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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.	'Āri'ēl "Lion of El/God", <i>Hā-'aryē</i> (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 170; PHIAP 60, 75).
Aram.	OffAram. 'ry (Lemaire 2002: 265), Dura <i>Aρηριηλ</i> may be an error for <i>Aριηλ</i> , 'ry'l (Grassi 2012: 145).

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

Eb.	'Ašda- <i>Il</i> , Aš-da- <i>īl</i> "Il is a lion", <i>Hinna-ašda</i> , <i>I-na-áš-da</i> "Have mercy, lion" (ARES 3 324; Krebernik 1988: 76).
Amor.	'Aśdum, Aš-du-um, 'Aśdiya, Aš-di-ia, 'Aśda-ahī, Aš-da-a-ḥi "My brother is A." 'Aśdum-abī, Aš-du-um-a-bi "My father is A.", 'Abī-aśad, A-bi-a-ša-ad "My father is A.", 'Aśdu-rāp', Aš-du-ra-pi "A. is a healer", 'Aśdī-yapu', Aš-di-e-pu-uḥ "My A. is radiant", 'Aśdī-yaśar, Aš-di-e-sa-ar "My A. is just", 'Aśdī-yaśu', Aš-di-e-šu-uḥ "My A. has helped", 'Aśdī-ki-El "My A. is like a god", 'Aśdī-maṭar "My A. is rain", etc. (CAAA 13, 239, sub √aśd).
Aram.	Nab. šd (PNNR 165), Palm. šdw (PNPI 73), OSyr. šdw (Drijvers and Healey 1999: Am 10: 2, 8).
AAr.	"s <sup>1</sup> d, 's <sup>1</sup> d, 's <sup>1</sup> dw, 's <sup>1</sup> dy, 's <sup>1</sup> dn in Saf., 's <sup>1</sup> d in Dad. and Tham. (HIn 7, 43), 's <sup>1</sup> dt as (m) in Tham., Min., Qat., and (f) in Sab. <sup>323</sup> (Shatnawi 2002: 646; Schaffer 1981: 296).
Ar.	(al-)Asad, al-Asad, Asada, Asid, Usayd (m+f), Usayda (f) (CIK 2 122, 195, 575; Iṣtiqāq 33, 56, 501; Ikmāl 1: 57-8, 67-9, 70-71, 83, 20 153), nick. Asad <i>Allah</i> "Lion of God", Asad <i>al-rasūl</i> "Lion of the Prophet", Asad <i>al-baḥr</i> "Lion of the sea", al-Asad <i>al-rahīṣ</i> "The brave lion", <i>Su'r al-asad</i> "The remaining food of the lion" (KN 57; MAAM 26ff), Bed. Asad (Littmann 1921: 6), CAO Asad <i>Al-lah</i> (UAE, No. 70069602), Asad as PN and FN, al-Asad, al-Asadī, Abū Asad (all

<sup>323</sup> On Old Sab. theophoric names with 's<sup>1</sup>d "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, 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>Si-la-ba-at</i> , <i>Ši-la-ba</i> “She [Ištar] is a lioness”, <i>EŠ<sub>4</sub>-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-<sup>d</sup>la-ba</i> “Labba has given” (CAAA, No. 2459; ARM 16/1: 116), <i>A-hu-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. <sup>324</sup>	<i>Labā/Lbba, La-ba</i> (ARM 25 785 I: 6), <i>Labu'ānu, La-bu-'a<sub>4</sub>-nu</i> (OBTR 297: 5), <i>'Ammu-Labba, Ha-am-mu-la-ba-a</i> “Labba is the (paternal) ancestor”, <i>Šumu-Labba, Šu-mu-la-ba</i> “Descendant of Labba” (CAAA, No. 1908, 5674), <sup>m</sup> <i>Am-ti-la-ba</i> (ibid) could be normalized as <i>'Am-ti-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>Labatum</i> “Lionne”, <i>Yasmah-Laba</i> “Le-dieu-au-Lion-écoute”, and <i>Išhi-Laba</i> “Le-dieu-au-Lion-est-mon-aide” (apparently confused with <i>Iš-<sub>h</sub>i-<sup>d</sup>la-ma</i> in ARM 8 58: 10’ = CAAA, No. 3792).
(N)WSC	Amarna: <i>Lab'āyu, La-ab-a-ia</i> (Hess 1993: 103), MB Alalakh <i>Laba'u, 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'ū, La-ba-'u-u, La-ba-'u-u</i> (PNA 649),

<sup>324</sup> Cf. ↑4.1.3.1.1.

	<i>Labâ, /La-ba-a</i> (Radner 2002 21': 3, 5).
Ug.	'mlbu (↑Amor. 'Ammu-Labba), Šmlbi/u (↑Amor. Sūmū-Labba), 'bdlbīt "Servant of the lioness (goddess)", Ahi-labu, A-hi-la-bu "My brother is a lion" or "L. is my brother", Lab'iya, la-ab-i-ia (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; Ištiqāq 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.	'by <i>Lyt</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 78), ( <i>al-</i> ) <i>Layt</i> <sup>325</sup> (CIK 2 376; Ištiqāq 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. \**nVhVs-*, \**nVhVs-* (SED 2, No. 159)<sup>326</sup>

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)-si</i> , <sup>327</sup> <i>Hayra-nēš</i> , <i>Ha-ra-ne(NE)-iš</i> "The (divine) lion is excellent", <i>Ha-ra-nēš</i> , <i>Ha-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). <sup>328</sup>

<sup>325</sup> In CAr., *layt* also denotes "a certain kind of spider" (Lane 2684a).

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

<sup>327</sup> Krebernik (1988: 99): NE-iš, NE-su, NE-šu could be from Akk. *nēšu* "to live".

<sup>328</sup> 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)*<sup>-</sup> “lion, beast of prey” (Lane 1298b)

Aram.	Nab. <i>Šb'</i> , <i>Šb'w</i> , <i>Šb'[l]hy</i> “Lion of god” or “My god has satisfied (me)” (Cantineau 1932: 148; PNNR 164-5), Palm. <i>Šb'</i> (PNPI 113), Hat. <i>Šb"</i> (Abbadı 1983: 166), which could also be a hypoc. of <i>šb'-DN</i> “Satisfaction (through DN)” (Beyer 1998, H 18,2).
AAr.	Saf. <i>'s<sup>1</sup>b'n</i> , <i>S<sup>1</sup>b'</i> , <i>S<sup>1</sup>b'l</i> “Lion of god” (?) (HIn 41, 309), Sab. <i>S<sup>1</sup>b'</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-Sabi'</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; Zakhariyyā 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'</i> <i>al-'Arab</i> “Lion of the Arabs”, <i>Sab'</i> <i>al-Dīr</i> “Lion of the city of Deir ez-Zor”, <i>Sab'</i> <i>al-lil</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. - <i>i</i> ) (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> <sup>329</sup> (CIK 101, 189; Lane 1930b).

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

‘Arandas (Ištiqāq 379).
<i>al-Ašras</i> (CIK 2 201; Lane 1532b), <i>’s<sup>2</sup>rs<sup>1</sup></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> (Ištiqāq 378; Ikmāl 3: 103, 7: 121).
<i>Damḍam, Dumādīm</i> (vdm̚) (Ištiqāq 228; Ikmāl 1: 568, 2: 164).
<i>Dayğam</i> (vdgm̚) (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; CIK 2 241; Ikmāl 2: 372), Saf. <i>Dğm</i> (?) (HIn 382), Bed. <i>Dayğam</i> , FN <i>Āl Dayğam</i> , <i>al-Dayāgim</i> (pl.) (Zakariyyā 1983: 735; Beduinen 4 30; Al-Ğāsir 2001: 459, 461).
<i>Dirğām(a)</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; Ikmāl 2: 414), CAO <i>Dirğām</i> (UAE, 20009890), <i>Dirğām</i> (d<đ) (SAR 1, p. 114, 272).
<i>Furāfiṣa</i> (vfrṣ) (Al-Asma‘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>Ğadanfar</i> (Al-Ğāhīz 1966 1: 326; Lane 2268), nick. <i>Ibn al-Ğadanfar</i> (MAAM 233).
<i>Hartama</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; Ištiqāq 199), Tham. <i>Hṛtm</i> (?) (HIn 613), Bed. SG <i>al-Harāṭima</i> (pl.) (Al-Ğāsir 2001: 888).
<i>Haydara</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> <sup>330</sup> (Al-Asma‘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>’s<sup>1</sup>mt</i> (HIn 45), CAO: a frequent name (Hittī 2003: 82).

<sup>330</sup> 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. <sup>331</sup>	OffAram. <i>Nmrw</i> (Maraqten 1988: 186; Porten and Yardeni 2014: 129), Nab. <i>Nmrw</i> , <i>Nnmr'</i> (PNNR 165), Dura <i>Nāμapoṣ</i> (Grassi 2012: 226; Gzella 2015a: 462b).
AAr.	' <i>nmr</i> , <i>Nmr</i> in Saf, His., Tham., Sab., and Qat., 'n <i>mrm</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; Ištiqāq 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>Mahmūd-Nimr</i> (SAR 1, p. 201, No. 23489) and <i>Muhammad-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” (Ištiqāq 378).

## Cheetah

### §12. Miscellaneous names

\**pahd-* (SED 2, No. 171): *Fhd*, *Fhdt* in Dad., *Fhd* in Saf., *Fhdm* in Qat. and Sab.<sup>332</sup> (HIn 473; PQI 212), Ar. *Fahd*, *Fahdān*, *Fuhayd* (CIK 2 244; Ištiqāq 527; Ikmāl 7: 76), nick. *Fahd*, *Ibn al-Fahhād* “Cheetah trainer” (KN 356; MAAM 248), Bed. *Fähäd*, *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).

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

<sup>332</sup> 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/dar* “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. *Ha-an-zu-ra, ’Anzura* (?) (CAA, 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 *Baσσoς*, if not for Greek (?) *Basus* (Grassi 2012: 171), Saf. *Bs<sup>l</sup>* (HIn 105), Bed. *Bsēs* (f), *Bsaya* (f) (Hess 1912: 12), *Bsēs, Bšēbiš* (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16), CAO *Bsayne* (f), *Bazzōn* (Beiträge 76; Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).

*hurr-* “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, Hurayra* (f) (CIK 2 284; Ikmāl 7: 409; Gratzl 1906: 53), *kunya: Abu Hirr/Hurayra* (Al-Dawlābī 2: 331-2; Al-Ǧāḥiẓ 1966 5: 343), CAO *Hārūn* (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).

\**šu/in(n)ār-, šurān-* “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<sup>l</sup>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-šú-ú/u, Mu-ra-šu-nu* (Nielsen 2015: 214; NBN 113).

Ar. *Quṭayṭ* “Little cat”<sup>333</sup> (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-<sup>d</sup>Ba-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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<sup>333</sup> On the etymology of *qitt*, see Huehnergard (2008).

	<i>f</i> Kal-bi-tum (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-irīḥ</i> , <i>I-na-pī-i-kal-bi-i-ri-iḥ</i> “He remained in the mouth of a dog”, <i>Kal-bi</i> (gen.), <i>Kalab-Baba</i> , UR.GI- <sup>d</sup> ba-ba <sub>6</sub> (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-Ukū</i> , [Kal]-bi- <sup>d</sup> ú-ku-u, [Kal-bi]-ú-ku-u-a, UR-KU-ú-ku-ú-a “Dog of Ukū”, <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-a, <i>Kal-bi-a</i> , <i>f</i> Kal-ba-ti, UR- <sup>d</sup> a-a, <i>Kal-bi-<sup>d</sup>ba-ú</i> , etc. (Nielsen 2015: 170; NBN 86-7), Ša-pī-kalbi (m + f), Ša-KA-UR, Ša-pi(-i)-kal-bi “He/She (who was rescued from) the mouth of a dog” (NBN 199; cf. also ↑3.3.2), and the title <i>Kalab Innin, Ištar</i> and <i>Nanā</i> (Weisberg 2003 10: 37).
Eb.	<i>Kalibū</i> , <i>Ga-li-bù</i> , <i>Ga-li-bu</i> <sub>14</sub> (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> , <i>fKa-al-ba-tum</i> , <i>Kalbu-Ami</i> , <i>K[a]-al-bu-<sup>d</sup>a-mi</i> , <i>Kalbu-Anat</i> , <i>Ka-al-bu-<sup>d</sup>ha-na-at</i> , <i>Kalbu-‘Aštar</i> , <i>Ka-al-bu-eš<sub>4</sub>-tár</i> , <i>Kalba-el</i> , <i>Ga-al-ba-il</i> , <i>Ka-al-ba-DINGIR</i> , <i>’Ayya-kalba</i> , <i>fA-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.	OAr. <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>Bαρχαλβας</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>Klbt</i> , <i>Klbn</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; Ikmāl 1: 106, 272, 381, 541, 7: 174), nick. <i>Anf al-kalb</i> “The dog’s nose”, <i>Huṭām 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/ <i>Ğelballāh</i> “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”<sup>334</sup> (CIK 2 439, 449; Ikmāl 7: 43, 332), Sab *Nbh* (HIn 578), Qat. *Nbyḥ* (PQI 246).

### Fox

§16. \**ṭV'(V)l-*, \**ṭa'lab-* (SED 2, 237)

Akk. <sup>335</sup>	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-bí-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>Še<sub>10</sub>-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>Še-lí(NI)-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'ln</i> , <i>T'l</i> , <i>T'ln</i> , <i>T'lb</i> , <i>Ša'ālānu</i> , <i>Ša-a-la-na</i> (PTU 28, 198).
Can-Heb.	<i>Š/Sū'ali</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'l't</i> as (m) in Tham. and His. and (f) in Qat., <i>T'l'm</i> in Sab. and His. (HIn 146; Shatnawi 2002: 663; ENAH 378; PQI 108; Tairan 1992: 90).

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

<sup>335</sup> AHw 1210: the names with the suffix *-tum* are uncertain. They could be hypoc. of *šelevu* or from *šelevpūtu* “turtle” (§120).

Ar. <sup>336</sup>	<i>Tu‘al</i> , <i>Tu‘āla</i> , <i>Ta‘lab</i> , <i>Ta‘laba</i> , <i>Ta‘labān/ Tu‘lubān</i> , <i>Tu‘aylib</i> (CIK 2 553ff; Ištiqāq 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” (Ištiqāq 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” <sup>337</sup> (Littmann 1921: 8).

**Wolf, jackal**

§18. \**di‘b-* “wolf” (SED 2, No. 72)

Akk./WS	NB <i>Zibā</i> , <i>Zi-ba-a</i> (with the hypoc. ending -a), <i>Zibū</i> , <i>Zi-i-bu</i> , which also means “Vulture” (CAD Z 106; Nielsen 2015: 408).
Eb.	<i>Di‘bu</i> , <i>Šè-bù</i> , <i>Šè-ì-bu</i> , <i>Di‘(ba)-Dār</i> , <i>Zé-da-ar</i> “Dār is a wolf”, <i>Di‘ba-Qawm</i> , <i>Zé-ba-kam<sub>4</sub></i> “Qawm is a wolf”, <i>Di‘ba-dādum</i> , <i>Zi-ib-da-dum</i> “The beloved one is a wolf”, <i>Di‘ba-Dāmu/Di‘(ba)-Dāmu</i> , <i>Zi-ib/ib-damu</i> , <i>Zé-da-mu</i> “Damu is a wolf”, <i>Di‘bi-na‘du</i> , <i>Zi-bī?(NE)-na-da</i> “The exalted one is a wolf”, <i>Di‘bi-Šum</i> , <i>Zi-bu<sub>16</sub>?NI-šum</i> “Šum (or the descendant) is a wolf”, <i>Di‘ba-Kubī</i> , <i>Zi-ba-gú-bí</i> “Kubī is a wolf”, <i>Šū-Di‘b-u</i> , <i>Zu-šè-bù</i> “He is a wolf”, <i>Dū-Di‘b-u</i> , <i>Zu-šè-bù</i> “Belonging to the wolf” (ARES 3 367, 384-5, 389).
Amor.	<i>Di‘batum</i> , <i>fZi-ib-a-tum</i> (or ↑§18), <i>Di‘bum</i> , <i>Zi-bu-um</i> , <i>Di‘bān</i> , <i>Zi-ba-an</i> , <i>Di‘batān</i> , <i>[Z]i-ba-ta-an</i> “Little wolf”, <i>Di‘biya</i> , <i>Zi-bi-ia</i> “Little wolf” (CAA 364-65, sub √ <i>šb’</i> ; Streck 2000: §5.70, 5.79).
(N)WSC	<i>Zībatu</i> , <i>fZi-ba-tu</i> (NPN 304).
Heb.	<i>Ze‘eb</i> (Glatz 2001: 29).

<sup>336</sup> 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).

<sup>337</sup> In CAr., *Abū al-Huṣayn/Hiṣn* (i.e., immune) is the fox’s *kunya*/epithet (Lane 587a).

Aram.	OAram. <i>Di'bâ</i> , <i>Di-i'-ba-a</i> (Lipiński 1994: 210; PNA 382), Nab. <i>D'bw</i> , <i>D'ybw</i> (dimin.) (Cantineau 1932: 80).
AAr.	Sab. <i>D'bm</i> , <i>D'bn</i> (Tairan 1992: 115), Qat. <i>D'bm</i> , <i>D'ybm</i> , <i>'md'b</i> , meaning “The people/ancestor is a wolf” or “The people/ancestor has united” in view of Ar. <i>da'aba</i> “to collect” (POI 136-7, 197), Tham. His. <i>D'b</i> , Saf. <i>'d'b</i> , <i>D'b</i> , <i>D'bt</i> , <i>D'bn</i> (HIn 33, 246-7; ENAH 339; Shatnawi 2002: 689).
Ar.	<i>Dwyb</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 70), <i>Di'b</i> , <i>al-Di'ba</i> (f), <i>Di'āb</i> (pl.), <i>Du'ayb</i> , <i>Du'ayba</i> , <i>Dibān</i> (CIK 2 235, 237-8, Ištiqāq 48, 479; Ikmāl 2: 392, 3: 391-3, 5: 62), nick. <i>al-Di'b</i> , <i>Su'r al-di'b</i> “The wolf's remaining food” (KN 222; MAAM 310), Bed. <i>D/Dib</i> , <i>D/D(i)yāb</i> (pl.), <i>D/Dibān</i> , <i>el-Dwēb</i> (dimin.), <i>Dwayyib</i> , <i>Dwayibe</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 24; Littmann 1921: 10), SG <i>al-Diyābin</i> (pl.), <i>al-Diyābāt</i> (feminine pl.) (Beduinen 4 33), CAO <i>Dib</i> , <i>Dibe</i> (f) (SAR 1, No. 2276, 3762), <i>Dibū</i> (plus the hypoc. -ū) (SAR 1, No. 3646, 7615), the compound names <i>Muhammad-Dib/Dib</i> (SAR 1, No. 168, 2145, 20350), <i>Ahmad-Dib</i> and <i>Ših-Dib</i> (FN) (SAR 1, No. 7598, 10179), FN <i>Sālim-Dib</i> <sup>338</sup> (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. ‘Amallas “Wolf” [by-form] (Ištiqāq 29, 561).
Ar. ‘As‘as “Wolf” [by-form] (Ištiqāq 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'lñ</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-Bağdādī 2001 15: 588, No. 7252-3), nick. (KN 445).

<sup>338</sup> On these compound names, see §5.5.2.

Ar. ( <i>al-</i> ) <i>Sid</i> “Wolf” <sup>339</sup> (Ištiqāq 190, 241, 537; CIK 2 512), <i>Sidān</i> (pl.) (Ikmal 4: 376), His. <i>S<sup>l</sup>d</i> , Saf. <i>S<sup>l</sup>d</i> , <i>S<sup>l</sup>dt</i> , <i>S<sup>l</sup>dn</i> (or from <i>sadda</i> “close, do what was right”, <i>swd/sāda</i> “rule”, etc., <i>S<sup>l</sup>d'l&lt;Sid-Il</i> “Wolf of god” (?) (ENAH 409; HIn 303, 313ff).
Ar. <i>Sirhān</i> “Wolf” (Ištiqāq 537; CIK 2 514), Bed. <i>Sirhān</i> , <i>Srēhān</i> (Hess 1912: 28-9; Littmann 1921: 11), SG <i>Abū Sirhān</i> (Beduinen 4 120b), CAO <i>Si/arhān</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”) <sup>340</sup> (CIK 2 588; Ma‘lūf 1932: 47).
Ar. (Bed./CAO) <i>Wāwī</i> “Jackal” (CAr. <i>ibnu āwā</i> ) <sup>341</sup> (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>fDa-bi-tum</i> (AHw 148; Stamm 1939: 253), <i>Da-bi<sub>4</sub>-ia</i> (OMA 191).
Amor. <sup>342</sup>	<i>Dabi'um</i> , <i>Da-bi-um</i> , <i>Da-bi-ú-um</i> (CAA, No. 1412; Durand 1997: 644 xii 20), <i>Dab'atum</i> , <i>fDa-ab-a-tum</i> , <i>Dabi'atum/Dabyatum</i> , <i>fDa-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” (?) (CAA, No. 5628, normalized as <i>tajbi</i> ) and <i>Ammu-dabi</i> “The (paternal) ancestor is a bear” (Millet Albà 2000: 485 without textual references).
Ug.	<i>Dby</i> (Watson 2007: 109a).
Aram.	OAr. <i>Di-ib-ba-a</i> , <i>Dib-bu-ú-a</i> (Zadok 1977: 146). <sup>343</sup>
AAr.	<i>Db</i> in Saf., His., and Tham. (HIn 233; ENAH 397; Shatnawi 2002: 685).

<sup>339</sup> It also means “lion” in the dialect of Hudayl tribe (Al-Sukkari n.d. 561).

<sup>340</sup> 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-Rahim 2012 2 1655).

<sup>341</sup> Cf. \**VwVy* (SED 2, No. 21).

<sup>342</sup> Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

<sup>343</sup> 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/Dubib</i> , <i>al-Dabdūb</i> (all FNs) (Al-Ǧāsir 2001: 225; UAE, No. 19811712).
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§21. Another name for bear in ES

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

Eb. *Asu* (ARES 3 289).

### Hyena

§22. \*šab(u)‘- (SED 2, No. 220)

Amor.	<i> Zi-ib-a-tum</i> : could reflect <i>Sib’atum</i> “She-hyena” (Streck 2000: §4.7) or <i>Di’batum</i> “She-wolf” (↑ §18).
Heb.	<i>Sib’ōn</i> (Beiträge 79, Glatz 2001: 29).
AAr.	<i>Db‘, Db‘t, Db‘n</i> in Saf., His., and Tham. (HIn 380; ENAH 425; Shatnawi 2002: 716), <i>Db‘</i> (f) in Qat. and (m) in Min., <i>Db‘m</i> (f/m) and <i>Db‘n</i> in Qat. (Schaffer 1981: 299; POI 182; Sholan 1999: 34, 112).
Ar. <sup>344</sup>	<i>Dabu‘, Dib‘ān, Dubay‘, Dubā‘a, Dubay‘a, Dubay‘ī</i> (Ištiqāq 552; CIK 2 24-3; Ikmāl 5: 220), Bed. <i>Dab‘ān</i> (Littmann 1921: 13), SG: <i>Dabā‘īn, Abū Dbē‘</i> (Al-Ǧāsir 2001: 454; Beduinen 4 31), CAO <i>Dbē‘</i> is attested only once as PN (SAR 4, No. 188, 22174), FN <i>al-Dab‘ā, Dab‘ān, Abū Dbā‘</i> (pl.), <i>Abū al-Dab‘āt</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>Aylān</i> “Male hyena” (only eponymous) (CIK 2 149; Lane 2231a), Saf., Tham. <i>In</i> (?) (HIn 432; ENAH 437).
<i>Ham‘, Humā‘a</i> (f) (Beiträge 79; Ikmāl 3: 190), Qat., Min. <i>Hm‘</i> (PQI 131; Al-Said 1995: 100).
<i>Haz‘al</i> (also means a lame person) (Ištiqāq 560), Qat. <i>Hz‘l</i> (POI 129), CAO <i>Haz‘al</i> as PN and FN (UAE, No. 20022705; SAR 1, No. 1234; SAR 4, No. 31235).

<sup>344</sup> In CAr., *dabu‘*, *dab‘*, *dib‘āna* are grammatically fem. and *dib‘ān* 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>Na'tal</i> “Male hyena” (also fool, hairy person), nick. <i>Na'tal Qurayš</i> (i.e., the third caliph ‘Uṭmān b. ‘Affān” (Ikmāl 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> (?) (CAA 26, No. 4996, 5003).
Ug.	(bn) <i>Nmš</i> (PTU 28, 167; Watson 2006: 449).
Heb.	<i>Nimšī, Nmš, Nmšy</i> (IPN 230; PHIAP 100; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
AAr.	<i>Nms<sup>l</sup>, Nms<sup>t</sup></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.

*Šikkū*<sup>345</sup> (CAD Š/2 434), OB *Ši-ik-ku-tum, ſi-ik-ka-tum* (YOS 13 18: 3, 102: 3), MB Emar *Šikkū* (Pruzsinszky 2003: 97), N/LB *Sik-(ik-)ku-ú-a, ſik-ku-ú, ſik-ku-ut-tum* (Nielsen 2015: 368; NBN 180b), *Pani-šikkī* “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-u<sub>9</sub></i> “Little whelp” or “Whelp-like”, <i>Guwayru, Gú-wa-lu, Gūr-Sil, 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-bu<sub>16</sub></i> “Whelp of the father”, <i>Hū-gūra, Ù-gú-ra</i> “He is a whelp” (PEb G, 57, 59, 64, 67, 68, 70; ARES 3 315, 372ff).
Amor. <sup>346</sup>	<i>Gūratum, ſGu-ra-tum, ſGu-ra-tim</i> (gen.), <i>Gūru, Gu-ri</i> (gen.), <i>Gūriya, Gu-ri-ia</i> “Little whelp” (CAA 26, No. 1783-86).
(N)WSC	<i>Gu-ra-, Gur-ra-a-a, Gu-ri-ia, Gur-u-u-a</i> (PNA 431ff).

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

<sup>346</sup> ↑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 Γοραῖος, Γοραῖα (f), Γοραῖ (?) (Grassi 2012: 181ff).
Ar.	Ǧurw, Ǧurwa, Ǧurayy, Ǧurayya (CIK 2: 266; Beiträge 78; Ikmāl 2: 99), nick. <i>Ibn al-Ǧurw</i> (Al-Şafadī 2000 11: 57), <i>al-Ǧurw</i> , Ǧurw al-bathā’ (a place in Mecca), <i>Ibn Ǧurayy</i> (MAAM 72, KN 138), Bed. Ǧirw, Ǧrēw (Hess 1912: 15; Littmann 1921: 7), SG Ȧl al-Ǧarw (Beduinen 4 36, 38), CAO Ǧi/arwān is found only once as a PN, while <i>al-Ǧarw</i> and Ǧarwa are rather common as FNs (UAE, No. 70063051, No. 20021326; Gaza, No. 13268; SAR 1, No. 47838).

§27. Another name for whelp/puppy

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

Ug. *Mrnn* (?) (Watson 2006: 449).

#### IV. UNGULATES

##### Wild ungulates

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

Ug.	<i>Irn</i> , <i>Urn</i> (Watson 2007: 104).
Heb.	'Arnān (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-bí-um</i> , <i>Ar-wi-um</i> , <i>Ar-wi-tum</i> , <i>Ar-bí-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>Ar-wi-tum</i> , <i>Ar-wa-tum</i> , etc. (CAA, No. 917ff; IPNOBS 43, OAPN 15), MB <i>Ar-mi-i</i> , <i>Ar-mi-ti</i> (gen.) (PKTN 39), NA <i>Ar-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; Ikmāl 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>īIa-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>īA-a'a<sub>5</sub>?(NI)-a-lu-du</i> , <i>Ayla(t)-šu</i> , <i>A-a-la-zu</i> “His satg” (ARES 3 273).
Amor. <sup>347</sup>	<i>'Ayyala</i> , <i>īA-ia-la</i> , <i>'Ayyālum</i> , <i>A-ia-lum</i> , <i>'Ayyalān</i> , <i>A-ia-la-an</i> (CAA, No. 301-02; ARM 16/1 73; Streck 2000: §5.70; Golinets 2016: 68).
Ug.	(bn) <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): <sup>348</sup> <i>Bí-bí</i> (gen.), <i>Bí-bí-a</i> , <i>Bibbi-il</i> , <i>Bí-bí-DINGIR</i> “The god is my wild sheep”, <i>Ea-bibbi</i> , <i>Ēa-bí-bí</i> “Ea is my wild sheep”, <i>Bēlu(m)-bibbi</i> , <i>EN-bí-bí</i> “God/the lord is my wild sheep”, <i>Nārum-bibbi</i> , <i>īID-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-iya</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).

<sup>347</sup> Cf. ↑4.1.1.4, 4.1.2.4.

<sup>348</sup> The OAkk. names are apparently not accepted in CAD B 217-19 and AHw 124.

Ar.	<i>Badan, Budayn</i> (Ištiqāq 340; CIK 2 218).
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§33. \*gVzāl- “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>Ḫu-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>Guzālu</i> , <i>Hu-za-lu</i> <sub>x</sub> (ARES 3 319).
Amor. <sup>349</sup>	<i>Ġazāla</i> , <i>Ḫa-za-la</i> (Streck 2000: §2.95, 5.22), <i>Ġazālum</i> , <i>Ha-za-lum</i> (ARM 22 160), <i>A-za-lu-um</i> , <i>A-za-lum</i> , <i>Az-za-lum</i> (CAA, No. 574-76), <i>Ġazāliya</i> , <i>A-sa-lija</i> , <i>A-za-la-ia</i> , <i>A-za-li-ia</i> “Little gazelle” (CAA, No. 516, 571, 573), <i>Ġazālī</i> , <i>Ha-za-li</i> “My gazelle” (or hypoc.) (OBTR 307: 2’).
(N)WSC	<i>Ġazālu(m)</i> , <i>Ha-za-lum</i> , <i>Ha-za-la</i> , <i>Ha-za-li</i> , <i>Ġazālā</i> , <i>ḥa-za-la-a</i> (PNA 469).
Ug.	(bt) <i>Hzli</i> , <i>Hu-zi-la-a</i> , <i>Ha-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>Guzayl</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>Ġzayil</i> (f) (Littmann 1921: 16; Hess 1912: 43), SG <i>Ġazālāt</i> (fem. pl.), <i>Ġazāliyin</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</i> b. <i>Ġazāl</i> <i>Ġazāl</i> (SAR 1, No. 728, 4099, 17495).

§34. \*g-/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>Ġfrt</i> (ENAH 444).
Ar. <sup>350</sup>	<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’fir</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 Hazm. n. d.: 209; Ikmāl 6: 228; Lisān 9:

<sup>349</sup> Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

<sup>350</sup> Some of the ‘-fr 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-‘Ofrī</i> (f), <i>‘Ofērī</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>ṛRī-in-du</i> (ARES 3 231, 359).
Akk.	OAkk. <i>Ri-im-Haniš</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-ili</i> “DN is the wild bull of gods”, <i>Sîn-rīm-Urim</i> “DN is the wild bull of Ur”, <i>Ištar-rīmti-ili</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>ṛRīmtum</i> , <i>Rīmum</i> (abbr. or hypoc), MA <i>Aššur-rīm-nišešu</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. \**taby(-at)* “gazelle, antelope” (SED 2, No. 242)

Amor. <sup>351</sup>	<i>Ṣabiyatum</i> , <i>ṣSa-bi-ia-tum</i> , <i>Ṣabi</i> , <i>ṣSa-bí</i> (ARM 23 236: 57; CAAA, No. 6343).
Heb.	<i>Sibyā</i> (f/m), <i>Sby</i> , <i>Sby’</i> (f) (PHIAP 84; Rechenmacher 2012: 171; Stamm 1980: 125).
Aram.	O/OffAram. <i>Tby</i> , <i>Ta-bi-i/ia</i> , <i>Tbyw</i> (Zadok 1977: 142; Maraqtan 1988: 168; Porten and Yardeni 2014: 39), provided they are not the abbreviated forms of a compound name with the element <i>tāb</i> “good”. The fem. counterpart <i>Tabīṭā</i> (i.e., clearly the Aram. form) was apparently reasonably frequent in Roman Palestine (cf. Acts 9: 36-40). Nab. <i>Sbyw</i> (Cantineau 1932: 138), if related to this root, is presumably Arabian, otherwise the /t/ would have been written. It could also be from Ar./Aram. <i>ṣby</i> “to desire” or Ar. “to be young”.
AAr.	<i>Zby</i> in Saf. and Min., <i>Zbym</i> in Qat. and Sab., <i>Zbyn</i> in Min., Qat., and Sab. (HIn

<sup>351</sup> Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

	391; POI 184-5).
Ar.	>Zaby, Zabya (f), Za/ibyān (Ištiqāq 495; CIK 2 613; Ikmāl 5: 247, 251-2), Zubayya (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), Abū Zabyān (Ikmāl 2: 156, 5: 248), Bed. Zabi (f), Zabye (f) (Hess 1912: 37), CAO Zabya/e (f) is quite frequent, particularly in the Gulf States and Syria (e.g. UAE, No. 20001474, 20005147; SAR 1, No. 8157, 26762), Zabyān is attested only once (SAR 2, No. 19300).

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

Amor. <sup>352</sup>	Ya‘ilā, Ia-hi-la, Ia-i-la, "Ia-i-la, Ya‘ilatum, Ia-hi-la-tum, Ia-hi-la-tim (gen.), Ya‘ilān(u) (tribe), Ja-hi-la-n, Ja-hi-la-nu (CAAQ, No. 3263-65, 3272, 3859, 3863; Streck 2000: §5.70).
Ug.	Y'l (PTU 28; Watson 2006: 448).
Heb.	Yā‘ēl (f), Ya‘ilā, Y'l, Y'ly (IPN 30; PHIAP 100; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Aram.	OAr. Ya‘ilā, Ia-(‘-)la-a/’ (?) (Zadok 1977: 115, 317), OffAram. W'lw (Maraqten 1988: 156).
AAr.	W'l, W'lt, W'ln in Saf. His., and Tham. (HIn 645; ENAH 482), Had. 'w'lm (f) < Aw‘ālum (pl.) (Sholan 1999: 32, 101).
Ar.	Wa‘la (m + f), Wa‘lān, Maw‘ala “A land having ibexes” (Ištiqāq 350; CIK 2 405, 586), CAO only FN Āl Wa‘lān, al-Wa‘il (Al-Āsir 2001: 865; UAE, No. 70065623).

§38. Other names for wild ungulates

*dayš- “(male) cloven-hoofed animal” (SED 2, p. 287 without a translation): Akk. Daššu, Da-áš-si, Da-si “Buck” (MAD 3 115), Heb. Dišōn “Addax” (Glatz 2001: 29), Ug. Ta’asi, t[a]-’a-si, translated as “Buck” in view of Akk. dasšu (Watson 2007: 106) seems irrelevant.
*ṭalāy- “kid, lamb” (SED 2, No. 232): Saf. Ṭlw, Dan. Ṭly “Fawn” <sup>353</sup> (HIn 389).
Akk. lulīmu “stag, red deer” (CDA 185) in theophoric names: Ilīma-lūlim “My god is truly (the) red deer” and Ilūm-lūlim “The god is the red deer” (Bowes 1987: 1043).
OAkk./Amor. Meme-turāḥ, Me-me-tu-ra-ah “Meme (i.e., DN) is ibex” (MAD 3 299), 'Alli-turāḥ, 'Al-li-tu-ra-ah “DN is ibex”, 'Alli-turāḥī, 'Al-li-tu-ra-ḥī “DN is my ibex” (CAAQ 563,

<sup>352</sup> Cf. ↑4.1.2.1.

<sup>353</sup> 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). <sup>354</sup>
Heb. <i>Tirḥānā</i> (?) (PHIAP 77-8).
AAr. <i>S<sup>2</sup>ṣr</i> “Young gazelle” <sup>355</sup> in Saf., Hism., Tham., and Sab., <i>'s<sup>2</sup>ṣr</i> in His. (probably pl.) (HIn 348; Shatnawi 2002: 709; ENAH 360).
Ar. <i>Buhṭa</i> “Oryx” (Beiträge 83), Sab., Qat. <i>Bḥtm</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>Hansā'</i> (f) “Oryx” (Gratzl 1906: 53; Ikmāl 10: 870a), CAO (e.g. WB, No. 8634, 8965; SAR 3, No. 21067).
Ar. <i>Hawla</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>Hiṣf</i> “Fawn” (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 1724; Lane 743b), <i>Huṣayf</i> (CIK 2 349), Had. <i>Ḩṣyfm</i> (or < <i>haṣif</i> “sharp sword”?) (HIn 222), Nab. <i>Hṣpw</i> (?) (PNNR 166).
Ar. <i>Mahā</i> (f) “Oryx, Gzaelle” (Al-İsbahānī 1984: 205), Bed. (f) (Hess 1912: 49), CAO a frequent (f) name (e.g. WB, No. 1125, 1159; UAE, No. 203, 652).
Ar. <i>Rašā'/ā</i> “Fawn” (Ibn Al-Ǧazrī 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-Waṣṣā' 1953: 223; Lane 1521a), CAO (e.g. SAR 1, No. 51525, 55326).

## Equids

§39. \*‘ar(ā)d- “wild ass, onager” (SED 2, No. 37)<sup>356</sup>

Amor.	‘Arādum, Ḫa-ra-di-im (gen.), ‘Arādān, Ḫa-ra-da-an ‘Ardāya, Ḫa-ar-da-ia
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<sup>354</sup> 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).

<sup>355</sup> Cf. Ug. *tsr* (Watson 2007: 69).

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

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

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

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

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

Amor.	Ga-ah-šu, Ga-ḥa-šum, Ga-ḥa-šum (CAA, No. 1705, 1734).
AAr.	Saf., Dad., His. Ghs <sup>2</sup> , Ghs <sup>2</sup> t (HIn 153; ENAH 379).
Ar.	Ǧahš (Al-Aṣma‘i 1989: 185), Ǧahwaš, Ǧihāš (pl.) (CIK 2 255, 262), nick. Ǧuhayš (KN 134), Bed. Ǧahš, ՚Ghayš (Littmann 1921: 7; Hess 1912: 14), SG Beni Ǧahš, Al Ǧahšān (Beduinen 4 34b).

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

Akk.	Oakk. I-ma-ru-um, E-ma-ru-um (MAD 3 47), MA I-ma-ru ( <i>rāb</i> Arraphajē “chief”) (NAOMA 64), NA I-ma-ri-i (either hypoc. or “From Emar”), I-ma-a-ru
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<sup>357</sup> Names of the *qatl* form, i.e., ‘ard- (CAA 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).

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

<sup>359</sup> Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.1.

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

	(PNA 538).
Amor.	<i>Himārum</i> , <i>Hi-ma-rum</i> (CAA No. 2276-77; Streck 2000: §5.30), <i>Hi-ma-ra-ti</i> (ARM 16/1 108) reflects either <i>Himāratu</i> “Little ass” or <i>Himmaratū&gt;’Immaratum</i> “Little sheep” (↓§62).
(N)WSC	MB Emar <i>Hi-ma-rum</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 162), NA <i>Hi-ma-ru</i> , <i>Hi-ma-ri-i</i> (hypoc.) (PNA 472), N/LB <i>Hi-ma-ri-ia</i> (Zadok 1977: 130).
Heb.	<i>Hamōr</i> (Glatz 2001: 29).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Hmr</i> , <i>Hmrn</i> , Dad. <i>Hmrm</i> , His. <i>Hmrt</i> , Qat., Sab. <i>Hmrm</i> (HIn 200; ENAH 391); alternatively, these could denote the color <i>ahmar</i> “red” or the meaning “to be strong” in view of <i>Humar</i> and <i>Humrān</i> (CIK 2 332-3).
Ar.	<i>Himār</i> , <i>Humayr</i> , <i>Humayyir</i> (Beiträge 81; CIK 2 324, 332), nick. (KN 159), Bed. <i>Himār</i> , <i>Hmayyir</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> (Ikmāl 2: 320).

§44. \**mehr-* “foal” (SED 2, No. 149)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Mur-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-iya</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. <sup>361</sup>	<i>Mūru-Dagan</i> , <i>Mu-ru-<sup>d</sup>da-gan</i> “Foal of Dagan” (ARM 16/1 156; Golinets 2016: 73), <i>Mūru-‘Aštar</i> , <i>Mu-ru-x-iš<sub>8</sub>-tár</i> “Foal of ‘Aštar” (IPNOBS 212).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Mhr</i> (?) (PNPI 93).

<sup>361</sup> Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.2.

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

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

Eb.	<i>Par'-i</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). <sup>363</sup>
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> in Dad., Saf., <sup>364</sup> 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>Sīsiya</i> , <i>Zi-zi-ia</i> (Sturm 2000, fn. 16), NA <i>Zi-zi</i> (?) (Radner 2002 204: 5'), N/LB <i>Sīsu</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>Bagl</i> , <i>Buğayl</i> CIK 2 220; Ikmāl 1:

<sup>362</sup> Or names such as *Mahra*, *Māhir*, and *Mahri*, etc. (CIK 2).

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

<sup>364</sup> 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>Bagl</i> (Littmann 1921: 6).
	* <i>pahl-</i> “stallion, ass”: <sup>365</sup> 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 ’A-ga-lum, A-ga-la (CAD A/1 141; TCL 10 118: 4), MB A-ga-li (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>ilq</i> ) (PNNR 164).
	Ar. <i>Ahdarī</i> “Onager” (patronym) (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 315).
	Ar. <i>Tawlab</i> “Young ass, Foal” (Iṣṭiqāq 184; CIK 2 545), Saf., Dad. <i>Tlb</i> (?) (HIn 135).
	Ar. (Bed.) <i>Hṣayin</i> “Little horse” (< <i>hiṣān</i> ) (Hess 1912: 18).
	Ar. <i>Qarm</i> , <i>Quraym</i> “Stallion” (Beiträge 93).
	Ar. <i>Mishal</i> “Ass” (Beiträge 81; CIK 2 409), <i>Ibn/Abū Mishal</i> (Ikmāl 7: 194).
	Ar. <i>Naws</i> “Wild ass” (CIK 2 447; Lane 2868), Saf. <i>Nṣ</i> and His. <i>Nṣṭ</i> (HIn 590), or from * <i>na/ış(s)-</i> (↓§97).
	Ar. <i>Ṣa‘da</i> (f) “Donkey-mare” (also a GN) (Al-Asma‘ī 1989: 185), His. <i>S‘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).

<sup>365</sup> I suggest this PS root in view of Ug. *phl* (Watson 2007: 107), Akk. *puhālu* (CAD P 479), Syr. *p̄hal*, *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>Baeipiç</i> (?) (Grassi 2012: 153).
AAr.	' <i>r</i> in Saf., <i>B'm</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'īr</i> (Ibn Al-Atīr 1996 1: 339).

## §51. \**bVkVr(at)* “young (she-)camel” (SED 2, No. 56)

Heb.	Heb. <i>Beker</i> , <i>Bikrī</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>Bakrī</i> , <i>Bukayr</i> , <i>Abū Bakr</i> (CIK 2 123, 223, 229; Iṣtiqāq 50; Ikmāl 3: 87, 4: 316), <i>‘Abd 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>Gəmallī</i> , either denotes <i>gāmāl</i> “camel” (plus the suffix <i>-ī</i> ) or a hypoc. of a name like <i>Gamali'ēl</i> , from <i>vgml</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>Ǧamal</i> (CIK 2 256; Ištiqāq 413), nick. <i>Ǧamal</i> (common), <i>Abū al-Ǧamal</i> , <i>Ibn al-Ǧamal</i> , <i>Ǧamal al-layl</i> “Camel of night” (KN 71, 141-2; MAAM 75-6), Bed. <i>Ǧamal</i> , <i>Ǧimel</i> , <i>Ǧamlā</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>Iilm</i> (f), <i>I-la-la-[a]m</i> (Watson 2007: 94).
Palm <i>'ply</i> and Saf./His. <i>'fl</i> probably reflect Ar. <i>āfil</i> “young camel” (PNPI 72; HIn 59; ENAH 362).
Ar. <i>Huwār</i> “Young camel” (CIK 2 337), Nab. <i>Hwrrw</i> , <i>Hwyrw</i> (PNNR 165), <i>Hwr</i> in Dad., His., Tham., and Saf., <i>Hwrn</i> (HIn 208; ENAH 392; Shatnawi 2002: 679). <sup>366</sup>
Tham. <i>Grš</i> “ may reflect Ar. <i>ğuršu</i> “large camel/horse” (Shatnawi 2002: 665).
Ar. ‘ <i>Adabbas</i> “Strong camel” (Ištiqāq 379), ‘ <i>Ans</i> “Strong she-camel” (nick.) (Ištiqāq 415; CIK 2 190), ‘ <i>Umayla</i> “She-camel” (which is patient at work) (Ištiqāq 268), <i>Di'bil</i> “Large (she-)camel” (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 65; Ištiqāq 479), <i>Dawsar</i> “Strong (she-)camel” (Ištiqāq 262), <i>Ğazūr</i> “Camel” (that is slaughtered), <i>Qalūṣ</i> (f) “Young she-camel” (Gratzl 1906: 53) and as (m) nick. (KN 368), <i>al-Şa'b</i> , <i>al-Şa'ba</i> (f) “Refractory (she-)camel” and “Lion” (CIK 2 534; Ikmāl 18 876a; Lane 1687a), <i>Mṣ'b</i> , <i>Muṣ'ab</i> “Camel, Stallion” (untouched by a rope) (Al-Kilābi 2009: No. 276; CIK 2 437; Lane 1687b), <i>Wahm</i> “Thick and hard camel” (Ištiqāq 391).

**Large cattle**

§54. \*’alp- “bull, ox” (SED 2, No. 4)

Akk./Amor. <sup>367</sup>	’ <i>Alpān</i> , <i>Al-pa-an</i> (Huffman 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>lp</i> (Rechenmacher 2012: 170).

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

Akk./Amor. <sup>368</sup>	’ <i>Arḥānum</i> , <i>Ar-ha-nu-um</i> , ’ <i>Arḥum</i> , <i>fAr-ḥu-um</i> (CAA 51, No. 901, 903; Streck 2000: §5.70), NB <i>fArḥaya</i> (Akk., hypoc.) (Cousin and Watai 2016: 12).
Heb.	’ <i>Arḥ</i> (PHIAP 70).
AAr.	Dad. ’ <i>rḥ</i> (?) (HIn 36).

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

<sup>367</sup> Cf. ↑4.1.1.4.

<sup>368</sup> 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>Iglā, Ig-la-a, Iglānu, Ig-la-nu</i> “Little calf”, <i>Iglî, Ig-li-i</i> “His calf”, <i>Iglū, 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. ‘glbwł’ “Calf of Bôl”, ‘gylw, ‘gyl’ (PNPI 104), Nab. ‘gl’ (Beyer 2004: 230, No. 15), Hat. ‘gyl, ‘bd’gylw, ‘bd’gyl’ (Abbadı 1983: 141f; Beyer 1998: 163-64), Dura <i>Aγγονλ, Aγονλος</i> (Grassi 2014: 283).
AAr.	‘gl in Saf. and Tham. (HIn 408).
Ar.	‘Iğl, al-‘Uğayl (CIK 2 353, 566), al-‘Iğla (f) (İkmâl 1: 383ff), Bed. <i>Bu</i> ‘Öğele (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, Abqûr</i> (Al-Sâhâwî 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, Bù-ma-li-a</i> “Truly the word of the bull” (PEb B 63).
Ug.	‘La-e-ia-a (?) (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-Asma‘î 1994: 118-19; Iṣtiqāq 24).

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

Eb.	<i>Parra, Ba-ra, ’Ay-parru, A-a-bar-ru<sub>12</sub></i> “Where is the young bull?”, <i>Ma(n)-parru,</i>
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	<i>Ma-ba-ru</i> <sub>12</sub> “Who is the young bull ?” (ARES 3 273, 290, 347).
Amor. <sup>369</sup>	<i>Pāratum, fPa-ra-a-tum, Pārtum, fPa-ra-tum</i> “Heifer”, <i>Pāratān, "Pa-ra-ta-an</i> “Little young bull/heifer” (ARM 10 170: 1; Millet Albà 2000: 486; CAAA 285, sub BJR).
Ug.	<i>Prt, (bn) 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>Ili-šūr, i-lí-su-ur</i> “My god is a bull” (or from <i>šurru</i> I “to bow” AHw 1287), <i>Šūr-Sîn, Šu-ur-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU</i> “DN is a bull” (MAD 3 261), MB Emar <i>Šūru</i> (Pruzszinsky 2003 98), MA <i>Šūr-abī, Šu-ra-bi, Šu-ra-a-bi</i> “My father is a bull”, <i>Šūr-Adad, Šu-ur-<sup>d</sup>IM</i> “DN is a bull” (NPN 315a; AHw 1287).
Eb.	<i>Tūru, Šu-ru</i> <sub>12</sub> , <i>Tūra-Damu, Šu-ra-da-mu</i> “Damu is a bull”, <i>Tūra-Karru, Dūr?(KU)-ra-gār-ru</i> <sub>12</sub> “Karru is a bull”, <i>Tūra-Qawmu, Šu-ra-ga-mu</i> “Qawm/Kaym is a bull”, <i>Tūr-iya, Su-rī-a</i> (hypoc.) (ARES 3 229, 304, 365ff).
Aram.	OAram. <i>Tūrî, Tu-ri-i, Tu-r[i-i]</i> (PNA 235; Gaspa 2008: 125), Nab. <i>Twr', Twrw</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>Tw</i> in Saf. and Had. (HIn 150; POI 111), <i>Tr</i> in Tham. and His. (Shatnawi 2002: 662; ENAH 378).
Ar.	<i>Tawr, Tuwayr, 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>fBūr-úr-tum, fBūr-úr-ta-ni, fBu-ra-na, Bu-ra-an, 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-nāṣir, <sup>d</sup>Būr-PAP-ir</i> “The [divine] Calf is the protector” (NAOMA 45), NA <i>Būru-abu-uṣur, Bu-ru-AD-PAP</i> “O [divine] Calf protect the father”, <i>Būru-ibni, AMAR-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’). <sup>370</sup>
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<sup>369</sup> Cf. ↑4.1.1.3; 4.1.2.2.

<sup>370</sup> According to Rasmussen (1981: 470), OB *Mi-i-rum* denotes Akk. *mīrum* “young bull” (CAD M/2 109); the name is in fact the Amor. form *Me'irum* (v'wr) (Streck 2000: §2.144).

Ug. <i>Ibr</i> “Bull, Horse”, <i>Ibrd</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> ) (CAA, 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-ili</i> , <i>Im-me-er-ì-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-ru</i> <sub>12</sub> (ARES 3 323, 336).
Amor. <sup>371</sup>	<i>Hi-im-ma-ar-an</i> /AN (Durand 1997: 634, no. 458), normalized as <i>'Immarān</i> “Sheep-like” or <i>'Immar-'El</i> “Sheep of God”, <i>Hi-ma-ra-ti</i> (ARM 8 6: 31’) either belongs here ( <i>'Immaratum</i> ?) or to <i>himār</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. \**VnV̄q-* “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”,

<sup>371</sup> 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>fIn-zi-ia</i> (FM 11 24: 9), <i>Inza</i> , <i>fIn-za</i> (FM 4, p. 273, No. 3 iv 3'), <i>Inzānu/ Izzānu, Ezzānu</i> (f) (Millet Albà 2000: 485), NA <i>fIn-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. <sup>372</sup>	‘ <i>Anzā-Haddu, Ha-an-za-d</i> IM “Goat of Haddu” (?), ‘ <i>Anzī, Ha-an-zi</i> (CAA, No. 1942-43), ‘ <i>Inzum, Hi-in-[z]u-um</i> (?) (ARM 21 56: 5), ‘ <i>Anzān, Ha-an-za-an</i> (ARM 22 167: 23, 327: 26). The names <i>Az-zu</i> (Durand 1997: 605 iii 73), <i>Ha-az-zu</i> and <i>fHa-zu-tum</i> (CAA, No. 1987, 2236) either belong to this term or to √‘zz “strong” (CAA 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 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, Gadya</i> (PTU 28, Watson 2006: 447).
(N)WSC	MA <i>Ga-di-ú</i> (OMA 218), NB <i>f+<sup>m</sup>Ga-du-u</i> (NBN 62b), NA <i>Gadiya, Gad-ia-a</i> (PNA 418).
Aram.	OffAram. <i>Gdy, Gdyw</i> (Porten and Yardeni 2014: 33), Hat. <i>Gdy'</i> (Beyer 1998 H 230, 1021c), Nab. <i>Gdy', 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.	‘ <i>Gadiy, Ġudayy</i> (CIK 2 252, 263), ‘ <i>Gadya</i> (f) (Ibn Ḥabīb n.d.: 16), nick. ‘ <i>Ġudayy</i> (Ikmāl 2: 264), Bed. ‘ <i>ġe/adi</i> (Hess 1912: 7; Littmann 1921: 14).

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

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

Eb.	<i>Hurāpu</i> , <i>Hu-ra-bù</i> (ARES 3 319).
Ug.	<i>Hrpn</i> (Watson 2007: 95), or from <i>hrp</i> “autumn” (Tropper 2000: 271).
AAr.	Saf., Had. <i>Hrf</i> (HIn 219), which may also denote a name like <i>Hārif</i> (CIK 2 344).
Ar.	nick. <i>Harūf</i> , <i>Harūfa</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> , <i>'Kab-sa-tum</i> (CAA 22, No. 3902, 4010; Amor. according to Streck 2000: §4.7 and Golinets 2016: 74), <i>Kašbān</i> , <i>Ka-áš-ba'-nu</i> (CAA 22, No. 3928), a metathesis of <i>Kabsān</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; Ikmāl 7: 156), <i>Kubayša</i> (f) (Hayāwan 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>Gàr-ra</i> , <i>Karr-ān-u</i> , <i>Gàr-ra-nu</i> “Ram-like”, <i>Karr-i</i> , <i>Ga-li</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> , <i>'La-la-tum</i> , <i>'La-lu-tum</i> (Stamm 1939: 44, 253; AHw 30 sub <i>lalium</i> II). <sup>373</sup>
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).

<sup>373</sup> 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>Mehizay</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. \*rahil- “ewe” (SED 2, No. 188)

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

§72. \*śaw- “sheep” (SED 2, No. 217)

Eb.	<i>Šayu</i> , <i>Sa-u<sub>4</sub></i> (?) (ARES 3 362).
Ug.	Šb'l “Sheep of Baal”, provided it is not based on Akk. šu “he”, i.e., “He is (truly) Baal” (PTU 191).
Pun.	Ššrt could denote “Sheep of DN”, “Of DN”, “Man of DN” (< abbreviation Š), or the verbal form “DN has given” (< ’wš) (PNPPI 227ff, 412).
Ar.	nick. <i>Ibn al-Šāt</i> (Ibn Al-Dubaytī 2006 1: 364), ‘Ayn al-Šāt “The sheep’s eye” (KN 341).

§73. \*śa'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 ‘ān (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<sup>1</sup>m</i> , <i>Tys<sup>1</sup>-l</i> “Buck of god” (PQI 107).
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Ar.	<i>Twaysān</i> “Little buck” (Hess 1912: 13). <sup>374</sup>
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§75. Other names for small cattle

<p>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 &amp; 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).</p>
<p>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).</p>
<p>Akk. <i>Puḥād/ttu(m)</i>, <i>Bu-ḥa-ti</i> “Lamb” (MAD 3 212).</p>
<p>Ug. <i>Prgn</i> “Meadow-sheep” (Watson 2007: 95), or &lt;<i>*parg-</i> (↓§116).</p>
<p>Ar. ‘<i>Atūd</i> “Kid”<sup>375</sup> (Ištiqāq 87; CIK 2 205), Saf. ‘<i>td</i> (HIn 404), which may also reflect ‘<i>Atīd</i> “Strong”.</p>
<p>Ar. <i>Fizr</i> “Kid; Flock of sheep/goats” (Ikmāl 7: 51; Lane 2392c).</p>
<p>Ar. <i>Hadafa</i>, <i>Hudayfa</i> “Small black sheep/goat” (Beiträge 83; CIK 328).</p>
<p>Ar. <i>Hamal</i> “Lamb”, <i>Humayl</i>, <i>Humayla</i> (CIK 2 296, 332; Lane 649), Nab. <i>Hmlw</i>, <i>Hmlt</i> (PNNR 166; Cantineau 1932: 97), <i>Hml</i>, <i>ḥml</i> in Saf., <i>Hmlt</i> (m) in Saf., His., and Tham. and (f) in Sab. (HIn 202).<sup>376</sup></p>
<p>Ar. <i>Ğafra</i> (f) “Kid” (Gratzl 1906: 53).</p>
<p>Ar. <i>Na‘ğa</i> (f) “Ewe” (Beiträge 82), <i>Abū/Ibn Na‘ğa</i> (Ikmāl 1: 337).</p>
<p>Ar. <i>Qahd</i> “Lamb”<sup>377</sup> (Ištiqāq 202; CIK 2 454), <i>Quhayd</i> (Ikmāl 7: 129), Sab. <i>Qhd</i> (HIn 490).</p>
<p>Ar. <i>Suhayla</i> (f) “Kid, Lamb” (&lt;<i>sahl</i>) (Ikmāl 6: 83ff), nick. <i>Ibn Sahla</i> (CIK 2 499), His., Tham. <i>S'hl</i> (HIn 313; ENAH 409), Bed. <i>Shēlān</i> (Şābān 2008), CAO <i>Şhēl</i> (ş&lt;s) (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5), <i>Sahl</i> as FN (WB, No. 11383).</p>

<sup>374</sup> 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-Ğāhīz 1966 5: 457).

<sup>375</sup> Cf. \*‘*atūd*- “male of small cattle” (SED 2, No. 44).

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

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

## Pig, boar

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

(N)WSC	<i>Huniṣā</i> , <i>Hu-ni-ṣa-a</i> , <i>Huniṣu</i> , <i>Hu-ni-ṣi</i> (PNA 479).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Hnṣ</i> (HIn 229)

§77. \**hV(n)zīr-* (SED 2, No. 111)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Hu-zī-ri</i> (MAD 3 136), OB (could also be Amor.) <i>Huzīrān(um)</i> , <i>Hu-zī-ra-an</i> , <i>Hu-zī-ra-nu-um</i> (CAAA, No. 2369; Streck 2000: §5.70), <i>Huzīratum</i> , <sup>m</sup> <i>Hu-zī-ra-tum</i> (CAAA, No. 2371), MB Emar <i>Huzīru</i> (Pruzinszky 2003: 82), MA <sup>m+f</sup> <i>Hu-zī-ri</i> “My pig” (NPN 66, 319b), <i>Hu-zī-ir-ti</i> (gen.) (OMA 277), NA <i>Hu-zī-ru</i> , <i>Hu-zī-ri-i</i> , <i>Hu-zī-ir</i> (PNA 484), NB <i>Hu-zī-ri-i</i> (?) (NBN 68a).
Amor. <sup>378</sup>	<i>Huzīra</i> “Sow”, <i>Hu-zī-ra</i> (MAD 3 136), <sup>f</sup> <i>Hu-zī-ra</i> (ARM 21 382 iii 44), <i>Ha-an-zu-ra</i> = <i>Hanzūra</i> (a variant, dimin.?) (CAAA, No. 1944) or from (↑§13).
Ug.	(bn) <i>Hnzr</i> , <i>Hzr</i> , <i>Hzrn</i> (PTU 28), which might also denote <i>hnzr</i> (I) “an official” or <i>hzr</i> “assistant, auxiliary” (DUL 399, 417).
(N)WSC	<i>Hu-un-za-ru</i> (YOS 6 1: 34).
Heb.	<i>Hēzīr</i> (PHIAP 112; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Aram.	OAram. <i>Hzrn</i> (Maraqten 1988: 164), OffAram. <i>Hzyr</i> , <i>Hzyr'</i> , <i>Hnzr</i> , <i>Hnzrw</i> (Lemaire 2002: 270; Porten and Yardeni 2014: 77).
AAr.	Sab. <i>Hnzrm</i> (HIn 229).
Ar.	<i>Hinzir</i> (Ištiqāq 555, CIK 2 347), modern <i>Hanzir</i> (Beiträge 84).

§78. Other names for pig in Akk.

<i>Kurkuzānum</i> , <i>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-sā-nu-um</i> , <i>Ku-ku-sa-an</i> (ARM 16/1 140), MA <i>Kur-ku-za-ni</i> (OMA 296).
Šahū “Pig, Swine” (Babylonia term), UR III <sup>f</sup> <i>Ša-hi-ti</i> (Heimpel 2009: 357), OB <sup>f</sup> <i>Ša-ḥa-tum</i> (Rasmussen 1981: 470), MB <i>Ša-hi-i</i> (gen.) (PKTN 200), N/LB <i>Šá-ḥu-ú</i> (NBN 186b), <sup>f</sup> <i>Šá-hi-tu</i> , (Giovinazzo 1987 52: 1).

<sup>378</sup> 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, Ak-ba-ri, 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, Ak-ba-ru, Ak-bar-tu</i> (PNA 94).
Ug.	‘ <i>kbr, Ak-ba-ru</i> (Watson 2007: 97).
(N)WSC	<i>Akbūru, Ak-bur, Ak-bu-ru, A-ka-bur, A-ka-bu-ru, A-ga-bu-ru</i> (PNA 94).
Pho-Pun.	‘ <i>kbr, kbr’, kbrm, kbrt</i> (f) (PNPPI 239, 377).
Heb.	‘ <i>Akbōr, kbr, kbry</i> (PHIAP 153; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Aram.	OAr. ‘ <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. <sup>379</sup>	‘ <i>Akbar</i> (Al-Zabīdī 1965ff 13 122).

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

Ug.	<i>Grdn, Grdy</i> “Beaver” (Watson 2007: 97).
AAr.	Saf., His. ‘ <i>grd, Grd</i> “Rat” (HIn 22, 158; ENAH 381).
Ar.	‘ <i>Gurad</i> (CIK 2 266), nick. (Al-Şafadī 2000 11: 53), Bed. ‘ <i>Graydi</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>Pe-ru-ru-tum</i> (Heimpel 2009: 356), OB ‘ <i>Pe-ru-ru-tim, Pi-ru-ru-tim</i> (IPNOBS 241), OA ‘ <i>Pá-ru-ur-tim</i> , , MB ‘ <i>Pi-ri-ri-tum</i> (CAD P 420).
Amor. <sup>380</sup>	<i>Pa-ru-ri</i> (CAAA, No. 5155).
AAr.	<i>F’ry</i> in Qat. (plus nisba), <i>F’r, F’rt</i> in Saf., <i>F’rn</i> in Had., <i>F’r</i> in Sab. and Min. (Al-

<sup>379</sup> Classical dictionaries only mention the pl. form: *al-‘akābir ḍukūr al-yarābī*, *yamāniyya*: “the ‘akābir’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”.

<sup>380</sup> 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 <sup>a</sup> ), MB <i>Ar-ra-bi</i> (gen.) (PKTN 39), NA <i>Ar-ra-bu</i> , <i>Ár-ra-bi</i> , <i>fAr-ra-ba-ti</i> , <i>fÁr-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>fÁr-rab-tu(m)</i> (NBN 15f; Nielsen 2015: 38ff; Stamm 1939: 371), <i>fAr-ra-ba-na</i> (MacEwan 1982 12: 2, 7).
Ar.	<i>Yarbū</i> “Jerboa” (CIK 590), Bed. <i>Ğa/erbū</i> , <i>Ğraybī</i> (Hess 1912: 14; Littmann 1921: 7), CAO <i>Ğarbū</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>fAsqudatum</i> (IPNOBS 44; CAAA, p. 53; ARM 16/1 68, 104), <i>Ha-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>Harrirum</i> “Vole”, OB <i>Ha-ri-rum</i> , <i>Ha-ar-ri-rum</i> , MA <i>Ha-ar-ri-ir</i> (AHw 327; CAD H 114), NB/NA <i>Ha-ri-ri</i> , <i>Har-ri-ri</i> (PNA 462).
Akk.	<i>Hulū</i> “Shrew” (?) (CDA 119), OAk. <i>Hu-li-um</i> (MAD 3 127), MB Emar <i>Hulā'u</i> , <i>Hulū</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 82), NA, N/LB <i>fHu-lu-ut-ti</i> , <i>fHu-li-i-ti</i> “My little shrew” (PNA 477; NBN 68a), Ug. <i>Hli</i> (Watson 2007: 97).
Akk.	<i>Humaşırı</i> , <i>Humuşırı(m)</i> , <i>Hab/am(a)şırı</i> “Large mouse” (Gerbil?), UR III <i>Ha-ba-zı-ri</i> (MAD 3 125), OB <i>fHa-ma-zı-rum</i> , <i>fHa-ma-az-zı-rum</i> (IPNOBS 95), <i>Hu-mu-şı-ru-um</i> (UET 5 572: 21), MB <i>Hu-mu-un-şı-rù</i> (UET 7 29: 1’), N/LB <i>Ha-ba-şır(/şı-ri/ru)</i> , <i>fHa-ba-şır-tum</i> , <i>Ha-an-şı/şı-ır/rı</i> (NBN 65-6), Ug. <i>Hpsry</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 97).
Akk.	<i>Puşhu</i> “eine Ratte?” (AHw 883) “a small animal” (shrew?) (CAD P 541), NA <sup>m+f</sup> <i>Pu-uş-hu</i> , <i>Pu-ş-ji</i> , <i>pu-uş-ji-i</i> , <i>Pu-uş-ji</i> “My <i>puşhu</i> -rodent/My ratty” (PNA 1000).
Ar.	‘ <i>Adal</i> , ‘ <i>Adala</i> “Gerbil” (Beiträge 80; Ma'lūf 1932: 114), <i>Zabāb</i> “Shrews” (pl. <i>zabāba</i> ) (Al-Damīrī 1992: 75; Ma'lūf 1932: 75), <i>Zugba</i> “Dormouse” (Ikmāl 4: 81; Ma'lūf 1932: 86),

nick. (KN 242).

## VI. VARIOUS MAMMALS

### Ape

#### §84. Miscellaneous names

Akk. *Paga'u*, UR III: *Pa-gu-ú*, *fPá-gu<sub>5</sub>-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*, *fÚ-qu-pu-tú* (Gaspa 2008, fn. 85, 94), N/LB *fÚ/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

\**pVl-* (SED 2, No. 173): Palm. *Pyl'* (PNPI 108), Ar. nick. *al-Fil*, *Filawayh* (hypoc.), *kunya Abū al-Fil* (Al-Ǧāhīz 1966 7: 83, 85, 174).

Ar. *Dağfal* “Young elephant”<sup>381</sup> (CIK 2 230), *al-Zandabil* “Elephant”<sup>382</sup> (nick.) br. *al-Fil* “Elephant” (Al-Mizzī 1980-92 8: 87), *Kultūm* (?)<sup>383</sup> (CIK 2 373), *Umm Kultūm* (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>"An-na-ba-tum</i> (IPNOBS 36), <i>fAr-na-ba-tum</i> (IPNOBS 42; Durand 1997: 653, n. 749), <i>m+fAr-na-bum</i> (1 male and 2 females) (IPNOBS 42), <i>fAr-na-bu-um</i> (CAA, 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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<sup>381</sup> This meaning is mentioned by Al-Ḫalīl (1980-85 8: 465). Ibn Durayd, on the other hand, gives “ample, plentiful life” (Ištiqāq 351).

<sup>382</sup> See Al-Ḫalīl (1980-85 7: 401).

<sup>383</sup> This meaning occurs only in Lisān (12: 139). The other dictionaries follow Al-Ḫalīl (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> (Pruzinszky 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.	(bn) <i>'rnbt</i> (PTU 28).
Aram.	Hat. <i>'rb</i> (Beyer 1998 H 288a-c).
AAr.	Had. <i>'rb</i> (f) (Sholan 1999: 32, 100).
Ar.	<i>Arnab</i> (m + f), <i>Arnabî</i> (m) (CIK 2 193; Ikmâl 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>Hirniq</i> (f) “Little hare” (Gratzl 1906: 53), <i>Hirniq</i> (f) (Ibn Sa‘d 2001 10: 272), (m) nick. (Ikmâl 3: 138), Bed. <i>Hraynidz</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 20).
<i>Huzar</i> “Male hare” (Beiträge 81), <i>Huzayr</i> (Ikmâl 2: 88), Saf. <i>Hzr</i> , <i>Hzrt</i> (HIn 220).
<i>Huzaz</i> “Young/male hare” (Ikmâl 2: 456; Lisân 4: 81), His. <i>Hzn</i> is either the pl. of this term (i.e., <i>hizzān</i> ) or from <i>hzn</i> “store” (ENAH 394).

### Mole

§88. \**huld-* (SED 2, No. 108)

Heb.	<i>Ḩēled</i> , <i>Ḩelday</i> , <i>Ḩuldā</i> (f), <i>Ḩldy</i> (IPN 230; Stamm 1980: 125; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Pho-Pun.	<i>Ḩld</i> (f) (PNPPI 239, 310).
Aram. <sup>384</sup>	Palm. <i>Ḩld'</i> (PNPI 88), Nab. <i>Ḩldw</i> (Cantinea 1932: 96).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Hld</i> (?) (HIn 225).
Ar.	<i>Ḩuld</i> , <i>Ḩulayd</i> , <i>Ḩulayda</i> (f) (Beiträge 80).

### Hedgehog

§89. Miscellaneous names

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

*Gnēfid* (Hess 1912: 47).

Ar. *Darrāğ* (Ikmāl 3: 318; Lane 869c), His., Tham. *Drg* may reflect this form or *durrāğ* “francolin” (ENAH 389).

Ar. (Bed.) *Di'liğ* (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16).

### Rock hyrax

#### §90. Miscellaneous names

\**tapan-* (SED 2, No. 240): Heb. *Šāpām/n*, *Špn* (IPN 230; Rechenmacher 2012: 171), Pho-Pun. *Špn* (PNPPI 239), (N)WSC *Sa-pu-nu* (PNA 1169).

Ar. *Wabr*, *Wubayr* (Ištiqāq 296; CIK 581, 588), *Wbr* in Saf., Tham., and His. (HIn 633; ENAH 479).

### Weasel

#### §91. Miscellaneous names

\**a(n)yaṣ-*, \**anṣaw/y* (SED 2, No. 26): Akk. OB *Ayyaṣu*, *A-a-ṣum* (AHw 25), Amor. *A-ia-zi* (?) (CAAA, No. 319; Kogan 2003: 254), Ug. *Yṣu* (?) (Watson 2006: 449), Heb. *'yṣ* (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 217; cf. also §4.2.1, sub No. 16).

Aram.: Nab./Pam. *Qwz'* (PNNR 57; Yon 2013), NA *Šeh Hamad Qu-za-a* (Zadok 2009: 123), Amor. *Gu-za-an*, *Gu-zi* (CAAA, No. 1802-03).<sup>385</sup>

Ar. *al-Du'il*, *al-Dūl*, *al-Dil* (Beiträge 78; CIK 2 232, 234; Ištiqāq 170), *D'l* in Saf., Tham., and His. (HIn 232; ENAH 396).

### Bat

#### §92. Miscellaneous names

Akk. *Šu(t)tinnu*, *Šu-ti-in-nu* (PKTN 213), Ug. *Štn* (?) (Watson 1990: 249).

Ar. *Huššaf* (Ikmāl 3: 157), a metathesis of the original form *huffāš* (Al-Damīrī 1992: 48-9).

<sup>385</sup> Cf. §4.1.1.2.1.

## BIRDS

### General term

§93. \**awp-* “bird” (SED 2, No. 48)<sup>386</sup>

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

### Raptors

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

(N)WSC	NA <i>Anāqatu</i> , <sup>f</sup> A-na-q[a-tú] (?), which is supposed to be based on Ar. <i>nāqa(t)</i> “she-camel” (PNA 110). <sup>388</sup>
Aram.	Nab. ’nqh (?) (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-ī</i> , <i>Ba-zi</i> “My falcon”, <i>Bāz-ay</i> , <i>Ba-za-a</i> (hypoc.), <i>Bāz-ī-Ilum</i> , <i>Ba-zi-LUM</i> “God is my falcon” (ARES 3 207, 291; PEB B 17-20).
Amor.	<i>Ba-za</i> , <sup>m+f</sup> <i>Ba-za-tum</i> , (IPNOBS 54), <i>Bazi-Ištar</i> , <i>Ba-zi-EŠ<sub>4</sub>-DAR</i> “Aštar is my falcon”, <i>Ba-za-nu-um</i> (CAA 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> (Ikmāl 7: 41), <i>Bāz</i> (Littmann 1921: 7), Bed. <i>Al bū Bāz</i> (FN) (Bediuenen 4 22b), CAO <i>al-Bāz</i> (FN) (UAE, No. 14256).

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

<sup>387</sup> 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)”.

<sup>388</sup> One can also consider Syr. ’anqat ’aylā “tragacanth”, ’anqā, ’enaqtā “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). <sup>389</sup>
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§97. \*nVšr-/nVsr- “vulture, eagle” (SED 2, No. 166)<sup>390</sup>

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.) (Abbadî 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<sup>l</sup>ryhb</i> “N. has given”, Sab. <i>Rbns<sup>l</sup>rm</i> “N. is the god/great”, Qat. <i>Šfnns<sup>l</sup>r</i> (f) “N. has looked down at me/us”; as a one-word PN: <i>Ns<sup>l</sup>r</i> in Saf., Tham., and His., <i>Ns<sup>l</sup>rh</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/ış(s)- “kind of bird” (falcon, hawk) (SED 2, No. 168)

Eb.	<i>Naṣṣa</i> , <i>Na-za</i> , <i>Naṣṣu</i> , <i>Na-zu</i> , <i>Naṣṣān</i> , <i>Na-za-an</i> (ARES 3 227, 354).
Ug.	<i>Naṣu</i> , <i>Na-ṣi</i> , ( <i>bn</i> ) <i>Nṣ</i> , (PTU 28, 129; Watson 2007: 100).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Nṣ'</i> (f) (PNPI 100).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Nṣ</i> (HIn 590), which could also reflect <i>Naws</i> (↑§48).

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

Heb.	<i>Raham</i> (?) (PHIAP 81; Glatz 2001: 29).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Rhm̄h</i> , <i>Rhmy</i> <sup>391</sup> (Cantineau 1932: 146; PNNR 60).
AAr.	<i>Rhmt</i> in His. and Saf., <i>Rhymt</i> in Min. (ENAH 402; HIn 274).

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

<sup>390</sup> 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').

<sup>391</sup> Or from *vrhm* “to show mercy”.

Ar.	<i>Rahama</i> (Ikmāl 4: 36) and possibly <i>Rahmān</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. <i>Yu'yu'</i> “Merlin” (nick.) (Ibn Ḥaġar 1421 AH, No. 5924).
*gVrVn- “eagle” (SED 2, No. 90): Ug. ḡrn (Watson 2007: 98).
(N)WSC <i>Şaşî</i> , <i>Şa-şî-i</i> “Wild bird” (vulture, eagle), <i>ʃa-şu-a</i> “My wild bird” (PNA 1168ff).
Ar. <i>S/Saqr</i> “Falcon”, <i>al-Saqr</i> , <i>al-Suqayr</i> (Ikmāl 1: 380, 7: 432), <i>Sqr</i> in Saf., <i>S'qr</i> in Saf. and Tham., <i>S'qrn</i> (PN and gentilic) in Sab. (HIn 322, 374), Bed. <i>Şaqr</i> , <i>Şagr</i> , <i>Şagir</i> (Littmann 1921: 13; Hess 1912: 34), CAO <i>Şaq/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). <sup>392</sup>
Ar. <i>al-Azraq</i> “Falcon” (Ikmāl 3: 196, 314; Lane 1228).
Ar. 'Uqāb (m + f) “Eagle” (Beiträge 86; Al-Ğāhīz 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>Hytm</i> , <i>Haytam</i> “Eaglet” (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 124; Ištiqāq 390, 565), CAO a common PN (e.g. UAE, No. 19002; WB, No. 152-3, 215; Gaza, No. 434-5).
Ar. <i>Madrahī</i> “Vulture” (Ištiqāq 254) or “Falcon with long wings” (Al-Ḩalīl 1980-85 3: 103).
Ar. <i>Qaš'am</i> “Old vulture” (Ištiqāq 365), Bed. Āl <i>Qaš'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>Şaqr</i> “Falcon” b. <i>Qaṭāmī</i> “Falcon” b. <i>Şaqr</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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<sup>392</sup> 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 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>Quqū</i> , <i>Qu-qu-u</i> (OMA 337), <i>Quq̄</i> , <i>Qu-qi-i</i> , <i>Quqū</i> , <i>Qu-qu-u</i> , <i>Quqū'a</i> , <i>Qu-u-qu-[u-a]</i> (PNA 1018).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Qwq'</i> (PNPI 110).

§103. Other names for water birds

*'a/iw(a)z-, *waz(z)- “goose” (SED 2, No. 22): Heb. <i>'Uzay</i> (?) (PHIAP 141ff).
*gVrnīq- “crane” (SED 2, No. 91): Ar. <i>Ġurnūq</i> (nick.) (KN 343).
Akk. <i>Kupītu</i> “Marsh bird”, NB <i>�� Ku-pi-ti</i> (Nielsen 2015: 184).
Akk. <i>Niqūdu</i> “Marsh bird”, OB <i>𒉌 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'ū</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>𒁶Pa-ás-pa-su-um</i> (ARM 23 611: 9’), MA <i>Pa-ás-pa-su</i> (CAD P 222; NPN 311b).
Amor. <i>H/Hasidānu(m)</i> “Stork” (?), <sup>393</sup> <i>Ha-sí-da-nim</i> (gen.), <i>Ha-sí-da-nu</i> (CAA, No. 2223-4), <i>Ha-sí-da-num</i> (ARM 5 35: 3), <i>H/Hasidu</i> , <i>𒄩 Ha-sí-du</i> (CAA, No. 225).
Ug. <i>Arbn</i> “Water-fowl” (Watson 2007: 97) or a Hurrian name (PTU 220, 223), <i>Hqn</i> “Water-bird” (?), <i>Kmy</i> “Waterfowl” (Watson 2006: 450ff).
Ar. <i>Buṭayṭa</i> “Duck” (dimin. < <i>batt-at</i> ) <sup>394</sup> (KN 111), Saf. <i>Bṭ</i> (?) (HIn 108ff),

### Crow/raven

§104. \*gurăb-, \*gārib- (SED 2, No. 89)

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

<sup>394</sup> Cf. Syr. *bat*, *batā* (Brockelmann 1928: 66).

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

§105. Other names for crow/raven

Akk.	<i>Hahhur(u)</i> , <i>Ha-ah-hu-ru</i> (PNA 439; NBN 66a), Heb. <i>Harhūr</i> (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Palm.	<i>N'b'</i> (PNPI 99).
Saf.	<i>Gdf</i> could reflect CAr. <i>ġudāf</i> “raven” (HIn 452; Lane 2233).

**Small (singing) birds**

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

Akk.	OB <i>Iṣṣūriya</i> (Millet Albà 2000: 486), MA <i>Is-ṣú-ri-ia</i> (OMA 263), N/LB <i>Is-ṣur</i> , <i>Is-ṣu-ru</i> (NBN 81b), <i>fIs-ṣur-tu</i> (UET 4 174: 2, 183: 1).
Ug.	(bn) ‘ <i>ṣr</i> (PTU 28, 113).
Ar.	<i>Ibn ‘Usfir</i> “Finch” (Beiträge 85), nick. ‘ <i>Usfir al-ğanna</i> “Finch of Heaven” (KN 332), Bed. ‘ <i>Osfir</i> (Hess 1912: 40), CAO ‘ <i>Asfir</i> (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).

§107. \**ṣVp(p)Vr-* “(individual) small bird, sparrow”<sup>395</sup> (ThWAT 9: 639-40; SED 2, No. 212)

Eb.	<i>Sibāru(m)</i> , <i>Zi-bar</i> , <i>Zi-ba-ru<sub>12</sub></i> , <i>Zi-ba-lum</i> (?) (ARES 3 233, 385).
Ug.	(bn) <i>Ṣpr</i> , <i>Ṣprn</i> , <i>Su-pa-ra-nu</i> (PTU 28).
Heb.	<i>Ṣopār</i> , <i>Ṣippōr</i> , <i>Ṣippōrā</i> (f) (Glatz 2001: 29).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Ṣpr'</i> (m + f), <i>Ṣpry</i> (PNPI 109).

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

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

<sup>395</sup> As opposed to the collective term \**awp* (§93).

Ar.	<i>Zurzur</i> (Al-Buhārī 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

	<p>*<i>bVl-</i> “kind of small bird” (SED 2, No. 60): Amor. <i>Bu-ul-bu-lum</i> “Nightingale” (?) in view of Ar.)<sup>396</sup> (ARM 24 248: 14), Ug. <i>Bl</i> “kind of bird” (Watson 2007: 109), Heb. <i>Blbl</i> “Nightingale” (&lt;Ar? Rechenmacher 2012: 170),<sup>397</sup> 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).</p>
	<p>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).</p>
	<p>Ug. <i>Hṛṣṇ</i> “Goldfinch”, ‘<i>grn</i> “Thrush” (Watson 2006: 450), <i>Grdn</i> “Singing (bird)” (?) (Watson 2007: 98).</p>
	<p>Ar. <i>Aḥyal</i> “Small (colored) bird” (Coracias?) (Ištiqāq 378f; Al-Damīrī 1992: 21, 96), Saf. <i>'hyl</i> (HIn 31).</p>
	<p>Ar. <i>Birqiš</i> “Fringilla” (Ikmāl 7: 183; Al-Damīrī 1992: 29, fn. 16), His. <i>Brqs<sup>2</sup></i> (ENAH 386), or &lt;<i>Bar-Qōš</i> “Son of DN” (?).</p>
	<p>Ar. <i>Hudayr</i> (Ikmāl 2: 482; Ma'lūf 1932: 118), CAO <i>Hdērī</i> “Greenfinch” (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4).</p>
	<p>Ar. <i>Hummarā</i> “Robin” in the nick. <i>Ibn lisān al-hummara</i>, lit. “Robin’s tongue” (i.e., eloquent) (CIK 2 332; Beiträge 85).</p>
	<p>Ar. <i>Qunbura</i>, <i>Qubbura</i> (f) “Lark” (Beiträge 85), CAO <i>Qanbar</i> (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).</p>
	<p>Ar. <i>Şa'w(a)</i> “Kinglet, Wren” (nick.) (KN 300), Saf. <i>Ş'y</i> (?) (HIn 373).</p>
	<p>Ar. <i>Şurad</i> “Shrike”<sup>398</sup> (CIK 2 541; Ma'lūf 1932: 227).</p>
	<p>Ar. <i>Zurayq</i> “Jay” (CIK 2 612), a common nick. (KN 239ff).</p>

**Swallow**

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

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

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

<sup>398</sup> Cf. JBAram. *şrd*, *şrd'* “a permitted bird” (Sokoloff 2002: 971b).

	2005 40, r. 10), OA Šinūnūtum (OAPN 98), OB <i>fŠi-nu-nu-tim</i> (IPNOBS 328), <sup>399</sup> Ši-na-nu-tum (YOS 13 280: 12), NB <i>fSi-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): OAkk. <i>fSúm-ma-tum</i> , OB <i>fSu-ma-tum</i> “Dove” (CAD S 379) <sup>400</sup> NB <i>fSum-ma-tu₄</i> (Joannès 1982 103: 6’), Eb. <i>Summate</i> (ARES 3 232, 371), Sab. and Saf. <i>S¹mnt</i> (f) “Quail”, Had. <i>S¹mhn</i> (f) (-h-/ahā/ < *ø/ā/) (Sholan 1999: 40, 147; HIn 330), His <i>S¹mn</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-Bağdādī 2001 16, No. 7766).
	<i>yamām(-at)</i> “pigeon”: Amor. <i>Yamāma</i> , <i>fIa-ma-a-ma</i> , <i>fIa-ma-m[a]</i> (ARM 26/2 402: 17; CAAA, No. 3347; Streck 2000: §5.22), Heb. <i>Yəmīmā</i> (f) (Stamm 1980: 126; Glatz 2001: 29), Saf. <i>Ymm</i> , <i>Ymmt</i> (HIn 684), Ar. <i>Yamāma</i> (m+f) (Ibn Hağar 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>krmh</i> , <i>Ikrima</i> “Pigeon”, <i>‘Akārim</i> (pl.), <i>‘Akārima</i> (pl.) (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 96; Beiträge 85).
	Ar. <i>Fāhita</i> (f) “Ring-dove” (Gratzl 1906: 53; Ikmāl 10: 880b), Saf. <i>Fhtt</i> , His. <i>Fhtn</i> (?) (HIn

<sup>399</sup> 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!.

<sup>400</sup> 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. *‘Abdatān* < *‘Abd-DN* (cf. Streck 2000: §5.75 with more examples).

463; ENAH 446).

Ar. *Hudayla* (f) “Dove” (Gratzl 1906: 53).

Ar. *Ḩamāma* (f) “Dove”, *Ḩamām* (pl.) (Beiträge 85), *Abu Ḥamāma* (Ibn Al-Āṭīr 1996 6: 332), *Ḩumyma* (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), Tham. *Ḩmmt* (?) (HIn 203), Bed. *Ḩamāma* (f), *Ḩamām* (pl.) (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16).

Ar. *Qumriyya* (f) “Turtledove” (Gratzl 1906: 53).

Ar. *Sa‘dāna* (f) “Dove” (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60).

## Ostrich

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

Najdi *Hīdz* “Male ostrich” (<CAr. *hayq*) (Hess 1912: 53).

*Hiql* “Young ostrich” (nick.) (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 7364), Saf. *Hql* (HIn 620).

*Hawzan*, *Hawāzin* (pl.) (Beiträge 86).<sup>401</sup>

*al-Na‘āma* “She-ostrich” (mostly nick.), *Ibn al-Na‘āma*, *Na‘ām* (pl.) (CIK 2 439; KN 443), *N‘mt* (m) in Had., Saf.<sup>402</sup> and (f) in Sab. (HIn 594), CAO *Na‘āma* (f) (SAR 2, No 10209, 29514; SAR 4, No. 21607).

*Ra'l*, *Ra'lān* “Ostrich offspring” (Iṣṭiqāq 204; Ikmāl 3: 306), *R'l* (m) in Qat., His. and (f) in Dad. and Saf., *R'ylm* (f) in Qat., *R'lt* (f) from Qaryat al-Faw (HIn 262; ENAH 400; POI 144ff).

*Ra'la* (f) “She-ostrich” (Gratzl 1906: 53), Had. *R'ltm* (f) (Sholan 1999), Bed. *Ra‘ēlān*, *Ra‘le* (f) (Hess 1912: 26).

*Zulaym* “Male ostrich” (dimin. <*zalim*>) (CIK 2 614; Al-Damīrī 1992: 115), nick. *Dū Zalīm* (KN 213), *Zlm* in Saf., Qat., and Sab. (HIn 393), provided it is not *Zālim* “Unjust” (CIK 2 614).

## Partridge

§113. Miscellaneous names

\**ḥagal-* (SED 2, No. 97): Amor. *Hagalum*, *Ha-ga-lu-um*, *Ha-ga-lim* (gen.), *Hagaliya*, *Ha-ga-li-ia* (Durand 1997: 638, n. 512; CAAA 91, sub ‘*agal*; or Akk. *agālu* ↑§48; cf. the discussion in

<sup>401</sup> Ibn Durayd gives “an unknown bird” (Iṣṭiqāq 291).

<sup>402</sup> Saf. *n'm(t)* is reliably attested outside the onomasticon (Al-Jallad 2015: 203).

↑4.1.1.3), Ug. *Hgln* (Watson 2007: 95), Heb. *Haglā*, *Hglh* (PHIAP 80; Rechenmacher 2012: 170), Saf. *Hgl*, *Hgln*, Tham., His *Hglt* (HIn 178; Shatnawi 2002: 670ff), Ar. *Haḡal* (CIK 2 291; Ikmāl 2: 250), Bed. *Haḡalī* (Littmann 1921: 8), CAO FN *Abū Haḡale* (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-ṣa-tum*, *Bu-ṣí-ia*, *Bu-zi-im* (IPNOBS 70; ARM 16/1 83; ARM 21 70: 3), OA *Bu-ṣí-ia* (Sturm 2000, fn. 16), *‘Bu-ṣí* (Veenhof 2010 70: 5, 14), MA *Bu-ṣa* (OMA 187), N/LB *Bu(-ú)-ṣu* as PN and FN (NBN 51b; YOS 6 37:7), Eb. *Būš-ān-u(m)*, *Bū-za-nu*, *Bū-za-núm*, *Būš-ī*, *Bū-zi*, *Bu<sub>16</sub>-zī* “My *būšum*-bird”, *Būš-u*, *Bu-zu* (PEb B 69ff), Ug. *Bṣy* (?) (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”<sup>403</sup> (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*, *‘Ku-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. *Hawd(a)* (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 58, CIK 2 281), *Qatāt* (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), (m) nick. (KN 365), CAO *Gitāya* (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).

<sup>403</sup> Cf. OArām. *ṣdh* “owl” (DNWSI 960).

## Chicken

### §116. Miscellaneous names

* <i>parḥ-</i> “chick, brood” (SED 2, No. 179): Heb. <i>'prḥ</i> (Rechenmacher 2012: 170), <i>Pārū'aḥ</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. <i>-wayh</i> ) (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 Farrūğ</i> (Ikmāl 4: 180).
Ar. <i>Şwayṣ</i> “Little brood” (dimin. <i>şūş</i> ) (Littmann 1921: 13), FN <i>Şūş</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>Dağāğa</i> (f) “Hen” (Gratzl 1906: 53), CAO <i>Ğāğe</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>Zağlūl</i> “Brood” <sup>404</sup> (of dove or chicken) (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5; Hittī 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 Furfur</i> “Sparrow” or “Fat lamb” (Ikmāl 7: 88; Lane 2357), Nab. <i>Prpryw</i> (PNNR 164). <sup>405</sup>
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”, <sup>406</sup> <i>Bu-ur<sub>2</sub>-bu-ru-um</i> , <i>Burburān</i> , <i>Bu-ur-bu-ra-an</i> (CAA, No.

<sup>404</sup> Cf. CAr. *zuglūl* “little child” and *zaglūl* “young camel, sheep, or goat” (Lane 1235).

<sup>405</sup> For an alternative etymology, see ↑4.3.1.3.3.

1370, 1376; Millet Albà 2000: 485).
Ug. <i>Apn, Argb, Arkbt, Isg, Bbru, Hlly, Hlp</i> “Offspring” (?), <i>Ktln, Šn’t</i> (Watson 2006: 450ff), <i>Nnr, Nan-ni-ra-ia</i> (Watson 2007: 99ff).
Ar. <i>Bahdal, 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

*'ap‘aw (SED 2, No. 11): Ar. ( <i>al-</i> ) <i>Afā</i> “Viper”, <i>Afā Nağrān</i> (CIK 2 142, Ištiqāq 362).
*hVwVy- (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> <sup>407</sup> (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).
*śarap- (SED 2, No. 215): Heb. <i>Śārāp</i> “Cobra” (Rechenmacher 2012: 171), (N)WSC <i>Sar-pi-i</i> (PNA 1092).
Heb. <i>Nāħāš, Nāħšōn</i> “Snake” (PHIAP 81, 96; IPN 230).
Ar. <i>Hanaš</i> “Viper, Reptilian” <sup>408</sup> (CIK 2 297), nick. (KN 170), CAO <i>Hanaš, Hanaša/e</i> (f) as patronyms/matronymys (e.g., SAR 4, No. 102079, 10825) and as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243; SAR 4, No. 24188), <i>Hniš</i> (dim) as patronym and FN (SAR 4, No. 596, 1405).
Akk./NA <i>Še-ra-a-nu, Si-ra-a-nu</i> “Snake-like” or “He of the steppe” (PNA 1169).
Ug. <i>Sry, Aym</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 102; see the discussion in §4.3.1.2).
Ar. <i>Arbad</i> “Huge large-headed snake” (Bitis arietansor) (CIK 2 192; Al-Damīrī 1992: 94), Bed. ‘Örbid (Hess 1912: 39), CAO ‘Irbiđ (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).
Ar. <i>Arqam</i> “Diadem-snake”, <i>Ruqaym, Raqmān, al-Arāqim</i> (sub-clan) (Ištiqāq 71, 336, 440,

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

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

<sup>408</sup> Kogan (SED 2, p. 211) adopts the argument that the traditional comparison of Heb. *nāħaš* to Ar. *ħanaš* is rather unlikely due to the questionable metathesis and sibilant correspondence.

551; Ma'lūf 1932: 269).
Ar. <i>Aswad</i> “Huge black snake”, <sup>409</sup> “Greatest”, or, less likely, <i>aswad</i> -bird (Ištiqāq 94; Lane 1461c, 1463b).
Saf. ‘mg could reflect Ar. ‘amağ, ‘ummağ, ‘awmağ “snake” (HIn 435; Lane 2151).
Ar. <i>Tu'bān</i> “Huge (male) snake” (Al-Zaraklī 2: 213; Lane 337), Bed. <i>Ta'bān</i> <sup>410</sup> (Beduinen 4 446).
Ar. <i>Hirbiš</i> “Rattlesnake” (Ikmāl 2: 424; Lisān 3: 104).
Ar. <i>Hubāb</i> “Snake” (Ištiqāq 308), nick. <i>al-Hubāb</i> (KN 147), Saf., His., Tham. <i>Hbb</i> either reflects this form or <i>Habīb</i> “Beloved” (Shatnawi 2002: 668; HIn 172).
Ar. <i>Banū Qutayra</i> is based on <i>ibn qitra</i> “a kind of snake” (Ištiqāq 369).
Ar. <i>Banū Raqāš, 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. Šu/iğā’ (probably the same as <i>Arbad</i> above) <sup>411</sup> (CIK 2 531; Ma'lūf 1932: 6).

## Lizard

### §119. Miscellaneous names

*ḥVm(V)t- (SED 2, No. 99): Heb. <i>Hamūṭal/Hamīṭal</i> (f) with the diminutive ending -al (↑4.1.2, sub No. 33), OAr. <i>Hmṭt</i> (Maraqten 1988), <i>Ha-am-tu-tu</i> (PNA 449), OSyr. <i>Hmṭt</i> (↑4.3.1.1, sub No. 47).
*ḥVrd/dān- “kind of lizard” (SED 2, No. 102): Ar. <i>Hirdawn</i> “Agama” (nick.) (KN 153), CAO <i>Hardūn</i> as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).
*śabb- [Uromastyx] (SED 2, No. 221): Heb. <i>Ṣōbēbā</i> (PHIAP 106; Rechenmacher 2012: 171), Palm./Hat. ‘b’ could reflect Syr. ‘abbā (< *śabb-) (PNPI 102; Abbadi 1983: 134) or ‘Abba/‘Abbāy, the Ar. hypoc. of ‘Abd-DN (Beyer 1998 H 11, 1, 13, 2, 96, 101, 1), His., Saf. <i>Db, Dbt</i> (HIn 380; ENAH 380), Ar. <i>Dabb, Dabba, Ibn Dabbā'</i> (CIK 2 240, 243), Bed. <i>Dbayb</i> (Hess 1912: 33).
*waran-, *waral- “varan” (SED 2, No. 246): Saf., His. <i>Wrl</i> (HIn 640; ENAH 81, 481).
Eb. <i>Birbirr-ānu, Bir<sub>5</sub>-bí-la-nu</i> (ARES 3 208, 292; PEb B 39).

<sup>409</sup> On the difference between *aswad*-snake and *aṭṭā* “viper”, see Al-Ǧāhiẓ (1966 4: 244-6, 304).

<sup>410</sup> Or a variation of *Ta'bān* “Tired”.

<sup>411</sup> The term Šu/iğā’ also means “brave”.

Akk. <i>Šurārû</i> “Lizard”, OAk. <i>Zu-ra-ri-tím</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” (Abbadı 1983: 103).
Ar. <i>Ǧahl</i> , <i>Ǧahla</i> , <i>Ǧuhayl</i> “Chameleon” <sup>412</sup> (Ikmāl 2: 50, 398), Saf., Tham. <i>Għl</i> (HIn 154).
Ar. <i>Ḩisl</i> , <i>Ḩusayl</i> “Young-dabb” (Ištiqāq 104; CIK 2 335), Saf. <i>Ḩsl</i> , <i>Ḩsln</i> (HIn 189), Bed. <i>Şhaylı</i> (a metathesis) (Hess 1912: 28), CAO FN <i>Suhliyya</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>Raqqītu</i> , <i> Raq-qí-tú</i> (PNA 1033), Ug. <i>Rqn</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 102).
* <i>š/salahpaw/y-</i> (SED 2, No. 202): Akk. <i>Še-leppūtu(m)</i> , <i> Še-lep-pu-up-tu₄</i> , <i> Še-le-pu-tum</i> (Frayne 1997: 267; NBN 201b; Baker 2004 19: 8). <sup>413</sup>
Heb. <i>Gālāl</i> , <i>Gll</i> (Rechenmacher 2012: 170).

## ARTHROPODS

### Ant

### §121. Miscellaneous names

* <i>hVbVṣ-</i> (SED 2, No. 96): Ar. <i>Hubšī</i> , <i>Hubšiyya</i> “Big red ants” (Ištiqāq 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), <sup>414</sup> 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; Ikmāl 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>

<sup>412</sup> It also denotes “dragonfly” and “*ḡu’al*-beetle” (Lisān 2: 188: 100; Ma’lūf 1932: 87).

<sup>413</sup> As mentioned above (sub *šelevu* in §16), the fem. forms *Še-le-bu-tum* could also reflect *Še-leppūtu*.

<sup>414</sup> 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. *Dəbōrā* (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 Nahla* (nick.) (Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006, No. 2492), CAO *Nahle* as FN (Atawneh 2005: 157).

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

Ar. *Hašram* “Wasps” (collective term) (Al-Buhārī 1360 AH 2: 217; Al-Sahāwī 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

\**şarşa/ūr-* (SED 2, No. 213): OAkk. *Za-za-ru-um* (?) (MAD 3 246), OA *Sé-er-şé-ri-im* (Veenhof 2010 6: 38), provided it is not based on *zerzerrum*-locust (AHw 1523a), OB *Şa-ar-şa-rum*, *Şa-şa-ra-a-ia* (ARM 23 440: 17; OBTR 206), *Sa-an-sa-ar* (Durand 1997: 638 viii 36, with fn. 511), NA *Şa-an-şu-ru* (PNA 1168), N/LB *Şa-an-şí-ri*, *Şa-şí-ru* (NBN 184b), Eb. *Şaşşarum*, *Za-za-lum* (ARES 3 233, 384), Amor. (?)<sup>415</sup> *Şurşurum*, *Zu-ur-zu-ru-um*, *Zu-úr-zu-ru-um*, *Şurşurtum*, <sup>f</sup>*Zu-úr-zu-ru-tum*, *Şurşuriya*, *Zu-ur-zu-ri-ia* (CAA, No. 6652-54; IPNOBS 366; or <*za/urzūr* ↑§108>), Ar. *Şurşur* (nick.) (KN 299), FM *Şarsūr* (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 244).

\**zīz-* “kind of insect”<sup>416</sup> (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. *Zzn* (?) (Watson 2007: 101), Heb. *Zizā*, provided it is not a lallative (PHIAP 141; IPN 41).

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

<sup>415</sup> Cf. the discussion in §4.1.1.2.2.1.

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

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

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

### Flea

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

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Pir<sub>6</sub>-ha-šum</i> , <i>Pir<sub>6</sub>-ha-šu-um</i> , <i>Pir<sub>6</sub>-ha-sum</i> , <i>Bi-ir-ha-šum</i> , OB <i>Per-ša-hu-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>Purgāt-u</i> , <i>Bur-ha-áš</i> , <i>Bur-ha-šu</i> , <i>Bur-haš</i> , <i>Purgāt-Tīr-u</i> , <i>Bur-háš-ti-lu</i> “Flea of the attendant” (?) (ARES 3 295; PEb B 74).
Amor. <sup>417</sup>	<i>Pur'ušānu/Purgušānu</i> , <i>Pu-ur-hu-ša-nu</i> (CAA 18, No. 5184; Streck 2000: §2.142).
Ug.	<i>Prḡt</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>Burgūt</i> (CIK 2 224), also nick. of three persons, one of them being <i>Bu/argūt al-sunna</i> “The flea of the Sunnis” (KN 106), Bed. <i>Bergūt</i> , <i>Brayḡit</i> , <i>Bargaš</i> (Hess 1912: 11; Littmann 1921: 6), CAO FN <i>Bergūṭī</i> , <i>Barāḡīt</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. <sup>418</sup> <i>Dababum</i> , <i>Za-ba-bu-um</i> , <i>Dabbum</i> , <i>Za-ab-bu-um</i> , <i>Dābibum</i> , <i>Za-bi-bum</i> , <i>Dibibum</i> , <i>Si-bu-um</i> , <i>Dubābum</i> , <i>Du-ba-bu-um</i> , <i>Su-ba-bu-um</i> (dimin.), <i>Dubābatum</i> , <i>Du-ba-ba-tum</i> (dimin.) (CAA 18, 127-30; Streck 2000: §5.34), Saf. <i>Dbb</i> (HIn 248), Ar. <i>Dubāb</i> (CIK 2 238), provided it is not based on <i>dubāb</i> “edge of the sword” (Lane 952), Bed. <i>Banū Dubāb</i> (Beiträge 88).
Ar. <i>Haraša</i> , <i>Ibn Haraša</i> (f), <i>Abu Ḥarāša</i> (Al-Buhārī 1360 AH 3: 213; Al-Damīrī 1992: 47), <i>Hawta'(a)</i> (Iṣtiqāq 328).

<sup>417</sup> Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

<sup>418</sup> 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>Ǧndb</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 45), <i>Ǧandab/Ǧundub</i> , <i>Ǧunaydib</i> (Beiträge 89; CIK 2 265ff), Bed. <i>Ǧundub</i> (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16), CAO <i>Ǧindib</i> as FN (WB, No. 15279).
*garad- (SED 2, No. 83): Saf. <i>Grd</i> (HIn 158), Ar. <i>Ǧarād</i> (CIK 2 257), nick. <i>Ǧarāda al-wā‘iz</i> “Locust, the preacher” (Al-Şafadī 2000 11: 49), Bed. <i>Ǧarād</i> , <i>Ǧrayyid</i> (Littmann 1921: 7), CAO <i>Ǧarād</i> as FN (WB, No. 16663).
ḥagVb-: Eb. <i>Hagibum</i> , <i>À-gi-bù-um</i> (ARES 3 270), Ug. <i>Hgby</i> , <i>Hgbt</i> , <i>Hgbn</i> , <i>Ha-ga-ba-nu</i> , <i>'bdhgb</i> (the god Resheph?) (PTU 28, 84, 134f, DUL 357), Heb. <i>Hāgāb</i> , <i>Hagābā</i> , <i>Hgb</i> (PHIAP 96; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
*ḥargVl- (SED 2, No. 103): Amor. <sup>419</sup> <i>Harga/āl(um)</i> , <i>Ha-ar-ga-al</i> , <i>Ha-ar-ga-lum</i> (CAA, No. 1957-8), Nab. <i>Hrglw</i> (Cantineau 1932: 99), Tham., His. <i>Hrgl</i> (Shatnawi 2002: 673; ENAH 387), Ar. <i>Harğal</i> , <i>Harğül</i> (Beiträge 89).
*qVṣam- (SED 2, no 139): Ug. <i>Qṣm</i> (Watson 2006: 452).
Akk. <i>Ka(l)labuttu</i> , <i>ᵏKa-al-bu-ut-tum</i> , <i>ᵏKa-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> ) (Ikmāl 3: 311, 392; Beiträge 89), <i>Ḩanṭab/Hunṭub</i> “Male locust/beetle” (Ištiqāq 120).
Ar. <i>Ǧahdab/Ǧuhdub</i> “Locust” ( <i>Gryllus cristatus</i> ) (CIK 2 256; Al-Damīrī 1992: 34, fn. 2), <i>Ǧuhaydib</i> (Al-Sahāwī 1992 3: 66), Bed. <i>ᵫGħaydib</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> (CAA, No. 1037, 1049-50), OA <i>Ba-qú-nim</i> (gen.) (Larsen
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<sup>419</sup> Cf. 14.1.1.2.2.1. Note that Akk. *ergilu* and *erhizzu* (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. *Ptp̥t* “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), *Ḫà-la-ma-ti* (Heimpel 2009: 354), Palm. *'qml*, *Qml'* (PNPI 72, 110), Saf. *Qml*, Tham. *Qmlt*, Had. *Qml*, *Qmlm*, *'qml* (f) (HIn 488; POI 215f; Sholan 1999: 32, 100), Ar. nick. *Ǧā'a qamluhu* “His lice became hungry” (Littmann 1948: 7), *Gmēle* (f), *Gāmile* (f), *Gāmil* (Hess 1912: 47), CAO *Abū Qamil* as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).

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

Ar. *Far'a* (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*, *Ḫà-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. *Ss'* (PNPPI 239; or < \**sVwsVw* §47), Ar. nick. *Sūsat al-'ilm* “Weevil/moth of knowledge” (i.e., addicted to knowledge) (KN 271-2)

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

## Scarabs/dung-beetle

### 130. Miscellaneous names

\**gV'Vl-* (based on Ar. and Eb.<sup>420</sup>): Heb. *Ga'al*, *G'ly* (Rechenmacher 2012: 170), OAr. *G'l'* (Maraqten 1988: 149), Palm. *G'l*, *G'ylw/y* (PNPI 82; for an alternative explanation, see

<sup>420</sup> *Gi'lānum*, *gi-la-(a-)núm* = ZA-GIR in a bilingual list of animal names (Sjöberg 1996: 22).

↑4.3.1.3.1), Saf. *G'l* (HIn 163), Ar. *Ğu'al*, *Ğu'ayl* (Ištiqāq 336; CIK 2 262ff), nick. *al-Ğu'al* (KN 139), Bed. *Ğe'elān*, *Ğe'ēwil* (Hess 1912: 15).

Ar. *Ğa/unda'* (m + f), *Ğunda'a* (Ištiqāq 170, 173; CIK 2 266; Gratzl 1906: 54).

## Scorpion

### §131. Miscellaneous names

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

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

Ar. *Şabwa*<sup>421</sup> (Ikmāl 5: 37; Lisān 7: 25).

## Spider

### §132. Miscellaneous names

\**ankab(īt)* (SED 2, No. 33): Ar. *'Ankab* (nick.) (KN 339).

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

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

Ar. *Şabat*, *Şubayt* “Sun-spider”<sup>422</sup> (Ištiqāq 223; CIK 2 251; Ikmāl 5: 31), Nab. *Şbytw* (Cantineau 1932: 148),<sup>423</sup> His. *S<sup>2</sup>b<sub>t</sub>* (ENAH 81, 417), Bed. *Şbayte* (f) (Hess 1912: 31).

Ar. *'Ukāša*, *'Ukkāš(a)* (Ikmāl 10: 532; Lisān 9: 340), Bed. *'Akkaš* (?) (Hess 1912: 41).

<sup>421</sup> SED 2 (No. 218) lists Ar. *şabw(-at)/şabāt* “scorpion” and *şawşab* “kind of lice, scorpion” under an assumed PS \**şVbay(-at)* “kind of insect” reconstructed in view of Akk. *şubabītu/ 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.

<sup>422</sup> Ma'lūf (1932: 110): “Galeodes”.

<sup>423</sup> For an alternative etymology, see ↑4.3.1.3.3.

## Tick and the like

### §133. Miscellaneous names

* <i>qʷVrVd-/qVrd-</i> (SED 2, No. 135): Amor. (?) <sup>424</sup> <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>Hmny</i> (Watson 2007: 101), Nab. <i>Hmyn</i> (Cantineau 1932: 97), Palm. <i>Hmnwn</i> (dimin.?) <sup>425</sup> (PNPI 89), Tham., His., Saf. <i>Hmn</i> <sup>426</sup> (Shatnawi 2002: 678; HIn 203; ENAH 932), Ar. <i>Hamna</i> (f), <i>Humayn</i> (Ikmāl 2: 514, 534).
Saf., His. <i>Qrs²m</i> could reflect CAr. <i>qiršām</i> “large tick” (HIn 480; ENAH 449).
Ar. ‘ <i>Alas</i> , <i>Halama</i> , <i>Hurqūṣ</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>dVr(r)-</i> (uncertain; SED 2, No. 74): Ug. <i>Drm</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 100), Ar. <i>Dr</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 216), <i>Darr</i> , <i>Abū Darr</i> <sup>427</sup> (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>Du al-Rimma</i> (MAAM 127).
* <i>tawli‘(-at)-</i> “worm” (SED 2, No. 230): Heb. <i>Tōla‘</i> (PHIAP 105; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Heb. ‘ <i>Arṣā</i> “Woodworm” (Glatz 2001: 29; see also ↑4.2.1, sub No. 9).
Saf. <i>Nḡft</i> may reflect CAr. <i>naḡaf-</i> “sheep-moggot, bot” (HIn 596).
Ar. <i>Duwayd</i> “Little worm” (< <i>dūd(a)-?</i> ), <sup>428</sup> <i>Dūdān</i> (Beiträge 90).

<sup>424</sup> Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.1.

<sup>425</sup> For an alternative etymology, cf. ↑4.3.1.3.1.

<sup>426</sup> Or from *ḥmm* “to heat”, like *Hammān*, *Himmān*.

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

<sup>428</sup> Alternatively, the name could be the diminutive of *Dāwūd*.

## **Additional arthropods**

### **§135. Miscellaneous names**

Eb. <i>Kalbiyānum</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>Kulil-i</i> , <i>Gú-li-li</i> “Dragonfly”, <i>Kulil-ūn-u</i> , <i>Gú-li-lu-nu</i> (hypoc.) (PEb G 58), OB <i>Kulila</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>Ayħ</i> “Caterpillar” (?), <sup>429</sup> <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>Hariš</i> “Centipede” <sup>430</sup> (Beiträge 89).

## **AMPHIBIA**

### **Frog**

### **§136. Miscellaneous names**

* <i>dVlVl-</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>šVpardi-</i> (SED 2, No. 222): Sab. <i>Dfd'</i> (HIn 383), Ar. (Bed.) <i>Difda'</i> , <i>Dfēdi'</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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<sup>429</sup> For an alternative explanation, see the discussion in 14.3.1.2.

<sup>430</sup> This term should not be confused with *hariš* “rhinoceros” (<Ge'ez) (Leslau 1987: 244).

<p><i>nūn-</i> “fish” (AHw 803; DNWSI 722): Akk. <i>Nūnī</i>, <i>Nu-ni-ia</i> “My fish” (PNA 967),<sup>431</sup> 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) (Ikmāl 1: 373), nick. <i>Dū al-Nūn</i> (KN 221).</p>
<p>Akk. <i>Agargarūtu</i>, <i>fA-ga-ar-ga-ru-ti</i> “Fish” (&lt;Sum.) (PTKN, 21), Ar. <i>Ǧirreyya</i> (f) “Clarias”<sup>432</sup> (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4).</p>
<p>Akk. <i>Kuppū(m)</i> “Eel”,<sup>433</sup> MB <i>Ku-up-pu</i> (PKTN 126), N/LB <i>Ku-up-pu</i>, <i>Kup-pu-tu</i>, <i>fKu-up-pu-(ut-)tum</i> (NBN 92b), Ug. <i>Kpyn</i> (Watson 2006: 453).</p>
<p>Akk. <i>Nāhiru</i> “Dolphin” (PNA 922).</p>
<p>Akk. <i>Alluttu</i> (f) “Crab” (AfO 42/43 63: 12), <i>Šilangītu</i>, <i>fŠi-la-an-gi-tu₄</i> “Fish” (Baker 2002: 8).</p>
<p>Ug. <i>Dg</i> “Fish” (PTU 28), Heb. <i>Dg'</i> (PHIAP 166).</p>
<p>Ug. <i>Kty</i> “Crab” (?) (Watson 2007: 103).</p>
<p>Heb. <i>Pəninnā</i> (f) “Coral”, <i>Tahaš</i> “Dolphin” or “Dugong” (?) (Glatz 2001: 29).</p>
<p>Ar. <i>Hūt</i> “Whale, Fish” (CIK 2 337), Nab. <i>Hwtw</i> (PNNR 166),<sup>434</sup> <i>Ht</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>Hūtān</i>, <i>Hwēt/Hwayt</i> (Hess 1912: 20; Littmann 1949: 15).</p>
<p>Ar. <i>Sumayaka</i> (f) “Little fish” (Gratzl 1906: 53), CAO FN <i>Samak</i> (Littmann 1949: 3), CAO <i>Šabbūṭ</i> “Carp”,<sup>435</sup> <i>Bunniyya</i> (f) “Barbel”<sup>436</sup> (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4), from Egypt <i>Bultīyya</i> (f) “Cichlid” and <i>Šilabāya</i> (f) “Schilbid catfish” (Littmann 1949: 3).</p>

## UNCLASSIFIED

§138. *wahš-* “wild beast” (Ar.)

Nab. *Whšw* (PNNR 165), Saf., His., Tham. *Whš<sup>2</sup>*, Saf. *Whš<sup>2</sup>n*, *Whš<sup>2</sup>l*, either “The wild beast of god” or the verbal form *Wahaš-Il* (HIn 636), Ar. *Wahš*, *Wahšī* (CIK 584), nick (KN 448), Bed. *Wahš* (Littmann 1921: 19), *Wähäš* (f) “Falcon” (in the Najdi dialect) (Hess 1912: 53),

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

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

<sup>433</sup> Cf. JBAram. *kwy'* “kind of fish” (Sokoloff 2002: 565).

<sup>434</sup> For an alternative etymology, see ↑4.3.1.3.3.

<sup>435</sup> This term is probably a loan from Aram. *šbwṭ*, *šbwṭ'* (Brockelmann 1928: 751; Jastrow 1903: 1565).

<sup>436</sup> Cf. Syr. *bynyt* (Brockelmann 1928: 69).

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