AKKADIAN COGNATES TO SOME UGARITIC WORDS

Wilfred G. E. Watson

In this short note, 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. The Ugaritic words are listed alphabetically.

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

2. aškrr, “a milk product” (KTU 1.71:11; 1.72:18; 1.85:13)
This difficult term is usually explained by Akk. iškûru, eškûru, “wax” (AHw, p. 396; CAD I/J, pp. 251-252). Other options are Akk. šakirû, “henbane” (AHw, p. 1140; CDA, p. 349), Akk. ašqulûsu, isqulûsu, “a medicinal or marine plant” (AHw, p. 82; CDA, p. 29; CAD A/2, p. 453) and Akk. išku, tišku, tiškar, šišku, tušku, “a plant” (AHw, pp. 1361-62; CDA, p. 407; CAD T, p. 431a)⁶. Yet another possibility is that this medicinal substance, listed as an ingredient in the hippiatric texts, may correspond to Akk. iškurâtu, ikkurâtu, “a milk product” (CDA, p. 134a; AHw, p. 396a)⁷. However, the reduplicated -r- in the Ugaritic word remains obscure as does the word itself.

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1 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.
2 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.
3 As given in DUL, p. 92.
6 See already Watson LSU, p. 67 #2.2.01.2 (3) and p. 126 n. 497.
7 Akk. iškurâtu, from context “probably some dairy product” (CAD I/J, p. 251b).
3. ‘rgz, “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. 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. ግنطق, “conifer” (PN: KTU 4.69 v 8, etc.), which corresponds to Ugaritic Akk. ḫargānā, “a conifer” (TN: PRU 6, 77:5), as proposed by M. C. Astour. His proposal is based on Akk. ḫargānum, “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. ‘rgz to Akk. margūšu would have to imply the unattested Akkadian forms *argušu or ḫargūšu, 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 hlm + final or enclitic -m, 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.

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”. It can be analysed as km, “like, thus” plus enclitic -m. This is borne out by Official Aramaic kmm, “thus, similarly” (DNWSI I, p. 519). Additional confirmation comes from Mari.

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8 For some proposals see DUL, p. 182. It also occurs in a list of trees (KTU 4.158). Note the TN ‘rgz 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 = RSQU 7 No.4) may correspond to this place-name.


10 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”).


13 See Tropper, UG §81.3 p. 748 and KWU, p. 58.

14 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”\(^{15}\).


Besides Heb. *maṣrēp*, “smelting pot” (HALOT, p. 625)\(^{16}\) see also Akk. *naṣrāpitu*, “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. *pslī* is cognate with Akk. *pasālu*, “to turn around, to twist” (CAD P, pp. 216b-217)\(^{17}\). Ug. *pslt* occurs in two texts: *ydy pslt* *by‘r*, “he cut off both plaits with a razor” and *td pslt* *by‘r*, “she cut off both plaits with a razor”. In support of this accepted meaning for Ug. *pslt*, see the Babylonian omen: *summa ... šār[at lēl̅i]* *paslat*, “if ... the ha[ir on (his) cheek] is twisted”\(^{18}\).

8. *qt*, “handle” (KTU 4.275:10; 4.734:1)\(^{19}\).

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

\(^{15}\) 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.


\(^{17}\) Aistleitner WUS, p. 258 #2241: “Seitenlocken”, followed in TOU I (p. 251 n.i.): “*pslt* : substantif duel, apparenté selon Aistleitner à l’accadien *pasālu*, « se tordre »”. Note that the homonymous (or homographie) 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. *pisillu*, “lump of clay” (CAD P, p. 424) is very uncertain.

\(^{18}\) Cited in CAD P, p. 217a.

\(^{19}\) It is uncertain whether *dag* in KTU 1.4 i 41 should be read *d qt*.


\(^{21}\) 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.)\(^{22}\).
   An additional possibility to those discussed previously\(^{23}\) is that Ug. *thm* is cognate with Late Babylonian *tuʿumu*, “to bid, to command” (cf. CAD T, p. 500a; CDA, p. 411a)\(^{24}\).

    The Ugaritic word occurs in a list of animals, and since one meaning of Akk. *talmādu* 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\(^{25}\).

11. *tnqt*, “lactation” (KTU 1.13:32)\(^{26}\).
    This derives from the verb *ynq*, “to suck(le)”, which is common Semitic. Besides Mishnaic Hebrew *tnwq* (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)\(^{27}\):
    
    \[
    \text{ap. l tǐm lḥṣm. trmt} \\
    l ṭst yn. tḡṣyṭ.
    \]
    Yes, do eat the food of donation
    do drink the wine of giving.

    The dictionary meaning is “offering” (DUL, p. 879) whereas J. Tropper suggests “raising”\(^{28}\). Ug. *trmt* is generally taken as equivalent to Heb. *rūmāh*, which may mean “contribution, offering”\(^{29}\). Since the parallel word in the Ugaritic text here is *tḡṣyṭ*, “present”, which is from *gṣy*, “to give presents to” (DUL, 329)\(^{30}\), it would seem that Ug.

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\(^{22}\) 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.


\(^{24}\) Not listed in AHw.

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

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

\(^{27}\) The text has *trmmt*, usually emended to *trmt*, but see Tropper, KWU, p. 129.

\(^{28}\) “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).

\(^{29}\) For extensive discussion see HALOT, pp. 1788-90a; they prefer the meaning “contribution”.

\(^{30}\) But translated “offering, libation” in DUL, p. 864.
trmt has the same meaning as well. This is confirmed by Akk. taʾrintu, “present” (CAD T, p. 231); “gift, award” (CDA, p. 400a)\(^{31}\). 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\(^ {32}\) and the causative form of the verb may occur in the following text:

\[
\begin{align*}
qlh. \ q[ds. \ ]trr. \ arş & \quad \text{His holy voice made the earth quake,} \\
ṣat \ [ṣpt]h \ ḡrm & \quad \text{the utterance of his [lips], the mountains.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
qlh. \ q[ds. \ ]trr. \ arş & \quad \text{At his [oly] voice the earth quaked;} \\
ṣat \ [ṣpt]h\ ḡrm[.\]aḫšn & \quad \text{at the issue of his [lips] the mountains were afr[aid]}\(^ {33}\).
\end{align*}
\]

Another passage which may use this verb is KTU 1.17 vi 46\(^ {34}\):

\[
\begin{align*}
td\sharp \ p\sharp n \ w \ tr \ arş & \quad \text{She stamped her feet and the earth shook}\(^ {35}\).
\end{align*}
\]

It is generally accepted that Ug. trr has a cognate in Akk. tarāru, “to tremble”\(^ {36}\). In fact, the Akkadian verb (in the N form) occurs in a comparable context in two texts. One is kīma Adad ana šaḡimešu ittararrāš šadā, “the mountains began to tremble at his roar, as at Adad’s (thunder)”\(^ {37}\) and the other is similar: [ṣa ana šag]imīšu šamē u erseti .... itarruru, “at whose roar the heavens and the earth do tremble”\(^ {38}\). 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).

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\(^{31}\) This is less clear in AHw, p. 1329a under tarāintu(m), “ein Geschenkggst.”. The noun is derived from rāmu, rāmu, “to present, to grant, etc.” (CAD R, pp. 146-147a).

\(^{32}\) B. Margalit, “Lexicographical Notes on the Aqht Epic (Part II: KTU 1.19)”, UF 16, 1984, pp. 119-179 (pp. 87-88).


\(^{34}\) Restored from the parallels KTU 1.3 v 4-5 and 1.4 v 20-21.

\(^{35}\) 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).

\(^{36}\) J. C. de, Moor, The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Poem of Bā‘ū according to the Version of Ilīmilkā (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.

\(^{37}\) From the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic, cited in CAD T, p. 208b; cf. CAD Š/1, p. 73.

\(^{38}\) 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\(^3\), see now also Mari Akk. *turšumu*, “a type of wine” (CAD T, p. 489b)\(^4\). The Semitic terms were borrowed by Indo-European languages\(^4\).

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ug. word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Semitic cognates/loans</th>
<th>Akk.</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>apy</em></td>
<td>baker</td>
<td><em>āpiu, ēpū(m)</em></td>
<td><em>ṭḥ</em></td>
<td>Ph. <em>ṭḥ</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>aškrr</em></td>
<td>milk</td>
<td><em>iškurratu</em></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>product</td>
<td><em>iškurātu</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>’rgz</em></td>
<td>plant</td>
<td><em>margūšu(m)</em></td>
<td></td>
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<td><em>hm</em></td>
<td>then</td>
<td><em>ullumma</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ebla <em>ullum</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>knm</em></td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td><em>kīma-ma</em></td>
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<td>Aram. <em>knm</em></td>
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<td><em>nasraptu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>mṣrp</em></td>
<td></td>
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<td>plait</td>
<td><em>[pasālu]</em></td>
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<td><em>qt</em></td>
<td>handle</td>
<td><em>qātu</em></td>
<td><em>qt</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aram. <em>qt</em></td>
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<tr>
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<td>message</td>
<td><em>tu’umu</em></td>
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<td><em>ṭlmd</em></td>
<td>plough</td>
<td><em>talμīdu</em></td>
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<td><em>tēnūqu</em></td>
<td><em>tnqt</em></td>
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<td><em>ṭrwḥ</em></td>
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<td>Ebla <em>ṭirīstu</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>tr(r)</em></td>
<td>shake</td>
<td><em>ṭarāru</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Arab. <em>tartara</em></td>
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<td>new wine</td>
<td><em>turšumu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ṭyrwš</em></td>
<td>Ph. <em>ṭrš</em></td>
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<td>Ebla <em>ṭirīstu</em></td>
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</table>

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.


\(^{4}\) It may indicate that Akk. *sīrāšt*, 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.

\(^{4}\) E.g. Hieroglyphic Hittite *tawarsa*, Greek *thursos*; see Xella, “Sulla più antica storia del dio del vino”, p. 683 and *passim*. 