

## AKKADIAN COGNATES TO SOME UGARITIC WORDS

Wilfred G. E. Watson

In this short note<sup>1</sup>, Akkadian cognates for fourteen Ugaritic lexical items are discussed. Many of these Ugaritic words have already been understood and the cognates provide additional confirmation of their meanings, particularly where the contexts in both languages are similar. Others have proved difficult to determine and some help may come from Akkadian. Since both languages are Semitic, it is not always easy to establish whether or not borrowing is involved<sup>2</sup>. The Ugaritic words are listed alphabetically.

1. *apy*, “baker” (KTU 4.125:10; 4.212:5; 4.387:26).

While there is no doubt about the meaning of the Ugaritic word, it can be noted that a better equivalent than Babylonian *ēpû(m)*, “baker” (CDA, p. 76a; AHW, p. 231a; CAD E, p. 248)<sup>3</sup> is the Middle Assyrian form *āpiʿu*, also “baker”<sup>4</sup>. It may indicate that the restoration is [ú] rather than [yu] in the equivalences [MU = *n*]u-*ḥa-ti-mu* = *is-ḥa-r[i]-n[i]* = : *a-pí-[ú]* (Ugaritica V 130 III 4’)<sup>5</sup>.

2. *aškr̄r*, “a milk product” (KTU 1.71:11; 1.72:18; 1.85:13)

This difficult term is usually explained by Akk. *iškūru*, *eškūru*, “wax” (AHW, p. 396; CAD I/J, pp. 251-252). Other options are Akk. *šakirû*, “henbane” (AHW, p. 1140; CDA, p. 349), Akk. *ašqulālu*, *isqulālu*, “a medicinal or marine plant” (AHW, p. 82; CDA, p. 29; CAD A/2, p. 453) and Akk. *tiskur*, *tiškur*, *tiskar*, *šiškur*, *tuškar*, “a plant” (AHW, pp. 1361-62; CDA, p. 407; CAD T, p. 431a)<sup>6</sup>. Yet another possibility is that this medicinal substance, listed as an ingredient in the hippiatric texts, may correspond to Akk. *iškurratu*, *ikkuratu*, “a milk product” (CDA, p. 134a; AHW, p. 396a)<sup>7</sup>. However, the reduplicated -r- in the Ugaritic word remains obscure as does the word itself.

<sup>1</sup> It is an honour to be a member of the editorial board of *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* and a pleasure to contribute to this 25th issue.

<sup>2</sup> In general, see W. G. E. Watson, *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic* (AuOrSuppl 19), Barcelona 2007, pp. 63-118. Here, the abbreviation used for this work is LSU.

<sup>3</sup> As given in DUL, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> S. Jakob, *Mittelassyrische Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur. Untersuchungen* (Cuneiform Monographs 29), Leiden/Boston 2003, p. 394-395 and p. 393 n. 42.

<sup>5</sup> *Ugaritica V*, p. 232. See J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (HSS 32), Atlanta 1987, pp. 26 and 52 (3.24).

<sup>6</sup> See already Watson LSU, p. 67 #2.2.01.2 (3) and p. 126 n. 497.

<sup>7</sup> Akk. *iškurrātu*, from context “probably some dairy product” (CAD I/J, p. 251b).

3. *ʿrgz*, “a plant” (KTU 1.20 i 8; 1.24:43; 1.72:14; 1.85:5, 10; 4.158:22).

There is no accepted translation of this term, which occurs in the hippiatric texts as a medicinal substance<sup>8</sup>. It may correspond to Akk. *margūšu(m)*, “an aromatic” (CAD M/1, p. 279) or “a resinous bush” (CDA, p. 197b), which is used as an ingredient in medicines. For the equivalences, one can compare Ug. *grgn*, “conifer” (PN: KTU 4.69 v 8, etc.), which corresponds to Ugaritian Akk. *ḥarganā*, “a conifer” (TN: PRU 6, 77:5), as proposed by M. C. Astour<sup>9</sup>. His proposal is based on Akk. *ḥargānum*, “a conifer” (CAD A/1, pp. 253b-254), which also occurs as *argānum*, *argannum*, “a conifer; its resin” (CDA, p. 23a) and as *margānum*, “a resinous bush; its resin” (CDA, p. 197b). Similarly, the correspondence of Ug. *ʿrgz* to Akk. *margūšu* would have to imply the unattested Akkadian forms *\*argūšu* or *\*ḥargūšu*, so that my proposal is no more than a plausible conjecture.

4. *hlm*, “then, later” (KTU 1.2 i 21; 1.3 ii 5; 1.100 *passim*, etc.).

Usually analysed as the deictic functor *hl* + final or enclitic *-m*<sup>10</sup>, instead, it may correspond to the Akk. adverb *ullum*, *ullumma*, “thereupon” (CDA, p. 421a; cf. AHw, p. 1410b), now attested in Eblaite as *ullum*, “later”, as proposed by A. Archi<sup>11</sup>.

5. *kmm*, “ditto, in the same amount” (KTU 1.109:11; 1.132:16, 21, 24; 1.148:11; 1.164:5-8; 1.168:3, etc.).

It is generally accepted that Ug. *kmm* means “ditto, in the same amount”<sup>12</sup>. It can be analysed as *km*, “like, thus” plus enclitic *-m*<sup>13</sup>. This is borne out by Official Aramaic *kmm*, “thus, similarly” (DNWSI I, p. 519)<sup>14</sup>. Additional confirmation comes from Mari

<sup>8</sup> For some proposals see DUL, p. 182. It also occurs in a list of trees (KTU 4.158). Note the TN *ʿrgz* in KTU 4.365:36; 4.610 (ii) 25; 4.621:16; 4.693:45; 4.750:2, etc. The syllabic spelling *A-ra-gi-zi* (RS 34.131:22 = RSOu 7 No.4) may correspond to this place-name.

<sup>9</sup> M. C. Astour, “North Syrian Toponyms Derived from Plant Names”, in G. A. Rendsburg, *et al.*, eds, *The Bible World. Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon*, New York 1980, pp. 3-8 (p. 4).

<sup>10</sup> For a survey see W. G. E. Watson, “Final *-m* in Ugaritic”, *AuOr* 10, 1992, pp. 223-252 (p. 246); see also Tropper, UG, p. 746 (“dann”).

<sup>11</sup> See A. Archi, “Minima eblaïtica 16: the adverb *ullum* “later””, *NABU* 2003/31, but with no reference to Ugaritic.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. “The use of *kmm* ‘ditto’ in KTU 1.46:15 // 1.109:11 corresponds with a real repetition of the gods and offerings, administered to them, in KTU 1.130:2f.”, as noted by M. Dijkstra, “The Ritual KTU 1.46 (= RS 1.9) and its Duplicates”, *UF* 16, 1984, pp. 69-76 (p. 75) and previously J. C. de Moor, “The Peace-offering in Ugarit and Israel”, in *Schrift en Uitleg ... W. H. Gispen*, Kampen 1970, pp. 112-117 (p. 114); *id.*, “Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit”, *UF* 2, 1970, pp. 303-327 (p. 309). See Watson, “Final *-m* in Ugaritic”, p. 234.

<sup>13</sup> See Tropper, UG §81.3 p. 748 and KWU, p. 58.

<sup>14</sup> The Aramaic term seems to have gone unnoticed in studies on Ugaritic.

Akkadian *kîma-ma*, “just like/as, exactly like/as”, which occurs in ARM XXVI 449:45, where it is translated “tout comme, exactement comme”<sup>15</sup>.

**6.** *mšrp*, “crucible” (KTU 1.82:33).

Besides Heb. *mašrēp*, “smelting pot” (HALOT, p. 625)<sup>16</sup> see also Akk. *našraptu*, “crucible” (CAD N/2, pp. 50-51; CDA, p. 244b). This equivalence seems not to have been noted.

**7.** *pslt*, “plait (of hair)” (KTU 1.5 vi 18; 1.6 i 2; cf. DUL, p. 685).

There is no doubt that Ug. *pslt* is cognate with Akk. *pasālu*, “to turn around, to twist” (CAD P, pp. 216b-217)<sup>17</sup>. Ug. *pslt* occurs in two texts: *ydy psltm by<sup>c</sup>r*, “he cut off both plaits with a razor” and *td psltm by<sup>c</sup>r*, “she cut off both plaits with a razor”. In support of this accepted meaning for Ug. *pslt*, see the Babylonian omen: *šumma ... šār[at lēti] paslat*, “if ... the ha[ir on (his) cheek] is twisted”<sup>18</sup>.

**8.** *qt*, “handle” (KTU 4.275:10; 4.734:1)<sup>19</sup>.

The word occurs in broken contexts, but probably has the meaning “handle” (DUL, p. 719). Besides cognates in Mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic<sup>20</sup> see also Akk. *qātu*, “handle”, a meaning derived from the basic meaning of “hand”<sup>21</sup>. If this identification is correct, then it would be a loanword since the Ugaritic word for “hand” is of course *yd*.

<sup>15</sup> J.-M. Durand, *Les documents épistolaires du Palais de Mari*, Tome I (LAPO 16), Paris 1997, p. 441 note v. My thanks to Jordi Vidal for help with this reference and to Nicolas Wyatt for further clarification by e-mail.

<sup>16</sup> “The word *mšrp*, can hardly be separated from Hebr. *mašrēp* “crucible””, according to J. C. de Moor - K. Spronk, “More on Demons in Ugarit (KTU 1.82)”, *UF* 16, 1984, pp. 237-250 (p. 247). Similarly, P. Collini, “Studi sul lessico della metallurgia nell’ebraico biblico e nelle lingue siro-palestinesi del II e I millennio a.C. (parte seconda)”, *SEL* 6, 1989, pp. 23-45 (pp. 27-28).

<sup>17</sup> Aistleitner WUS, p. 258 #2241: “Seitenlocken”, followed in TOu I (p. 251 n.i.): “*psltm* : substantif duel, apparenté selon Aistleitner à l’accadien *pasālu*, « se tordre »”. Note that the homonymous (or homographic) Ugaritic noun *psl*, “engraver” has cognates only in West Semitic (cf. DUL, p. 685). Whether *pslt* in KTU 9.432:31’ (parallel to *abn*, “stone”) belongs to the same root and means “sculpture” or whether it corresponds to Akk. *pisiltu*, “lump of clay” (CAD P, p. 424) is very uncertain.

<sup>18</sup> Cited in CAD P, p. 217a.

<sup>19</sup> It is uncertain whether *dqt* in KTU 1.4 i 41 should be read *d qt*.

<sup>20</sup> I.e. *qt(’)*, cited in DUL, p. 719.

<sup>21</sup> I.e. “handle” of tool, etc (CDA, p. 287a, meaning 3); see also CAD Q, p. 188, meaning 3; it is a loanword in Hittite, where it refers to a jar.

9. *thm*, “message” (KTU 1.2 i 17; 1.3 v 30-31; 2.4:3, etc.)<sup>22</sup>.

An additional possibility to those discussed previously<sup>23</sup> is that Ug. *thm* is cognate with Late Babylonian *tu'umu*, “to bid, to command” (cf. CAD T, p. 500a; CDA, p. 411a)<sup>24</sup>.

10. *tlmd*, “plough(-animal)” (KTU 4.384:8).

The Ugaritic word occurs in a list of animals, and since one meaning of Akk. *talmīdu* is “plough” (cf. AHW, p. 1311b; CAD T, p. 103; CDA, p. 396a), it cannot be excluded that Ug. *tlmd* may denote an animal that pulls a plough<sup>25</sup>.

11. *tnqt*, “lactation” (KTU 1.13:32)<sup>26</sup>.

This derives from the verb *ynq*, “to suck(le)”, which is common Semitic. Besides Mishnaic Hebrew *tynwq* (cited in DUL, p. 874), see Akk. *tēnīqu*, “act of suckling, wet-nursing” an infant, or suckling child (cf. CAD T, pp. 343-344a; CDA, p. 404a; cf. AHW, p. 1347a), previously overlooked as a possible cognate.

12. *trmt*, “present” (KTU 1.6 vi 44; 1.43:3).

It is not clear whether Ug. *trmt* means “offering” or “present” in the following text (KTU 1.6 vi 42-45)<sup>27</sup>:

<i>ap. l tlhm lh̄m. trmt</i>	Yes, do eat the food of donation
<i>l tšt yn. tḡzyt.</i>	do drink the wine of giving.

The dictionary meaning is “offering” (DUL, p. 879) whereas J. Tropper suggests “raising”<sup>28</sup>. Ug. *trmt* is generally taken as equivalent to Heb. *ṯrûmāh*, which may mean “contribution, offering”<sup>29</sup>. Since the parallel word in the Ugaritic text here is *tḡzyt*, “present”, which is from *ḡzy*, “to give presents to” (DUL, 329)<sup>30</sup>, it would seem that Ug.

<sup>22</sup> For a list of passages, with discussion, see Watson LSU, pp. 29-36; previously, “«Message» in Myth and Missive: Ugaritic *thm*”, *JNSL* 25, 1999, pp. 1-16.

<sup>23</sup> Watson, LSU, pp. 58-61, 64, 134; previously, *id.*, “Delimiting Ugaritic *thm*: A Brief Report”, *UF* 30, 1998, pp. 745-749.

<sup>24</sup> Not listed in AHW.

<sup>25</sup> Or else “sich noch in der Ausbildung befindliches (Reittier)“ akk./aram. *talmīd* “Lehrling, Schüler” (Tropper, UG, p. 270); cf. Tropper, KWU, p. 127.

<sup>26</sup> Ug. *tnqt*, “scream” (KTU 1.16 ii 26, 34) is a homograph, borrowed from Akk. *tanūqātu*, “cry, lament” (CAD T, p. 176), as proposed by J. C. de Moor - K. Spronk, “Problematical Passages in the Legend of Kirtu (II)”, *UF* 14, 1982, pp. 173-90 (p. 186). See LSU, p. 110 (§2.2.02.1 #292) and Tropper, KWU, p. 128.

<sup>27</sup> The text has *trmmt*, usually emended to *trmt*, but see Tropper, KWU, p. 129.

<sup>28</sup> “Brot (als Opfergabe) der 'Erhöhung'” (Tropper, UG, p. 582 #74.515.2a). Note also “Ja, iß fürwahr das Brot der Opferung(?); trink fürwahr den Wein der Libation(?)” (Tropper, UG, p. 807).

<sup>29</sup> For extensive discussion see HALOT, pp. 1788-90a; they prefer the meaning “contribution”.

<sup>30</sup> But translated “offering, libation” in DUL, p. 864.

*trmt* has the same meaning as well. This is confirmed by Akk. *tarīmtu*, “present” (CAD T, p. 231); “gift, award” (CDA, p. 400a)<sup>31</sup>. In KTU 1.43:3-5, the “present” (*trmt*) consists of garments and gold.

**13.** *trr*, “to tremble” (KTU 1.4 vii 31-32; cf. 1.3 v 4-5; 1.4 v 20-21; 1.17 vi 46)

The most extensive discussion of the verb *tr(r)* is by Margalit<sup>32</sup> and the causative form of the verb may occur in the following text:

<i>qlh. q[dš. ]trr. arš</i>	His holy voice made the earth quake,
<i>šat [špt]h ḡrm</i>	the utterance of his [lips], the mountains.

Although, if the final word (*aḥšn*) is included, these lines could also be rendered:

<i>qlh. q[dš. ]trr. arš</i>	At his h[oly] voice the earth quaked;
<i>šat [špt]h ḡrm[.]aḥšn</i>	at the issue of his [lips] the mountains were afraid <sup>33</sup> .

Another passage which may use this verb is KTU 1.17 vi 46<sup>34</sup>:

<i>td<sup>c</sup>š p<sup>c</sup>nm w tr arš</i>	She stamped her feet and the earth shook <sup>35</sup> .
---	--

It is generally accepted that Ug. *trr* has a cognate in Akk. *tarāru*, “to tremble”<sup>36</sup>. In fact, the Akkadian verb (in the N form) occurs in a comparable context in two texts. One is *kīma Adad ana šagīmešu ittarrarū šadū*, “the mountains began to tremble at his roar, as at Adad’s (thunder)”<sup>37</sup> and the other is similar: [*ša ana šag]īmišu šamê u eršeti .... itarruru*, “at whose roar the heavens and the earth do tremble”<sup>38</sup>. These passages are an indication that to some extent, Ug. *trr* corresponds to Akk. *tarāru* in meaning and usage.

**14.** *trt*, “new wine” (KTU 1.5 iv 20; 1.17 vi 7; 1.39:11.16; 1.102:9; 1.114:4, 16).

<sup>31</sup> This is less clear in AHW, p. 1329a under *tarīmtu(m)*, “ein Geschenkggst.”. The noun is derived from *rāmu, riāmu*, “to present, to grant, etc.” (CAD R, pp. 146-147a).

<sup>32</sup> B. Margalit, “Lexicographical Notes on the Aqht Epic (Part II: KTU 1.19)”, *UF* 16, 1984, pp. 119-179 (pp. 87-88).

<sup>33</sup> Translation: N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, London/New York 2002<sup>2</sup>, p. 109.

<sup>34</sup> Restored from the parallels KTU 1.3 v 4-5 and 1.4 v 20-21.

<sup>35</sup> Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, p. 277. However, the translation is uncertain. An alternative is “Sie erhob ihre Füße und zog auf die Erde umher” (Tropper, *UG*, pp. 484, 492).

<sup>36</sup> J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Poem of Ba<sup>c</sup>lu according to the Version of Ilimilku* (AOAT 16) Neukirchen-Vluyn / Kevelaer 1971, p. 162 also refers to Arab. *tartara*, “to shake, agitate”. For Akk. *tarāru*, “to tremble, shake”, see AHW, pp. 1325b-26a; CDA, p. 399b; CAD T, pp. 207b-208.

<sup>37</sup> From the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic, cited in CAD T, p. 208b; cf. CAD Š/1, p. 73.

<sup>38</sup> Cited without translation in CAD Š/1, p. 73.

In addition to the wide-ranging comments on this term, denoting both wine and the god of wine, provided by P. Xella<sup>39</sup>, see now also Mari Akk. *turšummu*, “a type of wine” (CAD T, p. 489b)<sup>40</sup>. The Semitic terms were borrowed by Indo-European languages<sup>41</sup>.

These equivalences can be set out in the form of a table, which shows that four out of the fourteen Ugaritic words have cognates in other Semitic languages besides Akkadian.

Ug. word	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans		
		Akk.	Hebrew	other
<i>apy</i>	baker	<i>āpiu, ēpû(m)</i>	<i>ʾph</i>	Ph. <i>ʾph</i>
<i>aškrr</i>	milk product	<i>iškurratu, iškurātu</i>		
<i>ʿrgz</i>	plant	<i>margūšu(m)</i>		
<i>hlm</i>	then	<i>ullumma</i> Ebla <i>ullum</i>		
<i>kmm</i>	ditto	<i>kîma-ma</i>		Aram. <i>knm</i>
<i>mšrp</i>	crucible	<i>našraptu</i>	<i>mšrp</i>	
<i>pslt</i>	plait	[ <i>pasālu</i> ]		
<i>qt</i>	handle	<i>qātu</i>	<i>qt</i>	Aram. <i>qtʾ</i>
<i>thm</i>	message	<i>tuʾumu</i>		
<i>tlmd</i>	plough (animal)	<i>talmīdu</i>		
<i>tnqt</i>	suckling	<i>tēnīqu</i>	<i>tynqt</i>	
<i>trmt</i>	present	<i>tarīmtu</i>	<i>trwmh</i>	
<i>tr(r)</i>	shake	<i>tarāru</i>		Arab. <i>tartara</i>
<i>trṯ</i>	new wine	<i>turšummu</i> Ebla <i>tirišu</i>	<i>tyrwš</i>	Ph. <i>trš</i>

In conclusion, this short note could have been called “Cognates in Context”, but unfortunately, similar contexts for both the languages in question are not always available. Even so, it is a further indication that the Akkadian lexicon can provide some help when determining the meaning of Ugaritic words.

<sup>39</sup> P. Xella, “Sulla più antica storia del dio del vino”, in P. Marrassini *et al.*, eds, *Semitic and Assyriological Studies Presented to Pelio Fronzaroli by Pupils and Colleagues*, Wiesbaden 2001, pp. 680-689. See also DUL, p. 880 and Tropper, KWU, p. 129.

<sup>40</sup> It may indicate that Akk. *sīrāšu*, etc., “(a kind of) beer” (CDA, p. 325a) is unrelated; however, see Xella, “Sulla più antica storia del dio del vino”, pp. 681-682 and p. 681 n. 5.

<sup>41</sup> E.g. Hieroglyphic Hittite *tuwarsa*, Greek *thursos*; see Xella, “Sulla più antica storia del dio del vino”, p. 683 and *passim*.