

Ugaritic Onomastics (2)

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[Meanings are proposed for several Ugaritic personal names, with reference to recent studies. Also included are additions and corrections to entries in an earlier article on the same topic].

The study of Ugaritic personal names is important for several reasons. It provides us with additional lexical material¹, it can add to our regrettably incomplete knowledge of spelling (which in turn is of assistance in determining morphology) and it adds to our picture of the ethnic groups present in Ugarit as well as giving us some idea of the gods they variously worshipped. The following notes on Ugaritic personal names are offered to supplement my previous article on the same topic². Names previously discussed will be marked with an asterisk³.

**abdl* (4.188 7) - see, perhaps, Akk. *abašlu* (= *abi ašli*), "field surveyor" (CAD A/1, 51). Alternatively, as suggested in my previous article, the word may be explained by Akk. *apišalû* which refers to a congenital defect and to a disease⁴.

azzlt (4.182 57) - no clear meaning or cognate emerges; cf. *zuzil(l)u*, a drug? (cf. CAD Z, 170) or a prayer? (AHw, 1540a). Both dictionaries refer to *aršuzuzil*, a type of drug (AHw, 71b; CAD A/2, 310). Another possibility is *anzaliltu* (fem. of *anzaliltu* for *anzanīnu*), "matchmaker" (?), pimp" (?)" (CAD A/2, 152).

att (4.635 43) unless to be derived from Ug. *ntt*, "to wobble", may be explained by Arab. *'atit*, "the moaning bray of a camel"⁵.

1. See A. Jirku, "Ugaritische Eigennamen als Quelle des ugaritischen Lexikons", *ArOr* 37 (1969) 8-11.

2. "Ugaritic Onomastics (1)", *AuOr* 8 (1990) 113-127. See, in addition, J. C. de Moor, *The Rise of Yahwism* (BETL 91; Leuven 1990) 237ff. (discusses *yql*-names in Ugaritic) and J.-C. Courtois, "Yabninu et le palais sud d'Ougarit", *Syria* 67 (1990) 103-142 (a prosopographic study of Yabninu/*ybn*). J. Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit* (Atlanta 1989) has a large number of references to syllabic spellings of Ug. PNN.

3. Note that another example of a PN with a word-divider is *il.prz* (KTU 1.111 1); on this name cf. Xella, TRU 1, 312; TO 2, 194 n. 154.

4. References in E. Leichty, "Apišalû", AS 16, 327. For the interchange of intervocalic *b/p* in Ugaritic cf. W. R. Garr, "On Voicing and Devoicing in Ugaritic", *JNES* 45 (1986) 45-52, esp. 46f.

5. Cf. H. Wehr - J. Milton Cowan, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Wiesbaden 1971) 19.

ibln (4.35 i 18(*bn* ...); 4.311 10 ([*bn*] ...); [4.545 ii 7(*bn* ...)]; PTU, 367). It may mean "Eblaite"⁶ although a relationship with Akk. *ibilu*, "Arabian camel, dromedary" cannot be entirely excluded⁷.

ubr "Foreigner" (4.371 19(*bn* ...); 4.617 16(*bn* ...)); Akk. *ubāru*, "Ortsfremder, Beisasse; Schutzbürger" (AHw, 1399b); *wabru*, *ubru(m)*, "Ortsfremder" (AHw, 1454b)⁸.

ušy "Ebony(-coloured)" (4.147 12 (... *šbnt*) - A syllabic spelling may be *u-ši-i* (PRU 3 167 [RS15.139] 19) and it may correspond to *ušū*, "dark-coloured wood or stone" (AHw, 1442b-1443a), a word actually attested in Ugaritic Akkadian⁹. A meaning "gift" is also possible in view of Ug. *ušn*, "gift". The name would then be hypocoristic for "Gift of the god X", a common form of personal name.

**uštyn* "Heroic" (4.219 4(*b[n]*) ...): the meaning, based on Hurrian *uštay* "hero" (GLH, 289f.; cf. UVST, 84) is confirmed by the syllabic spellings cited previously.

birt (RIH 78/2:10)¹⁰ and *birtn* (4.77 13 (*bn* ...); 4.93 i 7(*bn* ...); 4.422 5(*bn* ...); [4.692 13(*bn* ...)]) are, perhaps gentilics, as Hess has argued for the PN *bi-e-ri* in EA 174:3¹¹.

bsn (4.15 11; 4.229 3(*bn* ...); 4.300 3; PTU 309.381) may be explained by the Elephantine PN *bs*, perhaps Egyptian Bes¹².

bsy "Offspring" (4.754 17(*bn* ...))¹³; Less likely meanings are "a kind of bird" (Akk. *būšu*, cf. Salonen, VuV 150f. and CAD B, 349b-350a) or "hyena" (see CAD B, 349).

glyt/n (4.106 18 (*bn* ...))¹⁴; cf. *gfu-lji-ya* PRU 6 83 iv 7 and the well-known Philistine name "Goliath", spelled *golya/āt* in Hebrew. Kyle McCarter sees here the Anatolian ending *-yt* (*yat*), Hittite *-wattaš*, Lydian *-uattes* but makes no reference to the Ugaritic PN¹⁵.

6. PTU 87f. with bibliography; also, *ibid.* 27.301.

7. In the discussion section, CAD I/J, 2, it is argued that the Akk. word is a loan from Arabic; the same authority states that this word occurs in no other Semitic language. Cf. AHw, 363a.

8. Other possibilities: mB PN *Ubburu*, AHw, 1400a; Nuzi PNF *Uburu*, AHw, 1400b; Hurr. *ubarati*, GLH, 276.

9. PRU 3 184(RS 16.146+16.161) 17 ("ebony seat") and 18 (another piece of ebony furniture). The meaning "ebony" is accepted by J. Nougayrol, PRU 3, 184 note to line 17.

10. Bordreuil - Caquot, *Syria* 57 (1980) 362.

11. Hess, *UF* 17 (1985) 163 comments "The question is whether this is a personal name or a gentilic of the geographic name *Biri*. Does this name correspond to the URU *bi-i-ri* which appears in the Akkadian texts from Ugarit? [i.e. PRU 3 93(RS16.244) 7] ... *Bieri* could be a gentilic rather than a personal name".

12. Cf. M. H. Silverman, *Religious Values in the Jewish Proper Names at Elephantine* (AOAT 217; Neukirchen-Vluyn/Kevelaer 1985) 137 (no mention of Ugaritic); see there for references.

13. For a discussion in connection with "byssus" cf. Ribichini-Xella, *Tessili*, 18. In his review of this book M. Baldacci, *BO* 46 (1989) col.118 suggests the meaning "offspring".

14. If to be read *glyn*, it is probably Hurrian, a variant of *klyn*; cf. PTU 205.236.383.

15. P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel* (AB 8; Garden City 1980) 291.

**gpn* (4.261 24(*bn* ...); 4.339 20(...*bn tly*)- in addition see Minoan *ku-pa-nu-we-to*¹⁶.

grgyn "Pine or juniper(?)" (4.337 24; [4.244 27; 4.763 8])¹⁷ - Akk. *kikkirânu*, *kirkirianu* (etc.), "(aromatic substance)" (CAD K, 351f.) perhaps borrowed through Hurr. *kirkir(y)anni*-, "pine" (GLH, 149). Note that *kikkirânu* (in the form *kilkilânu*) is used as a PN in NB (refs. in CAD K, 352a).

grdy (4.309 28(*bn* ...)) and *grdn* (4.93 iv 18(*bn* ...); 4.422 3(*bn* ...); PTU 384). The root is GRD, "to scrape", though this refers not to a bodily characteristic (so PTU 29: "kahl", cf. 130) but to a type of animal, probably a kind of beaver, Akk. *garîdu*¹⁸.

gr' (4.635 34 (... *adddy*); PTU 384) may be explained by GR', "to shear (hair etc.)" (so PTU 29.129) but note Heb. *gr'*, II "to swallow" in Job 36 27¹⁹.

dlq (4.98 4(*bn* ...)) - cf. Hurr.(?) *dal-li(?)*-*qa-ma* attested at Tell Brak²⁰.

**hrzn* (4.759 1(*bn* ...)) and *hršn* (4.63 ii 23(*bn* ...); 4.69 v 10(*bn* ...); 4.93 i 5(*bn* ...); 4.422 39(*bn* ...); 4.711 3([*bn*] ...))²¹. These two names may be variants of *hršn*, "Magpie" (see below), though the spelling DUMU *ha-ra-ši-na*²² makes this less likely.

hlyy(?)²³ "*h*.-coloured bird" (4.391 12)²⁴; possibly corresponds to Akk. *hulâlu*, a bird named after its colour (i.e. *hulâlu*)²⁵. Alternatively, it may be the equivalent of the OB PN *halilu* cited in AHw, 311b (cf. PTU 139).

hlm "Healthy" (4.348 16(*bn* ...); PTU 387) - syllabically *hal-la-ma-na* PRU 3 55(RS15.92) 4; DUMU *hal-laf-ma-na* PRU 3 67(RS16.255A(+))16.255E) 5. The root occurs in Ugaritic **yhlm* and other Semitic PNN²⁶.

16. Note that all references to "Minoan" are to "Appendix B", a list of non-Greek names in the Knossos As Tablets with similarities to Linear A words or ancient Near Eastern personal names, of L. Baumbach, "An Examination of the Personal Names in the Knossos Tablets as Evidence for the Social Structure of Crete in the Late Minoan II Period", in O. Krzyszkowska - L. Nixon, ed., *Minoan Society. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981* (Bristol 1984) 3-10, p. 8.

17. According to PTU 310 (cf. 129) a combination of *gr* and *gyn*.

18. See AHw, 282a (where Syr. *grada* is cited), CAD G, 50b-51a and especially K. Butz, *BO* 34 (1977) 285.

19. HAL, 196. For brief discussion cf. M. Pope. *Job* (AB 15; Garden City 1973) 273 (1965 ed.: 235).

20. TB 6001 obv. 18, edited by I. L. Finkel, "Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1984", *AnSt* 47 (1985) 187-201, p. 196. See also *dulluqu*, denoting a bodily trait, only as a PN (CAD D, 178b) or Heb. *dlq*, "to burn".

21. The distinction between *hrzn* and *hršn* is unnoticed in PTU 386.

22. *Syria* 18 (1937) 246:11.

23. Unless to be read *hllh*; cf. KTU *ad loc.*

24. See also *hlln* (4.53 12(*bn* ...); 4.335 23(*bn* ...)).

25. Salonen, *VuV* 187f; cf. CAD H, 227b.

26. See now Silverman, AOAT 217, 146 and especially S. Layton, "The Semitic Root **Ġlm* and the Hebrew Name 'Ālēmēt", *ZAW* 102 (1990) 80-94.

hlp "(kind of bird)" (4.172 4(*bn* ...); 4.266 4(*bn* ...); 4.611 11(*bn*...); PTU 387f.) if to be explained by Akk. *huluppu*²⁷. Also possible is the meaning "Substitute", perhaps with reference to a previous child who died²⁸.

hqn "(kind of bird)" (4.658 41(... *b[n]*) may be explained by Akk. *hūqu*, a type of croaking or cawing water-bird²⁹.

hr "Son?" (4.2786; [4.11 6; 4.244 33; 4.441 6(*bn* ...)]³⁰; cf. Hurr. *huri-* (cf. AHw, 360a; CAD H, 256a)³¹. Silverman does not think a doubtful Hurrian term can explain the PNN *hwr*, *hr* and *hry* from Elephantine and she is probably correct³², though a name from Ras Shamra could easily be Hurrian.

**hršn* "Magpie" (4.278 4(*bn* ...)); spellings: *hu-ra-ša-na* PRU 3 103(RS15.109+)13; *ha-ru-št-en-ni* Syria 15 (1934) 138:11.22; *hu-r[a-ša-na?]* PRU 6 83 iii 5³³. The word for "magpie" in Akkadian, *hurāšāntu*, literally "greedy for golden things"³⁴, may explain this proper name³⁵.

htb (4.356'2(*bn* ...); PTU 310.389): cf. Hurr. *hutip-*, "he venerates"³⁶ or the names with *hutip-* in NPN 218b (forms of the verb *hut-*).

kzn (4.69 ii 20(*bn* ...); 4.340 2(*bn* ...); [4.424 15; 4.445 4 [*bn*] ...]; *ksn* (4.10 5; 4.704 1(*bn* ...)) and *kdyn* (4.635 28; 4.727 16; PTU 237). The three names *kzn*, *ksn* and *kdyn* may be explained by Hurrian *kuzi* in view of the spelling *ku-za-na* (Ugar 5 9 16)³⁷. According to Haas "Das Nomen ist bereits von M. Burchhardt mit dem in ägyptischen Texten der 18. Dynastie bezeugten Titel *kt/d*, *ktn*, bzw. *kdn*, << Streitwagenlenker >>, identifiziert worden. Es handelt sich somit nicht - wie bislang angenommen - kanaanäisch-semitische, sondern um eine hurritische Bezeichnung oder einen Titel, der zur Zeit der mittanisch-ägyptischen Beziehungen in Ägypten Eingang gefunden hat"³⁸. However, syllabic spellings with initial *ki*-³⁹ also need to be taken into account.

27. Salonen, VuV 188; cf. AHw, 355a; CAD H, 233.

28. See Benz, PNPI 311; PTU 139.

29. Details in Salonen, VuV 188f.

30. Cf. also *hrn* 4.33 39(... *hbty*) and *hrny* (4.391 1) though these may be explained by Akk. *harrānu*, "road" (cf. PTU 139).

31. Not defined in GLH, 114; according to Sivan, GAGL, 230, "hole, pit".

32. Silverman, AOAT 217, 145f.

33. See Sivan, GAGL 230f. Note, also, the PN *hurāšānū* cited in CAD H, 245b.

34. Salonen, VuV 189 - against both CAD H, 245b and AHw, 358a. As Salonen notes, the Sumerian name *ni₃ga.mu.un.túm.mušen*, glossed *makkūr ubla*, means "He has carried (= stolen) things".

35. Accordingly, the doubts expressed in TO 2, 272 n.2 concerning the combination of a Hurrian article (-*n*) with a Semitic word are unnecessary. For the morphology (pu'al) cf. A. van Selms, UF 11 (1979) 741. See also Liverani, RSO 38 (1963) 151.

36. Salvini in *Hurriter und Hurritisch* (ed. V. Haas; Konstanz 1988) 170.

37. Gröndahl, PTU 277.280, is uncertain of the meaning; cf. Dietrich - Loretz - Sanmartín, UF 6 (1974) 30. Note the Glossenkeil in PRU 3 98(RS16.249) 27.

38. Haas in *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, 124.

39. The spellings *ki-si-na* PRU 6 90 r6' and *ki-za-na* PRU 3 98(RS16.249) 27 are cited by Dietrich - Loretz - Sanmartín, UF 6 (1974)

40. Note, in addition, *kfi]-su-na* PRU 6 37 r6'.

**krb* "Goose/duck(?)" (4.357 22) : to the previous discussion can be added yet another option in view of Akk. *kurūbu*, a variant of *kurukku/karakku*⁴⁰. See next entry.

krk "Goose" (4.611 12(*bn* ...)); cf. *kurkū*, "wild goose"⁴¹ or *karakku/kurukku*, "goose or duck"⁴².

ktn "Broad-shouldered(?)" (4.69 vi 14(*bn* ...); 4.93 i 15(*bn* ...)) may be a reference to a physical characteristic or it could denote a bird in view of the newly-discovered bird name *kuilānum*⁴³. However, according to Gröndahl (PTU 268.279f) the name is Anatolian and she may well be correct.

mad (4.723 6(*bn* ...)) - and *madt* (4.704 9(*bn* ...)) - perhaps corresponding to Minoan *ma-di*. The meaning is unknown.

sdrn (4.374 8; 378 5) - if to be explained by Hurrian(?) *si-da(?)*-*ri*⁴⁴ - cannot be equated with *sndrn* (4.129 7), should the latter be a form of Hitt. *šanta* (so PTU 268.271.294) . Perhaps both *sdrn* and *sndrn* are Hurrian *sidari* + *n*.

sn (4.723 15(*bn* ...); [4.623 9(*bn* ...); 4.635 12(*bn* ...)]) - cf. Hurr.(?) *si-na*⁴⁵.

'bdkdh "Servant of [the god] K."⁴⁶

glwš "Cloth(ing)?" (4.391 4; PTU 310) can be explained by Hurr. *TÚGhalwešša*, listed in GLH, 90 with no meaning, but presumably a type of cloth or clothing.

pmn (4.63 i 29; 4.170 8; 4.232 27([*bn*] ...); PTU 405) has been explained by Egyptian *p3-(n)-mn*⁴⁷. Strong confirmation comes from the form *pnmn* (4.131 7(*bn* ...); 4.281 23 (*bn* ...)) and the syllabic spelling *pja(?)-nu-me-na* Syria 16 (1935) 188ff. (RS6.198) 7.21 - both with *-n-*.

prd (4.417 10(... *m^cqby*); PTU 406) - either "mule" (PTU 174)⁴⁸ or "type of bird", cf. *purīdu* which designates a kind of bird⁴⁹.

40. According to Salonen, VuV 23f, "ein frühchalkolithisches Substratwort aus k u r + -ug/k".

41. So already Dietrich - Loretz, *BO* 23 (1966) 130: "Der PN könnte etymologisch zum akk. *kurkū* - "eine Haushuhnart?" (AHw S. 510f.; vgl. B. Landsberger, *WO* 3/3, S. 246ff.: "Gans") gehören". Not "crane", as in PTU 151.

42. See discussion in Salonen, VuV 222-224. If *krk* does mean "shovel" or the like it would refer to the shape of the bird's beak (for this aspect cf. Salonen, VuV 210 and 304f. [under *appu*]).

43. J. Black - F. N. H. Al-Rawi, "A Contribution to the Study of Akkadian Bird Names", *ZA* 77 (1987) 117-126, esp. 118.

44. TB 6001 obv.8 (see NOTE 20).

45. TB 6001 obv.6 (See NOTE 20).

46. Bordreuil - Gubel, *Syr* 63 (1986) 425 and fig. 10, (p. 426); Lambert, *JCS* 40 (1988) 122; M. Barré, *The God-List in the Treaty between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedonia* (Baltimore/London 1983) 24-28.108.

47. Noth, *ZDPV* 65 (1942) 38, n. 1; PTU 300; KAI II p.317.

48. Similarly, Dietrich - Loretz - Sanmartín, *UF* 6 (1974) 35; they reject the occurrence in 4.337 12 (on which cf. S. Ribichini - P. Xella, *La terminologia dei tessili nei testi di Ugarit* [Rome 1985] 62) as a PN.

49. See Salonen, VuV 241; AHw, 880b. Literally, the word means "leg", so would be a direct borrowing from Akkadian.

**srṭn* (4.311 1 (*bn* ...); 4.412 ii 34(*bn* ...): the literal meaning, "One who repeatedly breaks wind", may not be intended. It could also denote someone who talked nonsense - "Gasbag" or the like⁵⁰.

qsn "Commander, leader" (4.63 iii 6; 4.122 4(*bn* ...); 4.204 10(*bn* ...); 4.285 10; 4.617 21(*bn* ...); PTU 407f.). The term is known in Hebrew and Arabic (cf. PTU 29.177). It also occurs as a loan-word in Egyptian as a title of Raia in the form *qdn* as recognised by Kitchen who also noted that like Egyptian *tsw*, "commander", it too has the striking-arm determinative⁵¹.

**qrdmn* "Villain" (?) (4.658 20(*bn* ...)); in addition to the previous references in respect of Akk. *qardammu* see also the entry *g/qardumum*, which may denote a profession, in AHw, 282a and CAD G, 50b.

rišn (4.50 9; PTU 408)⁵² possible meanings: (a) "Rejoicing" (cf. Akk. *riāšu*, "to rejoice", AHw, 979b-980a); (b) "With an unusual head" (*riš*⁵³ + *-n*) - cf. Akk. *qaqqadānu*, "with a large head" as the PN *Qaqqadānu* (CAD Q, 99)⁵⁴; (c) "First fruits (of the womb)" (cf. *riš*)⁵⁵.

rny (RIH 77/2A+ 19(*bn* ...)) - cf. Minoan *ru-ni*, *ru-na*⁵⁶. Yet again the meaning is a mystery.

rṣn "Unyielding" (4.370 16) - syllabically, *ri-ṣa-na* PRU 3 203(RS16.257+) iv 31 - as in Arabic *raṣuna*, "to be firm, etc."⁵⁷

ṣtk (4.232 16(*bn* ...); it may be identical with *ṣtk* in the literary texts (1.12 ii 56-60) but unfortunately the meaning of that word is uncertain. It could mean (i) "to contain, hold back" as in Talmudic Hebrew⁵⁸; (ii) "to restore, entrust" as in Mari Akkadian (*ṣatāqu*)⁵⁹ or (iii) "to cut" (*ṣatāqu* again)⁶⁰. The last meaning would be most suitable if the reference is to the umbilical cord but of course the correspondence is not exact (Ug. *ṣtk* - Akk. *ṣatāqum*)⁶¹.

50. The suggestion derives from B. Foster's amusing and instructive article "Humor and Cuneiform Literature", *JANES* 6 (1984) 69-85, 74.

51. K.A. Kitchen, "A West Semitic Title on an Egyptian Stela in Rio de Janeiro" *JEA* 73 (1987) 218-220 (p. 220). He surmises (*ibid.*): "Perhaps Raia was an overseer or foreman of a group or gangs of foreign workmen of West Semitic origin serving in Egypt, who, having no pretentious Egyptian title by which he might dignify himself, adopted their appellation for him, *qašīnu*, 'leader', 'the boss, as at least being a distinctive title to place upon his humble votive stela'".

52. Cf. PTU 27.178. Note also *riš* (4.141 i 2(b)*n* ...).

53. For bibliography on Ug. *riš* see Pardee, *AfO* 34 (1987) 447f.

54. This could be a reference to a type of insect or bird (see CAD Q, 99b) and not necessarily describe the person's appearance.

55. Cf. *rēšēti* (SAG.MEŠ), "offerings of first-fruits to the temples" Postgate, *JSS* 28 (1983) 155-157.

56. Contrast Bordreuil-Caquot, *Syria* 56 (1979) 311: "to rejoice".

57. See Ribichini - Xella, *Tessili* 59, n.92 on *rṣm*. Contrast PTU 179 (root *ry/wṣ*, "(to rush) to assist").

58. Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures* (AOAT 210; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1984) 385, n.2; he quotes B. Talmud, Tanith 8a.

59. On which cf. J.-M. Durand, "Les anciens de Talhayûm", *RA* 82 (1988) 97-113, 101 and 107. The word occurs in line 29 and Durand can find no etymology. He refers to Mari *ṣatāqum*, "to cut", adding "Peut-être faut-il supposer une dérivation sémantique et le sens propre est-il <<prelever la part de...>> mais je n'ai trouvé aucun parallèle pour cet emploi".

60. See previous note. The two meanings proposed for *ṣatāqum* in AHw, 1200a are "to split off, crush" and "to be silent" (the second verb is derived from Aramaic). For a recent discussion of *ṣatāqu* see U. Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy. Omen Texts in the British Museum* (Istanbul/Leiden 1989) 149; the meaning she accepts (following Goetze) is "to rend".

61. The PN is significant because it cannot be a Š form of *nik* as has been proposed for the literary text (see, e.g., de Moor, ARTU, 134).

štn "Bat" (?) (4.12 11(*bn* ...); 4.354 5(*bn* ...); 4.727 14; [4.701 8]): should the name correspond to Akk. *š/su(t)tinnu*, "bat" (AHw, 1292b), the spellings *ša-ta(?) -na* (PRU 3 202 [RS16.126B+16.257+16.258+16.345]⁶² iii 58) and *ša(?) -t[e](?) -nu* (PRU 6 82 11) would be inexplicable⁶³.

tḡptn "Felt-maker" (4.57 3). The word *tḡpt* was discussed very recently by Ribichini and Xella, and the meaning "belt, harness, caparison" accepted⁶⁴. Subsequently, they recognised the PN *tḡptn* to be a derivative of the noun⁶⁵. Since it is possible that Akk. *taḥabšu* means "felt", as argued by T. Kendall⁶⁶, the same meaning could be posited for Hurrian *taḥapše* (if a loan from Akkadian) and for Ug. *tḡpt*. The making of felt goes back to Neolithic times in some areas⁶⁷.

tt (4.7 16; 4.102 26; 4.103 19; 4.132 2; 4.160 5; PTU 421) syllabic spellings: *tu-tu* (PRU 6 50 passim); cf. *tu-tu-[]* (PRU 6 78:5). Possible cognates are Akk. *tuttu*, "mulberry tree" (AHw, 1374b); Nuzi *tette* (NPN 266; cited PTU 295), *tat* (NPN 263); and Minoan *ta-to* or *ta-ti*. The syllabic spellings certainly point to Akk. *tuttu* but it is not certain that they correspond to alphabetic *tt* (cf. PTU 296).

ṭwyn "Ruler" (4.232 30(*bn* ...); PTU 427. cf. 200) - perhaps syllabically *šu-ja-nu* (PRU 3 195(RS15.09) B ii 2 (but cf. PTU 255). Silverman appeals to this root to explain Elephantine *šhrm* though other proposals have been made⁶⁸.

trin "Son" (4.286 4(*bn* ...)) if explained by *šir'ānu* II (origin unknown) with the same meaning (AHw, 1248b, where the Old Akk. PN *Ši-ir-ḪA-nūm* is also cited).

Several of the personal names attested in the texts from Ras Shamra are very probably names of birds. Gröndahl has already listed *gzl*, "young bird", *kk*, *kdrn*, *nš*, *npr*, 'šr, *spr* and *sprn*⁶⁹. Additional names from the previous article are *ssg* and *trn*, and from the present article *bsy*, *ḫlly*, *ḫlp*, *ḫqn*, *ḫrṣn*, *krb*, *krk*, *ktln* and *prd*, assuming they have been correctly identified. Plant and animal names also occur⁷⁰, and may be of significance for describing the flora and fauna of ancient Syria.

It is quite likely that more names should be explained as Hurrian; unfortunately, in many cases only a probability can be proposed. Examples are *ansny* (4.609 31) - Hurr. *anzini*, "votive offering"⁷¹; *anḡn*

62. For the tablet numbering here see now Bordreuil - Pardee, TEO I, 102.

63. Unless the names were of different people. Note the PN *štn'mt*, Benz, PNPII, 427.

64. Ribichini - Xella, *Tessili*, 68; add AHw, 1301 to their references.

65. Ribichini - Xella, *RSF* 15 (1987) 11.

66. As T. Kendall argues in his unpublished thesis, 314, cited *apud* T. Kendall, "Gurpisu ša awēlī The Helmets of the Warriors at Nuzi" in *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians. In Honor of E. R. Lacheman...* eds. M. A. Morrison and D. I. Owen (Winona Lake 1981) 207 n.28.

67. M.E. Burkett, "An Early Date for the Origin of Felt", *AnSt* 27 (1977) 111-115.

68. For details cf. Silverman, AOAT 217, 180; cf. 189, entry o. Emerton, *JTS* 16 (1965) 438f., following Driver, suggests "to inhabit" and cites Arabic and Hebrew cognates.

69. PTU 27-28 under #52 ("Tiernamen als Personennamen").

70. See PTU 27-28 and 29-30 (# 55), though not all the names listed there are correct. For additional names cf. "Ugaritic Onomastics (1)".

71. For this meaning cf. Haas, *UF* 11 (1979) 338.

(4.418 1(*bn* ...)) - Hurr. *anaḫi*, "sample"; *tdgr* (4.625 22) - Hurr. *tadugari*, "friendship" (GLH, 249)⁷². In addition, the names *tan* (4.232 4(*bn* ...); 692 3(*bn* ...); [4.368 20]) and *tiyn* (4.631 18(*bn* ...)) may perhaps be connected with Hurr. *tea*, "numerous" (GLH, 260)⁷³.

72. However, M. Heltzer, *The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit* (Wiesbaden 1976) 464, n. 92 proposes "storeman" (Aram. *dgr*, "to heap"); cf. UT 19.2532.

73. See also *twyn* (4.52 2(*bn* ...)) and Hurr. *tiwe*, "word, thing" (GLH, 267f.)