parru</i> ,
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	<i>Ma-ba-ru</i> ₁₂ “Who is the young bull ?” (ARES 3 273, 290, 347).
Amor. ³⁶⁹	<i>Pāratum</i> , <i>^fPa-ra-a-tum</i> , <i>Pārtum</i> , <i>^fPa-ra-tum</i> “Heifer”, <i>Pāratān</i> , <i>^mPa-ra-ta-an</i> “Little young bull/heifer” (ARM 10 170: 1; Millet Albà 2000: 486; CAAA 285, sub BJR).
Ug.	<i>Prt</i> , (<i>bn</i>) <i>Prtn</i> “Heifer” (PTU 28, 175).
Ar.	<i>Farīr</i> “Young oryx” (Ištiqāq 387).

§60. **tawr*- “bull, ox” (SED 2, No. 241; Beyer in ThWAT 9: 813-814)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Ilī-šūr</i> , <i>ì-lí-su-ur</i> “My god is a bull” (or from <i>šurru</i> I “to bow” AHw 1287), <i>Šūr-Sîn</i> , <i>Šu-ur</i> - ^d EN-ZU “DN is a bull” (MAD 3 261), MB Emar <i>Šūru</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003 98), MA <i>Šūr-abī</i> , <i>Šu-ra-bi</i> , <i>Šu-ra-a-bi</i> “My father is a bull”, <i>Šūr-Adad</i> , <i>Šu-ur</i> - ^d IM “DN is a bull” (NPN 315a; AHw 1287).
Eb.	<i>Tūru</i> , <i>Šu-ru</i> ₁₂ , <i>Tūra-Damu</i> , <i>Šu-ra-da-mu</i> “Damu is a bull”, <i>Tūra-Karru</i> , <i>Dūr</i> ?(KU)- <i>ra-gār-ru</i> ₁₂ “Karru is a bull”, <i>Tūra-Qawmu</i> , <i>Šu-ra-ga-mu</i> “Qawm/Kaym is a bull”, <i>Tūr-īya</i> , <i>Su-rí-a</i> (hypoc.) (ARES 3 229, 304, 365ff).
Aram.	OAram. <i>Tūrī</i> , <i>Tu-ri-i</i> , <i>Tu-r[i-i]</i> (PNA 235; Gaspa 2008: 125), Nab. <i>Twr’</i> , <i>Twrrw</i> (Cantineau 1932: 155; PNNR 164), Palm. <i>Twry</i> (PNPI 116).
Ug.	<i>Tr</i> (Watson 2006: 447).
AAr.	<i>Twrm</i> in Qat. and Sab., <i>Twr</i> in Saf. and Had. (HIn 150; POI 111), <i>Tr</i> in Tham. and His. (Shatnawi 2002: 662; ENAH 378).
Ar.	<i>Tawr</i> , <i>Tuwayr</i> , <i>Tuwayra</i> (CIK 553-4), FN <i>Tawr/Tūr</i> (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 244).

§61. Other names for large cattle

Akk.	<i>Būru(m)</i> “Calf”, <i>Būr-DN</i> (MAD 3 92), OA <i>Būr-DN</i> (OAPN 33), OB <i>Būr-Adad/Aya/Ištar/Nunnu/Sin</i> , etc., <i>^fBur-ūr-tum</i> , <i>^fBur-ūr-ta-ni</i> , <i>^fBu-ra-na</i> , <i>Bu-ra-an</i> , <i>Bu-ri-ia</i> , (IP-NOBS 67f; ARM 16/1 82; Millet Albà 2000: 478), MB <i>Būr-Adad</i> (PKTN 55), MA <i>Būr-nāšir</i> , <i>^dBur-PAP-ir</i> “The [divine] Calf is the protector” (NAOMA 45), NA <i>Būru-abu-ušur</i> , <i>Bu-ru-AD-PAP</i> “O [divine] Calf protect the father”, <i>Būru-ibni</i> , AMAR- <i>ib-ni</i> , etc (PNA 355ff; more examples are found in Radner 2002, index of PNs), NB <i>^fBu-ra-a</i> (Wunsch 2003 41: 1’). ³⁷⁰
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³⁶⁹ Cf. ↑4.1.1.3; 4.1.2.2.

³⁷⁰ According to Rasmussen (1981: 470), OB *Mi-i-rum* denotes Akk. *mūrum* “young bull” (CAD M/2 109); the name is in fact the Amor. form *Me’ūrum* (√’wr) (Streck 2000: §2.144).

Ug. <i>lbr</i> “Bull, Horse”, <i>lbrd</i> “Haddu is a bull” (?) (PTU 88; DDD 573b), Pho. <i>’brb’l</i> and <i>’brgd</i> “DN is a bull” (?) (PNPPI 259).
Heb. <i>Ribqā</i> (f) “(lassoed) Cow” (Glatz 2001: 29; see also ↑4.2.1, sub No. 55).
Palm. <i>’rwn’</i> “Calf” (PNPI 73a).

Small cattle

§62. **’imma/er-*, *’immēr-* “lamb, sheep” (SED 2, No. 5; Freedman, Geoghegan, and Kottsieper in ThWAT 9: 49-54)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Im-me-ir</i> (MAD 3 46), OA <i>I-me-ri-im</i> (gen.) (or < <i>imērum</i> ↑§42) (OAPN 63), OB <i>Im-me-ri</i> , <i>I-mi-ru-um</i> , <i>I-me-ri-nu-um</i> (<i>Immerēnum</i> < * <i>Immerānum</i>) (CAAA, No. 3701, 2572-3; Golinets 2016: 65), <i>Immerum</i> (king of Sippar, de Boer 2014: 121ff), <i>I-me-r[i-ia]</i> (hypoc.), <i>Immeruša</i> , <i>Im-me-ru-ša</i> “Her sheep” (Kienast 1978 11: 10, 181: 11), <i>Immer-īli</i> , <i>Im-me-er-ī-lí</i> “Sheep of god” (Sigrist 2003 24: 5), <i>Immertum</i> (AbB 3 81: 17), MB <i>Im-me-ri</i> (gen.) (PKTN 98), NA <i>Im-me-ri</i> (gen.), (PNA, 539), N/LB <i>Im-mi-ri-ia</i> , <i>’Im-mir-tum</i> (NBN 76b), <i>’Im-mir-tu₄</i> (CAD I 128).
Eb.	<i>Immar(u)</i> , <i>Im-mar</i> , <i>I-mar-ru₁₂</i> (ARES 3 323, 336).
Amor. ³⁷¹	<i>Ḫi-im-ma-ar-an/AN</i> (Durand 1997: 634, no. 458), normalized as <i>’Immarān</i> “Sheep-like” or <i>’Immar-’El</i> “Sheep of God”, <i>Ḫi-ma-ra-ti</i> (ARM 8 6: 31’) either belongs here (<i>’Immaratum</i> ?) or to <i>ḫimār</i> (↑§42).
(N)WSC	MB Alalakh: <i>Immaren</i> , <i>Im-ma-re-en</i> , <i>Immare</i> , <i>Im-ma-re/i</i> (von Dassow 2008: index 445).
Ug.	<i>Imrn</i> , <i>Imrt</i> (PTU 28, 99; Watson 2006: 447).
Heb.	<i>’Immēr</i> , <i>’mr</i> (IPN 230; PHIAP 115).

§63. **’VnṼq-* “female kid” (SED 2, No. 34)

Ug.	<i>’nqt</i> (Watson 2006: 446).
Aram.	Nab. <i>’nqw</i> (?) (Cantineau 1932: 134).
AAr.	Saf, His. <i>’nq</i> (?) (HIn 445; ENAH 441); this name as well as the Nab. one above could also denote any of the derivations of CAr. <i>√’nq</i> , like <i>’unq</i> “neck”,

³⁷¹ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

	‘ <i>anāq</i> “badger”, etc. (Lane 2175ff).
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§64. **Vnz* “goat” (SED 2, No. 35; for NWS, cf. Hug in ThWAT 9: 556-58)

Akk.	OB <i>Inziya</i> , <i>ʾIn-zi-ia</i> (FM 11 24: 9), <i>Inza</i> , <i>ʾIn-za</i> (FM 4, p. 273, No. 3 iv 3'), <i>Inzānu/ Izzānu, Ezzānu</i> (f) (Millet Albà 2000: 485), NA <i>ʾIn-zi-a-a</i> is supposed to reflect <i>Inzi-Aia</i> “She-goat of Ea” (PNA 559); it may also be a hypoc.
Amor. ³⁷²	‘ <i>Anzā-Haddu</i> , <i>Ḥa-an-za</i> - ^d IM “Goat of Haddu” (?), ‘ <i>Anzī</i> , <i>Ḥa-an-zi</i> (CAAA, No. 1942-43), ‘ <i>Inzum</i> , <i>Ḥi-in-[z]u-um</i> (?) (ARM 21 56: 5), ‘ <i>Anzān</i> , <i>Ḥa-an-za-an</i> (ARM 22 167: 23, 327: 26). The names <i>Az-zu</i> (Durand 1997: 605 iii 73), <i>Ḥa-az-zu</i> and <i>ʾḤa-zu-tum</i> (CAAA, No. 1987, 2236) either belong to this term or to √‘zz “strong” (CAAA 268; Streck 2000: 294, note 3; Golinets 2016: 71).
AAr.	Dad. ‘ <i>nzh</i> , Saf. ‘ <i>nzt</i> , ‘ <i>nzy</i> (HIn 444).
Ar.	‘ <i>nzh</i> [SG], ‘ <i>by</i> ‘ <i>nyz</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 7, 236), ‘ <i>Anza</i> (CIK 189), Bed. ‘ <i>Annāz</i> , ‘ <i>Önayze</i> (f) (Hess 1912; Littmann 1949: 14), CAO ‘ <i>Nizān</i> as FN (WB, no 18736).

§65. **gady*- “kid” (SED 2, No. 76)

Amor.	<i>Gadiya</i> (f), <i>Gadu</i> (Millet Albà: 2000 485, but without textual references).
Ug.	(bn) <i>Gdy</i> , <i>Gadya</i> (PTU 28, Watson 2006: 447).
(N)WSC	MA <i>Ga-di-ú</i> (OMA 218), NB ^{f+m} <i>Ga-du-u</i> (NBN 62b), NA <i>Gadiya</i> , <i>Gad-ia-a</i> (PNA 418).
Aram.	OffAram. <i>Gdy</i> , <i>Gdyw</i> (Porten and Yardeni 2014: 33), Hat. <i>Gdy</i> ’ (Beyer 1998 H 230, 1021c), Nab. <i>Gdy</i> ’, <i>Gdyw</i> (PNNR 164f; Cantineau 1932: 76-7).
AAr.	‘ <i>gdy</i> in Saf., <i>Gdy</i> in Saf., His., and Tham., <i>Gdyn</i> in Tham., <i>Gdym</i> in Sab. (HIn 156; ENAH 380; Shatnawi 2002: 664).
Ar.	Ġ ³ <i>gadiy</i> , Ġ ³ <i>udayy</i> (CIK 2 252, 263), Ġ ³ <i>adya</i> (f) (Ibn Ḥabīb n.d.: 16), nick. Ġ ³ <i>udayy</i> (Ikmāl 2: 264), Bed. Ġ ³ <i>e/adī</i> (Hess 1912: 7; Littmann 1921: 14).

§66. **ḥVrVp*- “young sheep” (SED 2, No. 113)

Akk.	<i>Ḥūrāpum</i> , OB <i>Ḥu-ra-pu-um</i> (VAS 7 154:10), NA <i>Ḥu-ra-pí</i> , <i>Ḥu-ra-pi</i> (gen.) (PNA 480).
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³⁷² Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1; 41.3.5.

Eb.	<i>Ḥurāpu</i> , <i>Ḥu-ra-bù</i> (ARES 3 319).
Ug.	<i>Ḥrpn</i> (Watson 2007: 95), or from <i>hrp</i> “autumn” (Tropper 2000: 271).
AAr.	Saf., Had. <i>Ḥrf</i> (HIn 219), which may also denote a name like <i>Ḥārīf</i> (CIK 2 344).
Ar.	nick. <i>Ḥarūf</i> , <i>Ḥarūfa</i> (KN 178), which are also used as FN in CAO (WB, No. 1140, 22234).

§67. *kabš- “young ram” (SED 2, No. 114)

Akk./Amor.	<i>Kabšānu</i> , <i>Ka-ab-sa-nu-um</i> , <i>Kabšatum</i> , ^f <i>Kab-sa-tum</i> (CAAA 22, No. 3902, 4010; Amor. according to Streck 2000: §4.7 and Golinets 2016: 74), <i>Kašbān</i> , <i>Ka-āš-ba²-nu</i> (CAAA, No. 3928), a metathesis of <i>Kabšān</i> , is most probably Amor. (Golinets (2016: 69).
Aram.	OAram. <i>Kbs</i> (?) (Maraqten 1988: 173ff).
AAr.	Sab. <i>Kbšt</i> (HIn 494).
Ar.	<i>Kabša</i> (m + f) (CIK 367; Ikmal 7: 156), <i>Kubayša</i> (f) (Ḥayāwan 5:463), nick. <i>Kabša</i> (KN 374), Bed. <i>Kbayše</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 47), CAO <i>al-Kabš</i> as FN (SAR 4, No. 23504).

§68. *ka/irr- “ram” (SED 2, No. 118)

Eb.	<i>Karr-u</i> , <i>Ga-lu</i> , <i>Karra</i> , <i>Gār-ra</i> , <i>Karr-ān-u</i> , <i>Gār-ra-nu</i> “Ram-like”, <i>Karr-ī</i> , <i>Ga-lī</i> “My ram”, <i>Kar-Mut</i> , <i>Ga-la-mu-ud</i> “The husband is a ram” (ARES 3 311; PEB G 13, 26ff).
Ug.	<i>Karra</i> , <i>Kar(r)anu</i> , <i>Kry</i> (?) (PTU 28).
AAr.	Saf., His. <i>Kr</i> , <i>Krt</i> (hypoc. ?) (HIn 498; ENAH 453).

§69. *lV’lV’- “head of small cattle, kid” (SED 2, No. 143)

Akk.	OB <i>La-li-ia</i> , <i>La(a)-lum/lu/ú</i> , <i>La-lu-ú-um</i> , ^f <i>La-la-tum</i> , ^f <i>La-lu-tum</i> (Stamm 1939: 44, 253; AHw 30 sub <i>laliu</i> II). ³⁷³
Eb.	<i>Lali’</i> , <i>La-li</i> (ARES 3 345).
Ug.	<i>La-li-i</i> , (bn) <i>Llit</i> (PTU 28; Watson 2006: 448).

³⁷³ Note that except for *La-li-ia*, all the other names are listed under *lalû* A “wish, desire” (CAD 52d; MAD 3 161).

§70. **ma/i'(a)z*- “goat” (SED 2, No. 148)

(N)WSC	<i>Meḥizay</i> (? < <i>Me'izay</i> or like Palm. below) (Radner 2002 75), N/LB <i>Mi-za-tum</i> (NBN 111b).
Aram.	Palm. <i>M'zyn</i> (PNPI 95), which could also be a reflex of the Heb. name <i>Ma'azyāh</i> “Yahu is my refuge/protection” (PHIAP 51).
AAr.	Saf. <i>m'z</i> , <i>M'z</i> , <i>M'zn</i> , His. <i>M'z</i> , <i>M'zy</i> (HIn 76, 554; ENAH 464),
Ar.	<i>Mā'iz</i> (CIK 384), Bed. <i>Mway'iz</i> (Hess 1912: 49).

§71. **raḥil*- “ewe” (SED 2, No. 188)

Heb.	<i>Rāḥēl</i> (f) (IPN 10; PHIAP 100).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Rhylt</i> (PNNR 165).
AAr.	Tham. <i>Rḥl</i> (doubtful), His. <i>Rḥl</i> , Saf. <i>Rḥlt</i> (ENAH 402; HIn 274).
Ar.	<i>Ruḥayla</i> (CIK 2 490).

§72. **śaw*- “sheep” (SED 2, No. 217)

Eb.	<i>Šayu</i> , <i>Sa-u₄</i> (?) (ARES 3 362).
Ug.	<i>Šb'l</i> “Sheep of Baal”, provided it is not based on Akk. <i>šu</i> “he”, i.e., “He is (truly) Baal” (PTU 191).
Pun.	<i>Š'štrt</i> could denote “Sheep of DN”, “Of DN”, “Man of DN” (< abbreviation <i>š</i>), or the verbal form “DN has given” (< <i>wš</i>) (PNPPI 227ff, 412).
Ar.	nick. <i>Ibn al-Šāt</i> (Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006 1: 364), <i>'Ayn al-Šāt</i> “The sheep’s eye” (KN 341).

§73. **ša'n*- “small cattle” (SED 2, No. 219)

Ug.	<i>Šin</i> (Watson 2006: 448).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Š'yn</i> (PNNR 165) is presumably Arabian, since the reflex of this word in Aram. is <i>'ān</i> (Brockelmann 1928: 533; Sokoloff 1990: 711b).
AAr.	His. <i>D'n</i> (ENAH 424).

§74. **tays*- “he-goat” (SED 2, No. 231)

AAr.	Qat. <i>Tys^lm</i> , <i>Tys^l-l</i> “Buck of god” (PQI 107).
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Ar.	<i>Twaysān</i> “Little buck” (Hess 1912: 13). ³⁷⁴
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§75. Other names for small cattle

Akk. <i>Kalūmu(m)</i> “Lamb”, OA <i>Ku-lu-mu-um</i> , <i>Ku-lu-ma-a</i> , <i>Ku-lu-ma-a-a</i> , <i>Ku-lu-ma</i> (OAPN 43; Sturm 2000, fn. 16), OB <i>Ka-lu-mu-um</i> , <i>Ka-lu-mu</i> , <i>Ka-lu-mi-ia</i> , <i>Kalūmtum</i> (f) (IPNOBS 171), <i>Ka-lu-ma-nu-um</i> (ARM 30 M.10513: 15), <i>Ka-lu-mi-DINGIR</i> “Lamb of god” (Greengus 1979 103: 6), MB <i>Ka-lu-mu</i> , <i>Ka-lu-un-di</i> (gen.) (PKTN 118), MA <i>Qa-lu-mu-ú</i> , <i>Qa-lu-mu</i> , <i>Qa-lu-mi</i> (gen.) (NPN 306b), NA & N/LB <i>Ka-lu-mu</i> , <i>Ka-lum</i> (PNA 599; Nielsen 2015: 171), Eb. <i>Ga-lu-mu</i> , <i>Kalutt</i> , <i>^fGa-lu-ud</i> “Ewe-lamb” (PEb G, p. 14).	
Akk. (OA): <i>Lakānu(m)</i> , <i>Lá-kà-num</i> “(kind of) sheep” (CAD L 45; Millet Albà 2000: 479), Ug <i>Lkn</i> (?) (Watson 2006: 448).	
Akk. <i>Puḥād/ttu(m)</i> , <i>Bu-ḥa-ti</i> “Lamb” (MAD 3 212).	
Ug. <i>Prgn</i> “Meadow-sheep” (Watson 2007: 95), or < * <i>parg-</i> (↓§116).	
Ar. ‘ <i>Atūd</i> “Kid” ³⁷⁵ (Iṣṭiqāq 87; CIK 2 205), Saf. ‘ <i>td</i> (HIn 404), which may also reflect ‘ <i>Atūd</i> “Strong”.	
Ar. <i>Fizr</i> “Kid; Flock of sheep/goats” (Ikmāl 7: 51; Lane 2392c).	
Ar. <i>Ḥaḍafa</i> , <i>Ḥuḍayfa</i> “Small black sheep/goat” (Beiträge 83; CIK 328).	
Ar. <i>Ḥamal</i> “Lamb”, <i>Ḥumayl</i> , <i>Ḥumayla</i> (CIK 2 296, 332; Lane 649), Nab. <i>Ḥmlw</i> , <i>Ḥmlt</i> (PNNR 166; Cantineau 1932: 97), <i>Ḥml</i> , <i>ḥml</i> in Saf., <i>Ḥmlt</i> (m) in Saf., His., and Tham. and (f) in Sab. (HIn 202). ³⁷⁶	
Ar. <i>Ġafra</i> (f) “Kid” (Gratzl 1906: 53).	
Ar. <i>Na‘ġa</i> (f) “Ewe” (Beiträge 82), <i>Abū/Ibn Na‘ġa</i> (Ikmāl 1: 337).	
Ar. <i>Qahd</i> “Lamb” ³⁷⁷ (Iṣṭiqāq 202; CIK 2 454), <i>Quhayd</i> (Ikmāl 7: 129), Sab. <i>Qhd</i> (HIn 490).	
Ar. <i>Suḥayla</i> (f) “Kid, Lamb” (< <i>saḥl</i>) (Ikmāl 6: 83ff), nick. <i>Ibn Saḥla</i> (CIK 2 499), His., Tham. <i>S^lḥl</i> (HIn 313; ENAH 409), Bed. <i>Shēlān</i> (Ṣābān 2008), CAO <i>Ṣḥēl</i> (ṣ < s) (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5), <i>Saḥl</i> as FN (WB, No. 11383).	

³⁷⁴ In the Najdi dialect, the term *tēs* is an honorific title (Hess 1912: 13), while in CAR, *tays* was used for a bad-smelling and dumb person (Al-Ġāḥiḥ 1966 5: 457).

³⁷⁵ Cf. **atūd-* “male of small cattle” (SED 2, No. 44).

³⁷⁶ Some of these Nab/AAR. names could also be from *√hml* “to carry, charge”.

³⁷⁷ It also means “young antelope or cow, clear in color or white” (Lane 2569).

Pig, boar

§76. **hVnnVš*- “piglet” (SED 2, No. 110)

(N)WSC	<i>Ḫunišā, Ḫu-ni-ša-a, Ḫunišu, Ḫu-ni-ši</i> (PNA 479).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Ḫnš</i> (HIn 229)

§77. **hV(n)zīr*- (SED 2, No. 111)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Ḫu-zi-ri</i> (MAD 3 136), OB (could also be Amor.) <i>Ḫuzīrān(um), Ḫu-zi-ra-an, Ḫu-zi-ra-nu-um</i> (CAAA, No. 2369; Streck 2000: §5.70), <i>Ḫuzīratum, ^mḪu-zi-ra-tum</i> (CAAA, No. 2371), MB Emar <i>Ḫuzīru</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 82), MA <i>^{m+}Ḫu-zi-ri</i> “My pig” (NPN 66, 319b), <i>Ḫu-zi-ir-ti</i> (gen.) (OMA 277), NA <i>Ḫu-zi-ru, Ḫu-zi-ri-i, Ḫu-zi-ir</i> (PNA 484), NB <i>Ḫu-zi-ri-i</i> (?) (NBN 68a).
Amor. ³⁷⁸	<i>Ḫuzīra</i> “Sow”, <i>Ḫu-zi-ra</i> (MAD 3 136), <i>^fḪu-zi-ra</i> (ARM 21 382 iii 44), <i>Ḫa-an-zu-ra</i> = <i>Ḫanzūra</i> (a variant, dimin.?) (CAAA, No. 1944) or from (↑§13).
Ug.	(bn) <i>ḪnZR, ḪZR, ḪZRN</i> (PTU 28), which might also denote <i>ḫnZR</i> (I) “an official” or <i>ḫZR</i> “assistant, auxiliary” (DUL 399, 417).
(N)WSC	<i>Ḫu-un-za-ru</i> (YOS 6 1: 34).
Heb.	<i>Ḫēzīr</i> (PHIAP 112; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Aram.	OAram. <i>ḪZRN</i> (Maraqten 1988: 164), OffAram. <i>Ḫzyr, Ḫzyr', ḪnZR, ḪnZrw</i> (Le-maire 2002: 270; Porten and Yardeni 2014: 77).
AAr.	Sab. <i>Ḫnzrm</i> (HIn 229).
Ar.	<i>Ḫinzīr</i> (Iṣṭiqāq 555, CIK 2 347), modern <i>Ḫanzīr</i> (Beiträge 84).

§78. Other names for pig in Akk.

<i>Kurkuzānum, Kukkuzannum</i> “Piglet”, UR III and OA <i>Ku-ku-za-num</i> (Heimpel 2009: 345; OAPN 73), OB <i>Kurkuzānum</i> (IPNOBS 182), <i>Ku-uk-ku-sà-nu-um, Ku-ku-sa-an</i> (ARM 16/1 140), MA <i>Kur-ku-za-ni</i> (OMA 296).
<i>Šaḫû</i> “Pig, Swine” (Babylonia term), UR III <i>Ša-ḫi-ti</i> (Heimpel 2009: 357), OB <i>Ša-ḫa-tum</i> (Rasmussen 1981: 470), MB <i>Ša-ḫi-i</i> (gen.) (PKTN 200), N/LB <i>Ša-ḫu-ú</i> (NBN 186b), <i>Ša-ḫi-tu₄</i> (Giovinazzo 1987 52: 1).

³⁷⁸ This classification is based on the suffix *-a* (cf. ↑4.1.2.4).

V. RODENTS

§79. **akbar*- “mouse, jerboa” (SED 2, No. 30)

Akk.	OB <i>A-ak-ba-rum</i> , <i>Ak-ba-ri</i> , <i>Ak-ba-ri-im</i> (gen.) (IPNOBS 25), MB <i>Ak-ba-ri</i> (gen.) (PKTN 26), MA <i>Ak-pa-ri-ia</i> (NPN 297a), <i>Ak-bi-ru</i> (OMA 79), NA, NB <i>Ak-bar</i> , <i>Ak-ba-ru</i> , <i>^fAk-bar-tu</i> (PNA 94).
Ug.	<i>'kbr</i> , <i>Ak-ba-ru</i> (Watson 2007: 97).
(N)WSC	<i>Akbūru</i> , <i>Ak-bur</i> , <i>Ak-bu-ru</i> , <i>A-ka-bur</i> , <i>A-ka-bu-ru</i> , <i>A-ga-bu-ru</i> (PNA 94).
Pho-Pun.	<i>'kbr</i> , <i>'kbr'</i> , <i>'kbrm</i> , <i>'kbrt</i> (f) (PNPPI 239, 377).
Heb.	<i>'Akbōr</i> , <i>'kbr</i> , <i>'kbry</i> (PHIAP 153; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Aram.	OAram. <i>'kbr</i> (Maraqten 1988: 198).
AAr.	<i>'kbr</i> in Saf., His., Tham., Min., Qat., and Had. (Shatnawi 2002: 724; HIn 428, ENAH 436; POI 192).
Ar. ³⁷⁹	<i>'Akbar</i> (Al-Zabīdī 1965ff 13 122).

§80. **gVrVd(-Vn)*- “kind of rodent” (SED 2, No. 84)

Ug.	<i>Grdn</i> , <i>Grdy</i> “Beaver” (Watson 2007: 97).
AAr.	Saf., His. <i>'grḏ</i> , <i>Grḏ</i> “Rat” (HIn 22, 158; ENAH 381).
Ar.	<i>Ġuraḏ</i> (CIK 2 266), nick. (Al-Ṣafadī 2000 11: 53), Bed. <i>Ġrayḏī</i> (Hess 1912: 15).

§81. **pa'r*- “mouse” (SED 2, No. 170)

Akk.	<i>pē/arūrūtum</i> “Hausmaus” (AHw 856), “a small rodent, bird, or bat” (CAD P 420), UR III, <i>^fPe-ru-ru-tum</i> (Heimpel 2009: 356), OB <i>^fPe-ru-ru-tim</i> , <i>^fPí-ru-ru-tim</i> (IPNOBS 241), OA <i>^fPá-ru-ur-tim</i> , , MB <i>^fPi-ri-ri-tum</i> (CAD P 420).
Amor. ³⁸⁰	<i>Pa-ru-ri</i> (CAAA, No. 5155).
AAr.	<i>F'ry</i> in Qat. (plus nisba), <i>F'r</i> , <i>F'rt</i> in Saf., <i>F'rn</i> in Had., <i>F'r</i> in Sab. and Min. (Al-

³⁷⁹ Classical dictionaries only mention the pl. form: *al-'ak'ābir ḏukūr al-yarābī'*, *yamāniyya*: “the ‘*ak'ābir*’s are the male jerboas, a Yemenite word” (Al-Zabīdī 1965ff 13 122), which means that the lexicographers/grammarians were not aware of the singular form. Also, the singular does not occur in the modern faunal lexicon of Ma'lūf (1932). In contemporary Ar., however, it reappeared again in the singular form *'ukbur* “*Microtus*”.

³⁸⁰ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

	Said 1995: 149; POI 209; HIn 461).
Ar.	<i>Fa'r</i> (CIK 2 245), <i>Ibn Fār</i> (Ikmāl 7: 41), CAO <i>Abū Fāra</i> and <i>el-Fār</i> as FN (WB, No. 6196, no 8770).

§82. **yarbV*⁻ “kind of rodent” (SED 2, No. 251)

Akk.	<i>Arrabum</i> “Dormouse”, OB <i>Ar-ra-bu</i> , <i>A-ra-bu</i> , <i>Ar-ra-bu-ni</i> (dimin.) (IPNOBS 43; ARM 16/1 66), <i>Ár-ra-bu-um</i> , <i>Ár-ra-bu-u-um</i> (CAD A/2 303 ^a), MB <i>Ar-ra-bi</i> (gen.) (PKTN 39), NA <i>Ar-ra-bu</i> , <i>Ár-ra-bi</i> , <i>ʿAr-ra-ba-ti</i> , <i>ʿÁr-ra-ba-ti</i> (all gen.) (PNA, 132), N/LB <i>Ár-ra-bu/i</i> , <i>Ar-rab</i> , <i>Ar-ra-bi</i> , <i>Ar-rab-bi</i> , <i>Ar-rab-tum</i> (hypoc.; family name), <i>ʿÁr-rab-tu(m)</i> (NBN 15f; Nielsen 2015: 38ff; Stamm 1939: 371), <i>ʿAr-ra-ba-na</i> (MacEwan 1982 12: 2, 7).
Ar.	<i>Yarbūʿ</i> “Jerboa” (CIK 590), Bed. <i>Ġa/erbūʿ</i> , <i>Ġraybīʿ</i> (Hess 1912: 14; Littmann 1921: 7), CAO <i>Ġarbūʿ</i> as FN (WB, 4974).

§83. Other names for rodents

Akk. <i>As/šqūdu</i> “a rodent” (CAD A/2 340) “Hamster”(?) (AHw 75), UR III <i>Aš-ku-da-núm</i> (MAD 3 76), OA <i>Asqūdum</i> , <i>Asqūdia</i> (OAPN 15; Sturm 2000, fn. 16), OB <i>Às/š-qú-du-um</i> , <i>Às-qú-du</i> , <i>ʿAsqudatum</i> (IPNOBS 44; CAAA, p. 53; ARM 16/1 68, 104), <i>Ḥa-aš-qu-da-an</i> , <i>Às-qú-da-an</i> (Huffmon 1965: 152; CAAA 53). NA <i>Is-qu-du</i> , <i>As-qu-du</i> , <i>As-qu-di</i> , <i>As-qud</i> , <i>Is-qud-du</i> (PNA 137), Eb. <i>Aš-ku-du</i> (ARES 3 288).	
Akk. <i>Ḥarrirum</i> “Vole”, OB <i>Ḥa-ri-rum</i> , <i>Ḥa-ar-ri-rum</i> , MA <i>Ḥa-ar-ri-ir</i> (AHw 327; CAD H 114), NB/NA <i>Ḥa-ri-ri</i> , <i>Ḥar-ri-ri</i> (PNA 462).	
Akk. <i>Ḥulû</i> “Shrew” (?) (CDA 119), OAkk. <i>Ḥu-li-um</i> (MAD 3 127), MB Emar <i>Ḥulāʿu</i> , <i>Ḥulû</i> (Pruzinszky 2003: 82), NA, N/LB <i>Ḥu-lu-ut-ti</i> , <i>ʿḤu-li-i-ti</i> “My little shrew” (PNA 477; NBN 68a), Ug. <i>Ḥli</i> (Watson 2007: 97).	
Akk. <i>Ḥumašīru</i> , <i>Ḥumuššīru(m)</i> , <i>Ḥab/am(a)šīru</i> “Large mouse” (Gerbil?), UR III <i>Ḥa-ba-zi-ri</i> (MAD 3 125), OB <i>ʿḤa-ma-zi-rum</i> , <i>ʿḤa-ma-az-zi-rum</i> (IPNOBS 95), <i>Ḥu-mu-šī-ru-um</i> (UET 5 572: 21), MB <i>Ḥu-mu-un-ši-rù</i> (UET 7 29: 1ʹ), N/LB <i>Ḥa-ba-šir(/ši-ri/ru)</i> , <i>ʿḤa-ba-šir-tum</i> , <i>Ḥa-an-ši/šī-ir/ri</i> (NBN 65-6), Ug. <i>Ḥpsry</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 97).	
Akk. <i>Pušḫu</i> “eine Ratte?” (AHw 883) “a small animal” (shrew?) (CAD P 541), NA <i>^{m+}ʿPu-uš-ḫu</i> , <i>Puš-ḫi</i> , <i>pu-uš-ḫi-i</i> , <i>Pu-uš-ḫi</i> “My <i>pušḫu</i> -rodent/My ratty” (PNA 1000).	
Ar. <i>ʿAḍal</i> , <i>ʿAḍala</i> “Gerbil” (Beiträge 80; Maʿlūf 1932: 114), <i>Zabāb</i> “Shrews” (pl. <i>zabāba</i>) (Al-Damīrī 1992: 75; Maʿlūf 1932: 75), <i>Zuḡba</i> “Dormouse” (Ikmāl 4: 81; Maʿlūf 1932: 86),	

nick. (KN 242).

VI. VARIOUS MAMMALS

Ape

§84. Miscellaneous names

Akk. *Paga'u*, UR III: *Pa-gu-ú*, *ṣPá-gu₅-tum*, MB *Pa-ga-a-i* (gen.), *Pa-ga-a-a-i* (Heimpel 2009: 356; CAD P 18).

Akk. *U/Iqūpu(m)* [< Sanskrit, AHw 1427b), NA *Ú-qu-pu*, *ṣÚ-qu-pu-tú* (Gaspa 2008, fn. 85, 94), N/LB *ṣÚ/i-qu-pa-tum*, *U/i-qu-pu/pi*, *Ú-qu-pu* (NBN 215; Nielsen 2015: 394); Palm. *Qwp'*, *Qwpyn* (pl.) (PNPI 110; for an alternative explanation, see ↑4.3.1.1, sub No. 81).

Ar. *Qird* (CIK 2 469), modern FM (Beiträge 76).

Elephant

§85. Miscellaneous names

**p*VL- (SED 2, No. 173): Palm. *Pyl'* (PNPI 108), Ar. nick. *al-Fīl*, *Fīlawayh* (hypoc.), *kunya Abū al-Fīl* (Al-Ġāhiz 1966 7: 83, 85, 174).

Ar. *Daġfal* “Young elephant”³⁸¹ (CIK 2 230), *al-Zandabīl* “Elephant”³⁸² (nick.) br. *al-Fīl* “Elephant” (Al-Mizzī 1980-92 8: 87), *Kulṭūm* (?)³⁸³ (CIK 2 373), *Umm Kulṭūm* (f) is the name of the Prophet’s daughter.

Hare

§86. **arnab(-at)* (SED 2, No. 14)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Ar-na-ba</i> (MAD 3 65), OB <i>^mAn-na-ba-tum</i> (IPNOBS 36), <i>^fAr-na-ba-tum</i> (IPNOBS 42; Durand 1997: 653, n. 749), <i>^{m+f}Ar-na-bum</i> (1 male and 2 females) (IPNOBS 42), <i>^fAr-na-bu-um</i> (CAAA, No. 907; Huffmon 1965: 152), <i>Annabu</i> , <i>^fAn-na(-a)-bu</i> (a princess) (VAS 7 84-5; Pientka 1998: 311-12), MA <i>Ar-na-bu</i> , <i>Ar-na-a-bu</i> (could also reflect Hurrian <i>Arn-apu</i>) (NPN 300), MB
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³⁸¹ This meaning is mentioned by Al-Ḥalīl (1980-85 8: 465). Ibn Durayd, on the other hand, gives “ample, plentiful life” (Iṣṭiqāq 351).

³⁸² See Al-Ḥalīl (1980-85 7: 401).

³⁸³ This meaning occurs only in Lisān (12: 139). The other dictionaries follow Al-Ḥalīl (1980-85 5: 431) “a person (especially a female) having rounded face with large cheeks”. It is unclear, thus, which meaning is the primary one and whether the name was given after the animal or due to the physical appearance (at birth?).

	Emar <i>Arnabu</i> (Pruzsinzsky 2003: 76), NA <i>Arnabâ</i> , <i>Ar-na-ba</i> , <i>Ár-na-ba-a</i> (could also be Aram.), <i>Er-nu-bu</i> (could also be Pho.) (PNA 132).
Ug.	(<i>bn</i>) <i>'rnb</i> t (PTU 28).
Aram.	Hat. <i>'rnb</i> (Beyer 1998 H 288a-c).
AAr.	Had. <i>'rnb</i> (f) (Sholan 1999: 32, 100).
Ar.	<i>Arnab</i> (m + f), <i>Arnabî</i> (m) (CIK 2 193; Ikmāl 7: 167), CAO as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).

§87. Other names for hare in Ar./AAr.

<i>'Ikriša</i> (m + f) “She-hare”, provided it is not based on <i>'ikriš</i> -plant (Beiträge 81).
<i>Ĥirniq</i> (f) “Little hare” (Gratzl 1906: 53), <i>Ĥirniq</i> (f) (Ibn Sa’d 2001 10: 272), (m) nick. (Ikmāl 3: 138), Bed. <i>Ĥraynidz</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 20).
<i>Ĥuzar</i> “Male hare” (Beiträge 81), <i>Ĥuzayr</i> (Ikmāl 2: 88), Saf. <i>Ĥzr</i> , <i>Ĥzrt</i> (HIn 220).
<i>Ĥuzaz</i> “Young/male hare” (Ikmāl 2: 456; Lisān 4: 81), His. <i>Ĥzn</i> is either the pl. of this term (i.e., <i>ḥizzān</i>) or from <i>ḥzn</i> “store” (ENAH 394).

Mole

§88. **ḥuld*- (SED 2, No. 108)

Heb.	<i>Ĥēled</i> , <i>Ĥelday</i> , <i>Ĥuldā</i> (f), <i>Ĥldy</i> (IPN 230; Stamm 1980: 125; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Pho-Pun.	<i>Ĥld</i> (f) (PNPPI 239, 310).
Aram. ³⁸⁴	Palm. <i>Ĥld'</i> (PNPI 88), Nab. <i>Ĥldw</i> (Cantineau 1932: 96).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Ĥld</i> (?) (HIn 225).
Ar.	<i>Ĥuld</i> , <i>Ĥulayd</i> , <i>Ĥulayda</i> (f) (Beiträge 80).

Hedgehog

§89. Miscellaneous names

<i>*qunpuḏ</i> -, <i>*q(ʷ)inpaḏ</i> - (SED 2, No. 133): Eb. <i>Qippaḏ-u</i> , <i>Gi-ba-šu</i> (PEb G 30), <i>Qnfd</i> in Saf., His., and Tham. (HIn 490, ENAH 452), Ar. <i>Qunfuḏ</i> (CIK 2 471), nick (KN 369), Bed.
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³⁸⁴ Cf. ↑4.3.1.3.1.

<i>Gnēfiḏ</i> (Hess 1912: 47).
Ar. <i>Darrāḡ</i> (Ikmāl 3: 318; Lane 869c), His., Tham. <i>Drg</i> may reflect this form or <i>durṛāḡ</i> “francolin” (ENAH 389).
Ar. (Bed.) <i>Di’liḡ</i> (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16).

Rock hyrax

§90. Miscellaneous names

* <i>tapan-</i> (SED 2, No. 240): Heb. <i>Šāpām/n</i> , <i>Špn</i> (IPN 230; Rechenmacher 2012: 171), Pho-Pun. <i>Špn</i> (PNPPI 239), (N)WSC <i>Sa-pu-nu</i> (PNA 1169).
Ar. <i>Wabr</i> , <i>Wubayr</i> (Ištiqāq 296; CIK 581, 588), <i>Wbr</i> in Saf., Tham., and His. (HIn 633; ENAH 479).

Weasel

§91. Miscellaneous names

* <i>a(n)yaš-</i> , * <i>aṇṣaw/y</i> (SED 2, No. 26): Akk. OB <i>Ayyašu</i> , <i>A-a-šum</i> (AHw 25), Amor. <i>A-ia-zi</i> (?) (CAAA, No. 319; Kogan 2003: 254), Ug. <i>Yšu</i> (?) (Watson 2006: 449), Heb. <i>’yš</i> (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 217; cf. also ↑4.2.1, sub No. 16).
Aram.: Nab./Pam. <i>Qwz’</i> (PNNR 57; Yon 2013), NA <i>Šēḫ Ḥamad Qu-za-a</i> (Zadok 2009: 123), Amor. <i>Gu-za-an</i> , <i>ḡGu-zi</i> (CAAA, No. 1802-03). ³⁸⁵
Ar. <i>al-Du’īl</i> , <i>al-Dūl</i> , <i>al-Dīl</i> (Beiträge 78; CIK 2 232, 234; Ištiqāq 170), <i>D’l</i> in Saf., Tham., and His. (HIn 232; ENAH 396).

Bat

§92. Miscellaneous names

Akk. <i>Šu(t)tinnu</i> , <i>Šu-ti-in-nu</i> (PKTN 213), Ug. <i>Štn</i> (?) (Watson 1990: 249).
Ar. <i>Ḥuššāf</i> (Ikmāl 3: 157), a metathesis of the original form <i>ḥuffāš</i> (Al-Damīrī 1992: 48-9).

³⁸⁵ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.1.

BIRDS

General term

§93. **awp*- “bird” (SED 2, No. 48)³⁸⁶

Heb.	‘ <i>Ēpay</i> , ‘ <i>Ēpā</i> ‘ <i>wpy</i> , ‘ <i>py</i> (PHIAP 144; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
AAr.	‘ <i>wyfm</i> in Qat., Had., and Sab. (POI 204ff), ‘ <i>wf</i> in Dad. and Saf. (HIn 449).
Ar.	‘ <i>wf</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 99), ‘ <i>Awf</i> , ‘ <i>Uwayf</i> , ‘ <i>Uwāfa</i> , ‘ <i>Abd</i> ‘ <i>Awf</i> ³⁸⁷ (Beiträge 85; CIK 122).

Raptors

§94. **ʿan(V)q*- “a bird of prey” [the Egyptian vulture] (SED 2, No. 6)

(N)WSC	NA <i>Anāqatu</i> , <i>ʿA-na-q[a-tū]</i> (?), which is supposed to be based on Ar. <i>nāqa(t)</i> “she-camel” (PNA 110). ³⁸⁸
Aram.	Nab. <i>ʿnqh</i> (?) (PNNR 164).
Ar.	<i>Anūq</i> (a mythical Yemeni eponym) (Ibn Ḥaldūn 2000 4: 224).

§95. *bawz*, *bāz(i)* “kind of falcon, hawk” (?) (cf. ↑4.1.3.4)

Eb.	<i>Bawz/Bāza</i> , <i>Ba-za</i> , <i>Bāz-i</i> , <i>Ba-zi</i> “My falcon”, <i>Bāz-ay</i> , <i>Ba-za-a</i> (hypoc.), <i>Bāz-i-ʿIl-um</i> , <i>Ba-zi-LUM</i> “God is my falcon” (ARES 3 207, 291; PEb B 17-20).
Amor.	<i>Ba-za</i> , <i>^{m+f}Ba-za-tum</i> , (IPNOBS 54), <i>Bazi-Ištar</i> , <i>Ba-zi-EŠ₄-DAR</i> “Aštar is my falcon”, <i>Ba-za-nu-um</i> (CAAA 284, sub <i>bwz</i>).
(N)WSC	MA <i>Ba-zi-i</i> (NAOMA 41), N/LB <i>Ba-zi-tum</i> (NBN 23b) or “Woman from Bazu” (Nielsen 2015: 59).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Bzy</i> (PNPI 76).
Ar.	(<i>Ibn</i>) <i>Bāz</i> (Ikmal 7: 41), <i>Bāz</i> (Littmann 1921: 7), Bed. <i>Al bū Bāz</i> (FN) (Bedui-nen 4 22b), CAO <i>al-Bāz</i> (FN) (UAE, No. 14256).

³⁸⁶ This term is presumably originally collective, in contradistinction to *špr* (↓§107) (cf. the discussion by Hug in ThWAT 9: 639-40).

³⁸⁷ This two-element name is mostly based on a PN and has no reference to the bird or any DN (see ‘*Abd al-Asad* in ↑5.3). Presumably, the original meaning of ‘*awf* became archaic in CAr. but is preserved in the term ‘*iyāfa* “augury (from bird)”.

³⁸⁸ One can also consider Syr. *ʿanqaṭ* *ʿaylā* “tragacanth”, *ʿanqā*, *ʿenaqtā* “groan” (Brockelmann 1928: 30).

§96. **da'y(-at)* “bird of prey” (SED 2, No. 64)

AAr.	<i>D'y</i> in Saf., <i>D'yt</i> (m) in Saf., His., and Tham. and (f) in Qat., <i>D'ym</i> in Min. and Sab. (HIn 233; ENAH 397; Sholan 1999: 33, 108). ³⁸⁹
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§97. **nVšr-/nVsr-* “vulture, eagle” (SED 2, No. 166)³⁹⁰

Eb.	<i>Našara-I(l)</i> , <i>Na-sa-ra-i?</i> (NI), “The god is a vulture” (?) (ARES 3 227, 354).
Heb.	<i>Nšr</i> (Glatz 2001: 29).
Aram.	OffAram. <i>Nšrw</i> (Lemaire 2002: 274), Hat. as DN: <i>Brnšr'</i> “Son of Nešrā”, <i>'bdnšr'</i> “Servant of N.”, <i>Nšryhb</i> “N. has given”, <i>Nšr'qb</i> “N. has protected”, <i>Nšrltb</i> “May N. do good”, <i>Nšrntn</i> “N. has given”, <i>Nšr'</i> and <i>Nšry</i> (hypoc.) (Ab-badi 1983: 91, 130f; Beyer 1998: 149, sub <i>nešrā</i>), Nab. <i>Nšrw</i> (PNNR 167), Palm. <i>Nšry</i> (PNPI 100), Dura <i>Nisraeus</i> (Gzella 2015a: 458b).
AAr.	as DN: Saf. <i>Ns^lryhb</i> “N. has given”, Sab. <i>Rbns^lrm</i> “N. is the god/great”, Qat. <i>Šfnns^lr</i> (f) “N. has looked down at me/us”; as a one-word PN: <i>Ns^lr</i> in Saf., Tham., and His., <i>Ns^lrh</i> in Dad. (HIn 268, 587; ENAH 471; Sholan 1999: 148ff).
Ar.	<i>Nasr</i> , <i>al-Nusayr</i> (CIK 2 445, 453).

§98. **na/iš(š)-* “kind of bird” (falcon, hawk) (SED 2, No. 168)

Eb.	<i>Našša</i> , <i>Na-za</i> , <i>Naššu</i> , <i>Na-zu</i> , <i>Naššān</i> , <i>Na-za-an</i> (ARES 3 227, 354).
Ug.	<i>Našu</i> , <i>Na-ši</i> , (bn) <i>Nš</i> , (PTU 28, 129; Watson 2007: 100).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Nš'</i> (f) (PNPI 100).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Nš</i> (HIn 590), which could also reflect <i>Nawš</i> (↑§48).

§99. **raḥam-* “bird of prey” [the Egyptian vulture] (SED 2, No. 189)

Heb.	<i>Raḥam</i> (?) (PHIAP 81; Glatz 2001: 29).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Rḥmh</i> , <i>Rḥmy</i> ³⁹¹ (Cantineau 1932: 146; PNNR 60).
AAr.	<i>Rḥmt</i> in His. and Saf., <i>Rḥymt</i> in Min. (ENAH 402; HIn 274).

³⁸⁹ In CAr., *ibnu da'ya* is the crow's epithet (Lane 840).

³⁹⁰ For the confusion of eagle and vulture, see the discussion by Beyer in ThWAT 9: 510-11. Prof Stol draw my attention to the fact that Akk. *našru* “eagle” is now attested as a foreign word, in Akk. texts from the West (George 2013: p. 127, on 16').

³⁹¹ Or from *√rḥm* “to show mercy”.

Ar.	<i>Raḥama</i> (Ikmāl 4: 36) and possibly <i>Raḥmān</i> (CIK 2 484).
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§100. Other names for raptors

*'ay- “bird of prey” (SED 2, No. 23): Heb. 'Ayyā (PHIAP 146), probably Ar. Yu'yu' “Merlin” (nick.) (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 5924).
*ḡVrVn- “eagle” (SED 2, No. 90): Ug. Ḡrn (Watson 2007: 98).
(N)WSC Ṣaṣî, Ṣa-ṣi-i “Wild bird” (vulture, eagle), Ṣa-ṣu-a “My wild bird” (PNA 1168ff).
Ar. Ṣ/Saqr “Falcon”, <i>al-Ṣaqr</i> , <i>al-Ṣuqayr</i> (Ikmāl 1: 380, 7: 432), <i>Ṣqr</i> in Saf., <i>S^lqr</i> in Saf. and Tham., <i>S^lqrn</i> (PN and gentilic) in Sab. (HIn 322, 374), Bed. <i>Ṣaqr</i> , <i>Ṣagr</i> , <i>Ṣagir</i> (Littmann 1921: 13; Hess 1912: 34), CAO <i>Ṣaq/g(i)r</i> (SAR 2, No. 6986; Gaza, No. 543; WB, No. 3423; UAE, No. 4607).
Ar. <i>Zurraq</i> “Black-winged kite” (nick.) (KN 241; Al-Damīrī 1992: 76, fn. 7), Saf., Nab. <i>Zrq</i> (?) (HIn 297; PNNR 166). ³⁹²
Ar. <i>al-Azraq</i> “Falcon” (Ikmāl 3: 196, 314; Lane 1228).
Ar. 'Uqāb (m + f) “Eagle” (Beiträge 86; Al-Ġāḥiẓ 1966 3: 424), <i>Ibn al-'Uqāb</i> (f) (MAAM 232), in Modern Ar. (Bed. CAO), it is used only as (m) PN: 'Ögāb, 'Gāb, 'Iqāb (Hess 1912: 40; Littmann 1921: 15).
Ar. <i>Hyṭm</i> , <i>Hayṭam</i> “Eaglet” (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 124; Iṣṭiqāq 390, 565), CAO a common PN (e.g. UAE, No. 19002; WB, No. 152-3, 215; Gaza, No. 434-5).
Ar. <i>Maḍraḥī</i> “Vulture” (Iṣṭiqāq 254) or “Falcon with long wings” (Al-Ḥalīl 1980-85 3: 103).
Ar. <i>Qaṣ'am</i> “Old vulture” (Iṣṭiqāq 365), Bed. <i>Āl Qaṣ'am</i> (Beduinen 4 303).
Ar. <i>Qa/uṭāmī</i> “Falcon” (Beiträge 86; Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60), <i>Qa/uṭām</i> (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), nick. (KN 364), CAO <i>Ṣaqr</i> “Falcon” b. <i>Qaṭāmī</i> “Falcon” b. <i>Ṣaqr</i> “Falcon” (UAE, No. 7354).

Water birds and the like

§101. *k(w)arkiy-, *kurkiy- “goose, crane” (SED 2, No. 117)

Akk.	OA <i>Kurkāya</i> , <i>Ku-ur-ga-a</i> (OAPN 74), NA <i>Ku-ru-ku</i> (PNA 642) or (↓§117).
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³⁹² For an alternative etymology, see 4.3.1.3.1.

Ug.	(bn) <i>Krk</i> , <i>Krky</i> (PTU 28, 151; Watson 2007: 99), or from <i>ku-ri-/e-ku</i> “a device made of bronze; pick” (Tropper 2000: 287; DUL 455).
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§102. **q(w)a'(q(w)a')*-// **qa'(qa')*- “kind of bird” (SED No. 126)

Eb.	<i>Qūqa</i> , <i>Gu-ga</i> , <i>Qūqum</i> , <i>gú-gúm</i> “Pelican” or “Cormorant”, <i>Qūq-iyān</i> <i>Gú-gi-a-an</i> , <i>Gú-gi-anu</i> , <i>Gú-gi-wa-an</i> (hypoc.) (ARES 3 230, 314; PEB G 47-8, 56; Bonechi 2011-12: 53), provided they are not based on * <i>gūg</i> - (↓§132).
(N)WSC	<i>Quqû</i> , <i>Qu-qu-u</i> (OMA 337), <i>Quqî</i> , <i>Qu-qi-i</i> , <i>Quqû</i> , <i>Qu-qu-u</i> , <i>Quqû'a</i> , <i>Qu-u-qu-[u-a]</i> (PNA 1018).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Qwq'</i> (PNPI 110).

§103. Other names for water birds

* <i>'a/iw(a)z-</i> , * <i>waz(z)-</i> “goose” (SED 2, No. 22): Heb. <i>Ūzay</i> (?) (PHIAP 141ff).	
* <i>ḡVrniq-</i> “crane” (SED 2, No. 91): Ar. <i>Ḡurnūq</i> (nick.) (KN 343).	
Akk. <i>Kupitu</i> “Marsh bird”, NB <i>Ku-pi-ti</i> (Nielsen 2015: 184).	
Akk. <i>Niqūdu</i> “Marsh bird”, OB <i>Ni-qú-da-tum</i> , NB <i>Ni-qu-du</i> , <i>Ni-qu-ud-du</i> (CAD N/2 259; NBN 167ff), Heb. <i>Nəqōdā</i> (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 171).	
Akk. <i>Pa'û</i> (f) “Seabird”, <i>Pa-'u-ú</i> (AHw 852; PNA 993).	
Akk. <i>Paspasu</i> “Duck”, Oakk. <i>Ba-ba-az</i> (?) (MAD 3 216), OB <i>Pa-ás-pa-su-um</i> (ARM 23 611: 9'), MA <i>Pa-ás-pa-su</i> (CAD P 222; NPN 311b).	
Amor. <i>Ḫ/Ḫasīdānu(m)</i> “Stork” (?), ³⁹³ <i>Ḫa-sí-da-nim</i> (gen.), <i>Ḫa-sí-da-nu</i> (CAAA, No. 2223-4), <i>Ḫa-sí-da-num</i> (ARM 5 35: 3), <i>Ḫ/Ḫasīdu</i> , <i>Ḫa-sí-du</i> (CAAA, No. 225).	
Ug. <i>Arbn</i> “Water-fowl” (Watson 2007: 97) or a Hurrian name (PTU 220, 223), <i>Ḫqn</i> “Water-bird” (?), <i>Kmy</i> “Waterfowl” (Watson 2006: 450ff).	
Ar. <i>Buṭayṭa</i> “Duck” (dimin. < <i>baṭṭ-at</i>) ³⁹⁴ (KN 111), Saf. <i>Bṭ</i> (?) (HIn 108ff),	

Crow/raven

§104. **ḡurāb-*, **ḡārib-* (SED 2, No. 89)

Akk.	<i>Āribu</i> , <i>A-ri-bu</i> (PNA 131).
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³⁹³ On the probable connection with Heb. *ḥāsīdā*, see Kogan (2003: 253) and Golinets (2016: 62).

³⁹⁴ Cf. Syr. *baṭ*, *baṭṭā* (Brockelmann 1928: 66).

Heb.	‘ <i>Ōrēb</i> , ‘ <i>rb</i> (PHIAP 106; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
AAr.	Saf., His. <i>Ġrb</i> (?) (HIn 453; ENAH 443).
Ar.	<i>Ġurāb</i> (CIK 2 275), <i>Ibn/Umm Ġurāb</i> (Ikmāl 7: 13), <i>al-Ġurbān</i> (tribe) (Beiträge 85), Bed. <i>Ġrayyib</i> (Hess 1912: 42), <i>Ġurāb</i> (Littmann 1921: 16), CAO FN <i>Abū Ġurāb</i> (WB, No. 25302).

§105. Other names for crow/raven

Akk. <i>Ḫaḫḫur(u)</i> , <i>Ḫa-aḫ-ḫu-ru</i> (PNA 439; NBN 66a), Heb. <i>Ḥarḫūr</i> (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Palm. <i>N‘b’</i> (PNPI 99).
Saf. <i>Ġdf</i> could reflect CAr. <i>ġudāf</i> “raven” (HIn 452; Lane 2233).

Small (singing) birds

§106. **Vššūr*- “bird” (SED 2, No. 43)

Akk.	OB <i>Iššūriya</i> (Millet Albà 2000: 486), MA <i>Iš-šú-ri-ia</i> (OMA 263), N/LB <i>Iš-šur</i> , <i>Iš-šu-ru</i> (NBN 81b), <i>Iš-šur-tu</i> (UET 4 174: 2, 183: 1).
Ug.	(bn) <i>‘šr</i> (PTU 28, 113).
Ar.	<i>Ibn ‘Ušfūr</i> “Finch” (Beiträge 85), nick. <i>‘Ušfūr al-ġanna</i> “Finch of Heaven” (KN 332), Bed. <i>‘Ošfūr</i> (Hess 1912: 40), CAO <i>‘Ašfūr</i> (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).

§107. **šVp(p)Vr*- “(individual) small bird, sparrow”³⁹⁵ (ThWAT 9: 639-40; SED 2, No. 212)

Eb.	<i>Šibāru(m)</i> , <i>Zi-bar</i> , <i>Zi-ba-ru₁₂</i> , <i>Zi-ba-lum</i> (?) (ARES 3 233, 385).
Ug.	(bn) <i>Špr</i> , <i>Šprn</i> , <i>Šu-pa-ra-nu</i> (PTU 28).
Heb.	<i>Šōpār</i> , <i>Šippōr</i> , <i>Šippōrā</i> (f) (Glatz 2001: 29).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Špr’</i> (m + f), <i>Špry</i> (PNPI 109).

§108. **zarzī/ūr*- “starling” (SED 2, No. 254)

Amor.	see the examples in ↓§123
Aram.	Palm. <i>‘zrzyrt</i> , <i>Zrzyrt</i> (PNPI 66, 87).

³⁹⁵ As opposed to the collective term **awp* (↑§93).

Ar.	<i>Zurzur</i> (Al-Buḥārī 1360 AH 3: 450), Bed. <i>Zarzūr</i> (Littmann 1949: 11), CAO <i>Zarzūr</i> as PN (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5) and FN (SAR 3, No. 1288).
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§109. Other names for small birds

<i>*bVl-</i> “kind of small bird” (SED 2, No. 60): Amor. <i>Bu-ul-bu-lum</i> “Nightingale” (? in view of Ar.) ³⁹⁶ (ARM 24 248: 14), Ug. <i>Bl</i> “kind of bird” (Watson 2007: 109), Heb. <i>Blbl</i> “Nightingale” (<Ar? Rechenmacher 2012: 170), ³⁹⁷ Ar. <i>Bulbula</i> (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), <i>Bulbul</i> as nick. (KN 114), CAO as PN (UAE, No. 10779) and FN (WB, No. 359).	
Akk. <i>Di(q)diqqu(u)</i> “a small bird”, OB <i>Di-ig-di-gum</i> , LB <i>Di-di-gu-um</i> , <i>Di-iq-di-iq</i> (Stamm 1939: 255; CAD D 159).	
Ug. <i>Ḥrṣn</i> “Goldfinch”, <i>ḡrn</i> “Thrush” (Watson 2006: 450), <i>Ḡrdn</i> “Singing (bird)” (?) (Watson 2007: 98).	
Ar. <i>Aḥyal</i> “Small (colored) bird” (Coracias?) (Iṣṭiqāq 378f; Al-Damīrī 1992: 21, 96), Saf. <i>ḥyl</i> (HIn 31).	
Ar. <i>Birqiš</i> “Fringilla” (Ikmāl 7: 183; Al-Damīrī 1992: 29, fn. 16), His. <i>Brqs</i> ² (ENAH 386), or < <i>Bar-Qōš</i> “Son of DN” (?).	
Ar. <i>Ḥuḍayr</i> (Ikmāl 2: 482; Ma‘lūf 1932: 118), CAO <i>Ḥḍērī</i> “Greenfinch” (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4).	
Ar. <i>Ḥummara</i> “Robin” in the nick. <i>Ibn lisān al-ḥummara</i> , lit. “Robin’s tongue” (i.e., eloquent) (CIK 2 332; Beiträge 85).	
Ar. <i>Qunbura</i> , <i>Qubbura</i> (f) “Lark” (Beiträge 85), CAO <i>Qanbar</i> (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).	
Ar. <i>Ša‘w(a)</i> “Kinglet, Wren” (nick.) (KN 300), Saf. <i>Š’y</i> (?) (HIn 373).	
Ar. <i>Šurad</i> “Shrike” ³⁹⁸ (CIK 2 541; Ma‘lūf 1932: 227).	
Ar. <i>Zurayq</i> “Jay” (CIK 2 612), a common nick. (KN 239ff).	

Swallow

§110. **su/inūn(Vw/y)-at* (SED 2, No. 197)

Akk.	<i>Šinūnūtum</i> , <i>Sinunu</i> “Swallow”, UR III <i>Ši-nu-nu-tum</i> (Politi and Verderame
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³⁹⁶ Cf. also ↑ 4.1.1.2.2.1.

³⁹⁷ Cf. also JBaram./Mand. *blbl* (Sokoloff 2002: 241b; Drower and Macuch 1963: 55b).

³⁹⁸ Cf. JBaram. *šrd*, *šrd* “a permitted bird” (Sokoloff 2002: 971b).

	2005 40, r. 10), OA <i>Šinūnūtum</i> (OAPN 98), OB <i>Ši-nu-nu-tim</i> (IPNOBS 328), ³⁹⁹ <i>Ši-na-nu-tum</i> (YOS 13 280: 12), NB <i>Si-nu-nu</i> (Nielsen 2015: 335).
Ug.	<i>Snnt</i> (Watson 2006: 451).
Ar.	<i>Sunēnwa</i> (f) (Littmann 1921: 12), <i>Sunūnū</i> as FN (WB, No. 24108).

Columbidae

§111. Miscellaneous names

<i>gawzal</i> - “young dove”: Eb. <i>Gūzala/Gawzal</i> , <i>Gū-za-la</i> (ARES 3 213, 315), Ug. <i>Gzl</i> , <i>Gūzalu</i> (PTU 28; Watson 2007: 109).
* <i>sVm(V)m(-at)</i> (SED 2, No. 196): OAk. <i>Šúm-ma-tum</i> , OB <i>Su-ma-tum</i> “Dove” (CAD S 379) ⁴⁰⁰ NB <i>Sum-ma-tu₄</i> (Joannès 1982 103: 6’), Eb. <i>Summate</i> (ARES 3 232, 371), Sab. and Saf. <i>S^lmnt</i> (f) “Quail”, Had. <i>S^lmhn</i> (f) (- <i>h</i> -/ <i>ahā</i> / < * <i>ø</i> / <i>ā</i> /) (Sholan 1999: 40, 147; HIn 330), His <i>S^lmn</i> , provided it is not from <i>smn</i> “fat” or <i>smm</i> “poison” (ENAH 415), Ar. <i>Summān</i> (Abdallah 1975: 35), <i>Sumāna</i> (f) (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 16, No. 7766).
<i>yamām(-at)</i> “pigeon”: Amor. <i>Yamāma</i> , <i>ʾIa-ma-a-ma</i> , <i>ʾIa-ma-m[a]</i> (ARM 26/2 402: 17; CAAA, No. 3347; Streck 2000: §5.22), Heb. <i>Yāmīmā</i> (f) (Stamm 1980: 126; Glatz 2001: 29), Saf. <i>Ymm</i> , <i>Ymnt</i> (HIn 684), Ar. <i>Yamāma</i> (m + f) (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1986 7: 59, No. 928; Al-Zarkalī 2002 3: 44), CAO a frequent (f) PN in Syria (SAR 1, No. 10, 12, 111, 124, 385, 724; SAR 2, No. 82, 129, 169, 300).
* <i>yawn(-at)-</i> , * <i>wānay-</i> “dove” (SED 2, No. 252): Eb. <i>Yūnu</i> , <i>U₉-nu</i> , <i>Wāna</i> , <i>Wa-na</i> (ARES 3 241, 373), Heb. <i>Yōnā</i> , <i>Ynh</i> (PHIAP 144; Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 219; Lemaire and Yardeni 2006: 215-16), Had. <i>Ynt</i> , Saf. <i>Ywn</i> , <i>Ywny</i> (?) (HIn 685, 691).
Ug. <i>Hrsn</i> “Dove”, <i>Bgrt</i> “Pigeon” (?) (Watson 2007: 99, 109a; for an alternative etymology, see ↑4.3.1.2).
Ar. <i>ʾkrmh</i> , <i>ʾIkrima</i> “Pigeon”, <i>ʾAkārim</i> (pl.), <i>ʾAkārima</i> (pl.) (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 96; Beiträge 85).
Ar. <i>Fāḥita</i> (f) “Ring-dove” (Gratzl 1906: 53; Ikmāl 10: 880b), Saf. <i>Fḥtt</i> , His. <i>Fḥtn</i> (?) (HIn

³⁹⁹ According to Stol (2012: 549), “Swallow” *Šinūnūtum* is probably a name of a female blinded singer. If this theory is true, one can explain the name: a female singer is like a blinded swallow: they sing best!

⁴⁰⁰ Millet Albà (2000: 486-7) links the masc. names *Summān* and *Summatān* to this term. According to Streck (2000: §5.55), *Šummān* (*Su-um-ma-an*) is the abbreviated form of a name like *Šumu-DN* “Descendant of DN”, and this might also apply to the second example (*Su-ma-ta-a-nu-um*), for the suffix *-at* occurs widely in combination with *-ān*, e.g. *ʾAbdatān* < *ʾAbd-DN* (cf. Streck 2000: §5.75 with more examples).

463; ENAH 446).
Ar. <i>Hudayla</i> (f) “Dove” (Gratzl 1906: 53).
Ar. <i>Ḥamāma</i> (f) “Dove”, <i>Ḥamām</i> (pl.) (Beiträge 85), <i>Abu Ḥamāma</i> (Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 6: 332), <i>Ḥumyma</i> (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), Tham. <i>Ḥmmt</i> (?) (HIn 203), Bed. <i>Ḥamāma</i> (f), <i>Ḥamām</i> (pl.) (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16).
Ar. <i>Qumriyya</i> (f) “Turtledove” (Gratzl 1906: 53).
Ar. <i>Sa’dāna</i> (f) “Dove” (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60).

Ostrich

§112. Miscellaneous names (only AAr./Ar.)

Najdi <i>Hidz</i> “Male ostrich” (< CAr. <i>hayq</i>) (Hess 1912: 53).
<i>Hiql</i> “Young ostrich” (nick.) (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 7364), Saf. <i>Hql</i> (HIn 620).
<i>Hawzan</i> , <i>Hawāzin</i> (pl.) (Beiträge 86). ⁴⁰¹
<i>al-Na’āma</i> “She-ostrich” (mostly nick.), <i>Ibn al-Na’āma</i> , <i>Na’ām</i> (pl.) (CIK 2 439; KN 443), <i>N’mt</i> (m) in Had., Saf. ⁴⁰² and (f) in Sab. (HIn 594), CAO <i>Na’āma</i> (f) (SAR 2, No 10209, 29514; SAR 4, No. 21607).
<i>Ra’l</i> , <i>Ra’lān</i> “Ostrich offspring” (Ištiqāq 204; Ikmāl 3: 306), <i>R’l</i> (m) in Qat., His. and (f) in Dad. and Saf., <i>R’yīm</i> (f) in Qat., <i>R’lt</i> (f) from Qaryat al-Faw (HIn 262; ENAH 400; POI 144ff).
<i>Ra’la</i> (f) “She-ostrich” (Gratzl 1906: 53), Had. <i>R’ltm</i> (f) (Sholan 1999), Bed. <i>Ra’ēlān</i> , <i>Ra’le</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 26).
<i>Ḍulaym</i> “Male ostrich” (dimin. < <i>ḏalīm</i>) (CIK 2 614; Al-Damīrī 1992: 115), nick. <i>Ḍū Ḍalīm</i> (KN 213), <i>Ḍīm</i> in Saf., Qat., and Sab. (HIn 393), provided it is not <i>Ḍālīm</i> “Unjust” (CIK 2 614).

Partridge

§113. Miscellaneous names

* <i>ḡagal-</i> (SED 2, No. 97): Amor. <i>ḡagalum</i> , <i>ḡa-ga-lu-um</i> , <i>ḡa-ga-lim</i> (gen.), <i>ḡagaliya</i> , <i>ḡa-ga-li-ia</i> (Durand 1997: 638, n. 512; CAAA 91, sub ‘agal; or Akk. <i>agālu</i> ↑§48; cf. the discussion in
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⁴⁰¹ Ibn Durayd gives “an unknown bird” (Ištiqāq 291).

⁴⁰² Saf. *n’m(t)* is reliably attested outside the onomasticon (Al-Jallad 2015: 203).

↑4.1.1.3), Ug. *Hgln* (Watson 2007: 95), Heb. *Ḥaglā*, *Hglh* (PHIAP 80; Rechenmacher 2012: 170), Saf. *Hgl*, *Hgln*, Tham., His *Hglt* (HIn 178; Shatnawi 2002: 670ff), Ar. *Ḥaḡal* (CIK 2 291; Ikmāl 2: 250), Bed. *Ḥaḡalī* (Littmann 1921: 8), CAO FN *Abū Ḥaḡale* (WB, No. 18158).

Akk. *Būšu(m)* “Rock partridge” (?) (CDA 50), UR III, *Bu-zi*, *il-būšī*, DINGIR-*pù-zi* “God is my *būšu*-bird” (?), *Pù-zi-a*, *Pù-zum*, *Bu-za-ti-a*, *Bu-za-tum* (MAD 3 92), OB *Bu-ša-tum*, *Bu-šī-ia*, *Bu-zi-im* (IPNOBS 70; ARM 16/1 83; ARM 21 70: 3), OA *Bu-šī-ia* (Sturm 2000, fn. 16), *^fBu-šī* (Veenhof 2010 70: 5, 14), MA *Bu-ša* (OMA 187), N/LB *Bu(-ú)-šu* as PN and FN (NBN 51b; YOS 6 37:7), Eb. *Būš-ān-u(m)*, *Bù-za-nu*, *Bù-za-núm*, *Būš-ī*, *Bù-zi*, *Bu₁₆-zi* “My *būšum*-bird”, *Būš-u*, *Bu-zu* (PEb B 69ff), Ug. *Bšy* (?) (Watson 2006: 450).

Heb. *Gūnī* “Black-winged partridge” (?) (IPN 230; Glatz 2001: 29; for an alternative explanation, see ↑4.2.1, sub No. 29), Ug. *Gn* (?) (Watson 2006), Heb. *Qōrē*, *Qr’h*, *Qry* (Rechenmacher 2012: 171).

Ar. *Sulayk*, *Sulka* (f) (Ištiqāq 246; Beiträge 85ff).

Owl

§114. Miscellaneous names

Ug. *Ġs*, *Aky* (?) (Watson 2007: 98, 108).

Ar. *Būma* (nick.) (Ikmāl 1: 564, KN 119), *Ṣadā* “Male owl”⁴⁰³ (Ikmāl 5: 37; Al-Damīrī 1992: 98), *Nuhām* “Male owl” (CIK 2 448; Lisān 14: 312).

Sandgrouse

§115. Miscellaneous names

**k(V)dVr(r)*- “sandgrouse (?)” (cf. the discussion in ↑4.3.1.1, sub No. 49): Akk. MB *Ku-du-ra-a-nu*, *^fKu-du-ra-ni-tum* (CAD K 494; PKTN 125), NA, N/LB *Ku-du-ra-nu* (PNA 632, NBN 92a; Nielsen 2015: 178), Ug. (bn) *Kdrn* (PTU 28), Ar. *Kudayr*, *Kudayra* (Ikmāl 7: 129).

Ar. *Hawḏ(a)* (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 58, CIK 2 281), *Qaṭāt* (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), (m) nick. (KN 365), CAO *Giṭāya* (f) (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4), *al-Ya‘qūb* “Male sandgrouse”, with the same spelling as the Ar. version of the biblical name Jacob (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60).

⁴⁰³ Cf. OAram. *šdh* “owl” (DNWSI 960).

Chicken

§116. Miscellaneous names

* <i>parḥ</i> - “chick, brood” (SED 2, No. 179): Heb. <i>ṗrḥ</i> (Rechenmacher 2012: 170), <i>Pārūḥ</i> (Glatz 2001: 29), Saf. <i>Frḥ</i> (HIn 465), Ar. <i>Farḥ</i> , <i>Farḥī</i> (CIK 2 245), nick. <i>al-Farḥ</i> , <i>Farḥawayh</i> (plus the hypoc. -wayh) (KN 351), <i>Furayḥ</i> (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 314), CAO FN <i>al-Farḥ</i> (WB, No. 15419, 26202).
* <i>parg</i> - “kind of bird (hen, quail)” (SED 2, No. 187): Ug. <i>Prgn</i> (Watson 2007: 95; or ↑§75), Ar. <i>Ibn Farrūḡ</i> (Ikmāl 4: 180).
Ar. <i>Ṣwayṣ</i> “Little brood” (dimin. <i>ṣūṣ</i>) (Littmann 1921: 13), FN <i>Ṣūṣ</i> (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 244).
Heb. <i>Škwy</i> “Rooster” (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Ug. <i>Trn</i> “Hen, Rooster” (?) (Watson 2006: 451).
Ar. <i>Daḡāḡa</i> (f) “Hen” (Gratzl 1906: 53), CAO <i>Ḡāḡe</i> (FN) (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).
Ar. <i>Dīk</i> , <i>Duyayk</i> “Rooster” (Beiträge 85), nick. <i>al-Dīk</i> (KN 198), CAO <i>Dwēč</i> in Iraq (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4), <i>Dīk</i> as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).
Ar. <i>Zaḡlūl</i> “Brood” ⁴⁰⁴ (of dove or chicken) (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5; Ḥittī 2003: 42), FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 244).

Unidentified/unclassifiable birds

§117. Miscellaneous names

* <i>VbbVL</i> - “kind of bird” (SED 2, No. 3): Ug. <i>Abbly</i> (?) (Watson 2007: fn. 29).
* <i>pVrpVr</i> - “kind of bird” (SED 180): Heb. <i>Prpr</i> (?) (cf. ↑4.2.1, sub No. 51), Ar. <i>Furfur</i> “Sparrow, Small aquatic bird”, <i>Ibn Furfūr</i> “Sparrow” or “Fat lamb” (Ikmāl 7: 88; Lane 2357), Nab. <i>Prpryw</i> (PNNR 164). ⁴⁰⁵
Akk. <i>Kurkurru</i> “ein Vogel” (AHw 511): possibly OB <i>Kú-ur-kú-rum</i> (IPNOBS 182), OA <i>Ku-ur-ku-ri-im</i> (gen.) (Veenhof 2010 51: 10).
Amor. <i>Burburum</i> “kind of bird”, ⁴⁰⁶ <i>Bu-ur₂-bu-ru-um</i> , <i>Burburān</i> , <i>Bu-ur-bu-ra-an</i> (CAAA, No.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. CAR. *zuḡlūl* “little child” and *zaḡlūl* “young camel, sheep, or goat” (Lane 1235).

⁴⁰⁵ For an alternative etymology, see ↑4.3.1.3.3.

1370, 1376; Millet Albà 2000: 485).
Ug. <i>Apn</i> , <i>Argb</i> , <i>Arkbt</i> , <i>Isg</i> , <i>Bbru</i> , <i>Hlly</i> , <i>Hlp</i> “Offspring” (?), <i>Ktln</i> , <i>Šn’t</i> (Watson 2006: 450ff), <i>Nnr</i> , <i>Nan-ni-ra-ia</i> (Watson 2007: 99ff).
Ar. <i>Bahdal</i> , <i>Bahdala</i> “kind of (green) bird” (Ištiqāq 557), <i>Sandarī</i> “Kind of bird” (Ištiqāq 378ff) or “Quick/brave man, lion”, etc. (Lane 1144c).

REPTILES

Snake

§118. Miscellaneous names

*’ <i>ap’aw</i> (SED 2, No. 11): Ar. (<i>al-</i>) <i>Af’ā</i> “Viper”, <i>Af’ā Nağrān</i> (CIK 2 142, Ištiqāq 362).
* <i>hVwVy-</i> (SED 2, No. 95): Pho. <i>Hwt</i> (a name of a goddess) (Donner and Röllig 1968: 102, No. 89), perhaps also Heb. <i>Hwh</i> (Beyer 1984: 574), Hat. <i>Hwy</i> (Beyer 1998 H 18, 2), Nab. <i>Hyt</i> ⁴⁰⁷ (PNNR 164), Sab., Qat. <i>Hyt</i> (f) (Schaffer 1981: 297), Ar. <i>Hayya</i> (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53, Ikmāl 2: 324), CAO <i>Abū al-Hayyāt</i> (pl.) as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).
* <i>šarap-</i> (SED 2, No. 215): Heb. <i>Šārāp</i> “Cobra” (Rechenmacher 2012: 171), (N)WSC <i>Sar-pi-i</i> (PNA 1092).
Heb. <i>Nāḥāš</i> , <i>Nāḥšōn</i> “Snake” (PHIAP 81, 96; IPN 230).
Ar. <i>Ḥanaš</i> “Viper, Reptilian” ⁴⁰⁸ (CIK 2 297), nick. (KN 170), CAO <i>Ḥanaš</i> , <i>Ḥanaša/e</i> (f) as patronyms/matronyms (e.g., SAR 4, No. 102079, 10825) and as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243; SAR 4, No. 24188), <i>Ḥniš</i> (dim) as patronym and FN (SAR 4, No. 596, 1405).
Akk./NA <i>Še-ra-a-nu</i> , <i>Ši-ra-a-nu</i> “Snake-like” or “He of the steppe” (PNA 1169). Ug. <i>Šry</i> , <i>Aym</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 102; see the discussion in ↑4.3.1.2).
Ar. <i>Arbad</i> “Huge large-headed snake” (<i>Bitis arietans</i>) (CIK 2 192; Al-Damīrī 1992: 94), Bed. <i>’Örbid</i> (Hess 1912: 39), CAO <i>’Irbid</i> (Al-Jumailly and Hameed 2014: 5).
Ar. <i>Arqam</i> “Diadem-snake”, <i>Ruqaym</i> , <i>Raqmān</i> , <i>al-Arāqim</i> (sub-clan) (Ištiqāq 71, 336, 440,

⁴⁰⁶ This Amor. term has its correspondence in Heb. *barbūr*, the exact lexical meaning of which is not clear (cf. SED 2, No. 61).

⁴⁰⁷ It could also mean “animals” (in general) in view of Saf. *hyt* (Al-Jallad 2015: 203).

⁴⁰⁸ Kogan (SED 2, p. 211) adopts the argument that the traditional comparison of Heb. *nāḥāš* to Ar. *ḥanaš* is rather unlikely due to the questionable metathesis and sibilant correspondence.

551; Ma'lūf 1932: 269).
Ar. <i>Aswad</i> “Huge black snake”, ⁴⁰⁹ “Greatest”, or, less likely, <i>aswad</i> -bird (Iṣṭiqāq 94; Lane 1461c, 1463b).
Saf. ‘ <i>mg</i> could reflect Ar. ‘ <i>amağ</i> , ‘ <i>ummağ</i> , ‘ <i>awmağ</i> “snake” (HIn 435; Lane 2151).
Ar. <i>Tu'bān</i> “Huge (male) snake” (Al-Zaraklī 2: 213; Lane 337), Bed. <i>Ta'bān</i> ⁴¹⁰ (Beduinen 4 446).
Ar. <i>Ḥirbiš</i> “Rattlesnake” (Ikmāl 2: 424; Lisān 3: 104).
Ar. <i>Ḥubāb</i> “Snake” (Iṣṭiqāq 308), nick. <i>al-Ḥubāb</i> (KN 147), Saf., His., Tham. <i>Ḥbb</i> either reflects this form or <i>Ḥabīb</i> “Beloved” (Shatnawi 2002: 668; HIn 172).
Ar. <i>Banū Qutayra</i> is based on <i>ibn qitra</i> “a kind of snake” (Iṣṭiqāq 369).
Ar. <i>Banū Raqāš</i> , <i>Raqāšī</i> (f) “Serpent” (speckled with white-black) (CIK 2 485; Lane 1135), Tham. <i>Rqš</i> (f), Qat., Had. <i>Rqšm</i> (HIn 285; Shatnawi 2002: 697, POI 154).
Ar. <i>Šu/iğā'</i> (probably the same as <i>Arbad</i> above) ⁴¹¹ (CIK 2 531; Ma'lūf 1932: 6).

Lizard

§119. Miscellaneous names

* <i>ḥVm(V)ṭ</i> - (SED 2, No. 99): Heb. <i>Ḥamūṭal/Ḥamīṭal</i> (f) with the diminutive ending <i>-al</i> (↑4.1.2, sub No. 33), OAram. <i>Ḥmṭṭ</i> (Maraqten 1988), <i>Ḥa-am-tu-tu</i> (PNA 449), OSyr. <i>Ḥmṭṭ</i> (↑4.3.1.1, sub No. 47).
* <i>ḥVrd/ḏān</i> - “kind of lizard” (SED 2, No. 102): Ar. <i>Ḥirdawn</i> “Agama” (nick.) (KN 153), CAO <i>Ḥardūn</i> as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).
* <i>šabb</i> - [Uromastyx] (SED 2, No. 221): Heb. <i>Šōbēbā</i> (PHIAP 106; Rechenmacher 2012: 171), Palm./Hat. ‘ <i>b</i> ’ could reflect Syr. ‘ <i>abbā</i> (< * <i>šabb</i> -) (PNPI 102; Abbadi 1983: 134) or ‘ <i>Abba</i> ’/‘ <i>Abbay</i> , the Ar. hypoc. of ‘ <i>Abd-DN</i> (Beyer 1998 H 11, 1, 13, 2, 96, 101, 1), His., Saf. <i>Ḍb</i> , <i>Ḍbt</i> (HIn 380; ENAH 380), Ar. <i>Ḍabb</i> , <i>Ḍabba</i> , <i>Ibn Ḍabbā'</i> (CIK 2 240, 243), Bed. <i>Ḍbayb</i> (Hess 1912: 33).
* <i>waran</i> -, * <i>waral</i> - “varan” (SED 2, No. 246): Saf., His. <i>Wrl</i> (HIn 640; ENAH 81, 481).
Eb. <i>Birbirr-ānu</i> , <i>Bir₅-bí-la-nu</i> (ARES 3 208, 292; PEb B 39).

⁴⁰⁹ On the difference between *aswad*-snake and *af'ā* “viper”, see Al-Ġāḥiẓ (1966 4: 244-6, 304).

⁴¹⁰ Or a variation of *Ta'bān* “Tired”.

⁴¹¹ The term *šu/iğā'* also means “brave”.

Akk. <i>Šurārû</i> “Lizard”, OAkk. <i>Zu-ra-ri-túm</i> (?) (MAD 3 246), OB <i>Šú-ra-rum</i> , <i>Su-ra-rum</i> (IP-NOBS 302), <i>Šú-ra-ru-um</i> (AHw 1114).
Hat. <i>Zbwg’</i> “Lizard” (Abbadi 1983: 103).
Ar. <i>Ġaḥl</i> , <i>Ġaḥla</i> , <i>Ġuḥayl</i> “Chameleon” ⁴¹² (Ikmal 2: 50, 398), Saf., Tham. <i>Gḥl</i> (HIn 154).
Ar. <i>Ḥisl</i> , <i>Ḥusayl</i> “Young-ḍabb” (Iṣṭiqāq 104; CIK 2 335), Saf. <i>Ḥsl</i> , <i>Ḥsln</i> (HIn 189), Bed. <i>Šḥaylī</i> (a metathesis) (Hess 1912: 28), CAO FN <i>Suḥliyya</i> (Atawneh 2005: 157).

Turtle

§120. Miscellaneous names

* <i>raqq-</i> (SED 2, No. 190): Akk. <i>Raqqu</i> , <i>Ra-qu-ú</i> , <i>Raqqitu</i> , <i>ʾRaq-qí-tú</i> (PNA 1033), Ug. <i>Rqn</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 102).
*š/ <i>salahpaw/y-</i> (SED 2, No. 202): Akk. <i>Šelep̄p̄tū(m)</i> , <i>ʾŠe-lep-pu-up-tu₄</i> , <i>ʾŠe-le-pu-tum</i> (Frayne 1997: 267; NBN 201b; Baker 2004 19: 8). ⁴¹³
Heb. <i>Gālāl</i> , <i>Gll</i> (Rechenmacher 2012: 170).

ARTHROPODS

Ant

§121. Miscellaneous names

* <i>ḥVbVš-</i> (SED 2, No. 96): Ar. <i>Ḥubšī</i> , <i>Ḥubšīyya</i> “Big red ants” (Iṣṭiqāq 39, 468, CIK 2 372).
* <i>nam(V)l-</i> (SED 2, No. 163): OB <i>Namālum</i> , <i>Na-ma-lum</i> , <i>Namālatum</i> , <i>Na-ma-la-tum</i> (hypoc.), (WS in CAD N/1 208; Akk. in AHw 725), Ug. <i>Nimaliya</i> , <i>Ni-ma-la-ia</i> (Watson 2007: 106), Pho-Pun. <i>Nml</i> (PNPPI 239, 360), Nab. <i>Nmylw</i> (PNNR 167), ⁴¹⁴ Saf., Had. <i>Nml</i> (HIn 80, 600), Ar. <i>Naml</i> (pl.), <i>Namla</i> , <i>Numayl</i> , <i>Numayla</i> (m + f), <i>Abū/Ibn Numayla</i> (CIK 2 445, 450; Ikmal 1: 516), Bed. <i>Nimla</i> (f), <i>Numēle</i> (f) (Littmann 1921: 19; Hess 1912: 51), CAO <i>Abū Namla</i> as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).
* <i>šumšum-</i> , * <i>sumsum-</i> (SED 2, No. 205): Eb. <i>Šaššammānu</i> , <i>Sa-sa-ma-nu</i> (ARES 3 235, 361; Bonechi 2011-12: 53), (N)WSC <i>Simsimānu</i> , <i>Si-im-si-ma-nu</i> (PNA 1112).
Akk. <i>Ku/albābu(m)</i> , <i>Kulbību(m)</i> , OB <i>Ka-al-ba-bu-um</i> (Durand 1997, fn. 241), NB <i>Kul-bi-bi</i>

⁴¹² It also denotes “dragonfly” and “ḡu‘al-beetle” (Lisān 2: 188: 100; Ma‘lūf 1932: 87).

⁴¹³ As mentioned above (sub *šēlebu* in §16), the fem. forms *Še-le-bu-tum* could also reflect *Šelep̄p̄tū*.

⁴¹⁴ For an alternative option, see ↑4.3.1.3.3.

(YOS 17 113: 10, NBN 218).

Bee, wasp

§122. Miscellaneous names

**di/ab(b)ūr-* (SED 2, No. 66): Pho-Pun. *Dbr* (PNPPI 239, 300), Heb. *Dabōrā* (f) (PHIAP 107; Rechenmacher 2012: 170), Ar. FN *Dabbūra* (SAR 2, No. 13994) and *Abū Dabbūr* (WB, No. 4739).

**nVhl-* (SED 2, No. 160): Ar. *Ibn Naḥla* (nick.) (Ibn Al-Dubayṭi 2006, No. 2492), CAO *Naḥle* as FN (Atawneh 2005: 157).

**nūb(-at)* (SED 2, No. 156): Akk. OB *^mNu-ba-tum* (nick.) (AHw 800), *^fNu-ba-ta*, *^fNu-bu-ta* (Millet Albà 2000: 486; CAAA, No. 5065), LB *^fNu-ub-ta-a* “My (beloved) bee” (NBN 168b) or from *nūptu* “gift” (AHw 800).

Ar. *Ḥašram* “Wasps” (collective term) (Al-Buḥārī 1360 AH 2: 217; Al-Saḥāwī 1992 3: 174), *Ya’sūb* “Drone, Dragonfly” (CIK 2 592), *Zunbūr* “Hornet” (Ikmāl 4: 190; Ma’lūf 1932: 128), nick. (KN 244).

Cricket

§123. Miscellaneous names

**šarša/ūr-* (SED 2, No. 213): OAkk. *Za-za-ru-um* (?) (MAD 3 246), OA *Šé-er-šé-ri-im* (Veenhof 2010 6: 38), provided it is not based on *zerzerrum*-locust (AHw 1523a), OB *Ša-ar-ša-rum*, *Ša-ša-ra-a-ia* (ARM 23 440: 17; OBTR 206), *Sa-an-sa-ar* (Durand 1997: 638 viii 36, with fn. 511), NA *Ša-an-šu-ru* (PNA 1168), N/LB *Ša-an-šī-ri*, *Ša-ši-ru* (NBN 184b), Eb. *Šaššarum*, *Za-za-lum* (ARES 3 233, 384), Amor. (?)⁴¹⁵ *Šuršurum*, *Zu-ur-zu-ru-um*, *Zu-úr-zu-ru-um*, *Šuršurtum*, *^fZu-úr-zu-ru-tum*, *Šuršuriya*, *Zu-ur-zu-ri-ia* (CAAA, No. 6652-54; IPNOBS 366; or <*za/urzūr* ↑§108), Ar. *Šuršur* (nick.) (KN 299), FM *Šaršūr* (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 244).

**zīz-* “kind of insect”⁴¹⁶ (SED 2, No. 255): OAkk. *Zi-za-núm* (MAD 3 312), OB *Zi-za-nu-u[m]*, *Zi-za-num* (YOS 8 96: 6; ARM 19 177: 4, 178: 4), N/LB *Zi-’z[u]* (?) (VAS 3, 149: 11), Ug. *Ẓẓn* (?) (Watson 2007: 101), Heb. *Zizā*, provided it is not a lallative (PHIAP 141; IPN 41).

Aram. *nāšōr* “cricket” is most probably reflected by Hat. *Nšr* (Beyer 2013: 54) and Dura

⁴¹⁵ Cf. the discussion in ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

⁴¹⁶ It could give the same meaning as Ar. *zīz* “cicada” (Ma’lūf 1932: 64).

Naṣṣop (Gzella 2015a: 463a). The latter name is incorrectly connected to *nṣr* “to defend, help” by Grassi (2012: 237).

Ar. *Ġudġud* “Cockroach” (Ibn Ḥaġar 1421 AH, No. 1111; Lane 387a).

Flea

§124. **pVrgVt-*, **pVrtaġ-* (SED 2, No. 185)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Pir₆-ḥa-šum</i> , <i>Pir₆-ḥa-šu-um</i> , <i>Pir₆-ḥa-sum</i> , <i>Bi-ir-ḥa-šum</i> , OB <i>Per-ša-ḥu-um</i> , N/LB <i>Pu-ur-šu-ú</i> , <i>Pur-šu-ú</i> , <i>Pir-šu-ú</i> (CAD P 414).
Eb.	<i>Purġāt-u</i> , <i>Bur-ḥa-áš</i> , <i>Bur-ḥa-šu</i> , <i>Bur-ḥaš</i> , <i>Purġāt-Tir-u</i> , <i>Bur-ḥáš-ti-lu</i> “Flea of the attendant” (?) (ARES 3 295; PEb B 74).
Amor. ⁴¹⁷	<i>Pur‘ušānu/Purġušānu</i> , <i>Pu-ur-ḥu-ša-nu</i> (CAAA, No. 5184; Streck 2000: §2.142).
Ug.	<i>Prġt</i> (PTU 28).
Pho-Pun.	<i>P/br’š</i> (PNPPI 293).
Heb.	<i>Par’ōš</i> , <i>Pr’š</i> (Rechenmacher 2012: 171; Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 221).
Ar.	<i>Burġūt</i> (CIK 2 224), also nick. of three persons, one of them being <i>Bu/arġūt al-sunna</i> “The flea of the Sunnis” (KN 106), Bed. <i>Berġūt</i> , <i>Brayġīt</i> , <i>Barġaš</i> (Hess 1912: 11; Littmann 1921: 6), CAO FN <i>Berġūtī</i> , <i>Barāġīt</i> (pl.) (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).

Fly

§125. Miscellaneous names

* <i>dVb(V)b</i> (SED 2, No. 73): Akk. <i>Zu-un-bu</i> (SAA 6, 103:1, 6), <i>Zu-um-bu</i> (NBN 220b), Amor. ⁴¹⁸ <i>Ḍababum</i> , <i>Za-ba-bu-um</i> , <i>Ḍabbum</i> , <i>Za-ab-bu-um</i> , <i>Ḍābibum</i> , <i>Za-bi-bum</i> , <i>Ḍibibum</i> , <i>Si-bi-bu-um</i> , <i>Ḍubābūm</i> , <i>Du-ba-bu-um</i> , <i>Su-ba-bu-um</i> (dimin.), <i>Ḍubābatum</i> , <i>Ḍu-ba-ba-tum</i> (dimin.) (CAAA 18, 127-30; Streck 2000: §5.34), Saf. <i>Ḍbb</i> (HIn 248), Ar. <i>Ḍubāb</i> (CIK 2 238), provided it is not based on <i>ḏubāb</i> “edge of the sword” (Lane 952), Bed. <i>Banū Ḍubāb</i> (Beiträge 88).	
Ar. <i>Ḥaraša</i> , <i>Ibn Ḥaraša</i> (f), <i>Abu Ḥarāša</i> (Al-Buḥārī 1360 AH 3: 213; Al-Damīrī 1992: 47), <i>Ḥawta‘(a)</i> (Iṣṭiqāq 328).	

⁴¹⁷ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

Locust and grasshopper

§126. Miscellaneous names

*'a/irbay- (SED 2, No. 11): Ug. <i>Irbn</i> (PTU 28).
*g(ʷ)Vb-, *gVb- (SED 2, No. 75): Heb. <i>Hgbh</i> (<i>h-</i> + <i>gōb</i> + <i>-h</i>) (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 218), Palm. <i>Gwb'</i> (PNPI 81).
*ga(n)dab- (SED 2, No. 80): WSC <i>Gindibu'</i> , <i>Gi-in-di-bu-u</i> (<Ar.) (PNA 424), Ar. <i>Ġndb</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 45), <i>Ġandab/Ġundub</i> , <i>Ġunaydib</i> (Beiträge 89; CIK 2 265ff), Bed. <i>Ġundub</i> (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16), CAO <i>Ġindib</i> as FN (WB, No. 15279).
*garad- (SED 2, No. 83): Saf. <i>Grd</i> (HIn 158), Ar. <i>Ġarād</i> (CIK 2 257), nick. <i>Ġarāda al-wā'iz</i> “Locust, the preacher” (Al-Šafadī 2000 11: 49), Bed. <i>Ġarād</i> , <i>Ġrayyid</i> (Littmann 1921: 7), CAO <i>Ġarād</i> as FN (WB, No. 16663).
ḥagVb-: Eb. <i>Ḥagibum</i> , <i>À-gi-bù-um</i> (ARES 3 270), Ug. <i>Hgby</i> , <i>Hgbt</i> , <i>Hgbn</i> , <i>Ḥa-ga-ba-nu</i> , <i>ʿbdḥgb</i> (the god Resheph?) (PTU 28, 84, 134f, DUL 357), Heb. <i>Ḥāgāb</i> , <i>Ḥagābā</i> , <i>Hgb</i> (PHIAP 96; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
*ḥargVl- (SED 2, No. 103): Amor. ⁴¹⁹ <i>Ḥarga/āl(um)</i> , <i>Ḥa-ar-ga-al</i> , <i>Ḥa-ar-ga-lum</i> (CAAA, No. 1957-8), Nab. <i>Hrglw</i> (Cantineau 1932: 99), Tham., His. <i>Hrgl</i> (Shatnawi 2002: 673; ENAH 387), Ar. <i>Ḥarḡal</i> , <i>Ḥarḡūl</i> (Beiträge 89).
*qVṣam- (SED 2, no 139): Ug. <i>Qṣm</i> (Watson 2006: 452).
Akk. <i>Ka(l)labuttu</i> , <i>ḶKa-al-bu-ut-tum</i> , <i>ḶKa-la-bu(-ut)-tum</i> (CDA 142; NBN 87b).
Heb. <i>Gazzām</i> “Grasshopper” (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Ar. <i>Dubayya</i> (m + f) “Little locust” (< <i>dabāt</i>) (Ikmal 3: 311, 392; Beiträge 89), <i>Ḥanṭab/Ḥunṭub</i> “Male locust/beetle” (Iṣṭiqāq 120).
Ar. <i>Ġaḥdab/Ġuḥdub</i> “Locust” (<i>Gryllus cristatus</i>) (CIK 2 256; Al-Damīrī 1992: 34, fn. 2), <i>Ġuḥaydib</i> (Al-Saḥāwī 1992 3: 66), Bed. <i>ḶĠḥaydib</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 14).

Gnat/bug

§127. Miscellaneous names

*baqq- (SED 2, No. 58): UR III/OB <i>Baqqum</i> , <i>Ba-ak-kum</i> , <i>Baqqānim</i> , <i>Ba-aq-qa-nim</i> (gen.), <i>Baqqānum</i> , <i>Ba-aq-qa-nu-um</i> (CAAA, No. 1037, 1049-50), OA <i>Ba-qú-nim</i> (gen.) (Larsen
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⁴¹⁹ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1. Note that Akk. *ergilu* and *erḥizzu* (a *hapax legomenon*) are attested in Mari texts, but not as PNs (Lion and Michel 1997: 719ff).

2010 166: 22), NB *Ba-aq-qa*, *Baq-qu* (NBN 22b), Eb. *Baqq-u*, *Ba-gu* (PEb. B 10), Amor. *Biqāqum*, *Bi-ga-gu-um*, *Bi-ka-ki-im* (gen.), *Buqqān*, *Bu-ga-an*, *Buqaqum*, *Bu-qa-ku-um*, *Bu-qa-kum*, (all are dimin.) (CAAA, No. 1242, 1349-53; Huffmon 1965: 152; Streck 2000: §2.35, 2.90), Saf. *Bqt*, *Bq*, His. *Bqqt* (dimin. *buqayqa?*) (HIn 113; ENAH 369), Ar. *Baqqa* (f) (Lisān 1: 464), Bed. *Baqqān* (Littmann 1921: 6).

**pVšpVš-*, **pVspVs* (SED 2, No. 183): Ug. *Pṭpt* “Bedbug” (Watson 2006: 452).

Ug. *Kny*, *Ki-ni-ya* (?) (cf. the discussion in ↑4.3.1.2).

Lice

§128. Miscellaneous names

**q(ʷ)aml-*, *qalm-* (SED 2, No. 130): OAkk. *Kál-ma-tum* (CAD K 86), *ʿKà-la-ma-ti* (Heimpel 2009: 354), Palm. *ʿqml*, *Qmlʿ* (PNPI 72, 110), Saf. *Qml*, Tham. *Qmlt*, Had. *Qml*, *Qmlm*, *ʿqml* (f) (HIn 488; POI 215f; Sholan 1999: 32, 100), Ar. nick. *Ǧāʿa qamluhu* “His lice became hungry” (Littmann 1948: 7), *Gmēle* (f), *Gāmīle* (f), *Gāmīl* (Hess 1912: 47), CAO *Abū Qamīl* as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).

**pVl(y)-* (SED 2, No. 175): Ug. *Ply*, *Pí-la-ia* (Watson 2007: 104).

Ar. *Farʿa* (f) (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 61).

Moth and butterfly

§129. Miscellaneous names

**sā/ūs-* “moth” (SED 2, No. 198): Eb. *Sāsu*, *Za-zu*, *Za-zú-um* (ARES 3 231, 384), OAkk. *Sá(a)-súm/sú-um*, *Sá-sá-tum*, *Sá-sí-ia* (AHw 1033a; MAD 3 237), OA *Sá-sí-a*, *Sà-sí-a* (Sturm 2000, fn. 16), OB *Sà-sà*, *ʿSà-sà-tum*, *Sà-si* (IPNOBS 260), NA *Sa-a-su* (PNA 1095), N/LB *Sa-si-ia* (NBN 180a), Ug. *Ss*, *Ssn* (PTU 28, 186ff), Pho-Pun. *Ssʿ* (PNPPI 239; or < **sVwsVw* ↑§47), Ar. nick. *Sūsāt al-ʿilm* “Weevil/moth of knowledge” (i.e., addicted to knowledge) (KN 271-2)

Ug. *krmt* “Butterfly” (Watson 2006: 452).

Scarabs/dung-beetle

130. Miscellaneous names

**gVʿVl-* (based on Ar. and Eb.⁴²⁰): Heb. *Gaʿal*, *Gʿly* (Rechenmacher 2012: 170), OAram. *Gʿlʿ* (Maraqten 1988: 149), Palm. *Gʿl*, *Gʿylw/y* (PNPI 82; for an alternative explanation, see

⁴²⁰ *Giʿlānum*, *gi-la-(a)-nūm* = ZA-GIR in a bilingual list of animal names (Sjöberg 1996: 22).

↑4.3.1.3.1), Saf. *Gʿl* (HIn 163), Ar. *Ġuʿal*, *Ġuʿayl* (Iṣṭiqāq 336; CIK 2 262ff), nick. *al-Ġuʿal* (KN 139), Bed. *Ġʿēlān*, *Ġʿēwil* (Hess 1912: 15).

Ar. *Ġa/undaʿ* (m + f), *Ġundaʿa* (Iṣṭiqāq 170, 173; CIK 2 266; Gratzl 1906: 54).

Scorpion

§131. Miscellaneous names

**aqrab-* (SED 2, No. 31): Aram.: Nab. *ʿqrb* (Cantineau 1932: 134), Hat., Palm. *ʿqrbn* (Ab-badi 1983: 155f; PNPI 107), OSyr. *ʿqrb* (Drijvers and Healey 1999: Am10: 12), Dura *Ακαραβανης*, *Ακραβανης* (Grassi 2012: 133), AAr. *ʿqrb* as (m) in Saf., His., Tham., Dad., Sab. and (f) in Qat, *ʿqrbn* in Saf. and His. (HIn 427; ENAH 435; Shatnawi 2002: 724; POI 191ff), Ar. *ʿAqrab* (f + m) (Ibn Saʿd 2001 10: 298, 304, 347; CIK 2 191), *ʿUqrubān* “Male scorpion, Centipede” (CIK 2 574; Lane 2111), *ʿĠērib* (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16), CAO *ʿAqrab* and *ʿAqraba* as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).

Akk. *Zuqāqipu* (only OAkk., see ↑3.4.2).

Ar. *Šabwa*⁴²¹ (Ikmāl 5: 37; Lisān 7: 25).

Spider

§132. Miscellaneous names

**ʿankab(īṭ)* (SED 2, No. 33): Ar. *ʿAnkab* (nick.) (KN 339).

**gūg-* “spider, kind of insect” (uncertain base; SED 2, No. 77): (N)WSC *Gūgūya*, ^{m+f}*Gu-gu-ú-a*, *Gāgayā*, ^f*Ga-ga-a* (?) (NBN 64b), *Gugl*, *gu-gi-i* (PNA 427), Heb. *Gōg*, *Ggy* (or lallative names) (PHIAP 137).

Ug. *Tan* (Watson 2007: 109b).

Ar. *Šabaṭ*, *Šubayṭ* “Sun-spider”⁴²² (Iṣṭiqāq 223; CIK 2 251; Ikmāl 5: 31), Nab. *Šbytw* (Cantineau 1932: 148),⁴²³ His. *S²bṭ* (ENAH 81, 417), Bed. *Šbayṭe* (f) (Hess 1912: 31).

Ar. *ʿUkāša*, *ʿUkkāš(a)* (Ikmāl 10: 532; Lisān 9: 340), Bed. *ʿAkkāš* (?) (Hess 1912: 41).

⁴²¹ SED 2 (No. 218) lists Ar. *šabw(-at)/šabāt* “scorpion” and *šawšab* “kind of lice, scorpion” under an assumed PS **šVbay(-at)* “kind of insect” reconstructed in view of Akk. *šubabītu/šupapītu* “an insect” (CAD Š/3 168) “eine Larve” (AHw 1256) and Heb. *šibay* “spider”. However, the zoological identification of the mentioned insects makes this unlikely.

⁴²² Maʿlūf (1932: 110): “Galeodes”.

⁴²³ For an alternative etymology, see ↑4.3.1.3.3.

Tick and the like

§133. Miscellaneous names

* <i>q^wVrVd-/qVrd-</i> (SED 2, No. 135): Amor. (?) ⁴²⁴ <i>Qurdān</i> , <i>Gu-ur-da-an</i> (CAAA, No. 1799), Palm. <i>Qrd'</i> (PNPI 110; see also ↑4.3.1.3.1), Tham. <i>Qrd</i> (HIn 479), <i>Qurad</i> (CIK 471), <i>Qurād</i> (pl.) (Ikmāl 7: 81), nick. (KN 361), Bed. <i>Grāde</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 46).
<i>ḥamn-(at)-</i> (in view of Ar., Lane 650; the ancient Sem. PNs are uncertain): Ug. <i>Ḥmny</i> (Watson 2007: 101), Nab. <i>Ḥmyn</i> (Cantineau 1932: 97), Palm. <i>Ḥmnwn</i> (dimin.?) ⁴²⁵ (PNPI 89), Tham., His., Saf. <i>Ḥmn</i> ⁴²⁶ (Shatnawi 2002: 678; HIn 203; ENAH 932), Ar. <i>Ḥamna</i> (f), <i>Ḥumayn</i> (Ikmāl 2: 514, 534).
Saf., His. <i>Qrs²m</i> could reflect CAR. <i>qiršām</i> “large tick” (HIn 480; ENAH 449).
Ar. ‘Alas, <i>Ḥalama</i> , <i>Ḥurqūš</i> , <i>Qamqām</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 61; Beiträge 90).

Worm

§134. Miscellaneous names

* <i>bik^(w)ay-</i> , * <i>bukay-</i> (SED 2, No. 57): Eb. <i>Bukā-nu(m)</i> , <i>Bù-ga-a-nu</i> , <i>Bù-ga-núm</i> , <i>Bù-gú-nu</i> , <i>Bu₁₄-gú-nu</i> “Like-a-Bukānu-Worm” (Bonechi 2011-12: 53; PEb B 58).
* <i>ḏVr(r)-</i> (uncertain; SED 2, No. 74): Ug. <i>Ḍrm</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 100), Ar. <i>Ḍr</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 216), <i>Ḍarr</i> , <i>Abū Ḍarr</i> ⁴²⁷ (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; CIK 235).
* <i>rimm-at</i> “kind of insect, worm” (SED 2, No. 191): Heb. <i>Rymh</i> (?) (Lemaire and Yardeni 2006: 215-16, ostracon. 12: 6), Ar. nick. <i>Ḍu al-Rimma</i> (MAAM 127).
* <i>tawli'(-at)-</i> “worm” (SED 2, No. 230): Heb. <i>Tōla'</i> (PHIAP 105; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Heb. 'Aršā “Woodworm” (Glatz 2001: 29; see also ↑4.2.1, sub No. 9).
Saf. <i>Ngft</i> may reflect CAR. <i>nağaf-</i> “sheep-moggot, bot” (HIn 596).
Ar. <i>Duwayd</i> “Little worm” (< <i>dūd(a)-?</i>), ⁴²⁸ <i>Dūdān</i> (Beiträge 90).

⁴²⁴ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.1.

⁴²⁵ For an alternative etymology, cf. ↑4.3.1.3.1.

⁴²⁶ Or from *ḥmm* “to heat”, like *Ḥammān*, *Ḥimmān*.

⁴²⁷ The description of the insect in classical sources applies to “*Solenopsis geminata*” (Al-Damīrī 1992: 65, fn. 2).

⁴²⁸ Alternatively, the name could be the diminutive of *Dāwūd*.

Additional arthropods

§135. Miscellaneous names

Eb. <i>Kalbīyānum</i> , <i>Ga-bí-a-nu</i> “Dog fly” or “Tick” (Bonechi 2011-12: 53), OB <i>Kal-bi-ia-a-tum</i> (could also be the hypoc. of <i>kalb</i> ↑§14) (Dalley 2009 5: 11), Ug. <i>Klbyn</i> (PTU 28).
Eb. <i>Kulīl-i</i> , <i>Gú-li-li</i> “Dragonfly”, <i>Kulīl-ūn-u</i> , <i>Gú-li-lu-nu</i> (hypoc.) (PEb G 58), OB <i>Kulīla</i> (f) (Millet Albà 2000: 486).
Eb. <i>Kuzāzu</i> , <i>Gú-za-zu</i> “Biting insect” (PEb G 65), OA <i>Ku-za-zim</i> , <i>Ku-za-zi</i> (gen.) (OAPN 76).
Ug. <i>Ayh</i> “Caterpillar” (?), ⁴²⁹ <i>Tlln</i> “Insect” (Watson 2006: 452; Watson 2007: 101).
OAram. <i>Nabūzâ</i> , <i>Na-bu-za-a’</i> “Centipede” (?) (PNA 908).
Ar. <i>Ḥarīš</i> “Centipede” ⁴³⁰ (Beiträge 89).

AMPHIBIA

Frog

§136. Miscellaneous names

* <i>dVVL-</i> (SED 2, No. 68): Ug. <i>Dll</i> , <i>Da-li-li</i> (Watson 2006: 453).
* <i>qVr(V)r-</i> (SED 2, No. 137): Ug. <i>Qrr</i> , <i>Qrrn</i> (Watson 2006: 453), Palm. <i>Yqrwr</i> (PNPI 91).
* <i>šVpardī-</i> (SED 2, No. 222): Sab. <i>Dfd’</i> (HIn 383), Ar. (Bed.) <i>Ḍifda’</i> , <i>Ḍfēdi’</i> (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16).
Ug. <i>Nqq</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 109b).

FISH AND AQUATIC ANIMALS

§137. Miscellaneous names

* <i>abVw-</i> “kind of fish” (SED 2, No. 27): Ug. <i>by</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 103).
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⁴²⁹ For an alternative explanation, see the discussion in ↑4.3.1.2.

⁴³⁰ This term should not be confused with *ḥarīš* “rhinoceros” (< Ge’ez) (Leslau 1987: 244).

<i>nūn</i> - “fish” (AHw 803; DNWSI 722): Akk. <i>Nūnī</i> , <i>Nu-ni-ia</i> “My fish” (PNA 967), ⁴³¹ Heb. <i>Nūn</i> (Rechenmacher 2012: 170), OffAram. <i>Nnt</i> (?) (Lemaire 2002: 274), Nab. <i>Nny</i> , <i>Nny</i> , <i>Nnwt</i> (dimin.?) (Cantineau 1932: 121; PNNR 165), Saf., His. <i>Nn</i> (HIn 601; ENAH 473), Ar. <i>Nūna</i> (f) (Ikmal 1: 373), nick. <i>Ḍū al-Nūn</i> (KN 221).
Akk. <i>Agargarūtu</i> , <i>ʿA-ga-ar-ga-ru-ti</i> “Fish” (<Sum.) (PTKN, 21), Ar. <i>Ğirreyya</i> (f) “Clarias” ⁴³² (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4).
Akk. <i>Kuppû(m)</i> “Eel”, ⁴³³ MB <i>Ku-up-pu</i> (PKTN 126), N/LB <i>Ku-up-pu</i> , <i>Kup-pu-tu</i> , <i>ʿKu-up-pu-(ut-)tum</i> (NBN 92b), Ug. <i>Kpyn</i> (Watson 2006: 453).
Akk. <i>Nāhiru</i> “Dolphin” (PNA 922).
Akk. <i>Alluttu</i> (f) “Crab” (AfO 42/43 63: 12), <i>Šīlangītu</i> , <i>ʿŠī-la-an-gi-tu</i> , “Fish” (Baker 2002: 8).
Ug. <i>Dg</i> “Fish” (PTU 28), Heb. <i>Dgʿ</i> (PHIAP 166).
Ug. <i>Kty</i> “Crab” (?) (Watson 2007: 103).
Heb. <i>Pənninā</i> (f) “Coral”, <i>Taḥaš</i> “Dolphin” or “Dugong” (?) (Glatz 2001: 29).
Ar. <i>Ḥūt</i> “Whale, Fish” (CIK 2 337), Nab. <i>Ḥwtw</i> (PNNR 166), ⁴³⁴ <i>Ḥt</i> in Saf., His., Tham., and Had., provided it is not from <i>√htt</i> “to fleet” (HIn 175; ENAH 385; Shatnawi 2002: 669), Bed. <i>Ḥūtān</i> , <i>Ḥwēt/Ḥwayt</i> (Hess 1912: 20; Littmann 1949: 15).
Ar. <i>Sumayaka</i> (f) “Little fish” (Gratzl 1906: 53), CAO FN <i>Samak</i> (Littmann 1949: 3), CAO <i>Šabbūt</i> “Carp”, ⁴³⁵ <i>Bunniyya</i> (f) “Barbel” ⁴³⁶ (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4), from Egypt <i>Bulṭiyya</i> (f) “Cichlid” and <i>Šīlabāya</i> (f) “Schilbid catfish” (Littmann 1949: 3).

UNCLASSIFIED

§138. *waḥš*- “wild beast” (Ar.)

Nab. *Wḥšw* (PNNR 165), Saf., His., Tham. *Wḥs²*, Saf. *Wḥs²n*, *Wḥs²l*, either “The wild beast of god” or the verbal form *Waḥaš-Il* (HIn 636), Ar. *Waḥš*, *Waḥšī* (CIK 584), nick (KN 448), Bed. *Waḥš* (Littmann 1921: 19), *Wāḥāš* (f) “Falcon” (in the Najdi dialect) (Hess 1912: 53),

⁴³¹ CAD N/2 341a: the element *Nu-nu* in personal names is probably a foreign word.

⁴³² Cf. JBArām./Mand. *gyryt* “kind of fish” (Sokoloff 2002: 283; Drower and Macuch 1963: 92b).

⁴³³ Cf. JBArām. *kwp̄y* “kind of fish” (Sokoloff 2002: 565).

⁴³⁴ For an alternative etymology, see §4.3.1.3.3.

⁴³⁵ This term is probably a loan from Arām. *šbwṭ*, *šbwṭ* (Brockelmann 1928: 751; Jastrow 1903: 1565).

⁴³⁶ Cf. Syr. *bynyt* (Brockelmann 1928: 69).

CAO *Wahš* and *W(u)hūš* as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 244).