Spring 4-27-1972

Akkadian Loanwords and Parallels in Mishnaic Hebrew

Nahum M. Waldman

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Akkadian Loanwords and Parallels in Mishnaic Hebrew

Abstract
The great influence of Babylonian culture upon the lands of the Ancient Near East has long been recognized and intensively studied. Linguistically, this influence has been detected in Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Aramaic. It has also been seen that the later stage of Hebrew, Mishnaic Hebrew, itself greatly influenced by Aramaic, has a number of words and expressions that can ultimately be traced back to Akkadian.

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AKKADIAN LOANWORDS AND PARALLELS
IN MISHNAIC HEBREW

By
Nahum M. Waldman

A Dissertation
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie University
Philadelphia
1972
APPROVAL

This dissertation, entitled

ANNAUDIAN LOANWORDS AND PARALLELS

IN MISKWAIC MINDWE

has been read and approved by

[Signatures]

Date 4/27/72
This dissertation, entitled

AKKADIAN LOANWORDS AND PARALLELS
IN MISHNAIC HEBREW

by

Nahum M. Waldman

Candidate for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

Jay D. Falk
Moshe Halpern
William Chaimson

Date 4/27/72
The great influence of Babylonian culture upon the lands of the Ancient Near East has long been recognized and intensively studied. Linguistically, this influence has been detected in Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Aramaic. It has also been seen that the later stage of Hebrew, Mishnaic Hebrew, itself greatly influenced by Aramaic, has a number of words and expressions that can ultimately be traced back to Akkadian.

The problem of this study has been to assess this Akkadian linguistic influence upon Mishnaic Hebrew and to see it in proper proportion. It must be remembered that Akkadian was already a dead language by the time the structures of Mishnaic Hebrew began to develop, during the Second Commonwealth. While recognizing the influence of Akkadian and the heritage it bequeathed indirectly, through the medium of Aramaic, it is essential to avoid the pitfalls of the long rejected Pan-Babylonian position. Previous claims that a word originated in Akkadian must be re-assessed, while new possibilities are to be suggested on the basis of the most recent research. The problem of loanwords calls for a recognition of the vitality of Mishnaic Hebrew itself and consideration of the possibility
that words not attested in Biblical literature may yet have been in existence in Biblical times. Aramaic also must be seen as a vigorous linguistic force, even con­tributing much to the lexicon of the later stages of Akka­dian. Loanwords and cognates must be distinguished as far as the evidence allows. Akkadian influence, through Aramaic, can be seen in the Mishnaic Hebrew lexicon, but this is best treated in terms of degrees of probability, rather than dogmatically.

I wish to express my appreciation to certain indi­viduals and institutions which have assisted me greatly in the preparation of this work. May I first thank Dr. Moshe Held, who, as friend and teacher, introduced me to this area and brilliantly pointed out its possibilities. Long after his formal association with Dropsie University he has been most gracious with his personal assistance.

I wish to thank my advisor, Dr. Jay Falk, who meticulously read and corrected the manuscript, suggesting literature, sources, and approaches. His vast erudition and personal concern have been most valuable. Dr. William Chomsky has been most helpful with his suggestions, criticisms, and assistance. Of course, not they, but I bear full respon­sibility for the methodology and conclusions embodied in this study.

I also wish to thank Dr. Abraham I. Katsh, Presi­dent of Dropsie University, and Miss Sarai Zausmer,
Registrar, for their help in many details. The resources of the Library of Dropsie University, the Jewish Theological Seminary, and the University of Pennsylvania, especially the Semitics Seminar, have been available to me for this research, and I am deeply grateful. I wish to thank my typist, Mrs. Susan Frank, for the vast amount of work she did in preparing the manuscript and for her concern and diligence in seeing to the accurateness of innumerable technical matters. Finally, I wish to thank my dear wife, Saula, and my children, for their patience and understanding during the period of this work.
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ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR  Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research

AFO  Archiv für Orientforschung


AHw  Kaufman, Stephen A. The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic and the Development of the Aramaic Dialects.

AJSL  American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures

AnOr  Analecta Orientalia


ARM  Archives royales de Mari. Paris, 1950-


BASOR  Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research


CAD  The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
Code of Hammurabi

CT

DAB

DISO

DN

Enuma Eliš

GAG

Gilgamesh

HUCA

IEJ

JAOS

JBL

JCS

JNES

JSS

KAI

Lex. Syr.

lit.

M.

See: Bergmann, E. Codex Hammurabi;

Driver, G. R., and Miles, J. C.

"Code of Hammurabi, pars. 117-119;"

Wessely, A. R., and Deimel, A.

Codex Hammurabi.

Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum

Thompson, R. Campbell. A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany.

Jean, Charles F., and Hoftijzer, Jacob. Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest.

Divine name

Deimel, Anton, ed. Enuma Eliš, sive Epos Babylonicum De Creatione Mundi.


Thompson, R. Campbell. The Epic of Gilgamesh.

Hebrew Union College Annual

Israel Exploration Journal

Journal of the American Oriental Society

Journal of Biblical Literature

Journal of Cuneiform Studies

Journal of Near Eastern Studies

Journal of Semitic Studies

Donner, H., and Rüllig, W. Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften.

Brockelmann, Carl. Lexicon Syriacum. 2nd ed.

literally

Mishnah or Mishna
Midr. R.    Midrash Rabba on the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls
Midr. Gen. R.  =  Midrash Genesis Rabba
Midr. Lam. R.  =  Midrash Lamentation Rabba
Midr. Numb. R. =  Midrash Numbers Rabba


NA   Neo-Assyrian

NB   Neo-Babylonian


OLZ   Orientalistische Literaturzeitung

Or    Orientalia

PN    Personal name

RN    Royal name

SH    Scripta Hierosolymitana

StOr   Studia Orientalia, Edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica.

TB    Talmud, Babylonian

TP    Talmud, Palestinian

var.   variant

YOS   Yale Oriental Series

ZA    Zeitschrift für Assyriologie

ZAW   Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

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### MISHNAIC ABBREVIATIONS

The following are abbreviations used in this study for the tractates of the *Mishnah* (=M.). They apply also for the *Babylonian Talmud* (=TB) and the *Palestinian Talmud* (=TP), and are given here in alphabetical order for the easiest reference for the reader.

<table>
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<td>Arakim</td>
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<td>Baba Batra</td>
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Qinnīm
Rāʾ Hasānā
Sabbāt
Sanhedrīn
Sēḥīt
Sēḥēḏōt
Sēqālim
Sukkā
Tāʾanīt
Tebul Yōm
Temūrā
Terūnāt
Tchorōt
Yādayyin
Yēḥānāt
Zebāḥīm
Qin.
R. H.
Sab.
Sanh.
Seb.
Sebu.
Seq.
Suk.
Taʾan.
Teb. Yōm
Tem.
Ter.
Toh.
Yad.
Yeb.
Zeb.


3This is the term the Jews themselves used to distinguish their language from the "language of the Torah," T. Šabb. 1.17., this language is distinguished from "Hebrew," "language of the common people," by being purely Hebrew, while the latter is mixed with Aramaic, A. Bandavī, Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew (Tel Aviv, 1967), pp. 115, T. L. K. (the latter abbreviated as BHMH). This language was not entirely restricted to the
INTRODUCTION

1. PURPOSE AND SCOPE

From the Old Akkadian period, beginning 2500 B.C.E., down to the Late Babylonian stage, beginning about 625 B.C.E., the Akkadian culture and language exerted a deep influence upon a wide geographic area. This influence has had, as one of its effects, the transfer of lexical elements, loanwords, into Biblical Hebrew, a fact long recognized.

It has also been recognized that the later stratum of the Hebrew language, אֱלֶגֶון הָבָקָםְתִים, rabbinic Hebrew, 3


3 This is the term the Rabbis themselves used to distinguish their language from הָבָקָםְתִים, "the language of the common people," by being purely Hebrew, while the latter is mixed with Aramaic, A. Bendavid, Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew (Tel Aviv, 1967), pp. 135, 171 (hereafter abbreviated as BHMH). This language was not entirely restricted to the
has also received loanwords from Akkadian, and that Akkadian influence has also been exerted upon native Hebrew elements, that is, through loan translation.

Some of this transfer of lexical elements may have taken place directly in the early period when Judah came into contact with the Assyrian empire. The later books of the Bible do contain loanwords from Babylonian, but the probability is that they were transmitted through Aramaic. By the time of the Neo-Babylonian empire, Akkadian had ceased to be a spoken language. Certainly by the Mishnaic period there is no question of Akkadian being a living language from which loans are transferred into Hebrew.

Aramaic is to be regarded as a reservoir of that Akkadian influence which later made itself felt upon Mishnaic Hebrew. It is difficult, in most cases impossible, to establish the time when a word entered Aramaic from Akkadian, and, again, when the word entered Hebrew. It cannot be stated that the two time-points are identical. Aramaic was the lingua franca of the Assyrian empire, and there was a very close symbiosis between it and Assyrian. From the time of Tiglath-Pileser III onward, Aramaic was academy, as seen by the letters of Bar Kochba which are quite similar in style, but with differences, A. Bendavid, ibid., pp. 99-101.

officially recognized by Assyria. Imperial Aramaic contains Akkadian loanwords. Aramaic scribes are depicted in reliefs alongside the Assyrian scribes. Some Assyrians were bi-lingual and found the Aramaic alphabet easier to use than the complex cuneiform script.

The purpose of this study is to collect all the words in the Mishnah that have been previously proposed as Akkadian loanwords and to evaluate these suggestions in terms of linguistic and philological criteria. In addition, the study sets as its goal the further identification of new loanwords and loan translations which have not yet been noted in the literature.

The contribution of this study has been both positive and negative. In many cases, loanword proposals previously made in the literature have been accepted, but the


discussion of these words has been enriched by reference to the latest literature on them. The words have also been discussed from a linguistic point of view, with attention paid to stress and accent changes and to the effect of the entry of a new word into Hebrew upon the existing vocabulary. A number of loanwords not previously proposed, to the best of my knowledge, have been identified here. A number of loan translations and extensions of meaning in semantic equivalents and, in some cases, synonymous cognate roots have been proposed. In all cases, reference was made to Aramaic and Syriac as it has become very clear during the process of this study that these languages served as the vehicle of the transmission of loanwords and extensions into Hebrew. One may speak of Aramaic loanwords in Hebrew which, in turn, were Akkadian loanwords in Aramaic.

The negative contribution of this study has been to apply linguistic and philological criteria critically to words which have been proposed as Akkadian loans by Zimmern and others. A number of these have been rejected or called into question. The significance of this critical evaluation of previous suggestions is that it emphasizes more strongly the linguistic autonomy and influence of Aramaic. The words which were questioned as not being borrowed from Akkadian were either cognates in Akkadian and Aramaic, or, having entered Akkadian at a late stage, may have been borrowed from Aramaic. The role of Aramaic was
not fully considered in Zimmern’s study, Akkadische Fremdwörter, except as a passive recipient.

The words rejected were placed in a chapter together with loanword suggestions proposed here where the linguistic evidence was not decisive. It became clear during the process of this study that in many cases of loanwords, and even more so in the area of loan translations and extensions, it is not always possible to establish conclusively an Akkadian influence. It seems better to speak of degrees of probability. In the case of the loan translations and extensions, the words were similarly divided according to degree of probability. A number of original suggestions were made here, but the possibility of an earlier Akkadian influence on Biblical Hebrew, with the Mishnaic Hebrew dependent upon the Biblical, not upon the Akkadian, had to be considered. In addition, the probability that the word or expression in Hebrew was an independent coinage rather than a reflection of Akkadian influence ruled out a decisive acceptance of the latter. In these cases, where Akkadian influence could not be definitively established, the value of considering the word or expression was as a parallel to Akkadian.

Although Arabic is not of central interest in this study, much use was made of the work of Fraenkel. In

7Siegmond Fraenkel, Die arämaischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen (Leiden, 1886) (hereafter abbreviated as Aram. Fw.).
words where there was some doubt about a loanword, and there was a possibility that the Akkadian, the Aramaic, and, possibly, the Hebrew were cognate, the presence of an Arabic cognate increased that probability somewhat. On the other hand, where Fraenkel showed that an Arabic word was borrowed from Aramaic, that probability decreased. Of course, a word might be borrowed from Aramaic by Arabic, but still be cognate in Akkadian and Aramaic. The evidence from Aramaic loanwords in Arabic is of auxiliary, not of essential importance in establishing that a particular word or expression is borrowed from Akkadian by Aramaic, and then, by Hebrew.

For the purpose of this study, the Hebrew has been limited to the words in the Mishnah which do not occur in the Hebrew parts of the Bible. Words which occur in the Aramaic parts only have been included, as it is assumed that Aramaic was the vehicle of their entry into Hebrew. The limitation to the Mishnah is admittedly arbitrary, as the first stage of lesen hakhamim, up to the conclusion of the Mishnah, about 200 C.E., also includes the Tannaitic Midrashim and the Tosefta. Hebrew in this study includes only words occurring in Hebrew passages, even if they have an Aramaicised spelling. Excluded are Aramaic words that occur in formulae and maxims in the Mishnah, e.g., wedista'am bētā'gā' bālap, "who uses the crown perishes," (*Ab. 4:5), possibly from agū, "crown." The Akkadian examples have been drawn from the Old Akkadian or Old
Babylonian periods down to the Neo-Babylonian period, wherever applicable, or from the corresponding Assyrian periods. The main source is the material in the CAD and the Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.\(^8\)

As indicated above, the material has been divided into sections according to the degree of probability that a word is a loan. In the first list of words a Sumerian word has entered Akkadian, then Aramaic, and then Mishnaic Hebrew. Here the probability of a loan is highest, as the possibility that the word is common Semitic is ruled out. The second category is where an Akkadian word has entered Aramaic, then Hebrew. In a very few cases, there is no apparent Aramaic counterpart. The test of this loan is where a derivation or a form is involved which does not correspond to anything in Aramaic or Hebrew.

A third grouping contains words which have previously been proposed as loans but which, for philological, historical or semantic reasons, must be questioned, and others which I am suggesting as loans on the basis of some linguistic criteria but where there is not enough evidence to establish this decisively. The common factor here is the problem of the relationship of the Akkadian word to the corresponding Aramaic. While the word may

\(^8\)CAD, vols. A, Pt. 1; A, Pt. 2; B, D, E, G, H, I/I, S, and Z; and AHw. Fascicles have appeared covering letters A to P.
have been borrowed from Aramaic by Mishnaic Hebrew, the possibility remains that the Aramaic and Akkadian are cognate or that this is common Semitic, presumably present in early Hebrew but not attested in the sources. The problem is that synchronic criteria do not identify the word as a loan because of any phonemic or morphological peculiarity. The word could conceivably be a loan, viewed historically; that is, if it was not present in Old Aramaic or Biblical Hebrew and is present in Mishnaic Hebrew. However, the full vocabulary of Old Aramaic is not available to us, and the Hebrew of the Bible does not exhaust the entire early Hebrew vocabulary. Words in this category are viewed tentatively. Where it is certain that a loan has been from Aramaic to Late Babylonian, and the word appears in the Mishnah, it is not included in this study.

The proportion of words in the Mishnaic Hebrew vocabulary that can be traced back to an Akkadian loanword is a small part of the whole. While Mishnaic Hebrew has been greatly influenced by Aramaic vocabulary and syntax, it is still to be considered a vital, creative language, a direct continuation of the spoken language of Biblical times. Aramaic is also to be considered a vital language, and, while it borrowed from Akkadian, these borrowings are also a small part of the total vocabulary.

Another category considered is the loan translation, where the influence of Akkadian has been exerted upon Hebrew, usually through prior influence upon Aramaic,
but where no phonemic or morphemic elements have been transferred. This category includes a) loan translations, where an Akkadian phrase is rendered in Hebrew exactly; b) loan renditions, where the Akkadian provides a general model for analogous constructions in Hebrew; c) extensions, where a special technical or idiomatic sense in Akkadian has been taken over by the semantic equivalent in Hebrew; and d) where this same process occurs with roots which are cognate in Akkadian and Hebrew. An example of the last is kmr / kamāru, "pile up," which are cognates, but where kummurā, "piling up dates for ripening," is borrowed as mē<kammēr.

A number of loan translations are in the legal area, and I have relied upon studies in that area by Kutscher and Muffs. Several others are proposed here as original suggestions, to the best of my knowledge.

There are also cases where one finds parallel expressions in Akkadian and in Hebrew, possibly with an Aramaic counterpart. The expressions, however, are not sufficiently technical or specific to establish a definite borrowing, and the possibility of independent coinage exists. Examples are: ina šūqi šūrubu, "take in from the street, adopt," kol šene[ešap μה hāšūq, "anyone taken in from the street," and kalāb me, kalāb tānti keleb hamma yIm, "sea-dog." These have been

grouped in a separate chapter for loan-translations and extensions of lesser probability. As stated above, they still have value, if not as definitely established examples of loans, then as examples of parallel usage in the cognate languages.

Prior to the discussion of the specific words, the history of study in this area and special linguistic and philological considerations will be discussed.

In all chapters, the words are listed according to the Hebrew alphabet, based on the point of view that the Hebrew words are the ones under discussion, with Akkadian and Sumerian material being used to clarify their derivation.

The Mishnah edition of Albeck, vocalized by Yalon, has been heavily relied upon in this study. It has the advantage of a judicious selection of spellings and vocalizations from the various resources available, including manuscripts and oral traditions of different Jewish communities. In addition, Yalon's special researches into problems of vocalization with his references to manuscript variants were consulted. Other resources were the Giessen edition of the Mishnah, with German


translation and critical apparatus,\textsuperscript{12} the facsimile of the Kaufmann Manuscript of the Mishnah,\textsuperscript{13} the Mishnah variants published by Porath,\textsuperscript{14} and the Mishnah upon which the Palestinian Talmud is based.\textsuperscript{15}

Use has also been made of \textit{Ginze Mishna}, recently published by Abraham I. Katsh.\textsuperscript{16} This work contains 159 photographic reproductions of the extant Geniza fragments of the Mishnah from the Antonin Collection of Geniza materials in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in Leningrad, U.S.S.R. In addition to valuable manuscript resources, the critical apparatus includes comparisons with the printed Mishnah, the internal evidence of the printed Talmudic text, the Kaufmann Manuscript, and Lowe’s \textit{The Mishnah on Which the Palestinian Talmud Rests}.

One of the purposes of consulting the manuscripts and variants was to find, if possible, variant forms and vocalizations which might be closer to the Akkadian

\textsuperscript{12}Georg Beer and O. Holtzmann, eds., \textit{Die Mischna, Text, Übersetzung und ausführliche Erklärung} (Giessen, 1912ff.).


\textsuperscript{14}E. Porath, \textit{Mishnaic Hebrew,} (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1938).

\textsuperscript{15}W. H. Lowe, \textit{The Mishnah on Which the Palestinian Talmud Rests} (1883; rpt. Jerusalem, 1968) (hereafter abbreviated as MPT).

\textsuperscript{16}A. I. Katsh, \textit{Ginze Mishna} (Jerusalem, 1970) (hereafter abbreviated as GM).
original, in the case of a loanword. It was not the purpose to decide here, as did Yalon, which is the more correct reading for the Mishnah. Variants in vocalization can be due to internal factors as much as to the form of the Akkadian loanword. Nevertheless, if a variant form or vocalization in a manuscript corresponds more closely to the Akkadian original, or to the Aramaic intermediary than the accepted vocalization of the editions or of Yalon, it is plausible and probable that this form was the one actually borrowed. Where the Hebrew form is closer to the Akkadian than the known Aramaic forms, some questions could be raised, if not decisively settled, about the possible non-dependence of the Hebrew upon an Aramaic intermediary. It should be noted that vocalizations in the Kaufmann Manuscript, differing from the accepted ones, have already been used by Kutscher to strengthen the case for certain loanwords and to make conclusions about the form in which they entered. 17

17 The vocalization of ḫemmāṭay, "when," with a doubling of the mem, Beer, MK, Ber. 1:1, has been cited as confirmation of a borrowing from immati < ina mati, E. Y. Kutscher, Hanoch Yalon Festschrift (Jerusalem, 1963), p. 269. Also, the presence of a dagesh in the p of Ḥappar, "swamp, meadow," M. Ber 5:7, Kaufmann Manuscript, ibid., has been cited as confirmation of a borrowing of Ḥappar from apparu, Sumerian AMBAR, Kutscher, Lešonenu, XXXI (1967), 108-9. The Kaufmann Manuscript must be used judiciously, as in both cases, despite the doubling, the vowels preceding are not consistent with the doubling, cf. baḤappar and meḤemmāṭay, ibid., loc. cit.
2. HISTORY OF RESEARCH INTO AKKADIAN LOANS

In the early stages of Assyriological study, identifications of Late Hebrew words originating in Assyrian were made. E. Schrader, in 1883, noted the Assyrian source of šebat, "tongs," < šabatu, qat, "handle," < qatu, "hand," and šetar, "document," < šataru, "write."\(^{18}\)

J. Oppert, in 1886, related maskānu and Hebrew maskān, "pledge,\(^{19}\)

D. Feuchtwang identified kefrī, "heap," sābār, "receipt," and hegger, "ownerless property," with their Assyrian sources.\(^{20}\) A significant study by Meissner in 1891 identified a number of botanical loanwords in Hebrew.\(^{21}\)

Identifications by Barth included bēl dabābī > ba'al dēhābā, "opponent," dalābū > dlḥ, "disturb," taqānū > tqn, "set in order," and sakāpū, "strike down," skp/sgp, "afflict."\(^{22}\)

The appearance of Delitzsch's Assyrisches Handwörterbuch in 1896 facilitated further identifications.

\(^{18}\)E. Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 2nd ed. (Giessen, 1883), pp. 516f., 580 and 587 (hereafter abbreviated as KAT).

\(^{19}\)J. Oppert, "Explication de quelques formules juridiques," ZA, I (1886), 304-6.

\(^{20}\)D. Feuchtwang, "Lexikalisch," ZA, V (1890), 90, and ZA, VI (1891), 437-43.

\(^{21}\)B. Meissner, "Babylonische Pflanzennamen," ZA, VI (1891), 289-98.

A number of Late Hebrew words which were related to Assyrian in the dictionary itself are simānu > simānim, "windpipe," zi‘ipu, "form, mold," > zayyēp, "forge," and qalāpu > qēlipā, "husk." Jastrow's Dictionary, in 1903, relying upon Schrader and Delitzsch, recognized the Assyrian origins of sla < šalāqu, "dissect," bīrit < bīrītu, "chain," and susēbin < susapīnu, "attendant of the bride or groom." His identifications, however, were hampered by a tendency to derive the Assyrian from supposed Hebrew roots by etymology.

Delitzsch's dictionary was largely the basis upon which Pick, in 1903, was able to point out a number of significant relationships between Assyrian and the Talmud. He discussed place and personal names, Talmudic legends originating in Babylonian myths, and several lexical identifications. What is significant in his work is his recognition that legal formulae used in the Talmud and in texts of the Middle Ages are derived from Neo-Babylonian models.

An important landmark in this area was the


24 M. Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature, 2 vols. (1886-1903; rpt. N.Y., 1950) (hereafter abbreviated as Dictionary). An example of this false etymologizing is his recognition that sumsum, "sesame," derives from samassamu, and then his attempt to derive it from semes, "sun," p. 1537.

25 H. Pick, Talmudische Glossen zu Delitzsches Assyrischem Handwörterbuch (Berlin, 1903) (hereafter abbreviated as Talmudische Glossen).

26 Ibid., pp. 23ff.
The purpose of this study was to demonstrate the cultural influence of Babylonian through the diffusion of loanwords. Of the approximately four hundred words in Hebrew that he discusses, about fifty appear to have entered Mishnaic Hebrew from Akkadian with the mediation of Aramaic.

While many of Zimmern's identifications are still valid, there are several limitations to be noted in this monograph. Although he avoided the pitfalls of excessive etymologizing, he did not indicate his method in making identifications. With the subsequent advance of Akkadian philology a number of his identifications can be questioned. On the other hand, a few new loanwords can be noted. He was aware of loan translations, but many more can be offered.

Another source for loanwords is Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum which notes Akkadian loanwords in Syriac, some of which also appear in Mishnaic Hebrew.

Eitan, in 1928, sought to explain יֶפֶם, "possibly, maybe," as derived from Assyrian ḫuṣṣār < pāšāru, "loosened, freed, possible." This identification is not thoroughly convincing, as it is possible that the

\[\text{askuppatu} \rightarrow \text{isqūpā}, \ "\text{threshold}," \ \text{gāsu} \rightarrow \text{gēṣā}, \ "\text{gypsum}" \]
\[\text{kisibirru} \rightarrow \text{kūšbātā}, \ "\text{coriander}," \ \text{marru} \rightarrow \text{marrā}, \ "\text{hoe}" \]
\[\text{and taḥūmū} \rightarrow \text{ṭēḥūmā}, \ "\text{boundary}" \]
development took place as a parallel development upon a common Semitic root, ٍٔ٤٠א.29

Tortczyner (Tur-Sinai), in 1935, sought to explain Mishnaic ٌٔ٨٠ث on the basis of Sumerian ٌٔ٨٠ث, "top of a building."30 His attempt is not acceptable because he proposes reading the Mishnaic word as ٍٔ٨٠ثَث > ٍٔ١٣ث٤, assuming a correction of ٍٔ٢٧ث in Hebrew. This is not borne out by the manuscripts of the Mishnah, and it is inadequate semantically. In the Mishnah, ٔ٨٠ث denotes some type of courtyard.31

Other suggestions of Tur-Sinai which deserve consideration are his identification of ٍٔ٨٠ث, "sac of the foetus," with ٍٙٚ٣٠ث, "net,"32 and his relating ٍٔ١٣ث٤٠٤, "evil eye," with Akkadian ٍٔ١٣ث٧٠٣, "(may the gods) look upon him with anger."33

Kutscher has sought to relate Akkadian ٍٔ١٣ث٧٠٣ (Sumerian ٍٔ١٣ث٧), "grave," to Mishnaic ٍٔ١٣ث, "sepulchral chamber." It has been recognized that Palmyrene ٍٔ٢٧ث and Nabatean ٍٔ٢٧ث, with the same meaning, are loanwords from

30N. Tortczyner, Le٧ٝٚ٣٠٣, VII (1935), 130.
the Akkadian. Mishnaic kāk, plural kūkkīm, according to Kutscher, was borrowed by Hebrew from Western Aramaic, which, in turn, borrowed it from an Eastern Aramaic dialect. In the latter dialect, the ẖ was retained, as in Akkadian; but in the Western dialect, it was obsolete. Lacking a symbol for the ẖ, the Western dialect represented the ẖ in the borrowed word by k, thus the change from gmb/gwb to kāk. This was facilitated by the fact that the k, following a vowel, was aspirated.34

Following Barth and Schulthess, Kutscher accepts the loanword AMBAR > appāru > ḫappār, "water-covered grazing place, swamp." What is important is that he finds a vocalization in the Kaufmann Manuscript of the Mishnah, ḫappār, as against the ḫappar of the Albeck edition. This form, with a dages following an initial šaleph, is unusual unless it is explained as a borrowing.35 Other relationships to Mishnaic Hebrew which he notes are purgīdam > ṣeraqдоб, "lying flat on the back,"36 and qamṣug, "a corpse lying doubled up," and kamṣu, "crouch, bend."37

Important contributions have been made in specific areas. R. C. Thompson's Dictionary of Assyrian Botany

35Kutscher, Lēšonēnu, XXXI (1967), 107-17.
36Ibid., p. 114; cf. GAG, 120J; and M. Held, JCS, XV (1961), 10b.
37Kutscher, ibid., pp. 115-16.
makes many useful identifications, although it also suffers from much etymologizing and attempts to explain the Assyrian term on the basis of Aramaic or Hebrew. Landsberger's study of the fauna of Mesopotamia is of great importance both for Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew. Many useful identifications of loanwords have been made in the CAD and in von Soden's Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.

Recent suggestions in the area of loanwords have been made in a study by Weisberg. He has suggested that mizru, "wool material," is the source of Mishnaic mizrān, "girth of material spread under or over bedding;" that ritta šatāru ana, "to inscribe the hand to," is the source of the expression mukṭāb lēmalekūt, "marked with the royal mark;" that šeḥore harōṣ goes back to Akkadian qalmat qaqqadi, "black-headed ones;" and that Mishnaic pāṭīn, "cross beam," be derived from Neo-Babylonian pit(i)nu, "strong." Some of these identifications are less than certain, however. It is not clear whether mizrān is derived directly as a loan from mizru, or whether there are cognate

38 R. C. Thompson, DAB.

39 B. Landsberger, Die Fauna des Alten Mesopotamien (Leipzig, 1934) (hereafter abbreviated as Fauna).

40 David B. Weisberg, "Some Observations on Late Babylonian Texts and Rabbinic Literature," HUCA, XXXIX (1968), 71-80. The identification mizru > mizrān was first made in 1899 by J. Krengel, Das Hausgerät in der Mishna (Frankfurt a. M.), cited in Weisberg, ibid., p. 73, n. 22.
verbs from which a parallel development may have occurred, cf. Mishnaic שַׁפָּר, "spin wool." The expression רָתָּה שַׁפָּר אֲנָה certainly clarifies Biblical יִקָּטַב וַיָּדָע, but the expression מַקְתַּב ֵלֵמֶלֶק, "levied for royal service," can also be compared with Mishnaic מַקְתַּב בֵּי-יָסְרָאִיֶּה שֶל מְלֵאכ, "levied for the king's army," which may be a reflection of Latin conscribere and Greek γράφω, "enrol." Moreover, Weisberg does not relate פִּתִּי נו with Biblical מִפְּתָן, which may also be related.

A specific area in which significant work has been done is that of legal terminology. As has been noted, initial insights into the Akkadian origin of Talmudic terms such as שֵׁפַר, "receipt," נֶדֶנְיָה, "dowry," and נֶבֶר, "ownerless property," were made by Feuchtwang and Pick. Driver and Miles, in their studies of Babylonian and Assyrian law, discuss the relationship of שְׁפֵר, "surety," and אֶרֶבּוּ, "enter," שֵׁלוֹןֶה, "gifts from the groom," and שְׁבּוּלְתּוּ, from וָבָּלַו, "bring," and that of

[M. סָּפְה 6:1. ]

[42] Isa. 44:5.

[43TB Ket. 58a.]


Kutscher's study of Akkadian and Aramaic legal terms and their relationship to the Mishnah and Talmud is most significant. He proposes that certain military terms were transferred to the legal area by a natural extension of language. Examples are qablu, "battle," > qbl, "complain, sue," and grh mlāmh, "incite war," > grh dyn, "sue in court." Another extension is the use of zarū, "hate," used in the sense of "divorce," in Akkadian, and translated by šn in Aramaic and in Rabbinic texts as late as the eleventh century C.E.

Yaron provides an example of a concept that exerted a far-reaching influence through loan translation. Akkadian ubbubu, "clear, free of obligation," is reproduced as zukku in Nuzi and Alalakh, as nqv in Biblical Hebrew, Neo-Babylonian murruq, Aramaic mrg, Mishnaic zky, Demotic mēd, and Greek katharopoic. Levine's study of the relationship of mulūgu to mēlēg, inalienable property of the wife brought into a marriage, is also of importance. Something of the original meaning survives in Mishnaic

46 R. Driver and J. C. Miles, The Assyrian Laws (Oxford, 1935); Carhang, p. 144, n. 1; sblqnt, pp. 186 and 472, where a connection with zabalu is rejected, and Žāris, p. 505.


48 Ibid.

Hebrew, but, as with many loanwords, there is also a semantic shift. 50

Muffs has contributed an in-depth study of Aramaic documents from Elephantine recording the transfer of property or the confirmation of rights thereto. 51 Drawing upon the work of Cuq, Peiser, Koschaker and Speiser, as well as that of Kutscher, Muffs traces the relationship between formulae of conveyance in documents in Aramaic, Neo-Assyrian, and peripheral Akkadian. He notes that the operative sections of Old Babylonian sale documents are impersonal and objective, while the legal tradition from Susa, Kultepe, Assyria, Nuzi, and Ugarit has a more subjective quality. The seller indicates his renunciation of ownership by the formula libbasu tāb, "his heart is satisfied." 52 The immediate prototypes of the Aramaic formulae were Neo-Assyrian, a fact explained in terms of the Assyrian-Aramaic symbiosis between the thirteenth and sixth centuries B.C.E. From the ninth century on, Assyrian deeds were provided with short Aramaic summaries, or dockets. These were inscribed in the wet clay on the lower margin or on the reverse side. Many are introduced


51Muffs, Studies.

by the word dnī, a translation loan from Assyrian dannatu, "valid deed," a term which is equivalent to kunukku, "valid sealed document," and which appears in Elephantine as dnh.53

Muffs' study is of direct relevance for the understanding of Mishnaic legal formulae and terminology. The Rabbis were aware of the secular origin of the legal formulae.54 A number of terms in Mishnaic Hebrew which can be traced through Aramaic to Akkadian are: māši ’əšētār < wasîl, "produce a document,"55 tēn, "litigate," tāqūn ʻēlucā, "requires an oath," < emēdu, "impose," and slq yd, "remove, pay off" < erēru, "remove, pay off," and qāusu ʻutṭir "(the buyer) removed (the seller's) hand."57

Falk has studied correspondences in legal practice between Neo-Babylonian law and law recorded in Mishnah, Tosefta, and Talmud.58 His work is more significant for the comparison of legal institutions than for

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53 Muffs, Studies, pp. 187-90; R. A. Bowman, JNES, VII (1948), 74; M. Lidzbarski, Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Vol. I, Part 2 (Paris, 1889), 17f. (hereafter abbreviated as CIS); KAI, I, no. 236:4; KAI, II, 292; cf. also ʻeyappūt kōū, "to strengthen his legal right," M. B. B. 7:2, which should be compared with dannu, "strong, legally valid."

54 Muffs, ibid., p. 193; cf. also, Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 170-71.

55 Muffs, Studies, p. 183

56 ibid., p. 32, n. 1. 57 ibid., p. 126, n. 2.


lexicography, but it does corroborate the insights of others that the cultural influence of Babylonia extended as far as Rabbinic law. Falk himself is cautious about drawing conclusions as to direct cultural influence, noting that there can also be parallel development in legal institutions. 59

More closely related to specific terms are Falk's suggestions of parallels between Mishnaic סנהנ barzel, property brought into a marriage by the wife for which the husband accepts responsibility, and Akkadian alpe u liat-ul imutti, "(lit.) bulls and cows that do not die," 60 and his contention that legal terms for "decrees," הרג and גזר, are to be traced to the influence of paran. 61

3. INFLUENCES UPON MISHNAIC HEBREW

The Rabbis of the Mishnaic and Talmudic periods recognized that their language was distinctive lexically and syntactically from that of the Bible: The language of Scripture and the language of the Sages are distinct. 62

59Z. W. Falk, Tarbiz, XXXVII (1967), 47.
62 TB Qid. 2b; TB A. Z. 58b; TB Hull. 137b. M. H. Segal, A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew (Oxford, 1927), pp. 2f. (hereafter abbreviated as GMH), maintains that earlier
Modern views have been divided over the cause of this divergence.

Zunz considered rabbinic Hebrew to be an artificial product of the schoolmen, similar to medieval Latin, and created under the influence of Aramaic. C. Levias, maintaining a view of the natural development of Mishnaic Hebrew and also recognizing its great dependence upon Aramaic, called Mishnaic Hebrew "the living language of the last centuries of Jewish independence." He enumerated among its distinguishing properties, as against Biblical Hebrew, admittance of a greater contingent of Aramaic loanwords, the greater Aramaicization of its syntax, and the borrowing of about 300 vocables from Greek and Latin.

M. H. Segal held that Mishnaic Hebrew was the "direct lineal descendant of the spoken Hebrew of the Biblical period, as distinguished from the literary Hebrew of the Biblical period preserved in the Hebrew Scriptures." The living language continued to exist as long as there was a communal existence in Palestine: "So long as the Jewish people maintained some sort of national existence in Palestine, Mishnaic Hebrew continued to be the language of at

Mishnaic Hebrew did not recognize this distinction, and that it comes from a later period.

63 A. Geiger, Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mischna (Breslau, 1845), pp. 1f., cited by Kutscher in the Hanok Yalon Festschrift, p. 246.

64 C. Levias, "Hebrew Language," Jewish Encyclopedia, VI, 308.

65 Segal, GMH, p. 11.
least a section of the Jewish people living in Palestine. As that Jewish life in Palestine gradually decayed and ultimately suffered total extinction, so was Mishnaic Hebrew banished step by step from everyday life, and eventually, toward the end of the Mishnaic period, became confined to the learned in the schools and academies."  

Segal minimizes the Aramaic influence upon Hebrew in loanwords, considering verbs to be borrowed but minimally and nouns in a somewhat freer manner. His view is that those words in the lexicon of Mishnaic Hebrew which are not in the Bible originate in the primary stratum of the Old Hebrew vocabulary.

H. Albeck also regards the Hebrew of the Mishnah as a natural development from Biblical Hebrew. He assigns to Aramaic a very significant role. Roots common to other Semitic languages but not present in Biblical Hebrew he regards as transmitted through Aramaic. Moreover, the Latin and Greek loanwords entered Hebrew after first having been absorbed by Aramaic. In addition, extended connotations of Biblical words are often influenced by similar usage in Aramaic.

66 Segal, GMH, p. 10.
67 Ibid., pp. 48 and 98.
E. Y. Kutscher, evaluating the work of Segal, considers his attempt to prove the independence of Mishnaic Hebrew to be an over-reaction to the views of Zunz, thus failing to recognize sufficiently the influence of Aramaic.69 This influence becomes apparent through the unique vocalization of Mishnaic Hebrew which is attested in the Parma and Kaufmann manuscripts, and in oral Yemenite traditions. Kutscher emphasizes that much of this tradition was lost through the scribal correction of this vocalization in an attempt to make it conform to Massoretic Biblical vocalization.70

In addition to the study of Aramaic influences, the search for a correct vocalization of the Mishnah is also of relevance to this study.71 An example is the form me5emmattay, "when," going back to ²immattay/immati, rather than the accepted ²emmatay. This is closer to the Akkadian original, immati > inamati.72

The most detailed and complete study of the differentiae between Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew is that of Bendavid.73 He provides lists of Mishnaic Hebrew equivalents for Biblical words and expressions.74 This

69 Kutscher, Hanoch Yalon Festschrift, p. 246.
70 Ibid.
71 Yalon, IVM.
73 Bendavid, BHMH.
74 Ibid., pp. 130-31 and 331-82.
facilitates the study of the effect of a loanword if the Mishnaic equivalent is a borrowed word. Bendavid, while recognizing the Aramaic influence, cites examples of Mishnaic Hebrew rejecting the Aramaic form and demonstrating its vitality by preferring the earlier Hebrew. He cites instances where both Greek and Aramaic influence may have coalesced, complicating the explanation of a loan process. He also notes Akkadian influence upon Babylonian documents, where hēn, "yes," is closer to Akkadian anna than is Palestinian hin.

The emergence of Mishnaic Hebrew as a distinctive dialect is considered by Segal to have occurred around 400 B.C.E. This dialect was in use at the time the later books of the Bible were written, and evidence of its influence is found in Chronicles, Esther, and Daniel, as well as in Sirach. It was the view of Klausner that Mishnaic Hebrew reached its height at the time of and through the initiative of the Hasmoneans, about 150 B.C.E. Rabin's view is similar to that of Klausner, except that he attributes the rise of Mishnaic Hebrew not

75 Bendavid, BHMH, p. 132.  
76 Ibid., p. 149.  
77 Ibid., p. 217.  
78 Segal, GMH, pp. 1 and 13f.  
79 Ibid., p. 13.  
to the action of the courts or any official governing body, but to the literary activities of the Hasidim, the Asideans of the Maccabean age. 81

Grintz detects the influence of Mishnaic Hebrew upon a passage in Matthew, thus offering an example which confirms that Mishnaic Hebrew was commonly written and spoken in the first century, C.E. In Matthew 28:1, the Greek reads: Τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ ἦς μίαν σαββάτων and is rendered, "in the dawning to the first of the Sabbath," or "as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week." Grintz detects in this construction the influence of Mishnaic ד or י ו, not referring to "dawn" but to the "night before," equivalent to Aramaic נגוה, נָגָה. 82

The Bar Kochba documents from the Judean Desert, following the identification of these by Yadin, provide examples of Mishnaic Hebrew used in contexts outside of the academy. An example from one of these contains several typical Mishnaic words: שָׁתוּפִי יָמִים יוּקָרנָה יָנָה וְתָּמִית יָהוֹתְן בֶּן מְנַנְּים פְּרַנְּסָא סְלַמְּוָן בֶּן קַּשְׁבָּה נָגָה יָרָד, "my share with you of the land that we have leased, you


82 J. Grintz, "Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple," JBL, LXXIX (1960), 32-47, and 37ff. Aramaic ג'אָרְבָה differs from Hebrew גאָר in that it denotes the night after the day, while גאָר is the night before, as is נגוה, נָגָה, cf. ibid., and Albeck, IM, p. 173, n. 31; cf. also, M. Pes. 1:1: גאָר לֶאָרְבָאָא-כָּזָר, "the night before the fourteenth."
and I, from Jonathan son of MHNYM, the administrator of Simeon ben Kosiba, Prince of Israel. 83 The words hkr, "rent," and prns, "administrator," also occur in another document. 84 In yet another document, there occurs the phrase wdqi htwbh wthd sbkpr, "the 'fine date' and the hāsād in the village." 85 This phrase is identical with that in M. A. Z. 1:5, ḫap degel ṭūb wēhāsād, verifying the reading of the Kaufmann Manuscript and the Yerusalmi against the hāsād of the Babli. 86 There are also differences between the language of the Mishnah and that of the Bar Kochba documents, as noted by Bendavid. 87

The defeat of Bar Kochba and the resulting shift of the Jewish center to Aramaic-speaking Galilee is held to be the cause of the demise of Mishnaic Hebrew as a living tongue. 88 There were pockets where Hebrew was spoken after this date, even down to 300 C.E. in the south of Eretz


84 Yadin, ibid., p. 250, Doc. 44; cf. M. B. M. 9:2; TP Pēvā VIII, 21a; and Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 99-100.

85 Yadin, ibid., p. 255, Doc. 46.


87 Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 100-1.

88 Segal, GMH, p. 15; cf. also, Y. Grintz, ibid., p. 47; and Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 151-65.
4. LINGUISTIC AND PHILOLOGICAL ASPECTS

Two ways in which one vocabulary can influence another are 1) the outright transfer of lexical elements from one language into another, and 2) the use of elements in the receiving language in new designative functions modelled after a pattern in the source language.90

The first case is the loanword. When it enters a language, it is adapted to the sound and grammatical patterns of that language.91 The rendering of the foreign form by the nearest phonemic shape is called phonemic substitution.92 The reproduction of the loanword in the receiving language is affected by the sound patterns of that language and by the degree of mastery of the source language which the speakers have.93

89Bendavid, BHMH, p. 161.
90Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact (New York, 1953), p. 47.
92Weinreich, ibid.; Bloomfield, ibid., p. 445 (who calls it phonetic substitution); and Henry M. Hoenigswald, Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction (Chicago, 1960), p. 29, par. 3.9 (hereafter abbreviated as Language Change).
93Winfred P. Lehman, Historical Linguistics: An Introduction (New York, 1962), p. 214. An example of this in Greek loanwords in the Mishnah is provided by Bendavid, op. cit., pp. 184-86. Palestinian sources are closer to
Bloomfield distinguished between cultural borrowing, where cultural elements pass from one linguistic community to another, not necessarily contiguous, and intimate borrowing, where two languages are spoken in what is topographically a single community. The close symbiosis between Aramaic and Assyrian may be an instance of a circumstance in which intimate borrowing can take place. In Mishnaic material intimate borrowing takes place between Aramaic and Hebrew. The Hebrew and Akkadian, as already noted, were not in direct contact.

Borrowings of vocabulary are most likely in specialized cultural areas, such as scientific and legal terminology. In descending order of likelihood are borrowings of syntactic, morphological and phonological elements. The borrowing of the last two is quite rare. The statement of Jespersen is relevant here: "As...there is generally nothing to induce one to use words from foreign languages for things one has just as well at home, loanwords are nearly always technical words belonging to one special branch of knowledge or industry, and may be grouped as to show what each nation has learned from each the Greek, while Babylonian sources introduce changes, assimilating words to assumed Semitic derivations.


95 W. Lehmann, Historical Linguistics, p. 212.
of the others."  

On the other hand, in the relationship and interaction between Old English and Scandinavian, a much wider range of words was borrowed. Jespersen says: "It is precisely the most indispensable elements of the language that have undergone the strongest Scandinavian influence, and this is raised into certainty when we discover that a certain number of these grammatical words, the small coin of language...which are nowhere else transferred from one language to another, have been taken over from Danish into English."  

He attributes this extensive non-technical borrowing to the intimacy of the relationships between the English and the Scandinavian invaders.  

The Aramaic-Assyrian symbiosis and the close relationship of Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew may also account for certain non-technical borrowings. This, however, cannot be decided with certainty. There are a number of words which occur in Akkadian, are not present in Biblical Hebrew, and then re-appear in the Mishnah. These are verbs which do not exhibit that formal pattern which provides one of the criteria for the identification of a loan as against a cognate.  

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97Ibid, pp. 78f.  
98Ibid., p. 79.  
99Words such as kanānu, kmm, "wind," marāsu, mrs, "stir," masāpu, mš, "measure," and qalāpu, qlp, "peel"
Mishnaic Hebrew has instances of verbs with the $\text{sap}\text{cel}$, e.g., $\text{saklēl}$, "complete," $\text{sa\text{c}amēm}$, "stupefy," $\text{sah}\text{rēr}$, "free." Akkadian cannot, however, be regarded as the source of the limited amount of $\text{sap}\text{cel}$ forms that are to be found. Traces of the $\text{sap}\text{cel}$ are widely found in all of the dialects, indicating that Akkadian cannot be the primary source.\textsuperscript{100} Rabin has recently studied thirty examples of the $\text{sap}\text{cel}$ in North West Semitic and has concluded that only two are traceable to Akkadian. He posits Amorite as the source of the $\text{sap}\text{cel}$ form in the various Semitic languages.\textsuperscript{101} A number of Aramaic verbs have been traced directly to Akkadian, e.g., $\text{sēzh} < \text{suzubu}$, "save," $\text{saklēl} < \text{su\text{k}lulu}$, "complete," and $\text{sēṭ} < \text{su\text{g}u}$, "complete."\textsuperscript{102} This may be, however, the borrowing of the entire form as is, rather than of the $\text{sap}\text{cel}$ element. Moreover, as these are Aramaic, they do not enter into our study except for off," are not classed here with the loanwords but with the words in a doubtful category, and may conceivably be cognates in Akkadian, Aramaic, and Hebrew.

\textsuperscript{100}C. Brockelmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen (Berlin, 1908-13), I, 520-21, cf. also, pp. 525-26 (hereafter abbreviated as Grundriss).


šaklēl, which does occur in Mishnaic Hebrew and was borrowed from Aramaic and, ultimately, from Akkadian. In the case of the noun šutāpû, "partner," it is possible that the word was borrowed directly from šutāpû, a later form for tappû, "associate." This, again, represents the borrowing of a word, not a grammatical element.

Another form of lexical interference is the translation loan or loan shift. The phonemic shape of the word is not imported. Native elements are used in new combinations based upon a model in the influencing language, thus undergoing an extension of meaning. There are loan translations proper, in which the elements of the model are reproduced exactly, as in Louisiana French marchandises seches for English dry-goods. Examples from the Mishnah are ḫeqba hakkānēd, "lobe (finger) of the liver," from ubān amūtim, and šeḥorē hārōs, "black-headed ones," from šalmaṯ qaqqadi.

In a loan rendition, the model compound provides a general hint for the reproduction, e.g., German Vaterland after Latin patria. Akkadian ana šum > assum, "because of," is the model for several constructions: 1eššum, leššem, caššum, missum. One aspect of the loanshift process is where an extended or idiomatic use of a word is taken over by the

103U. Weinreich, Languages in Contact, p. 51.
104Bendiavd, BHMH, p. 197; J. Barth, ZA, XXII (1908-9), 93f.; and Segal, GMH, p. 24, n. 2.
semantic equivalent in the receiving language. Thus Portuguese correr, "run," comes to mean "run for office" under the influence of the English idiom. \(^{105}\) An example in the Mishnah is בַּרְאָשִׁי, "cut," and idiomatically, "fix a price," translated by Ṿsq and qss, "cut" and "fix a price."\(^{106}\)

The process of extension can also apply to forms which are cognate in the two languages but where a special idiomatic sense of one is transferred to the other. Old English eorl, "brave warrior," acquired the sense of "nobleman" under the influence of the Old Norse cognate.\(^{107}\)

Examples of this process in the Mishnah are: הַמָּמָּשׁ יְסָר הָוָא, "one who produces a bill of indebtedness," כְּוַשֵּׁא, and כְּסָנְי הַתַּנְנָעַר כְּרִי, "eye (hole) of the stove."

When a certain form of a cognate enters into Hebrew from Akkadian, it has been classed here with the loan translations. This is not a lexical transfer but the borrowing of a special meaning. An example is: פַּרְשֵׁז

\(^{105}\)Hoenigswald, Language Change, p. 22, n. 19.

\(^{106}\)CAD, VI (H), 92ff.; M. B. M. 5:7; M. Seb. 4:1; TB Git. 50b. There are cases, cited by Bendavid, BHMH, pp 109-10, where internal translations of Biblical words are made in Mishnaic Hebrew, literally and idiomatically. It might be argued that Biblical krt, hra, "fix, determine," are internally translated by Ṿsq and qss. However, the elaboration of terms, and of meanings not present in the Biblical models argues for the influence of an outside language where these meanings are attached to the corresponding words. What the Biblical evidence may show, however, is the possibility that the loan process acted upon Hebrew at an earlier stage than Mishnaic Hebrew.

\(^{107}\)Jespersen, Growth, p. 72.
kehunā, "young priests," < perhu, "young man."

Weinreich explores the problem of lexical integration of loanwords; that is, the consequence of a word transfer upon the "field" or semantic system of which it becomes a member.108

The first situation is that of a loanword with entirely new content. The emergence of new one-morpheme forms adds new environments to the environment ranges of all the forms in the newly created discourses. An example is the introduction of the morpheme tea and the creation of new environments such as tea-leaves, tea-cups, and tea-time.109 Examples from Akkadian and Hebrew, reflecting combinations with a word for which there was no earlier corresponding words are mulugu > mēlog, "property of a wife brought into a marriage of which the husband has the fruit without responsibility for the loss," and combinations such as cahdē mēlog, "mēlog servants," sīghat mēlog, "a mēlog maid-servant," and bhēmat mēlog, "a mēlog animal."

In the terminology of Hoenigswald, this type of loan is called "innovation without item-by-item replacement," or "new 'names' for new 'things."110 While the

108 Weinreich, Languages in Contact, pp. 53ff.
109 Hoenigswald, Language Change, pp. 22f.
110 Ibid., p. 22.
word may be new, one cannot always be certain about the newness of the thing to which it refers. For example, the word מֶלֹֽגֶן is new in Mishnaic Hebrew, not being present in the Bible, but Levine, who has traced its development, is not willing to rule out that such an institution existed on Palestinian soil in ancient times.\textsuperscript{111}

Full identity of content, or confusion of usage, may result from the entrance of a loanword. This situation is generally restricted to the earlier stages of language contact, and eventually one of the terms may become fixed and the other discarded.\textsuperscript{112}

Old words may be discarded as their content becomes fully covered by the loanword. In the terminology of Hoenigswald, there is "one to one replacement by borrowing."\textsuperscript{113} Examples are the replacement of Old English eam by French uncle, and Middle English ey by Scandinavian egg.\textsuperscript{114} Akkadian kisibirru, source of קֵסְבָּר, replaces gad, "coriander," used in the Bible, and Biblical מֵיתָן "threshold," is replaced by 'יסקופָּא < askuppatu.\textsuperscript{115} The

\textsuperscript{111}Levine, \textit{Survivals}, p. 62.

\textsuperscript{112}Weinreich, \textit{Languages in Contact}, p. 54.

\textsuperscript{113}Weinreich, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 54f.; and Hoenigswald, \textit{Language Change}, pp. 28f.

\textsuperscript{114}Hoenigswald, \textit{ibid.}

\textsuperscript{115}Cf. gad, Numb. 11:7, replaced by קֵסְבָּר, M. Kil. 1:2; Afw, p. 57; מֵיתָן, I Sam. 5:5, replaced by 'יסקופָּא, M. Sab. 10:2; Afw, p. 31.
loan process is not the only way in which words are relegated to obsolescence. There are internal shifts of meaning, not dependent upon borrowing from external sources. Bendavid cites examples of these in Mishnaic Hebrew. 116 Not only a loanword but also a loan translation can cause obsolescence. Biblical *yāḥad, yāḥdaw, "together," are replaced in the Mishnah by *kēʾeḥad. This is based upon Aramaic *kābāda, itself a loan translation of Akkadian *istēnī.117

Another possibility is that the content of the clashing old and new words may become specialized if both survive.118 For example, Biblical *gebūl, "border of a country, territory," is replaced in Mishnaic Hebrew by *seʾār, *teʾāʾum, and *mešer, the latter two words being loans from Akkadian.119 The word *gebūl continues in the special senses of "landmark" and "limitation (of a definition)."120 Another example is Biblical *sēper, "book, missive, document," which is replaced in the sense "legal document" by

116Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 120-23.

117Kutscher, Tarbiz, XXXIII (1963-64), 118-30; GAG, par. 120e. This loan translation is already present in the later books of the Bible, Isa. 65:25; Ezra 2:64, 3:9; and Kohelet 11:6. A similar process from Greek is *jeʾel in place of Biblical *jeʾel, Bendavid, BHMH, p. 116.

118Weinreich, Languages in Contact, p. 55.


120M. Seq. 7:3; TP Halla 1, 57b; TB B. B. 69b.
the loanwords *get* and *yetar*. In the Mishnah, *séper*, alone, denotes the sacred book, the Torah.\(^{121}\) However, evidence that this process is not thoroughgoing, and that earlier connotations remain, is the Mishnaic term *séper ketūbah*, "formula of a marriage document," a remnant of the earlier legal sense of *séper*.\(^{122}\)

Weinreich points out that there is often insufficient information in loanword studies to decide whether the old word has become specialized or discarded.\(^{123}\) This uncertainty exists in Mishnaic Hebrew for several reasons. Various linguistic environments are embraced by Mishnaic Hebrew, and the rate of language change is not uniform. There are cases of the continuing influence of earlier Hebrew as against Aramaic influence, and the Mishnah prefers the earlier vocabulary.\(^{124}\) Technical terms may be formed according to the patterns of Mishnaic Hebrew, but they show their dependence upon the Biblical text for the basic vocabulary unit. There are also archaisms which

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\(^{121}\)M. *Yad.* 3:5; and M. *Kolîm* 15:6.


\(^{123}\)Weinreich, Languages in Contact, p. 55, n. 72.

\(^{124}\)Bendavid, *BHMH*, pp. 132-34.
are quotations from the Bible.125

Criteria for evaluating whether a word is a loan-word or not must be discussed. The most preferable criteria are synchronic, where no reference is made to the history or semantic development of a word. Words which do not conform to the phonemic or morphological patterns of a language may be considered as borrowed. These criteria apply, however, only in a few cases considered here.

The consonant combinations q-t, t-g, q-t are incompatible in Hebrew.126 Thus words with these consonants are to be considered foreign, e.g., get < git'fu < GID.DA, "document," qat, "handle," < qatu, "hand." Other occurrences of these consonant combinations are also foreign, from Greek, e.g., tgn, "fry," < τάμνον, "frying pan," qetidra < καθήσας, "chair," qetelicos < καθολικός, "official."

In most cases considered here, the consideration is a possible derivation from Sumerian or Akkadian where none is possible from Aramaic or Hebrew, thus ruling out the possibility of a cognate. The first group of words

125Albeck, IM, p. 129. A case of the retention of a nearly obsolete term is that of sê­per ke­tu­râ­tâh, "the document of her marriage contract," M. Ed. 1:12, a reflection of the earlier legal sense of sê­per. In most Mishnaic discourse, as noted above, get and qetar replace sê­per. Another case of the retention of a nearly obsolete word is pârur, "pot," M. Bre­sh 1:7. This is quite rare, as Biblical pârur is replaced by qe­târâ, Bendavid, BHMH, p. 359.

126Moscati, Introduction, p. 75.
considered here is derived from Sumerian and is not Semitic. Examples are: A.ZA.LAG > 𒄀ššâκu, "launderer," > 𒄀ššâššê, "laundrying alkali," AL > 𒄀allu > 𒄀allâ, "club, hoe,"

Another group of words is Akkadian. This group has a reasonable derivation in Akkadian but none in Aramaic or Hebrew, thus also ruling out the possibility of a cognate. Examples are: 𒄀amed, "estimate," < 𒀀imittu, 𒀀emêdu, "lay upon, impose," 农副mattay, 农副immatay, 农副immati < 农副immati < 农副ina mati, "when," 农副jârîs < 农副errêsum, "tenant farmer," < 农副errêsum/农副hrît/农副hrîs, "plow," 农副wadda < 农副wâddi, "certainly," < 农副idû, "know," 农副zûz < 农副zûzu < 农副zazu, "divide," hence, "subdivision of a larger coin," 农副biltît, "gum of asafetida," < 农副biltît, 农副taggar < 农副tamkaru, "merchant."

In some cases, the consonant patterns of the Akkadian and Hebrew words are not incompatible, and a derivation from Hebrew or Aramaic is not absolutely ruled out. However, the presence of a word in Mishnaic Hebrew forms a homonym of a root already present in Biblical Hebrew or Aramaic but with a different meaning. This suggests that a loan is the source of one of the homonyms.
Examples are: gargār, Erucha, < girgirru, to be distinguished from gargā, "berry, grain," gasišu, "pole, frame of bed," < gasišu, "pole," to be distinguished from gasišu, "grope, touch," lepēt < laptu, "turnip," to be distinguished from lapēt, "brace, touch," and gāraḥ, "vessel," karpatu, to be distinguished from karpatu, "itch."

In the case of biṣu, "drain," the evidence for a loan is that the Hebrew is borrowed from a variant form, biṣu, which is an alternate in Assyrian for Babylonian biṣu. In the case of a cognate, one might expect a Hebrew counterpart to biṣu, as in the case of bāṣu, se, "lamb." The variant bāṣu does not occur in Hebrew.127

A word which is common Semitic, but which has been modified according to factors peculiar to Akkadian and enters Hebrew in its modified form, is to be regarded as a loanword. For example, Akkadian does not tolerate two emphatics in the same word, and it reduces one to the corresponding non-emphatic consonant.128 Mishnaic seḥat, "tongs," is such a borrowing, as the cognate form qab exists alongside of the borrowed qab.129

Certain other factors must be considered, not as proof of a loan, but as limiting and checking factors when a loan is suspected but the phonemic pattern of the Akkadian

127CAG, par. 24b.
128This is the "Geers Law," which also applies to Old Aramaic, F. Geers, JNES, IV (1945), 65-67.
129M. JAb. 5:6; both the cognate and the borrowed form occur in Ruth 2:14, 16. Compare qab, "adorn," and takāṣ, "ornament," although this may not be an Akkadian loan.
word is not incompatible with Hebrew. These other criteria are a) historical, b) semantic, and c) consonantal.

a) Historical: The early appearance of a word in Akkadian is, in itself, not sufficient proof that it is a loanword if it appears in Hebrew. This can only be decided on the basis of compatible and incompatible consonants and word formations, reasonable derivations, and consonant correspondences. For example, ekēku, "scratch," appears in Old Babylonian. Because of the disappearance of the $ in Akkadian and its re-appearance in Arabic and Hebrew $, it is clear that the words are cognates, not related by borrowing. On the other hand, a word may appear in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian and be considered a loanword. An example is natbaku, "layer of bricks," which occurs in Middle Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian, but is a loanword, Aramaic and Hebrew nigbāk. The late appearance of a word in Akkadian, together with insufficient philological criteria for establishing a loanword, may be an argument for an origin in Aramaic.

The Assyrian-Aramaic symbiosis was responsible for linguistic influence in two directions. Neo-Babylonian, from 1000-625, contains many Aramaisms, and Late Babylonian, from 625 on, is described by von Soden as an Aramaic-Babylonian mixed language. Aramaic can be the source of

130AHw, p. 193. It is written in Old Babylonian as e-ge-gum, ibid., from B. Landsberger, et al., MSL III, 223, 7.
131AHw, p. 766. 132GAG, par. 2.
words occurring in the later stages of Akkadian and Assyrian, although the earlier stages of Neo-Babylonian (1000-625 B.C.E.) and Neo-Assyrian (1000-600 B.C.E.) are prior to the Aramaic influence. A word that occurs no earlier than NB and NA, using von Soden’s nomenclature, and also appears in Mishnaic Hebrew, may be Akkadian and not Aramaic.

A number of words occurring in the Mishnaic Hebrew and in the Akkadian lexicon have not been included here, as it is clear that they are originally Aramaic. These words include: egertu < יָגָרָא > יֶגֶרֵרֵא, "letter," gadāmu < יָגֶדָמ , "cut off," > giddēm, "amputee," galālu < יָגִלָל , "stone," > gōlāl, "cover of a tomb," garīštə < יָגִרְסִין , "bread," and ḫapāpu < יָחָפָפ , "wash the hair." 133

b) Semantic: One expects a close relationship between the meaning of a word in Akkadian and the borrowed form in Hebrew. If the distance between meanings is wide enough to require bridging by etymologizing, the loanword is suspect. A word with a general meaning in Akkadian, for which equivalents already exist in Hebrew, will be borrowed in a limited, technical sense. Examples are šaṭāru, "write," šītru, "writing," and Aramaic and Hebrew šeṭār, "legal document," and qāpu, "trust," qiptu, "position of trust," borrowed in the special sense of meqīṭ, "lends on.

133 cf. egertu, Ahw, p. 190; gadāmu and galālu, p. 273; garīštə, p. 282; and ḫapāpu, p. 321.
credit." There are semantic shifts which are not too distant, e.g., AL > allu, "hoe," > allā, "club."

Uncertainty in regard to the meaning of botanical terms is due to two factors. On the one hand, there were semantic shifts in ancient times, where words were applied to plants with characteristics similar to those originally bearing a certain name, e.g., ḥassū > ḥassā, "lettuce," and, possibly, ḥasīt, "leek-plants." On the other hand, there is the difficulty for the modern scholar to determine the exact meaning of plant names because of the ambiguous contexts in which these terms are found.

The semantic criterion can call into question certain identifications which have been offered by scholars. Zimmern identified ḥishūs, sēḥās, "cartilage of the ear," with ḥasīsu, "ear, wise." It is puzzling that the narrower sense, "ear," should be transferred and not the wider and more frequent sense of "wisdom." Moreover, a semantic connection between "ear" and "cartilage" is less probable, as ḥishūs, sēḥās can apply to cartilage in other parts of the body.

c) Consonantal Correspondences: Akkadian script does not differentiate between ḫ, c, and ḫ. Loanwords with original c and ḫ134 will appear in Akkadian as if written with ḫ (u') and should thus enter Hebrew. Examples are: tāris, from errēsūm, "tenant farmer," < ereṣu /

134GAG, par. 23b. Correspondences are: u' = ḫ,
₂ = h, ḫ = ḫ, ḫ = c, and ḫ = ḫ.
Semitic \( \text{ḥrt} \). Possibly Assyrian \( \text{ḥris} \)tu, "tenancy," is an intermediate step. Similarly, \( \text{ḥmed} \), "estimate," would derive from \( \text{emedu} \), \( \text{imittu} \), "impose," "the estimate of the date harvest." There are, however, variants, \( \text{ḥarīs} \)\(^{135} \) and \( \text{ḥmed} \).\(^{136} \) It must be assumed that the variation, with the presence of an \( \text{ḥ} \), is attributable to variants in manuscript traditions and has not been transferred.

A contrary view, that the presence of an \( \text{ḥ} \) in a loanword from Akkadian is a sign that it was heard and pronounced, has been expressed by Ellenbogen in his study of foreign words in the Old Testament. Following Lewy and Zimmern, and noting that Hebrew \( \text{ṭstē} \), "one," is a loan from Akkadian \( \text{ṭsten} \), he makes the following statement:

"This may be taken as an indication that Akkadian, though graphically not representing the \( / \text{ḥ} / \), still possessed this phoneme at the time \( \text{ṭsten} \) was borrowed into Hebrew and Sabean."\(^{137} \) This statement is not accurate. Up to the Old Babylonian period, the \( / \text{ḥ} / \) phoneme was pronounced, as may be concluded from the many times that \( \text{ṭṭnum} \), "fixed time," is written with a \( \text{ḥ} \).\(^{138} \) After this period Akkadian

\(^{135} \)Munich Manuscript Baba Batra 46b, cited in Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1117.

\(^{136} \)AHW, pp. 211ff. and p. 377; Segal, GMH, p. 28; Epstein, ITR, II, 719, 1210 and 1227. The \( \text{ḥ} \) occurs in the Yerusalmi version of the Mishnah.


\(^{138} \)GAG, par. 23c.
loses the \( c \) in pronunciation as well as graphically. An example is a name such as \( Nabu^\text{a}z\text{-\text{\textdollar}} \text{-iddina} \), where the element \( z\text{-\textdollar} \) is cognate with \( \text{zer} \) but the \( c \) is not transmitted.

A similar problem exists in the transmission of Greek loanwords. Palestinian manuscripts, closer to the area where Greek was spoken, render these words with \( \text{\textalpha} \), examples being: \( \text{\textalpha}\text{\textkappa\texti\textnu\texti\textnu\textom\textu\textg\texteta\textn} > \text{\textkappa\texti\textnu\texti\textnu\textom\textu\textg\texteta\textn} \), \( \text{\textalpha}\text{\textmu\texto\textl\textnu}\text\textom\textu\textg\texteta\textn \), and \( \text{\textalpha}\text{\textmu\texto\textl\textnu}\text\textom\textu\textg\texteta\text\textl\texta\textn} \). Babylonian manuscripts transcribe these words with \( c \), \( \text{car\textkappa\texta\textt} \), \( \text{cin\textbar\textb\textl} \), and \( \text{cam\textl\texte\textn} \). \( \text{\textdollar} \) Possibly these words are being associated with similar-sounding Semitic roots.

Conversely, Palestinian manuscripts have \( c \) in place of \( \text{\textkappa\texti\textnu\texti\textnu\textom\textu\textg\texteta\textn} \), as \( \text{\textc\texte\textm\texted} \) and \( \text{\textk\textl} \), "be consumed," in place of \( \text{\textk\textl} \). \( \text{\textdollar} \) The implication of this for loanwords is to bring into question certain identifications that have been suggested. Akkadian \( ik\text{\textk} \), "ditch," is regarded as the source of the loanwords \( \text{\textc\textu\textg\texty\textv\texta} \) and \( \text{\textc\textu\textq\texta} \). If the spelling with \( c \) is basic, it can be doubted that this is a loanword. If the variant \( \text{\textc\textu\textg\texty\textv\texta} \) is correct, then a loan can be assumed, and the \( c \) is a variant in scribal tradition.

A number of words with gutterals must be regarded as cognates, not loans, although they occur in Old

\( \text{\textdollar} \)\textbf{Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 185-86.}
\( \text{\textdollar} \)\textbf{Segal, GMH, p. 28.}
Babylonian, are absent in Biblical Hebrew, and recur in Mishnaic Hebrew. These are: ebētu, "bind, tie," / ḫebēt;  ṣel sandāl, "thong of a sandal," ekēku, "scratch," / ḫkk, nēru, "kill," / bēsar nēbirā, "meat killed by stabbing."

It cannot be assumed that the gutterals were heard and transmitted.

Other correspondences of consonants in transcriptions of loans from Akkadian to Aramaic and Hebrew will be considered. Personal names or divine names are helpful in establishing regularities of consonant transmission, as their presence in Aramaic or Hebrew represents a borrowing and not a cognate relationship. Only those correspondences which are relevant to the words in this study will be considered. Names and loans in this study exhibiting the same consonant transfer will be listed together, and the order of the Hebrew alphabet will be followed. The following correspondences are attested:

\[ b > b: \] Nabā-kudurri-usur (PN) > [N]bwkdršr, 142
\[ birītu > birīt, "chain," bību > bīb, "drain." \]
\[ g > g: Nergal (DN) > Nrgl, 143 gittu > get, "document." \]


142 KAI I, No. 227, Vs. 5.
143 Ibid., No. 222, A, 9.
\[ \text{d} \rightarrow \text{d}; \quad \text{Sarru-\(\overline{\text{a}}\)ar\(\overline{\text{e}}\)du} \text{ (or } \text{\(\overline{\text{d}}\)\text{Assur-\(\overline{\text{a}}\)ar\(\overline{\text{e}}\)du})} \text{ (PN)} \]

\[ \text{Srsrd}, 144 \text{ dappu } \rightarrow \text{dap}, \text{ "board."} \]

\[ \text{w} \rightarrow \text{w}; \quad \text{wuddi } \rightarrow \text{wadda} \text{y}, \text{ "certainly."} \]

\[ \text{z} \rightarrow \text{z}; \quad \text{Nab\(\overline{\text{u}}\)-\(\overline{\text{z}}\)er-iddina } \rightarrow \text{Neb\(\overline{\text{u}}\)zar\(\overline{\text{a}}\)d\(\overline{\text{a}}\)n} \text{ (PN),} \]

\[ \text{zuzu } \rightarrow \text{zuz}, \text{ monetary unit.} \]

\[ \text{h} \rightarrow \text{h}; \quad \text{d\(\overline{\text{Sin}}\)-ah\(\overline{\text{h}}\)e-eriba} \text{ (PN) } \rightarrow \text{San\(\overline{\text{h}}\)erib, hazzannu } \rightarrow \]

\[ \text{\(\overline{\text{b}}\)azz\(\overline{\text{a}}\)}, \text{ "mayor, official."} \]

\[ \text{t} \rightarrow \text{t}; \quad \text{Bel-\(\overline{\text{e}}\)\(\overline{\text{t}}\)r} \text{ (PN) } \rightarrow \text{Bl\(\overline{\text{t}}\)r}, 145 \text{ gittu } \rightarrow \text{get}, \]

\[ \text{"document."} \]

\[ \text{k} \rightarrow \text{k}; \quad \text{Sarru-\(\overline{\text{k}}\)enu} \text{ (PN) } \rightarrow \text{\(\overline{\text{y}}\)rkn}, 146 \text{ kisibirru } \rightarrow \]

\[ \text{k\(\overline{\text{u}}\)sb\(\overline{\text{a}}\)}, \text{ "coriander."} \]

\[ \text{k} \rightarrow \text{g}; \quad \text{Mannu-\(\overline{\text{k}}\)l-Assur} \text{ (PN) } \rightarrow \text{Mng,\(\overline{\text{s}}\)r}, 147 \text{ kass\(\overline{\text{s}}\)su } \rightarrow \]

\[ \text{gaz, "falcon," a loan proposed here. The shortening of the word in Hebrew is considered in the discussion below.} \]

\[ \text{k} \rightarrow \text{q}; \quad \text{The change } \text{k} \rightarrow \text{q} \text{ is not necessarily related to the loan process. Within Akkadian it is often unclear from the writing whether k or emphatic q is intended.} 148 \]

\[ \text{One finds both the writing kukkub\(\overline{\text{\(\overline{\text{a}}\)n}}\)u and guqqub\(\overline{\text{\(\overline{\text{a}}\)n}}\), "stomach."} 149 \]

\[ \text{Segal also notes a tendency in Mishnaic Hebrew to emphasise certain consonants, e.g., Biblical } \text{kpl } \rightarrow \text{Mishnaic qpl, "fold."} 150 \]

\[ 144 \text{ KAI I, No. 236, Rs. 4.} \]
\[ 145 \text{ Ibid., No. 233, 1, 12.} \]
\[ 146 \text{ Ibid., No. 233, 15.} \]
\[ 147 \text{ Ibid., No. 234, Rs. 4.} \]
\[ 148 \text{ GAG, par. 26b.} \]
\[ 149 \text{ AHw, p. 500b.} \]
\[ 150 \text{ Segal, GMH, p. 30.} \]
as askuppatu > ḫisquppā, "threshold," and kukkubānu/quqqubanu > gurqēbān, "stomach," may be due to the transfer of a variant form in Akkadian, uncertainty about the specific writing of the Akkadian and the original consonant represented, or to an inner change in Hebrew.

\( \text{ḥ} > \text{k} \): This is quite rare. This change is involved in Kutscher's proposal: kimāḥhu > Palmyrene kmh
Nabatean gwb > Aramaic, Hebrew kōk, kuk, "sepulchre." 151

\( l > l \): Nergal (DN) > Nrgl, 152 laptu > lepet, "turnip."

\( m > m \): Nabū-ūṣallim (or Nabu-usalim) (PN) > Nbūšlm, 153 mukku > mōk, "thread, rag."

\( m > w \): Simānu > Siwān, name of a month, 154 kimāḥhu > Palmyrene gmb > Nabatean gwb > Aramaic, Hebrew kōk, kuk, "sepulchre." 155

\( n > n \): Sarru-na ’id (PN) > Snnd, 156 naptu > nēpt.

151 Kutscher, E. L. Sukenik Volume, Eretz Israel, VIII (Jerusalem, 1967), 273-79. Western Aramaic represented Eastern Aramaic by aspirated \( k \) following a vowel.

The phenomenon of the interchange of ḥānāṣu/kanāṣu, "submit," and tamāku/tamāhu, "seize," may be of a different order. It is not a question of representing a borrowed sound, as in the first instance, but an internal change, GAG, par. 25d.

152 KAI I, No. 222, A, 9.
153 Ibid., No. 233, 14.

155 Kutscher, Eretz Israel, VIII (1967), 273-79.
156 KAI I, No. 236, Vs. 1, 4.
"naphtha."

\[ s \rightarrow \tilde{s}: \text{Sin-abhe-eriba (PN)} \rightarrow \text{Sanherib}, \text{kisibirru} \]

\[ > \text{kūsbār, "coriander."} \]

\[ s \rightarrow \tilde{s}: \text{Esagilla (Temple name)} \rightarrow \tilde{Sngl}, \]

\[ \text{saparu, "net,"} \rightarrow \tilde{s}e\text{pīr}, \text{"sack of the foetus,"} \text{susap} \tilde{\text{nu}} \]

\[ \text{suṣe} \tilde{\text{bīn}}, \text{"attendant of the bride or groom."} \] This change may be due to the loan process, or to variants in Akkadian itself between \( s \) and \( \tilde{s} \). \( ^{158} \) Perhaps the variant form was borrowed.

\[ q \rightarrow \tilde{q}: \text{La-gīpu (PN)} \rightarrow \text{Lqp}, \]

\[ \tilde{g} \text{āpu} \rightarrow \text{mēqīn}, \text{"lend on credit."} \]

\[ p \rightarrow b: \text{Sēpē-dAssur} \rightarrow \text{Sb-wsr (PN)}, \]

\[ \text{senēpu} \rightarrow \text{snb}, \text{a measure of volume,} \]

\[ \text{suṣap} \tilde{\text{nu}} \rightarrow \text{suṣe} \tilde{\text{bīn}}, \text{"attendant of the bride or groom."} \] The inherited writing does not always distinguish clearly between \( b \) and \( p \) in Akkadian. This is true when \( b \) and \( p \) follow vowels and when they precede the \( u \)-vowel. Presumably there was a distinction in pronunciation in most dialects. This is shown in the writing, for example, before the \( a \)-vowel. In particular dialects the distinction in pronunciation also may have been lost. However, in Nuzi, the voiced and unvoiced stops were confused due to the influence of Hurrian,

\[ ^{157} \text{KAI I, No. 228, A, 16.} \]

\[ ^{158} \text{GAG, par. 69b; cf. Old Assyrian ūsamēne, Late Babylonian samantu, "eight," ibid.} \]

\[ ^{159} \text{KAI I, No. 235, Rs. 4.} \]

\[ ^{160} \text{Ibid., Vs. 3.} \]

\[ ^{161} \text{Ibid., 215:6.} \]
compare Akkadian baqaru, "to vindicate (in the legal sense)," bāqirānum, but Nuzi pāqiranu, "vindicator." 162

There appears to be no evidence of a change 3 > s in loan transmission, but dialectic variation between s and 3 occurs between Akkadian and Assyrian, compare Babylonian pasānu and Assyrian pašānu, "cover." 164 A loan has been suggested here tentatively, seperu, "trim (hair and other things)," > spr, "cut the hair." The non-attestation of the transmission 3 > s makes this somewhat doubtful, unless it be assumed that the Hebrew or Aramaic borrowed a variant form from Akkadian, where s, instead of 3, is used.

q > q: Lā-qIpu (PN) > Lq, 165 quppu > guppā, "box, basket."

r > r: Sarru-kēnu (PN) > Sargōn, šaṭāru > šēṭār, "write" "document."

v > v: Sarru-naṭid (PN) > Šrī, 166 šāmāṣṣammu šūmmūm, "sesame."

v > s: Sarru-ašāredu (PN) > Srsrd, 167 Rāši-ili

162GAG, par. 27b; A. Ungnad and L. Matout, Grammatik des Akkadischen (Munich, 1969), par. 17c.
163KAI I, No. 234, Rs. 3. 164GAG, par. 30c.
165KAI I, No. 235, Rs. 4.
166Ibid., No. 236, Vs. 1, 4.
167Ibid., 4.
(PN) \(\Rightarrow\) Rsl, 168 \textit{šutturu} \(\Rightarrow\) str, "destroy."

\(t \Rightarrow t:\) Şarpanitum (DN) \(\Rightarrow\) Zrpnt, 169 \textit{sutapu} \(\Rightarrow\) \textit{sutap}, "partner," tarlugallu \(\Rightarrow\) tarnęgöl, "rooster."

\(t \Rightarrow d:\) natbaku \(\Rightarrow\) nidbak, "layer of stone or brick."

This variant may be within Akkadian itself, as the form 
nadbaku does occur. 170

\(t \Rightarrow \ddagger:\) It is not clear that this change takes place within the loan process. Zimmern considered \(\ddagger\text{prüah},\) "pitcher," a loan from \(\ddagger\text{taphu}.\) 171 It was later shown by Meissner that the word is to be read \(\ddagger\text{taphu}.\) 172 This makes the loan proposal doubtful unless it can be assumed that a consonant change \(t \Rightarrow \ddagger\) occurs. While in Akkadian the script does not distinguish adequately between \(t\) and \(\ddagger,\) 173 and Segal considers that within Hebrew an emphaticisation of \(t \Rightarrow \ddagger\) occurs, i.e., \(\text{tebel} \Rightarrow \text{tebel},\) "something improper, untithed grain," 174 these changes would be internal and not in the loan process. There is insufficient evidence to decide this.

In addition, there are two cases which may not be

168 \textit{KAI} I, No. 236, Vs. 2.

169 \textit{KAI} I, No. 222, A, 8.

170 \textit{AHw}, p. 766. 171 \textit{AFw}, p. 33.

172 B. Meissner, \textit{Studien zur Assyrischen Lexikon-}

\textit{ographie, Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesell-

\textit{schaft}, Vol. XI (Leipzig, 1937), Nos. 1-2, 79-80 (hereafter abbreviated as \textit{Studien}).}

consonant correspondences but the borrowing of attested variants of Akkadian by the Aramaic and Hebrew. Mishnaic ḫаzīnā is identified with ḫаšīnā, "axe," by Albeck, and this goes back to Akkadian ḫassīnu. Possibly the change ʂ > z is internal to the Hebrew. On the other hand, there is a writing ina ha-az-zi-in-ni șa yarri, "by the axes of the king." This variant may have been borrowed. Another possibility is that indeed there is a change ʂ > z, compare Șarpanitu (DN) > Zrptnt.

It is suggested here that kassūsu, "falcon" is borrowed as Hebrew gaz, with a shortening of the word. This is discussed below. A change ʂ > z is not attested in the loan process. It may have occurred in Hebrew or Aramaic, or represents variants in Hebrew. There is, however, an Akkadian writing kazzûzi, "falcons," and this variant may have been borrowed.

There are words in which Akkadian ț represents Semitic ˀ as seen by the interdialectical distribution, e.g., karāṣū, "leek," Hebrew kereṣā and kartī and Aramaic kereṭī. This word was treated as a loanword by Zimmern.

175M. Kelîm 14:2; Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorot, p. 65.
176CAD VI (H), 133f.
177Ibid., 133, from El-Amarna.
178KAI I, No. 222, A, 8.
179CAD II (B), 89; cf. M. Hul. 3:1; AHw, p. 454.
180AFw, p. 57.
but it must be regarded as a cognate.

According to Gelb, Old Akkadian had a separate symbol to designate the sound corresponding to Proto-Semitic \( t \). Old Akkadian signs SA, SE\(_1\), SI and SU corresponded to Semitic \( s \) and \( š \), while SA, SI, and SU corresponded to Semitic \( t \). The pronunciation of this sound was closer to Arabic \( t \), as seen by the variants in the personal name Se-li-bu-um / Ta-la-bu.\(^{181}\) This view is not shared by van Soden. In his view, the only written distinction is between \( š \) and \( s \). The symbol \( š \) also represented \( t \) as well as \( s \); thus Semitic \( t \) had no exclusive or consistent symbol.\(^{182}\) In Old Babylonian, the sounds \( š \) and \( s \) generally merged.\(^{183}\) Von Soden does not deny, however, that in the spoken language, in certain dialects, three different \( š \) sounds were distinguished, this including also \( t \).\(^{184}\)

Following the reconstruction of Falkenstein, Semitic \( t \) was reflected in Old Akkadian by \( š \), a sound which also occurs in contemporary Sumerian. Thus, we can reconstruct the following development: Original Semitic


\(^{182}\)W. von Soden, Akk. Syll., p. XXI. Semitic \( t \) was represented in Old Akkadian by \( š \) or \( s \), cf. \( Jarrāšum, "tenant farmer," and the personal names \( ḫA-ra-sum \) and \( Er-re-šum \), AHw, p. 243.

\(^{183}\)Ibid.

\(^{184}\)Ibid.
"tum" > Old Akkadian "sumum" > Old Babylonian "sumum," and, as the word passed into Sumerian: Old Akkadian "sumum" > Earliest Sumerian "sum" > Later Sumerian "sum." Had Sumerian borrowed this word at a later period, say, Old Babylonian, it would have appeared in Sumerian as "sum." This may explain why in loans in the reverse direction Sumerian "sum" appeared in Akkadian as "sum," later as "sum," and in Aramaic as "sum." Thus, Sumerian words with "sum" passing through Old Akkadian into other Semitic languages could be represented by the latter by "sum," e.g., BAN.SUR > "passuru" > passûru, "table," and "passuru" > Aramaic "pētā." The case of Assur > Aramaic "Atur" may be similar, or it may be a hyper-correction.

The differences between the vowel and stress patterns of Akkadian loanwords in Akkadian and Hebrew are due, in the main, to the dropping of case endings, shifts in stress, and the resulting vowel changes. The loanwords are adapted to Aramaic patterns in most cases and then to Hebrew patterns when Hebrew borrows from Aramaic.

a) Stress on the Same Syllable: Examples are:

birītu > birīti, "chain," taṣum > taṣum, "boundary, abaru > ṣabār, "lead." The last two examples follow the rule that short vowels in open unstressed syllables are reduced to "e," compare also susapinu > susēnin, "attendant of"


186 Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.8g. The same occurs in Aramaic, cf. ibid., par. 10.10c.
the bride or groom." In the case of \textit{erresum}, Old Akkadian \textit{arrasum}, "tenant," $\rightarrow$ Hebrew \textit{yərīs}, the first vowel is lengthened in accordance with the rule that open pre-tonic syllables undergo lengthening, $a \rightarrow \ddot{a}$; compare also \textit{gasīṣu} $\rightarrow$ \textit{gāṣiṣ}. "pole." The loanword \textit{quggubānu} $\rightarrow$ \textit{qurqēban}, "stomach," is a case where the unstressed second vowel is reduced to $o$, and dissimilation occurs, $qg > rq$.\footnote{Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.8d. This is in contrast to the tendency described above, and it may be due to a relatively late process of restoration. These two opposed tendencies operated at different periods.}

Certain mono-syllabic words are the result of the dropping off of the case endings, e.g., \textit{qatu}, "hand," $\rightarrow$ \textit{gat}, "handle." However, the vowel change $i \rightarrow a$, in the case of \textit{kimtu}, "family," $\rightarrow$ *kimt/kint $\rightarrow$ *kitt $\rightarrow$ *katt $\rightarrow$ kat, "group," takes place regularly before two successive consonants.\footnote{Ibid., par. 10.8c.} The $i$-vowel re-appears, however, in the plural and construct forms, e.g., \textit{kittō}. The regular change of $u \rightarrow o$ in short accented vowels\footnote{Ibid.} explains \textit{guddu} $\rightarrow$ \textit{god}, "box," and \textit{mūkku} $\rightarrow$ \textit{mōk}, "rag, thread."

b) \textit{Shift of Accent:} In Akkadian the stress is upon the last syllable if that syllable is the result of contraction, e.g., \textit{saniu} $\rightarrow$ \textit{sandi}, "second." Otherwise, the stress does not fall upon the last syllable but recedes as far as possible until it meets either a long vowel in an open syllable, e.g., \textit{belιtu}, "lordship," or a short vowel in a closed syllable, e.g., \textit{napištē}, "life," \textit{kubburu},
"stout." If there is no long syllable, stress may come to rest upon the first syllable, e.g., šaparu, "net." 190

In contrast, Aramaic and Hebrew generally have the stress on the final syllable, except for some cases of penultimate patterns. 191 Syriac always has the stress upon the last syllable. 192 In the following examples, the dropping of case endings and the shift of stress occasion vowel changes that follow the rule. An example is: melugu > melu, "type of marriage gift," where the initial vowel, losing its stress is reduced to o, and the second short u, receiving the stress, is changed to ɔ. 193 In the case of nādbaku > nidbāk, "layer of bricks," the second syllable is lengthened because it receives the stress. 194 In addition, short vowels in closed syllables, unstressed, can undergo change in quality, e.g., a > i, as in the case of nādbaku > nidbāk. 195 The same rule is exemplified by the initial vowel of askuppātu > isqupta > isquppā, "threshold." Presumably the feminine form of the Hebrew is based upon the Aramaic form which ends in feminine -t.

c) Anaptyxis: A consonant cluster at the end of a word is frequently resolved by the insertion of a secondary vowel, and the consequent creation of a new

190 Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.6; GAG, par. 38.
191 Moscati, Introduction, pars. 10.8 and 10.10.
192 Ibid., par. 10.10. 193 Ibid., par. 10.8c.
194 Ibid. 195 Ibid.
syl·lable. In Hebrew, the anaptyctic vowel is ə, which assimilates to itself a and i (but not u) of the preceding syllable. Examples are əmi·ru > *mər > mə·ər, "boundary," and ə·lap·tu > *ə·lap·tu > le·pe·t, "turnip."

d) Unusual Vowel Changes: In a number of cases the expected vowel changes do not occur. One example is nu·hətəmu, "cook, baker," where one might expect Hebrew ənu·hətem, the second, unstressed, vowel being reduced to zero, and accented i changing to ə. Instead, the form na·hə·mə conforms to the pattern which includes qardən and matən.

The word sapəru, "net," which has been proposed by Tur-Sinai as a loan in əpər, "sac of the foetus," should correspond to a Hebrew ə·sapər, compare ħə·natu, Hebrew hā·tən, "son-in-law," or a development might be imagined: sapəru > *sə·pər > *sə·pər. Perhaps the actual adaptation of Aramaic əpər and Hebrew əpər was the result of an attempt to avoid confusion with the root əspr, "be beautiful." The difference between Akkadian ə and Hebrew ə may be due to variations in the dialects of Akkadian, or, as Kaufman maintains, because Assyrians realized Akkadian /s/ as ə [ə]. The reduction of the first unstressed vowel follows the rule, compare ta·hůmu > tə·hům.

However, the change a > i is unusual. Possibly the

196 Moscati, Introduction, pars. 9.16 and 9.17.
197 Ibid., par. 10.8c.
198 N. Tur-Sinai, Commentary on Job, p. 232; GAG, par. 55c; AIA, pp. 162-163. Compare also Esagilla (Temple name) > Ṣngli, KAI I, No. 228, A, 16. Original sapər may underlie sapəru, involving no accent change (Dr. Moshe Held, in oral communication).
word was adapted to the \( {\text{p}}^{\text{erIs}} \) form, e.g., \( {\bar{e}}^{\text{zIr}} \), \( {\text{g}}^{\text{erIs}} \), \( {\text{g}}^{\text{erId}} \), \( {\text{s}}^{\text{enId}} \)\(^{199}\)

A most important study of Akkadian influence upon Aramaic by Kaufman\(^{200}\) reached me too late for inclusion in the text but reference is made in the footnotes wherever appropriate. About forty of the words discussed in this dissertation have been considered in depth by Kaufman. He applies rigorous linguistic criteria and great scepticism to Aramaic words supposed to be Akkadian loanwords. He questions several accepted Sumerian derivations and proposes that words originating in Amorite and found in Mari may have been borrowed independently by Akkadian and Aramaic. He generally does not accept \( \text{Kulturwörter} \), words denoting objects of wide distribution such as flora, fauna, minerals, and tools, as Akkadian loanwords. He thus rejects much of what has long been considered borrowings from Akkadian and places a greater emphasis upon Amorite, Aramaic, and Common Semitic origins. In contrast, \( \text{Kulturwörter} \) were accepted here if their form suggested that Akkadian was the immediate link in their transmission if not their ultimate source.

Kaufman's approach, however, demonstrates that the weight of Akkadian as a loan influence diminishes as knowledge of peripheral dialects increases. His discussion of phonology and accentual patterns is most relevant to the subject of this chapter.\(^{201}\)

\(^{199}\)Segal, GMH, pars. 105-106.

\(^{200}\)Stephen A. Kaufman, AIA.

\(^{201}\)Ibid., pp. 157-78.
CHAPTER I

NON-SEMITIC LOANWORDS

1) יָבָּר > abāru, "lead."

Akkadian abāru, "lead," is used from the Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian periods on. The Sumerian A.BAR is not original and is a pseudo-logogram based upon the Akkadian. The sign A.LU used for abaru in Old and Middle Babylonian texts can also be read A.GAR, and the CAD considers this a clue to the original pronunciation of the word. The relationship between the Sumerian and Akkadian is not clear. They may be different realizations of a word originating outside of both. Von Soden is doubtful about this word as a Sumerian loan, and the CAD considers it a substratum word.2

The word יָבָר occurs in the Mishnah.3 Another relationship to the Mishnah is seen in the punishment cited in Alalakh tablets: א-בָּרָא-אָמִּיָּה יִשָּׁפָּבָא, 4

1 AHw, p. 4; CAD I, Pt. 1, 36-38. Biblical יָבָּר, "lead," may also derive from abāru, B-D-B, p. 780. However, the form of Mishnaic יָבָּר shows that it derives not from the Biblical borrowing but directly from abāru. Arabic יָבָר is a loan from Aramaic יָפָרָא, S. Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 152. The Aramaic is the source of the Hebrew.

2 AFw, p. 4; CAD I, Pt. 1, 38.

3 M. Kēlīm 14:5; AFw, p. 59.

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"they pour hot lead into his mouth." While the Mishnah, discussing the death penalty of "burning" does not mention ṣāḇār, this is implied by the commentary of the Talmud which refers to pāṭāla ᵃḇel ṣāḇār, "a bar of lead," which is dropped into the criminal's mouth.⁴


⁵ M. Sanh. 7:2; TB Sanh. 52a; Muffs, Studies, p. 194, n. 1.
2) \textit{jallā}, "lance, fork," $<\text{allum, }"\text{hoe}."

This word, attested as early as Old Akkadian, is a loanword from Sumerian \textit{gisAL}, and is equated with \textit{marru, "spade".} \footnote{Ahw, p. 37b; CAD I, Pt. 1, 356f.} An example is \textit{nāši marrī allī tupsikkī}, "carrying spades, hoes, and corvee baskets." \footnote{CAD, ibid., citing Borger, Esarhaddon, sec. 62:38.} The \textit{allu} is also the divine symbol of Ninurta. \footnote{CAD, ibid.}

This word occurs in the Mishnah, but there is a shift in meaning to a kind of weapon, as the word occurs in passages in context with \textit{qeṣer}, "bow," and \textit{roṣmah, "spear."} \footnote{M. Ṣab. 6:4; M. Kēlīm 16:8. The sense of \textit{jallā} as "tool" is not entirely lost in Aramaic. The Talmud explains the Mishnaic word as \textit{qilpa} (\textit{Akkadian kalapp/bbu, "axe"}), TB Ṣab. 63a. Perhaps in Babylonia the meaning of the Akkadian word was maintained.}
3) \textit{jappār < appāru}, "swamp, reed growth."

Akkadian \textit{appāru} is a loan from Sumerian AMBAR.\textsuperscript{10} Esarhaddon speaks of the Gambulean who \textit{qereb agammē q1-apparāti šitkunu šubtu}, "dwells in the marshes and the swamps."\textsuperscript{11} The walls of Babylon were surrounded by an artificial \textit{appāru}, as appears from the inscriptions of Hammurabi: \textit{appāram lū uštasqiršu}, "I surrounded it with an artificial swamp."\textsuperscript{12}

Mishnaic \textit{jappār} is to be identified with \textit{appāru} as a loanword.\textsuperscript{13} There is no basis for any derivation from \textit{pērā}, "fruit," hence, "fruitful meadow."\textsuperscript{14} While Albeck's edition of the Mishnah, vocalized by Yalon, presents the word as \textit{jappār},\textsuperscript{15} Kutscher's reading, \textit{jappār}, is being followed here. His view is based upon the reading in the Kaufmann Manuscript, \textit{hallānot ba-jappār}. He regards the \textit{hataf-patah} under the initial \textit{aleph} as incorrect, and as characteristic of inconsistencies by the

\textsuperscript{10}AHw, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{11}CAD I, Pt. I, 142, citing Borger, Esarhaddon, sec. 110.
\textsuperscript{12}L. W. King, Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi I (London, 1898), No. 57:18-19 (hereafter abbreviated as LIH).
\textsuperscript{13}M. Bēsā 5:7; AFw, p. 43. The Targum Yerusalmi renders \textit{sβ̂p̂}, "reeds" in Exodus 2:3 as \textit{ep̂ra}. As seen from Genesis 41:2, the reed growth was a grazing place.
\textsuperscript{14}J. Levy, NCW, I, 148.
\textsuperscript{15}Albeck, Mishnah, McEd, p. 301.
scribe in matters of vocalization. It would not be associated with a syllable closed by doubling. He regards, however, the doubling of the second consonant as most significant, as it provides a reading of the Hebrew word closer to the original Akkadian. 16

4) "alkali used in laundering," < ašlāku, "fuller, launderer," < Sumerian A.ZA.LAG.

The Sumerian equivalent of ašlāku is 1I TUG.BABBAR, the first element having the sense of "garment," and the second "clean." It has been suggested that the form A.ZA.LAG is really pre-Sumerian. In the Mishnah, ašlāg occurs in context with other minerals used in laundering: nēter, "soda," bārī, "soap," and qomūlya, "cimolean earth." It has been suggested that Mishnaic ašlāg is a loan from ašlāku. A vocalization ašlag occurs in a Mishnah manuscript from the Geniza, a form closer to the Akkadian and to Aramaic ašlgā, which is probably the intermediary between the Akkadian and the Hebrew. Katsh also calls attention to a spelling in the Babylonian Talmud, šlāk, which, if correct, is closer to the final consonant of the Akkadian. It is, however, corrected in the margin in

17 AHw, p. 81; MSL, III, 149, 328.
20 Katsh, GM, Pl. 146, line 4.
21 Ibid., p. 292, ad loc.; cf. TB Sanh. 49b.
in accordance with the reading of the Mishnah. There is also the Mishnaic variant \( \text{מְלָג} \) and the Aramaic \( \text{סַלָּג} \).\(^{23}\)

This word is attested in Old and Neo-Babylonian, and in Middle and Neo-Assyrian.\(^{24}\) An Assyrian example is: \( \text{מְלוֹבָּא הַיָּרָה יִזְרִי בַּעֲרֵשׁ אֵין } \), "I threw their ruler into lean fettlers."\(^{25}\)

The CAD lists this word under \( \text{בִּירָיִן} \), "in-between terrain,"\(^{26}\) assuming an etymological relationship referring probably to the chain linking the manacles. von Soden, however, distinguishes between \( \text{בִּירָי} \), "fortress," \( \text{בִּירָי} , "fetters," and \( \text{בִּירָי} , "in-between."\(^{27}\)

The Sumerian equivalents support this, as the equivalents for "middle-region" are \( \text{MURU} \), and \( \text{DAD\textsc{IIA}} , \text{DAD\textsc{IIIA}}, \text{DAD\textsc{IIIB}}, \text{DAD\textsc{IIIA}}\), and for "fetters," \( \text{BÅR} , \text{BÅR} , \text{BÅR} , \text{BÅR} .\(^{28}\)

The identity of this word with Mishnaic \( \text{בִּירָי} \), "knee-garter, garter,"\(^{29}\) has long been recognized.\(^{30}\)

\(^{23}\) \hspace{1em} \text{Aruk, p. 129; CAD II (A). 854r.}

\(^{24}\) \hspace{1em} \text{CAD, ibid., 255.}

\(^{25}\) \hspace{1em} \text{ibid., 254r.}

\(^{26}\) \hspace{1em} \text{Aruk, p. 129.}

\(^{27}\) \hspace{1em} \text{ibid. On the basis of this, the word has been grouped with the non-Semitic loans.}

\(^{28}\) \hspace{1em} \text{ibid., 614. It is defined as a knee garter used for holding up the stockings, while \( \text{סָרְפֶּה} , \text{"shins," in the same passage, are a pair of tongs with a chain joining the TB Sab. 90a.}

\(^{29}\) \hspace{1em} \text{Aruk, s.v. \text{סָרְפֶּה}. This is its reading for TB Sab. 90a.}

\(^{30}\) \hspace{1em} \text{E. Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, pp. 169 and 178.}
5) \textit{bIrīt} < \textit{birītu}, Assyrian \textit{berītu}, "clasp, chain, fetters."

This word is attested in Old and Neo-Babylonian, and in Middle and Neo-Assyrian.\textsuperscript{24} An Assyrian example is: malīkšunu...bi-ri-tu parzilli addī, "I threw their ruler into iron fetters."\textsuperscript{25}

The \textit{CAD} lists this word under \textit{birītu}, "in-between terrain,"\textsuperscript{26} assuming an etymological relationship referring probably to the chain linking the manacles. Von Soden, however, distinguishes between \textit{birtu} I, "fortress," \textit{birtu} II, "fetters," and \textit{birtu} III, "in-between."\textsuperscript{27} The Sumerian equivalents support this, as the equivalents for "middle-region" are MURU, and \textit{DAL.BA.(AN).NA}, and for "fetters," \textit{BAR.BAR.RE}.\textsuperscript{28}

The identity of this word with Mishnaic \textit{birīt}, "knee-band, garter,"\textsuperscript{29} has long been recognized.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{24}AHw, p. 129; CAD II (B), 254f.
\textsuperscript{25}CAD, \textit{ibid.}, 255. \textsuperscript{26}Ibid., 254f.
\textsuperscript{27}AHw, p. 129.
\textsuperscript{28}Ibid. On the basis of this, the word has been grouped with the non-Semitic loans.
\textsuperscript{29}M. \textit{Sab}. 6:4. It is defined as a knee garter used for holding up the stockings, while \textit{kēbaLīm}, "chains," in the same passage, are a pair of them with a chain joining the two, Albeck, Mishnah, M\textit{ôsad}, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{30}Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 166b, citing E. Schrader, K\textit{AT}, p. 542. AFW, p. 43, connects \textit{berētī}, "alleys," with \textit{beryātā}, but does not include our word.
It is not absolutely certain that BAR.BAR.RE, given by von Soden as the equivalent of birītu, is a Sumerian word. It could conceivably be a Sumerian borrowing of an Akkadian word. In that event, this word, birītu, should be grouped with the loanwords of Semitic origin. In support of a Sumerian origin, however, it should be noted that Sumerian BAR means "tie, bind," and is also equivalent to kisītu, "chain, bond."31

"Their wax tablets are erased, their (clay) tablets broken."34

It is generally recognized that babūn got in a loan from kītu.35 It is used in the Hissam in the general sense of "document," partially replacing Biblical āpārā and, like āpārā in the Bible and in Elephantine, requiring an additional element to define its nature.36 When modified by the element ʾlālī or nānī, babūn denotes "divorce,"37 although this is also evident from the context when babūn stands alone.38 Arabic gīlān.

32Abz., p. 294b; cf. ibid., 191d., p. 370.
33Ibid., p. 294a.
34CAD VI (Y), 171b.
35Abz., p. 19; and AIA, sp. 62-3.
36Cf. ṣēr, "unrolled document," and ṣēr "unrolled document," L. L. B. 1911. In the Hissam, ṣērār is more used in the wider sense; compare ṣērār, ibid., 1016, and ṣērār nāmāt, M. H. H., 19-20, and ṣērār lāḥūk, p. 195a, as well as other texts. See the AIA.

While this word is attested in Late Babylonian, it is regarded as a Sumerian loanword from "long tablet." It has several senses: "one-column tablet," "statement of account," "receipt," and, in the form "parchment document." An example is:

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G1 5. LI. U. UM. MES 5 nu pu ssu u gilJanisunu bupu,
"their wax tablets are erased, their (clay) tablets broken."
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It is generally recognized that Hebrew get is a loan from gittu. It is used in the Mishnah in the general sense of "document," partially replacing Biblical sefer and, like sefer in the Bible and in Elephantine, requiring an additional element to define its nature. When modified by the element issa or nasim, get denotes "divorce," although this is also evident from the context when get stands alone. Arabic gittu.
"register," is regarded as a loan from Aramaic *gitta*, although the consonant change *g* > *q* is unusual.\(^39\)

This word is attested in Neo- and in Late Babylonian, as in the passage: \(\text{Gittu-qit\text{-pî}}\) *gittu erekû in Ešnāp\text{-sîla,} "I supported by them the boards (forming) the cornice of their (the palaces') gates."\(^40\) Although the attestation in Akkadian is late, the CAD considers this as possibly a Sumerian loanword. This is suggested by the variant writings *dappu* and *dabbi*, and also, by Sumerian DI\(_5\) *hurru*, "board of a door."\(^41\) The use of the form *dappu* in Ezar-\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-} may be a Neo-Assyrian hypercorrection.\(^42\) Zimmern considered Aramaic *dappû*, Hebrew *dpp*, as loans from *dappu*, but he did not distinguish between *DUB* > *tuppy*, "clay tablet," and *dappu*, "board."\(^43\) They are to be kept separate, according to Lewis, who distinguishes between *lîpo\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}* "clay," and *tup\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}*, "tablet."\(^44\) In the Mishnah, *dpp* is used seriously, "a column of writing in the Torah scroll as a document,"\(^45\) but *melamab\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}*, "the baker's shelf," and "strips from which a garment is sewn together."\(^46\)


41CAD III (D), 106.


7) *dap < dappu,* "wooden board."

This word is attested in Neo- and in Late Babylonian, as in the passage: ṣad-pi kulūl babānītin ʾmid, "I supported by them the boards (forming) the cornice of their (the palaces') gates." Although the attestation in Akkadian is late, the CAD considers this as possibly a Sumerian loanword. This is suggested by the variant writings dappu and dabbu, and also, by Sumerian DIB, "board of a door." The use of the form adappu in Esarhaddon may be a Neo-Assyrian hypercorrection. Zimmern considered Aramaic dappā, Hebrew *dan,* as loans from dappu, but he did not distinguish between DUB > tuppu, "clay tablet," and dappu, "board." They are to be kept apart, according to Lewy, who distinguishes between tu-pu-um, "plank," and tup-pu-um, "tablet." In the Mishnah, *dan* is used variously, "a column of writing in the Torah scroll or a document," *dan* ṣellanahtı̂mın, "the baker's shelf," and "strips from which a garment is sewn together."

40AHw, p. 10; CAD III (D), 106, from Lyon, Sargon, 16:74. Compare Biblical lūāḇ̄, Canticles 8:9.

41CAD III (D), 106.

42Ibid.

43AFw, p. 19; cf. Syriac dappā, Lex. Syr., p. 162.

44J. Lewy, Or, XIX (1950), 5.

45M, Yad. 4:8; M, Git. 9:7. It replaces Biblical deleṭ, Jer. 36:23.

46M, Kēlīm 15:2.

8) kûk, kukkim, "sepulchral chamber," < Nabatean gwh < Palmyrene gmh < Akkadian kimahhu < Sumerian KI.MAḪ. Akkadian kimahhu, also gimahu, "grave," is a Sumerian loan, from KI.MAḪ, literally, "pre-eminent place."48 Palmyrene gmh, gmmyyn, has been seen to be a loan from Akkadian,49 as well as Nabatean gwh.50 Kutscher identifies Mishnaic kûk, kukkim, with these loanwords, claiming that it is borrowed from Akkadian kimahhu through the mediation of Aramaic.51

The relationship of Palmyrene gmh to the Akkadian is clear. The Nabatean gwh, where the m is absent, is explained by Kutscher, following Nöldeke, on the basis that Akkadian m may also appear as w.52

This point is problematic. The reverse does happen. Old Babylonian w occurring between vowels becomes m in Middle Babylonian, e.g., awatum > amatu.53 This process cannot account for a progression from kimahhu > gmh > gwh. In fact, the w > m change may be merely graphic. The w may have been pronounced even though the writing in the

48AHw, p. 478.
50DISO, p. 48; Kutscher, ibid., p. 273.
51Kutscher, ibid., pp. 273-79.
52Ibid., p. 275. 53GAG, par. 21d.
later period indicated m.\textsuperscript{54}

There is, however, some evidence of a change from original m to w, which would support the claim that kimabbu, nmh, became gwb.\textsuperscript{55} There is also the change Dumuzi > Du'uzu, dāmiq > de'iq > deg.\textsuperscript{56}

What is most problematic in this identification is the relationship of kôk, kûk to Nabatean gwb. The change of g > k is common, and presents no problem. The change of h > k, however, is much more unusual. Kutscher's view is that while Eastern Aramaic retained the h, Western Aramaic coalesced original h and h into h. Thus the h was not present in Western Aramaic. The borrowing of kimabbu was from Akkadian to Eastern Aramaic (compare Palmyrene gmb) where the [h] was retained. Then Western Aramaic borrowed the word from the Eastern dialect. Not having a symbol for the [h], the former represented it as k, inasmuch as the k, when following a vowel, as in kôk, was aspirated and pronounced as k. In that position, the symbol represented a sound almost identical, if not completely so, with the original Akkadian sound. In the plural it was perhaps adapted to the Aramaic phoneme.

\textsuperscript{54}GAG par. 21d.

\textsuperscript{55}Ibid., par. 31a. This process sometimes occurs, but it is not always the case. An example is the name of the month, Simānu > Siwan. On the other hand, Greek transcriptions reveal cases where this does not occur, e.g., ūmû > oun, emuqu > ημuκ, W. von Soden, Akk. Syll., pp. XXI-XXII.

\textsuperscript{56}GAG, par. 31d.
system and pronounced as a double k, e.g., kūkīn. This loanword suggestion can be accepted on the basis of the close semantic relationship between all of these words, kimahhu > gm > gwh > kôk, and in terms of this explanation of the change in the symbols used to represent the original sound.

Another change of k/h which occurs in Akkadian is to be regarded as an internal phenomenon and is not to be related to the above which is a question of finding an appropriate symbol within a dialect to represent the sound borrowed from Akkadian.58

In the various occurrences of this word in the Mishnah, Yalon, in Albeck's edition, vocalizes kūk, kūkīn.59 Kutscher, however, prefers to vocalize kôk, kūkkīm.60 There is support for this in the Kaufmann

57 Kutscher, Eretz Israel, VIII (1967), 279.

58 GAG, par. 25d. In the case of bissatun in place of kiŝ̂satun, "totality," the k is original and the h is secondary. A similar example is ḫanasu for kanasu, "submit." On the other hand, there occurs tamakku for tamahu, "hold," ibid. This last example raises the speculative probability that there is an identity between Akkadian tamahu and Aramaic, Hebrew tmmk. They function in identical contexts, e.g., tamin GIS-PA (yatta), "who holds the scepter," CAD VI (h), l54, and tāmek šeketh, "who holds the scepter," Amos 1:5, 8. There is also some evidence of an internal change of h and k in Hebrew as claimed by Segal, in the case of lihuah > likluh, "moistening, soiling," GMH, p. 28.


60 E. Y. Kutscher, Eretz Israel, VIII (1967), 279.
Manuscript, where one finds *kukkîm*. The second *kap* is doubled, although the first vowel is written *plene*. This is a matter of orthography, and does not signify the presence of a long vowel. The doubling of the second consonant, however, is regarded by Kutscher as most significant. Prior to Kutscher, a vocalization of *kök*, *kukkîm*, was given in the Mishnah edition of Rapp. Another occurrence of this word, following the Kaufmann Manuscript, is provided by M. Oh. 18:4, *šēde kukkîn*, as against *šēde bōgin* of Albeck and other editions.

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62 Kutscher, ibid. A different view is given by AIA, pp. 69, 160, and 238. Following Nöldeke, Kaufman proposes a development: Babylonian *kimâh* (pronounced [kiwâ]) > *kuwâ* > *kuša* > *kök*, ibid., p. 238.

63 E. Rapp, ed., *Mâcêd Qâṭân* (Giessen, 1931), pp. 31 and 52.

9) kērî < karû, "heap, pile."

Akkadian karû is a Sumerian loanword, e.g., GURU₇ = ka-ru-u.⁶⁵ An Old Babylonian example is: karû ašnan lu aštappak, "I kept on heaping up piles of grain."⁶⁶ A part of a boat is gi₇GURU₇MA = kare elippi, "the hold of a boat."⁶⁷ Mishnaic kērî is to be regarded as a loanword from karû, through the mediation of Aramaic. The identification of karû with Aramaic kôra was made long ago.⁶⁸ Mishnaic kērî does not completely replace Biblical cārēmâ, "pile," which continues in use. There is, however, some evidence of specialization in the Mishnah, where kērî denotes a finished, threshed, pile of grain.⁶⁹

⁶⁵AHw, p. 452; MSL III, 112; Deimel, SL, p. 54.
⁶⁶King, LIH, 95:25.
⁶⁷A. Salonen, Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien (Helsinki, 1939), p. 82.
⁶⁹M. Ter. 3:5; M. E. M. 9:5; M. P<Oh. 15:7.

A distinction between cārēmâ and kērî is made in Tosefta Terumôk 3:17. Outside of the Mishnah, in the Midrash, the verb kry has the general sense of "heap up, pile up," e.g., harbē mamôn tikre cāleha, "much money will you pile up (pay)," Midr. Gen. R. 100:5. As against the vocalization of kērî of Yalon, there also occurs the vocalization kâri, Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 104. This is not consistent, however, and the form kērî is also noted there. It is not clear why Kaufman rejects a Sumerian source for karû, cf. AIA, p. 106.
10) *keššu*, "tuft, fine hairs, fibers," < *kissu* < Sumerian GI.SA, "bundle of reeds."

The Akkadian *kissu* is a loanword from Sumerian GI.SA, and has been proposed as the source of Aramaic *kissa*. The expression *dalat kissi* is understood as "a door made of reed-stocks joined together," and, in a more general sense, there occurs the equivalence: $\text{MAŠ.TUR.RA SAR} = \text{zip-pu = kissu ša same-[me (?)], "bundle of herbs."}$

In Mishnaic Hebrew, *keššu sellaqgisūk*, refers to "the thin fibers of a certain type of cucumber," and *keššu sellaqqātan* is "the fine hair on the skin of a child (which later falls out)." In this loan there has been a semantic shift and a narrowing of application from the original Akkadian.

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70. AHw, p. 492.

71. Ibid.

72. CAD XVI (S), 204.

73. M. Čajski 2:1; Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorot, p. 495. The vocalization *keššu* is adopted in this edition.

74. M. Mig. 9:4; Albeck, ibid., p. 366.
11) **māk** < mukku, "thread, tow, inferior wool."

Akkadian **mukku** is a loanword from Sumerian **MUG**, which is equivalent to **q̂û**, "thread, rope,"\(^{75}\) and is an element in **si₂ MUG.HUL** = **nuqaru**, "worn garment."\(^{76}\) Another sense is expressed in **subāt mukku**, "garment made of coarse wool."\(^{77}\) In addition, mukku denotes inferior wool or tow, matted wool that cannot be spun.\(^{78}\)

Mishnaic **māk** corresponds to some of these meanings except the sense "rope." A passage referring to **mākin** removed by the launderer requires the rendering "threads."\(^{79}\) A soft, absorptive substance is referred to when **māk** is spoken of as used in the ear or sandal,\(^{80}\) while "rags" best renders the word where used of a garment torn apart and made into **mākin**.\(^{81}\)

A variant form is the plural **mukkin**.\(^{82}\) as against

\(^{75}\) Deimel, **SL**. p. 163; **MSL** III, 141 and 160.

\(^{76}\) Deimel, ibid.

\(^{77}\) **CAD** XVI (§), 222.

\(^{78}\) B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen, "An Old Babylonian Charm Against mērū," **JNES**, XV (1955), 19. Here the meaning of mukku is established by comparison with Talmudic **māk**. The suggestion that this is a loanword is not mentioned there, however. In view of the Sumerian origin of mukku, the Aramaic and the Hebrew are clearly loans. For a contrary view, cf. **AIA**, p. 111.

\(^{79}\) **M. B. Q.** 10:10; **M. Neg.** 11:11.

\(^{80}\) **M. Sab.** 6:5.

\(^{81}\) **M. Neg.** 11:12.

\(^{82}\) Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 140; Beer, **MK**, **M. Kēlim** 22:9; H. Yalon, **IVM**, pp. 19 and 215; cf.
Yalon's vocalization məkîn. The variant appears to be closer to the Akkadian. The singular *mûk, analogous to kûk, is possible, but not found.

An example is: Giluilum 𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗, "as for this Giluilum, his permanent dwelling is a baker." The earlier reading of the Sumerian NUN.JAL.DIM has been rejected. The Sumerian logogram equivalent to nubatimu is MM, while, syllabically, the equivalent is MB.GIL.DIM. Edzard suggests that the Akkadian may still be derived from the Sumerian in one of two ways: NUN.JAL.DIM > *nubatimu, and by dissimilation, > nubatimu, or the dissimilation may have taken place in Sumerian: NUN.JAL.DIM > *MU.GIL.TIM > nubatimu.

The Akkadian Hebrew nābhīm, "professional baker," is well attested. The noun pattern with the final long vowel is characteristic of Hebrew, and it is a Hebrew adaptation of the borrowing, not borrowed itself. There

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83 Alma, p. 901.
84 AAB, par. 128b, from Old Babylonian.
85 Cf. AFM, p. 39.
86 ALW, 101d.
87 D. G. Edzard, IA, LN (1962), 109, n. 91.
90 General GMK on 110-20. Katsh suggests er al-

up(a)mmukkîn, Katsh, GM, Pl. 97, line 10, M. Neg. 11:12. nābhîm > nābhīm, ALA, p. 248.
12) naḥṭom < nuḥatimmu, "baker."

Akkadian nuḥatimmu is attested as early as Old Babylonian. An example is: Gimillum su dūrṣu nuḥatimmum, "as for this Gimillum, his permanent calling is a baker." The earlier reading of the Sumerian NU.ḪAL.DIM has been rejected. The Sumerian logogram equivalent to nuḥatimmum is MU, while, syllabically, the equivalent is MU.ḪAL.DIM. Edzard suggests that the Akkadian may still be derived from the Sumerian in one of two ways: MU.ḪAL.DIM > *nuḥattimu, and by dissimilation, > nuḥatimmu, or the dissimilation may have taken place in Sumerian: MU.ḪAL.DIM > *NU.ḪAL.TIM > nuḥatimmu.

The Mishnaic Hebrew naḥṭom, "professional baker," is well attested. The noun pattern with the final long vowel is characteristic of Hebrew, and it is a Hebrew adaptation of the borrowing, not borrowed itself. There

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83AHw, p. 801.
84GAG, par. 128b, from Old Babylonian.
85Cf. AFw, p. 39. 86AHw, ibid.
87D. O. Edzard, ZA, LV (1962), 109, n. 91.
88Ibid. Aramaic appears to be the vehicle of the loan, cf. Syriac naḥṭomā, Lex. Syr., p. 425.
89M. Dem. 2:4, 5:1; M. Ḥalla 1:7, 2:7; M. CEr. 7:11; M. Ed. 7:7; and M. Kelim 15:2.
is a variant where this vowel is short, naḥtemm, but this is quite unusual, as the Kaufmann Manuscript of the Mishnah generally has the form naḥtom. As stated above, this form is characteristic of Hebrew. On the other hand, Talmudic Aramaic and Syriac naḥtomā cannot be absolutely ruled out as possibly influencing the Hebrew form. The development of this form from the Akkadian is not fully clear, especially the change in the second vowel, ı̞ > ı̞ > *u > ˘.
13) \( n^\text{eyar} \) < ni\( \text{ar} \), "papyrus."

Examples of this word, which is attested in Neo-Assyrian, are: kerke ni\( \text{are} \), "papyrus roll,"\(^93\) elippi ni\( \text{ari} \), "a papyrus boat,"\(^94\) and ku\( \text{s} \) na-a-a-ri/ru\( \text{mes} \), "parchment."\(^95\) This word has been identified with Mishnaic \( n^\text{eyar} \), "papyrus,"\(^96\) and the Hebrew is considered by von Soden to be a loan from Akkadian.\(^97\) As this word is quite late in Assyrian, it cannot be thought to be native but is a borrowing.\(^98\) Assyrian, in this case, is the transmitter of this word to Hebrew. There appears to be no Judaeo-Aramaic equivalent of \( n^\text{eyar} \), suggesting that this borrowing in Hebrew is independent of Aramaic and may come from the contact of the Assyrian Empire with Egypt and with Judah and Israel. Esarhaddon conquered Egypt in 671 B.C.E., and his influence was felt in Palestine.\(^99\)

\(^93\)AHw, p. 468a.

\(^94\)Ibid., p. 199. Compare Biblical ke\( \text{l} \)\( \text{e} \)q\( \text{ome}\), "papyrus vessels," Isa. 18:2, and oniy\( \text{yot} \) je\( \text{be} \), "skiffs of reed," Job 9:26.

\(^95\)AHw, p. 784.

\(^96\)C. Schroeder, "lu\( \text{kus} \)-\( \text{yar} = \text{amer} \)kussaru, 'Pergament-schreiber,'" ZA, XXX (1915-16), 91-92; APw, p. 19; Tur-Sinai, LB, Vol. Hal\( \text{ah} \)on, 337. Occurrences in the Mishnah are M. \( \text{Ab} \). 4:20, and M. \( \text{Keilim} \) 10:4. The word \( n^\text{eyar} \), M. \( \text{Keilim} \) 2:5, can also be understood as a place name, see commentary of Bertinoro, ad loc.

\(^97\)AHw, p. 784.

\(^98\)Derivations from Egyptian \( n\text{-yrw} \) are cited in E. Ben-Yehudah, Thesaurus VII, 3653-54.

\(^99\)II K. 19:37; Ezra 4:2. Independent borrowing by Hebrew and Akkadian cannot be definitely ruled out.
14) quş < kuddu, quddu, "box, basket."

This word is attested only in Neo-Babylonian and occurs in lexical lists where it is equated with \(g_{\text{IS}}/g_{\text{I}}\) BUGIN. KUD.DA.\(^\text{100}\) The limitation of the occurrence of this word to the late period and to lexical lists raises a question about it as a source of an Aramaic or Hebrew loanword. However, following von Soden's acceptance of kuddu as a Sumerian loanword,\(^\text{101}\) it has been listed in this group as of non-Semitic origin and, therefore, not a cognate to the Aramaic or Hebrew. It is, however, not completely certain.

In the Mishnah there occurs quş habba, "the Babylonian wooden bowl."\(^\text{102}\) The change from k to q may be due to variant writing in the Akkadian itself,\(^\text{103}\) or may be due to a development within Hebrew; compare Biblical kpl > Mishnaic qpl, "fold."\(^\text{104}\)

\(^{100}\text{AHW, p. 499.}\)

\(^{101}\text{Ibid.}\)

\(^{102}\text{M. Kelìm 16:1; Tosefta Kelìm, Baba Qamma 3:11, qid. Compare Aramaic qu'da, Midr. Qehelet R. 2:11. The Aramaic may be the intermediary between Akkadian and Hebrew.}\)

\(^{103}\text{Cf. AHW, p. 499, where a variant quddu is cited. A similar situation is kukkubu/quqqubu, "stomach," ibid., p. 500.}\)

\(^{104}\text{Segal, GMH, p. 30.}\)
15) $\sum$, "valuation, estimate," $\swm$, "to estimate" \(\sim\) $\samu$, "buy," $\sim\imu$, "price," $\sa\sam\an\um$, "buyer."

The Sumerian $\SA\AM$ is equivalent to $\Si\-\im\um$, "price."\(^{105}\) An example from Old Babylonian is: $\sa\sam\an\um$ nadin iddin\um\um u $\i\-\um\-\um$ sa ina mahris\um\um $\is\amu$ itbalam, "the purchaser having then produced the seller who made the sale to him and the witnesses in whose presence he made the purchase."\(^{106}\) Mishnaic $\sum$, "estimate, valuation," is a loan from $\samu$.\(^{107}\) There has been a semantic shift from $\samu$, "buy," to $\sqrt{\swm}$, $\sum$, "estimate." There is one occurrence of the word in the Mishnah which is somewhat closer than usual to the original: Yisra'el $\ses\am$ par\aro$\mik\kohen$, "an Israeliite who acquired a cow from a Kohen on the basis of its estimated value."\(^{108}\) The verb, $\sam\am$, has the combined sense of acquiring control and also evaluating. According to the commentaries, the Israeliite, after evaluating the cow, undertakes to increase its value, acquiring partial control. The profit is shared by both parties.\(^{109}\)

\(^{105}\)MSL III, 143; Deimel, $\SL$, p. 194, $\SAM_2 = \tilde{\sumu}$. \\
\(^{106}\) Code of Hammurabi, pars. 9 and 10. \\
\(^{107}\)M. Ket. 6:6; 8:3, 7; and 10:2; M. Git. 5:1; M. B. Q. 5:4, 6:2, and 8:1; AFW, p. 18. Tur-Sinai, LB, Vol. Halâsôn, p. 445; sought to equate Mishnaic $\swm$ with Biblical $\sim\im\um$, "lay upon, impose upon," a parallel to emedu. This is not accepted here because of the semantic difference, and because of the Sumerian $\SA\-\AM$. \\
\(^{108}\)M. Ter. 11:9. \\
\(^{109}\)Bertinor, commentary on M. Ter., and Albeck, Mishnah, Zera'im, p. 212.
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16) šutāp < šutāpu, tappu, "partner, associate."

Akkadian šutāpu is a formation from tappu, "friend, associate," itself a loan from Sumerian TAB. The expression kasap tappu, "capital of a business partnership," illustrates a commercial connotation for this word.

It has long been recognized that šutāpu is the source of the loans šutāp, "partner," and the verb štp, histattāp, "join in partnership." The word occurs in the Mishnah and in other Semitic languages. There are various possibilities in the vocalization of the Hebrew, šuttān, šutān, being closer to the Akkadian, or štáp; compare Syriac šawtāpa.

Akkadian šutāpu and the abstract form, šutāpūtu,


111 MSL V, 29.

112 B. Meissner, ZA, VIII (1893), 82ff.; F. Schulthess, ZA, XIX (1905), 131ff.: and AFw, p. 46.

113 M. Ter. 3:3; M. cEr. 6:7; M. Seq. 1:7; M. Hul. 1:7; and M. Bek. 9:3.


116 Ibid. 117 Ibid.
"partnership," appear to be later forms. Middle Babylonian examples of šutāpu are: EN-ili (bēlī) ittikunu lū šutāpu, "may my lord be your partner," and šumma šutāpu lā imangurū, "when the partners are not in agreements."118

A Neo-Babylonian example of the abstract form is: zeru šuātī ana irrisūtu u šutāpušu ana PN māri ša PN2 iddin, "he gave this see to PN, the son of PN2, for tenancy and partnership."119

The late form šutāpu appears to be an unusual development from tappā. Generally, nominal š forms are based upon verbs, e.g., šašuqtum, "destruction," <halāqu, "destroy," and šebultum, "transport," <wabālu, "bring."120 The existence of a verbal form, *šatāpu, is not certain at all.121 Where Hebrew uses histattēn, Akkadian must use epēšu with the abstract, e.g., tappūtam īpušu,122 and šutāpušu ītēpušu.123


120GAG, pars. 561 and J.

121The phrase šatip niši, "who unites the people," is cited by C. Bezold, Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar (Heidelberg, 1926), p. 294. This is far from certain; cf. Schultess, ZA, ibid.; Code of Hammurabi, col. IV, 38–39, ša-ti-ip ni-ši-šu in pu-us-gi-im, "who brings together (or 'rescues') his people in distress," and the discussion of this word, Driver and Miles, Babylonian Laws, II, 141–2.

122CAD IV (E), 222.

123Cardascia, ibid., p. 178.
Akkadian tarlugallu is a loanword from Sumerian DAR.LUGAL.MUSEN.\textsuperscript{124} The initial element in Sumerian, DAR, is equivalent to burrumu, "brightly colored,"\textsuperscript{125} and, as suggested by Prince, DAR.LUGAL.MUSEN originally denoted a "cock–bird of brilliant plumage."\textsuperscript{126}

Several variant vocalizations of the Hebrew must be discussed. While Yalon, in the Albeck edition of the Mishnah, vocalizes tarn\textsuperscript{e}gol,\textsuperscript{127} one would expect to find a form closer to the Akkadian tarlugallu. One might posit a hypothetical *tarnugal, with a change of the liquids, l > n. In Aramaic, with the suffix for the absolute state, the preceding vowel drops out, *tarna\textsuperscript{g}(a)l\textsuperscript{a} > *tarn\textsuperscript{a}gl\textsuperscript{a}.

The accent shifts forward to the last syllable, as in Syriac, or backwards.\textsuperscript{128}

There are variant forms of this Hebrew word. There

\textsuperscript{124}John D. Prince, Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon (Leipzig, 1908), p. 73.

\textsuperscript{125}Deimel, SL, p. 71.

\textsuperscript{126}Prince, ibid. Lexical equivalents of tarlugallu in Akkadian are: \textasciitilde{HU}L\textasciitilde{BI}-ib-ri-MUSEN = bi-ib-ru, CAD II (B), 222. This equivalent, bibru, may be connected with barb\textasciitilde{u}r, I K. 5:3. Another equivalent is ku-du-ra-nu\textasciitilde{MUSEN} = tar-lugal-lum/lu, AHw, p. 499b.

\textsuperscript{127}Albeck, Mishnah, Neziqin, p. 326.

\textsuperscript{128}Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.10; Lex. Syr., p. 836. A derivation from Akkadian is given, citing J. Oppert, ZA, VII (1892), 339. Another form is tarn\textasciitilde{g}l\textasciitilde{a}, Lex. Syr., p. 836.
occurs in the Kaufmann Manuscript the plural form tarn\textsuperscript{g}lim\textsubscript{129}, presumably going back to a singular *tarn\textsuperscript{g}\textsubscript{1}. Another Hebrew variant transfers the long vowel to the first syllable, e.g., twrnglym.\textsuperscript{130} The most common form, tarn\textsuperscript{e}g\textsubscript{1}, as vocalized by Yalon, places the stress on the same syllable as the Akkadian. This, however, may not be due to any direct relationship. The word was most probably borrowed from Aramaic and adapted to a common Hebrew noun pattern; compare h\textsuperscript{1}am\textsuperscript{2}r, harg\textsuperscript{3}l. In the Mishnah, tarn\textsuperscript{e}g\textsubscript{1} occurs quite frequently.\textsuperscript{131} A secondary development is the diphthongization of the second vowel. In the Kaufmann Manuscript there occurs the form tarnauglim,\textsuperscript{132} and this should be compared with Mandaic tarnaule, a corrupt form, as the g has been lost.\textsuperscript{133} The details of the vowel and stress changes underlying these various dialectical variants are not fully understood.\textsuperscript{134}.

\textsuperscript{129}Beer, MK, M. Sab. 24:3.

\textsuperscript{130}Lowe, MPT, ad loc.

\textsuperscript{131}M. Ter. 11:9; M. Mac\textsuperscript{a}s. 3:7; M. Sab. 5:4 and 24:3; M. Pes. 2:7 and 4:7; M. Ned. 5:1; M. B. Q. 2:1, 7:7, and 10:9; M. B. M. 5:4; M. B. B. 3:5; M. Az. 1:5; M. Hul. 3:5 and 12:1; and M. Toh. 3:8.

\textsuperscript{132}Beer, op. cit., M. Hul. 12:2 (corresponding to 12:1 in the Albeck edition).

\textsuperscript{133}Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 482a.

\textsuperscript{134}There is inconsistency within the same manuscript, for example, in the continuation of the passage where tarn\textsuperscript{g}lim occurs, there also occurs tarnaglim, Beer, op. cit., M. Sab. 24:3. Where twrnglym occurs, the continuation has trnglym, Lowe, op. cit., M. Hul. 12:2.
CHAPTER II

LOANWORDS OF SEMITIC ORIGIN

1) jabbūb < ebbubu, embubu, enbubu, "flute."

The Sumerian equivalent of this word is GI.DI.DA, with the element GI, "reed," and with another Akkadian equivalent being malillum, "flute."¹

Mishnaic jabbūb, "flute, tube,"² is a loan from ebbubu.³ Examples are jabbūb ṣel qāne, "reed flute,"⁴ jabbūb ṣel nēḥōset, "brass flute,"⁵ and jabbūb ṣellaqqallā in, "iron tube for roasting grain."⁶ The


²M. Men. 10:4, "tube for roasting."

³AFw, p. 29; cf. Mandaic ambaba, Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 21; Syriac abbūba, Lex. Syr., p. 1; and Latin ambubaia, "Syrian flute girl." The vocalization of this word in the Kaufmann Manuscript is consistently jabbūb, Beer, MK, ad loc. This form corresponds to the Akkadian source, ebbubu. The variants embubu and enbubu are the result of dissimilation and nazalization, compare inanziq < inazziq, GAG, par. 32b; Moscati, Introduction, p. 59. Arabic jnubub is the result of a similar process, cf. ṣarrub > ṣarnub, Moscati, ibid. It is, therefore, incorrect to assume on the basis of jnubub that jabbūb is derived from a root ṣnbb, "be hollow," NCW, I, 5. The view of Segal that the initial aleph is a prefix, as in the case of ṣprōḥaḥ, "young bird," is also doubtful, cf. Segal, GMH, p. 113. The initial consonant appears to be borrowed from the Akkadian.

⁴M. Car. 2:3. ⁵Ibid. ⁶M. Keīlm 2:3.
word also appears in \( \text{\textit{sabbāb ro}} \), "Polygonum aviculare."\(^7\)

The word is to be distinguished from Hebrew \( \text{\textit{shod}} \), "stand." It is semantically equivalent to \( \text{\textit{shu}} \), "lean," as seen by the equivalence of \( \text{nēmedu} \), "staff for walking," and Hebrew \( \text{\textit{shōd}a} \).\(^8\)

Akkadian \( \text{\textit{amēdu}} \) is used in many combinations denoting "obligate, impose guilt, punishment, tribute, tax upon." Examples are: \( \text{\textit{ara amēdu}} \), "lay guilt upon," \( \text{\textit{hurēṣu amēdu}} \), "obligate one to undergo trial by ordeal," and \( \text{\textit{dīna amēdu}} \), "place judgment upon."\(^9\) Another example is \( \text{\textit{hitum kayantsi Taisunīti}} \), "be imposed upon them permanently tribute."\(^10\)

In SSc-Babylonian texts, \( \text{\textit{amēdu}} \) and the noun \( \text{\textit{imitta}} \) refer to the estimate of the future harvest which experts impose upon the tenant farmer. The protection of the owner depended upon this assessment and the revenue expected on that basis of it. Examples are: \( \text{\textit{alpurī ṣa}} \), \( \text{\textit{mubi naṣṣa ḫasidīma ṣannak}a} \), "We will impose upon him the estimate of the dates together with the blossoms, and..."\(^11\)

\(^7\) cf. e.g. Alt. pp. 211ff.; \( \text{\textit{imitta}} \), bibl., p. 377; \( \text{\textit{amēdu}} \) - especially, M. Held, "A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue," \( \text{JCS, XV} \) (1961), 258, and literature cited there.

\(^8\) ibid. pp. 211ff.

\(^9\) M. Sab. 14:3.
2) *md, "estimate," šomēḏu, nominal form, < emēḏu, "impose upon, obligate," imittu, "estimate of future yield."

This word is to be distinguished from Hebrew ēmd, "stand." It is semantically equivalent to šēn, "lean," as seen by the equivalence of nēmedum, "staff for walking," and Hebrew misīcēnet. ⁸

Akkadian emēḏu is used in many combinations denoting "obligate, impose guilt, punishment, tribute, tax upon." Examples are: arna emēḏu, "lay guilt upon," qurşāna emēḏu, "obligate one to undergo trial by ordeal," and dīna emēḏu, "place judgment upon." ⁹ Another example is biltam kayantam ṭmissunūtīna, "He imposed upon them permanent tribute." ¹⁰

In Neo-Babylonian texts, emēḏu and the noun imittu refer to the estimate of the future harvest which experts impose upon the tenant farmer. The protection of the owner depended upon this assessment and the revenue expected on the basis of it. Examples are: suluppē ina muḫḫi mangaga immidūšuma inakkiš, "He will impose upon him the estimate of the dates together with the blossoms, and


⁹AHw, pp. 211ff.

¹⁰CAD II (B), 235.
he will cut them,11 and imitti suluppé immidűšu. "They will impose upon him the estimate of the dates."12

Mishnaic ḫmd and cmd, "assess, estimate," and the noun forms, ūmed, ēmed, are a loan from this Neo-Babylonian use of emēdu.13 Examples are bēcēmed ḫāmēš sē'im gebālīm, "as much wood as would by estimate yield five seah of coal,"14 me-fomēd ūmīkēmuča. "from mere supposition or hearsay,"15 and al tarbe 1ēcašer ṣomādēx, "do not give tithes too much by guessing."16

11G. Cardascia, Archives, pp. 203f.
12Ibid., p. 137.
13Tur-Sinai, LB, Vol. Halāšon, p. 445, citing E. Y. Kutscher's suggestion in Lešonênu, X (1947), 295. An alternate suggestion is made by Bendavid, BHMH, p. 149. He suggests a possible Greek influence, ἴστη, ἰσομμέτειν, "stand, weigh, estimate," upon the corresponding verb cmd, "stand" > "weigh, estimate." He suggests that both Greek and Aramaic influence combine here. As against this, it is to be noted that ḫmd, "estimate," occurs in Babylonian manuscripts, closer to the Akkadian and Aramaic, while cmd occurs in Palestinian manuscripts. This may be a process of assimilating the loan to an existing root, ḫmd, cf. Segal, GMH, p. 28. This kind of assimilation takes place at a greater distance from the area of origin of the loan-word. An example in the reverse direction is Babylonian Carta 4, "courts, archives," for ἠρξεῖον, Palestinian Jarkāyyot, an assimilation to a Hebrew ārk, Bendavid, ibid., p. 185.

14M. Tamid 2:5. 15M. Sanh. 4:5.
16M. Šab. 1:16. Compare ġwmdwt, Katsh, GM, Pl. 51, line 14, ad loc. The variant Šwmdwt in the Mishnah of the Palestinian Talmud (ed. W. H. Lowe), is also cited, ibid., p. 102, note to line 14.
3) *immāṭāti*, more common: *emmāṭay < immati < ina mati*, "when?"

The form *immati*, formed from an earlier *ina mati*,\(^{17}\) occurs regularly after the Old Babylonian period. The basic word, *mati*, occurring in many combinations, *adi mati*, "until when," *ammati*, "until when," *īṣtu mati adi mati*, "from when to when,"\(^ {18}\) is a cognate of Hebrew *māṭay*. The form *immāti* has long been seen to be the source of Mishnaic *emmāṭay*, "when,"\(^ {19}\) "whenever,"\(^ {20}\) and *cag* *emmāṭay*, "until when."\(^ {21}\)

The form *mēemmāṭay* occurs in the Kaufmann Manuscript of the Mishnah.\(^ {22}\) The doubling of the *mem* is considered most significant by Kutscher, despite the initial long syllable, which is a matter of orthography in this manuscript.\(^ {23}\) This form reflects a tradition going back to *immāṭay/immāṭāti* < Akkadian *immati* < *ina mati*. On the basis of various traditions of vocalizing the Mishnah, Kutscher suggests that the form *immāṭāti* is more correct.

\(^{17}\) *GAG*, par. 119a. \(^{18}\) Ibid.

\(^{19}\) *AFW*, p. 70; *M. Ber.* 1:1.

\(^{20}\) M. *Pašā* 3:5. \(^{21}\) M. *Ber.* 8:7.

\(^{22}\) Beer, MK, *M. Ber.* 1:1.

in Hebrew, and is closer to the original Akkadian. 24

4) *leqoqain < akkuppatu, "threshold."

The Akkadian word is attested as early as Old Babylonian. 32 An Assyrian variant is *akkuppatu. 26 The word is used in Akkadian in its primary sense as a threshold of a door or of a gate, and also in other, extended contexts. Examples are: 31 *IN.DUM.U3.KI = en-kup-pu, "part of a wagon," 27 and *akkuppat ubaq, 27a "the ‘threshold’ of the middle ‘finger’ of the lung." 28

Akkadian *akkuppatu has been identified with Mid-Hebrew *leqoqain, "threshold." 29 A Yemenite variant, where the first vowel is closer to the initial vowel of the Akkadian, is *leqoqan. 30 The difference between the original Akkadian and the Aramaic and Hebrew, insofar as the first vowel is concerned, is that, in these latter languages, short unstressed vowels in closed syllables can undergo change in quality, e.g., 2 > ə. 31

24Ibid. Also cited is the Malula dialect, emmat. Compare also Mandaic *jamet, Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 352a. It is there derived from Akkadian immati on the basis of Jensen, ZA, IX (1894), 532. Cf. also Syriac *jemmati, Lex. Syr., p. 27, citing the same reference to Jensen. A different view is expressed by Kaufman, who suggests a derivation from *j1 mati < *aj mati, AIA, pp. 104 and 275.
4) *jisquppâ < askuppatu, "threshold."

The Akkadian word is attested as early as Old Babylonian.25 An Assyrian variant is aksuppum.26 The word is used in Akkadian in its primary sense as a threshold of a door or of a gate, and also in other, extended contexts. Examples are: gíš.DIB.GIGIR = as-kup-pu, "part of a wagon,"27 and askuppi ubān ḫāṣī qablīti, "the 'threshold' of the middle 'finger' of the lung."28

Akkadian askuppatu has been identified with Mishnaic Hebrew *jisquppā, "threshold."29 A Yemenite variant, where the first vowel is closer to the initial vowel of the Akkadian, is *jasquppā.30 The difference between the original Akkadian and the Aramaic and Hebrew, insofar as the first vowel is concerned, is that, in these latter languages, short unstressed vowels in closed syllables can undergo change in quality, e.g., a > i.31

25AHw, p. 74b. 26GAG, par. 36c.
27AHw, ibid. 28Ibid.
29AFw, p. 31; cf. M. Sab. 10:2. Compare Syriac Jeskuptā, Lex. Syr., p. 35a, and Mandaic *squpta, *squpta,
30Yalon, IVM, p. 214. An extended meaning of *jisquppā is "yard" or "a ship," Tosefta Bābā Batrā 4:1.
31Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.8c. Arabic *uskuffat is regarded as a loan from Syriac *eskuptā, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 19. It is closer in form to Syriac than to Judaeo-Aramaic. The doubling of ff gives the word an Arabic form, Fraenkel, ibid. Cf. the discussion in AIA, pp. 49, and 224-5. Kaufman considers these words, with Hebrew masqāp, going back to a root *sqp, "to support," ibid., pp. 224, 225.
5) Claims < arbu, "half-brick."

This word is attested in Old Babylonian and in Neo-Babylonian. In lexical lists it is equated with SIG₄.MI and SIG₄.ÂB. This word is the source of Mishnaic jāriə, defined by the Mishnah as: ḫəši lebēnā ɟel ṣēlōšâ tēpāhîm, "a half-brick three handbreadths wide."

Aramaic appears to be the vehicle of this loanword.

32AHW, p. 67b.

33Ibid. The meaning of the Sumerian elements is unclear. As ÂB is also the equivalent of arbu, Ugaritic jārə, "cow," von Soden suggests tentatively that "cow-brick" is the name of this object. This may be some idiomatic designation of the kind of brick, AHW, ibid. Evidence for this possibility is that the Sumerian equivalent of amaru, "pile of bricks," is SIG₄.ANSE, the last element meaning "donkey," AHW, p. 40.

34M. cEr. 1:3, 4; cf. Tur-Sinai, LB, Vol. Halâšôn, pp. 147-8, where this identification is made. Tur-Sinai's suggestion that arbu is to be related to yarēə, "moon," of "half-moon" in contrast to lebēnâ, "full brick," lebēnâ, "full moon," ibid., cannot be accepted. Other meanings for jāriə, or Aramaic arîna, are "bond-timber," an equivalent for kapîs, TB B. B. 3a, and as a term for the short lines of writing used in the special method of writing the "Song of Moses," Exodus 15, Masseket Soperim 12:10.

6) *šarīs < errešum, "tenant farmer."

Examples of this word are: *šumma awēlum egel šu ana Gū. UN ana errešim iddin, "if a man gives his field to a tenant farmer for rent," 36 and itti mārē PN ana errešūtim ṣusāku, "(X land) which I rented from the sons of PN in a tenancy contract." 37 The term derives from errešu, "seed, cultivate," Hebrew ḫnu. 38 Closer to the Hebrew is Neo-Assyrian ḫrisūtu. 39

Suggestions that errešum is the source of Mishnaic šarīs, "tenant farmer," 40 have been made tentatively by Pick, 41 and with certainty by Zimmern and Driver and Miles. 42

36 Code of Hammurabi, par. 45; cf. also pars. 46, 47, 49 and 52.

37 CAD II (B), 234.

38 The Old Akkadian form is *arrāšum, AHw, p. 243. The sign 6 was used in Old Akkadian for the phoneme corresponding to Semitic t, as in ḫnu. W. von Soden, Akk. Syll., p. 6. The relationship with the word for "plow" is seen in the equivalence of ana errešūti with NAM.APIN.LA.SE, the element APIN denoting "plow," AHw, ibid.

39 AHw, p. 68.

40 M. Pe 5:5; M. Dem. 6:8; M. Halla 4:7; M. B. M. 5:8; M. B. B. 3:3, 10:4; and M. Sebu. 7:8.

41 H. Pick, Talmudische Glossen, p. 23.

42 AFw, p. 40; G. R. Driver and J. Miles, Assyrian Laws, p. 505. Arabic *irris is regarded as a borrowing from Aramaic ʾjrs, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 129. Fraenkel's view, however, is that the Aramaic root means "bind (in a legal sense)," ibid.
It should be noted that the terms of tenancy in the Code of Hammurabi are similar to those in the Mishnah. In the Code the terms are: u lu ana mislānī u lu ana šaluš eqlam iddin, "whether he let the field for one half or one third the crop."\(^{43}\) An arrangement involving similar proportions for the āris or meqabbel is one of the possible arrangements attested in the Mishnah and the Talmud. The āris, like the errēsum, was responsible for a proportion of the crop, in contrast to the hōker who paid a fixed amount, regardless of the yield.\(^{44}\) Moreover, the Mishnaic formula: hamm eqabbel sāde mehḇēro, "he who rents a field from his neighbor,"\(^{45}\) parallels the Old Babylonian formula: ana errēšūtim ilqu.\(^{46}\)

A vocalization ārisīn is suggested by Albrecht, based upon the suggestion of Lagarde that the word derives from ārs, "place a value upon," and that our word, āris, is in the Pīel and should be vocalized ārisī.\(^{47}\) Albrecht acknowledges but does not accept the suggestion of Jensen that the word derives from Assyrian irrišu \(<\) erēšu, "sow."\(^{48}\)

\(^{43}\) Code of Hammurabi, par. 46.


\(^{45}\) M. B. M. 9:1

\(^{46}\) AHw, p. 244a.

\(^{47}\) K. Albrecht, Mischna Bikkurim (Giessen, 1922), 1:2, p. 16, citing P. Lagarde, Semitica, I, 50.

\(^{48}\) Albrecht, ibid., citing P. Jensen, ZA, I (1886), 406.
Jensen's view is to be preferred. In addition, the vocalization of \( \text{j\'ar\text{\`i}s\text{"u}n} \) occurs regularly in the Kaufmann Manuscript. A variant of the abstract form occurs in a Mishnah fragment from the Geniza, \( \text{ba\text{"a}r\text{\`u}s\text{"u}k} \). The more common \( \text{j\'ar\text{\`i}s\text{"u}t} \) corresponds more closely to Neo-Assyrian \( \text{\`ar\text{\`u}s\text{"u}tu} \).

\[49\] Beer, \( \text{MK}, \text{M. P\text{"e}\text{\`a}} 5:5, \text{M. Corl\text{\`a}} 2:3. \]

\[50\] Katsh, \( \text{QM}, \text{Pl. 2, line 26, M. Dem. 6:8.} \]

\[51\] Ibid., p. 4, note on line 26, citing Lowe's edition of the Mishnah of the Palestinian Talmud and the printed editions; \( \text{AHw}, \text{p. 68}. \) Cf. a different view of the borrowing, \( \text{ATA}, \text{pp. 60 and 231}. \) On the basis of the Arabic, Kaufman considers \( \text{er\text{"e}\text{\`u}s\text{"u}u} \) the borrowed form.
There are various forms of this word in different periods of Akkadian: Old Babylonian šaddaqdim, Old and Middle Babylonian šaddaqda, Neo-Assyrian šaddagdis, and Late Babylonian šaddaqad. An example is: ultu šaddagisamma NINDAJI.A ša piya ul inandina, "Since last year no one has given me food for my mouth." It has been suggested that all of these forms go back to šatta-qdim.

Mishnaic Hebrew šešteqad has been long seen to go back to šaddaqad. It most closely resembles the Late Babylonian form, šaddaqad, and, as is evident from Syriac šešteqad, the vehicle for the loanword in Hebrew is Aramaic.

The difference between the Late Babylonian and the Syriac and Hebrew forms is related to the shift of stress and resulting vowel changes. Presumably, šaddaqad was accented on the first syllable. Syriac and Hebrew šešteqad are stressed on the final syllable. The exact nature of
the process of vowel change is not completely clear.

With the loss of the first vowel, a consonant cluster at the beginning of the word was created, leading to the addition of a prosthetic vowel. In both Syriac and Hebrew the prosthetic vowel is $e.$ Possibly, with the bringing together of the first and second consonants, the voiced $d$ was assimilated to the $\mathfrak{v}$, and became unvoiced $t$.

There is no doubt about the loanword אַשָׁ֤לָה, Ass为大家, but it is less certain that the same word, if not the same species, necessarily, appears in Mishnaic סְלָה. The Talmud defines this fruit as "white [peach]." Lieberman, however, explains that סְלָה is a popular name for the אַשָׁ֤לָה, 'Aleppo [peach]'; and, by extension, for its fruit. It is plausible that סְלָה, סְלָה could be borrowed for a species of pine which is related to the סְלָה, "[pine]."

8) \(\text{bat } \check{\text{s}}u\text{h} \), "fruit of the Aleppo Pine," \(<\text{a}s\text{\=u}h\text{u}, \) "fir tree."

The definition of \(\text{a}s\text{\=u}h\text{u}\) as "fir tree" is given tentatively by von Soden and by Thompson.\(^{59}\) Botanical terms are often transferred to various species which may have similar characteristics, and it is difficult to assign them a consistent definition.

There is no doubt about the loanword \(\text{a}s\text{\=u}h\text{u}, \) Aramaic \(\check{\text{j}}\text{a}s\text{\=u}h\text{\=\=a}, \) \(^{60}\) but it is less certain that the same word, if not the same species, necessarily, appears in Mishnaic \(\text{bat } \check{\text{s}}u\text{h} \).\(^{61}\) The Talmud defines this fruit as "white figs."\(^{62}\) Lieberman, however, explains that \(\text{bat } \check{\text{s}}u\text{h} \) is a popular name for the \(\check{\text{\=o}}\text{ren } \check{\text{\=a}}\text{l\=b} \), "Aleppo Pine," and, by extension, for its fruit.\(^{63}\) It is plausible that \(\check{\text{a}s\text{\=u}h\text{h} \text{\=a}, } \check{\text{s}}u\text{h} \) could be borrowed for a species of pine which is related to the \(\text{a}s\text{\=u}h\text{u}, \) "fir."

\(^{59}\)AHw, p. 85 and DAB, pp. 266f.

\(^{60}\)AFw, p. 53.

\(^{61}\)M. Dem. 1:1; M. \(\check{\text{\=e}}\text{b} \) 5:1.

\(^{62}\)TB Ber. 40a.

\(^{63}\)S. Lieberman, Tosefta Kifeshut\={A}, Zer\={A}cim, p. 132, cited in Albeck, Mishnah, Zer\={A}cim, p. 378. Similar combinations are \(\check{\text{\=b}}\text{\=e}n\text{\=\=c} \) \(\check{\text{\=a}}\text{\=g}m\text{\=e} \), M. Dem. 1:1, and \(\check{\text{\=b}}\text{\=e}n\text{\=\=c} \) \(\check{\text{\=e}}\text{b} \text{\=a}c, \) TP B. B. II, 13c.
9) \textit{bi} < \textit{bi}-\textit{u}, \textit{bi}bu, "drainage opening."

Examples of this word, which is attested in Middle and Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian, are: RN...bi-i-be ša dūri sa bIt Assur...iksir, "Adad-nirari has made watertight the drainage openings of the wall around the Assur temple;"\textsuperscript{64} l bi-i-be lā gammur, "one unfinished drainage opening."\textsuperscript{65} The change of the glottal stop, \textit{~}, to \textit{b}, which occurred in Assyrian\textsuperscript{66} did not take place in Late Babylonian: ana bi-j-e (var. bi-j) ša dūri tušerrebšunūti, "you slip them (the figurines) into the drainage opening of the city wall."\textsuperscript{67}

The \textit{bi}p of the Mishnah\textsuperscript{68} appears to derive from Assyrian through the mediation of Aramaic.\textsuperscript{69}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{64}CAD II (B), 297.
\item \textsuperscript{65}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{66}GAG, par. 24b; cf. also šu'u, "ewe," and Middle and Neo-Assyrian šubu, ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{67}CAD, ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{68}M. Cer. 8:10; M. A. Z. 3:4; cf. also goren bīhīn, "a cleaner of sewers," Midr. Exodus R. 6:1. Examples of variants in Hebrew between \textit{w} and \textit{b} are cited in Epstein, ITM, II, 1223-26. In our case, however, the \textit{b} is a borrowed feature of the Assyrian variant.
\item \textsuperscript{69}Cf. bībē, TP Ta'can. IV, 68d, cited in Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 159. Arabic bībat is considered to be a borrowing from Aramaic bīb, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 23. However, a derivation from \textit{ṣ}abbūb, "be hollow," which Fraenkel, ibid., believes to be the source of this word and of Aramaic \textit{ṣabūba}, "flute," is not acceptable, cf. above, jābūb < sbbūbu, pp. 90-1. Both bī'u and bību may, however, have been pronounced as \textit{biw}, GAG, par. 24b. The loan is questioned by AIA, p. 98, but accepted by AHw, pp. 134f.
\end{itemize}
10) \( \text{gaz/gaz} < \text{kassúsu, "falcon."} \)

The following equivalence occurs in a lexical list:

\[ \text{SUR.DA} = \text{su-ur/ur}_5\text{-du-u} = \text{ka-su-su}. \]

An example from Old Babylonian is:

\[ \text{pašt kazzúzi u suláši...eli bájerútim uštambíne, "He (Sin) created axes, falcons and runs to catch game better than the hunter's craft."} \]

In Middle Babylonian the word occurs in the derived sense of "hero," as in the equivalence \( \text{ka-as-su-su} = \text{gar-ra-du}. \)

While Yalon, in Albeck's edition of the Mishnah, reads \( \text{haggaz}, \)

there occurs the reading \( \text{gaz} \) in the Mishnah of the Talmud Yerušalím and \( \text{haggez} \) in the Kaufmann Manuscript. The reading \( \text{gaz} \) is elsewhere preferred by Albeck.

It is proposed that Mishnaic \( \text{gaz} \) is a loanword from \( \text{kassúsu} \). What must be accounted for is the change of consonants and the shortening of the Akkadian word. The change from \( k > g \) is normal in borrowings from Akkadian to Hebrew; compare \( \text{šarru-kin} > \text{sargón} \). The change from \( s > z \) may be due to variants within Akkadian itself, e.g.,

\[ \text{AHw}, \text{p. 454.} \]

\[ \text{CAD II (B), 89.} \]

\[ \text{AHw, ibid.} \]

\[ \text{M. Hul. 3:1; Albeck, Mishnah, Qodosím, p. 123.} \]

\[ \text{Lowe, MPT, M. Hul. 3:1.} \]

\[ \text{Beer, MK, M. Hul. 3:1.} \]

\[ \text{Albeck, IM, p. 136.} \]
kazzūzī, "falcon," as against kassūsu. 77 What has apparently occurred here is a shortening of the word parallel to galālu < Aramaic gēlālā > gal, "stone," Job 8:17. 78

77 CAD II (B), 89; AHW, p. 454.

78 The parallelism of gal/bēg jābānīm, ibid., is significant. Compare R. Bowman, "aban galālu," Doron, Hebraic Studies in Honor of Abraham I. Katsh (New York, 1965), pp. 64-74. If such a shortening of a loanword is possible, the question may be raised about the identification of kassūsu with Biblical kōs, Lev. 11:17, Deut. 14:16, and Pss. 102:7. The Biblical word has been defined as "owl," B-D-B, p. 468a. It may be significant that the Targum Yeruṣalmi, as cited by the Aruk, s.v. gaz, renders ṭozniyya, Lev. 11:13, by bar gazzā and kōs, ibid., 11:17, by another word. If the two words do come from the same source, they have been differentiated semantically. It is difficult to establish their specific meanings, and there have been shifts in the species to which they were applied at various times. The form of Mishnaic gaz shows no dependence upon Biblical kōs. If the suggested consonant and word changes be accepted, it appears to be a borrowing from Akkadian. If kōs is also traceable to Akkadian kassūsu, it may be an earlier borrowing. On k > g, cf. ATA, p. 160 for the suggestion that post-vocalic /k/ was realized in Neo-Assyrian like West Semitic [g].
11) geš, "lime," < gaššu, "gypsum, limewash."

Sumerian IM.BABBAR, "white clay," is the equivalent of gaššu.79 The Akkadian word is attested as early as Old Babylonian, denoting a substance for coating walls, for magic drawings, and an abrasive powder for washing the hands.80 Mishnaic geš, "lime used to delineate pathways,"81 is a loanword, having been transmitted through Aramaic.82 Hebrew has also borrowed Greek γύφτος as gippesīs,83 and it is likely that the Greek word is also a borrowing from Akkadian84 or that the word is a Kulturwort, found in widely separated languages.

A variant cited in a Geniza Mishnah fragment is

79 CAD V (G), 54ff.; AHw, p. 282.
80 CAD and AHw, ibid.
81 M. Miq. 9:2; geš yewenti, "clay from the mire," is called yitqedot haderakim, "roadside pegs," when it dries, cf. Bertinoro's commentary on the Mishnah, ad loc.
82 AFw, p. 31; Lex. Syr., p. 129, where the identification of geša with gaššu is made, citing Jensen.
83 M. Kelim 10:2; AFw, op. cit., ibid.; Liddell and Scott, GEL, p. 147a.
84 H. W. F. Saggs, The Greatness that Was Babylon, p. 463. Arabic jaṣṣ/jaṣṣ/jusṣ is regarded as a borrowing from Aramaic gipstā, itself borrowed from Greek and Latin, γύφτος, gyps, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., pp. 9-10. It is the view of this writer, however, that Hebrew and Aramaic have two separate borrowings, one from gaššu and the other from the Greek, which may ultimately go back to Akkadian, or to the word from which it is borrowed. The Arabic also appears closer to gaššu < gaššu.
This represents a lengthening of the short a-vowel of the Akkadian, presumably because of the accent. The Kaufmann Manuscript reads ges. 87

It is suggested here that Mishnaic zarah, a vessel equivalent to the habul, 89 is a loanword from Akkadian, via Aramais gur, garān. 30 The form of the Aramaic and Hebrew words is closer to the Akkadian than to the Ugaritic ken. The consonant-change of k > g is paralleled by šarru-kin > Sargon, and kibritu > gurūn. The vehicle of the loan is Aramaic. 91

85 Katsh, GM, Pl. 136, line 12, M. Mig. 9:2.

86 Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.8c.

87 Katsh, op. cit., p. 272, note to line 12, citing the Kaufmann Manuscript. The manuscript reproduced in GM is not consistent, as in line 14 it reads ges, garsa.
12) **gārāb < karpatu**, "vessel, container."

Akkadian karpatu is a vessel, made of various substances, clay, or metals, and used for containing different materials, for example, beer, wine, milk. It is suggested here that Mishnaic **gārāh**, a vessel equivalent to the **ḥābīṭ**, is a loanword from Akkadian, via Aramaic **grb. garbā**. The form of the Aramaic and Hebrew words is closer to the Akkadian than to the Ugaritic **krpn**. The consonant change of **k > g** is paralleled by **Šarru-kīn > Sargôn, and kibrittu > goprīt**. The vehicle of the loan is Aramaic.

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88 AHw, pp. 449-50.

89 M. Ter. 10:8; J. Brand, Ceramics in Talmudic Literature (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1953), pp. 95f. (hereafter abbreviated as Ceramics).

90 Cf. Aramaic **grb**, Cowley, AP, 81:8 and 9, and DISO, p. 53. Possibly, a further argument for the probability of a loanword here is the creation of a homonym with **gārāh**, "scab, itch."

91 Cf. Syriac **garbā**, Lex. Syr., p. 130. Ethiopic **gērāb** is also cited there. Two Arabic words, **girbat** and **jarāb** are considered by Fraenkel to be borrowed from Aramaic, having the sense of "waterskin," Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 64. There is also evidence of a re-borrowing by Late Babylonian from Aramaic. The term **gurābu**, "reinforcement around an earthenware jar," occurs in Late Babylonian and is regarded as an Aramaic loanword, CAD V (G), 136. Generally Akkadian final -(a)t is not dropped in loanwords, but there are exceptions, e.g., **maṭratu > Mandaic mh'jrā**, "ship's bow," **ḥurdatu > Babylonian Talmud hūdāra**, "beam," AIA, pp. 65, 71 and 167-8.
13) gargir < girgirru, Eruca sativa, "rocket."

In Assyrian sources, girgirru is regarded as an aphrodisiac and an eye medicine.\textsuperscript{92} Mishnaic gargir has been identified as a loanword from Akkadian girgirru.\textsuperscript{93} Another species is gargir sel'appar, Diplotaxis Erucoideae.\textsuperscript{94} The form of gargir is distinguished from its homonym, gargar, gargar, "berry." Possibly, the entrance of the homonym gargir, "Eruca," is an argument for the probability of a borrowing.

\textsuperscript{92}DAB, pp. 211f.; the Talmud agrees with this view, considering gargir as having the property of "increasing seed," TB Yoma 18b. It also agrees that gargir is an eye medicine, explaining yoret of II K. 4:39 as gargir, with the comment: "They brighten (meiyoret) the eyes...one rubs it across his eyes," TB Yoma, ibid.

\textsuperscript{93}AFw, p. 56; M. Macas. 4:5.

\textsuperscript{94}M. Seb. 9:1; Judah Felix, Mar'oth Hamishnah, Zera'im, traditional commentaries, pointed text and botanical supplement (Jerusalem, 1967), botanical sec., p. 31. Compare also Aramaic galgila, TB Git. 59b, with l/r change.
14) 𒃫𒆠, "frame of a bed," < 𒃫šu, "pole."

The Akkadian word 𒃫šu is used in Old Babylonian to denote a stake upon which criminals are impaled. An example is: 𒃫šisim 𒈨šakkanuši, "they shall impale her upon a stake,"95 and, from Neo-Assyrian, there is the example: 𒃫šisiš alul, "I bound (their bodies) on stakes."96

This word has been identified with 𓊥šš, "sounding pole."97 This identification is not correct, as 𒃫šš is to be related to the Hebrew and Aramaic root, šš, "touch, grope."98 Akkadian 𒃫šu should be related to 𒃫ššišu šellammita, "frame of a bed."99 Possibly, 𒃫šu and 𒃫šš are related semantically in that poles make up the framework of a bed. The Sumerian equivalents of 𒃫šu are 𒈨šu and 𒈨šu, both of which can be read as Akkadian arāku, "be long."100 Thus, 𒃫ššišu šellammita may be compared with 𒈨ššišu šellammita, "the long poles of the bed."101

95 Code of Hammurabi, par. 153; AHw, p. 283.
96 D. D. Luckenbill, OIP II, 26:59.
97 AFw, p. 31; A. Salonen, Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien (Helsinki, 1939), p. 110; TB Sab. 125b.
98 Cf. Isa. 59:10; AIA, pp. 101 and 274; Targum Yerušalmi on Gen. 27:12; TB Git. 67b.
99 M. Zabim 3:1 and 3. Perhaps also related is 𒃫ššišiš, "splints," TB Sab. 53a.
100 Labat, Manuel, p. 171.
101 M. Sab. 23:5.
15) dir, "enclosure," < dūrum, "wall."

Akkadian dūrum is attested as early as Old Babylonian in the sense of "wall."\(^{102}\) The word dāru denotes "settlement of shepherds."\(^{103}\)

It is suggested that Mishnaic Hebrew dir, "enclosure,"\(^{104}\) is a loanword from dūrum, probably through the mediation of Aramaic dīrā.\(^{105}\) If the view of von Soden be accepted, that dūrum is related to Aramaic dwr, "circumference," Arabic dār, "surround," and dāur, "enclosure,"\(^{106}\) it is not possible to speak of a loanword. All of these words are to be considered as cognates.\(^{107}\) On the other hand, the CAD denies that dūru or dāru, "settlement of shepherds or nomads," is related to a root referring to a cyclic movement.\(^{108}\) It is on the basis of this separation of dūrum and dāru from the cognates

\(^{102}\)AHW, p. 178; CAD III (D), 192-5.

\(^{103}\)CAD, ibid., 115.

\(^{104}\)M. B. Q. 6:1; M. Seq. 6:1.

\(^{105}\)Cf. Targum Yerushalmi on Micah 2:12, where betāk haddārā is rendered by beqō dīrā.

\(^{106}\)AHW, p. 178; cf. Aramaic dwr, "circumference," DISO, p. 56.


\(^{108}\)CAD III (D), 197.
referred to above that this loanword relationship, *durum* 
>*dīrā* > *dīr*, can be proposed.

The modal particle *wud(a)di*, "certainly, indeed," is regarded by von Soden as an imperative D form from *1̣udā*, "know." It is attested only in Mari. It is suggested that the particle *wadda(y)* in Mishnaic Hebrew, "certainly," is a loan from *wuddi*.

This appears more probable than the view of Segal that *wadda(y)* derives from *wudā*, "confess, agree." A possibility remains, however, as the only attestation in Mari, that *wuddi* is West Semitic and cognate with Hebrew rather than borrowed.

Wudā→<wuddi>

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109see, par. 121d. Von Soden also lists Old Babylonian *wudi* and the later *min-wudi*, also formed from *1̣udā*, but with the meaning "probably," OAG, par. 121e. However, there is a context in which it appears in the sense of "certainly:" *min-de-ma ana-ka ilu bi-nu mu-na ri-1 ah-su-an lemattita(ši)*, "No doubt I plotted mischief at the time of the former sin," W. G. Lambert, "The Fifth Tablet of the Ega Rpin," *Iraq*, XXIV (1962), 121:6.

110Segal, GM&H, p. 138; cf. M. Kar. 5:2. The final "aleph which appears in the usual spelling of this word is a later lectinius. The word also occurs in manuscripts as *wayi*, vocalized *wadda(y)*, Katsh, GM, Pl. 119, line 12, and ibid., Pl. 156, line 9. Another form is *wudda(y)*, vocalized *(w)adda(y)*, ibid., p. 238, line 12, citing the Kaufmann Manuscript.
16) **wadda'y**,**"certainly,"** < wuddi.

The modal participle *wu(d)di*, **"certainly, indeed,"** is regarded by von Soden as an imperative D form from *id̄um*, **"know."** It is attested only in Mari.¹⁰⁹

It is suggested that the particle *wadda'y* in Mishnaic Hebrew, **"certainly,"** is a loan from *wuddi*.

This appears more probable than the view of Segal that *wadda'y* derives from *wdy*, **"confess, agree."**¹¹⁰

A possibility remains, however, as the only attestation is in Mari, that *wuddi* is West Semitic and cognate with Hebrew rather than borrowed.

¹⁰⁹ *GAG*, par. 121d. Von Soden also lists Old Babylonian *midde*, and the later *mindēma*, also formed from *id̄u*, but with the meaning **"probably,"** *GAG*, par. 121e. However, there is a context in which it appears in the sense of **"certainly:"** *min-de-ma ana-ku ina hi-ti maḥ-ri-i ah-su-sa lemuttimitim*, **"No doubt I plotted mischief at the time of the former sin,"** W. G. Lambert, **"The Fifth Tablet of the Era Epic,"** *Iraq*, XXIV (1962), 121:6.

¹¹⁰ Segal, *GMH*, p. 138; cf. M. Ker. 5:2. The final *aleph* which appears in the usual spelling of this word is a mater lectionis. The word also occurs in manuscripts as *wdyy*, vocalized *wadday(y)*, Katsh, *GM*, Pl. 119, line 12, and *ibid.*, Pl. 156, line 6. Another form is *wwdyy*, vocalized *(w)wadday(y)*, *ibid.*, p. 238, line 12, citing the Kaufmann Manuscript.
115

17) zuţ, "monetary unit," < zuzu < zâzu, "divide."
Akkadian zuzu derives from zâzu, "divide," in a
manner analogous to peras < parâsu, "cut, divide," a half
of a mâne.111 The BAR sign which is the equivalent of
zâzu is also equivalent to mîšlu, "half," and to parâsu.112
In the Mishnah, zuţ occurs,113 and is the equivalent of
dinâr, Latin denarius. Bendavid notes that both terms oc­
cur in the sale documents from the Judean Desert, but that
in Palestinian sources denarius prevails, due to the Roman
influence, and in the Babylonian Talmud zuţ is dominant.
In the Mishnah, the terms co-exist, although there is a
convention of using zuţ for designating many of the units,
while dinâr is used for a single unit.114 The loanword
enters through Aramaic.115

111 CAD XXI (Z), 170; for peras, cf. M. Ed. 3:3.
112 Labat, Manuel, pp. 69-71.
113 M. Pé‘ā 8:8; M. Ket. 1:5; as a unit of weight,
M. Ter. 10:8. The zuţ / dinâr is one-fourth of a šegel
in monetary value, Bendavid, BHMH, p. 181. H. Danby, in
The Mishnah (Oxford, 1933), p. 797, understands it as
one half a šegel.
114 Bendavid, ibid., citing M. Pé‘ā 8:8.
115 Cf. Syriac zauza, derived from Akkadian zuţu
following Jensen, ZA, VI (1891), 60, and AFW, p. 21,
Lex. Syr., p. 191. Cf. also, AIA, p. 91.
18) ḥazzān < ḥazannu, ḥazānu, ḥaziānnu, "magistrate, official."

Mishnaic ḥazzān has been recognized as a loanword from ḥazannu. In Akkadian this word appears in the Ur III period, in Old Babylonian rarely, and in Middle Assyrian and Amarna with the sense of "chief magistrate, mayor, head man." Strengthening this identification is the fact that ḥazannu is also used in religious contexts, e.g., Lû ḥa-za-nu ša bīt 𒇾𒈨, "I am the ḥazannu of the temple of Nabu, your god."

In the Mishnah, the word has several senses: a member of the synagogue hierarchy, ḥazzan ḥakkōneset, second to the roš ḥakkōneset, a teacher of children, and, as ḥazzan ḥakkōneset, the official who flogs offenders.

116 AFw., pp. 6f. See also AIA, pp. 64 and 233.
117 CAD VI (H), 163-5.
118 CAD, ibid., p. 165.
119 M. Yōma 7:1; M. Sōṭā 7:8.
120 M. Sab. 1:3.
121 M. Mak. 3:12.
19) ḫazīnā < ḫašīnā < ḫaṣṣinu, "axe."

Akkadian ḫaṣṣinu is attested from Old Babylonian on. It is also written as ḫa-az-zi-nu, as in the example: ina ḫa[-az]-zi-in-ni ša šarri tamāt, "You will die by the axe of the king." Another example, where the word is used for a divine symbol, is: ḫa-ṣi-in mi-it-[t]u u GIS.MAR KU.BABBAR, "axe, mittu-weapon, and spade of silver (divine symbols)."

Aramaic ḫašīnā has been borrowed from ḫaṣṣinu, as has Greek χίνη. Mishnaic ḫašīnā is explained by Albeck as identical with ḫašīnā. The variation of s/z occurs in the Akkadian itself, with z in the peripheral dialects.

122 AHw, pp. 332f.; CAD VI (H), 133f.
123 CAD, ibid., 133, from El Amarna 162:37.
124 CAD, ibid.
125 AHw, p. 12; Liddel and Scott, GEL, p. 74; Segal, OMH, P. 32. The Targum on Isa. 44:12 renders maṣṣād by ḫašīnā. A possible cognate relationship between ḫaṣṣinu and Biblical garzen is suggested by AHw, p. 332. A ceremonial axe from Ugarit is inscribed ḫrgn, J. Fried­rich, Extinct Languages (New York, 1957), p. 85, fig. 4. A change ḫ > ḡ from Aramaic to Neo-Babylonian, at a later period, may be a parallel to a similar change earlier, von Soden, AFO, XIX (1959-60), 149.

126 M. Kel, Keli n 14:2; Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorot, p. 65. The identification of ḫazīnā with ḫašīnā is also made by NCW II, 29a. Another interpretation is "iron knob," cf. Bertinoro's commentary, ad loc. There are also variant readings, e.g., ḫazayenā, Beer, MK, ad loc., and ḫyzin, to be read, presumably, as ḫazzīnā, ḫazyānā, or ḫazīnā. Lowe, MPT, ad loc. Cf. a different view, AIA, p. 102.
20) hiltī < hīl tiyāti, "gum of asafoetida."

There are several combinations with hīlu, "resin, exudation," from the verb hālu, "flow." They include:

- hīl erî, "resin of copper,
- hīl baluḥi, "resin of galbanum,
- hīl šarbati, "sap of the willow,
- hīl erini, "sap of the cedar," and hīl tiyāti, "gum of asafoetida."

Possibly Mishnaic tiyā is borrowed from tiyātu, but the source of hiltī is clearly from hīl tiyāti. The medium of the loan was Aramaic.

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127 M. T. Yōm 1:5; M. Cuqqīn 3:5; NCW IV, 639; Löw, Flora, III, 125; AFW, p. 58. Another rendering is "ranunculus," Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorat, p. 460.

129 M. Sab. 20:3; M. Cuqqīn 3:5.

130 DAB, p. 8, n. 2.


Akkadian ḫassū is attested from Old Babylonian on, and is associated lexically with murāru, "small, bitter lettuce." The relationship of ḫassū to Aramaic ḫassā, has been noted. It is suggested that another term in the Mishnah, ḫasīt, plural ḥāṣiyyīṯ, a general term for leeks, arum, onion and garlic, may be borrowed from Aramaic ḫassā, and thereby derive ultimately from Akkadian. This term may have been borrowed on the basis of a general similarity, bitterness of taste.

133CAD VI (ח), 128; DAB, pp. 72f.
134DAB, ibid.; ARW, p. 57. "Bitter Herbs," mārūr, in M. Pes. 2:6, is used in a general sense, and one of the species that fulfills the requirement is ḫāṣeret, "lettuce," ibid., defined in the Talmud as ḫassā, TB Pes. 39a. This is significant, as ḫassū in Akkadian is associated lexically with murāru, CAD, ibid.
135M. Ter. 9:7, 10:10; Bertinoro's commentary on 9:7; Albeck, Mishnah, Zeraicīm, p. 206. The relationship of ḫāṣīt to ḫassā, "lettuce," on the basis of similarity of taste and a philological relationship, is suggested by NCW II, 88a. This supports the identification made above. The vocalization ḥāṣiyyīṯ, Beer, MK, M. Ter. 9:7, is followed by Yalon in the Albeck edition of the Mishnah. There is also another vocalization, ḥāṣīt, S. Lieberman, Tosefta Zeraicīm, Terūmōḵ 9:3, p. 155.

Akkadian ḫāṣūtu, "thyme," has a form which corresponds well with ḫāṣīt but which cannot be proposed as the source of this loanword because of the difference in meanings, cf. Meissner, Studien, 40-1, and CAD VI (ח), 148, where no definition is given.
22) kabul < kaballu, type of garment.

This term is attested in Mari, Nuzi and in Hittite texts from Boghazkoi. It is not clear to what type of garment it refers, although the word is regarded as borrowed by Mishnaic Hebrew as kabbul. It is defined as a piece of cloth worn upon the head as a kerchief upon which rests an ornament for the forehead. Another definition is "woolen cap."

On the other hand, an attested Hebrew variant, kapha', is closer to Assyrian kishpar, and the Hebrew may be borrowed from the Assyrian. The Hebrew borrowing may be earlier and not dependent upon the Aramaic. It is difficult, however, to make a determination, as the changes ubble easier in both the Akkadian and the Hebrew words and may be inner variants.

136 AHw, p. 414; DAB, p. 66.

137M, Sab. 6:5; AFw, p. 35.

138Commentary of Maimonides on the Mishnah, ibid.

139Albeck, Mishnah, Mord, p. 30.
23) **kūsbār < kisibirru**, "coriander."

There are several forms of this Akkadian word:

Old Akkadian *ki-si-ba-ra-tum*, Middle and Late Babylonian *ku(s)sibirru*, and Assyrian *kisibarru*.\(^{140}\) Mishnaic *kūsbār* has long been seen as a loan from the Akkadian,\(^{141}\) and it replaces Biblical *gad*.\(^{142}\) The problem is to determine which of the Akkadian forms entered into Hebrew. Conceivably, the Middle and Late Babylonian *ku(s)sibirru* is the source of Hebrew *kūsbār*, through Aramaic *kusbarta*.\(^{143}\) On the other hand, an attested Hebrew variant, *kīsār*,\(^{144}\) is closer to Assyrian *kisibarru*, and the Hebrew may be borrowed from the Assyrian. The Hebrew borrowing may be earlier and not dependent upon the Aramaic. It is difficult, however, to make a determination, as the changes *i/u* occur in both the Akkadian and the Hebrew words and may be inner variants.\(^{145}\)

\(^{140}\) **AHw**, p. 486a; **DAB**, p. 66.

\(^{141}\)**Meissner**, **ZA**, VI (1891), 294; **AFW**, p. 57; **M. Kil.** 1:2; **M. Seb.** 9:1; **M. Ma'as.** 3:9; and **M. Dem.** 1:1.

\(^{142}\)**Exodus** 16:31; **Numb.** 11:7.

\(^{143}\)Cf. Syriac *kusbarta*, **Lex. Syr.**, p. 338.

\(^{144}\)**Beer**, **MK**, **M. Seb.** 9:1; **M. Dem.** 1:1; **E. Porath**, **Mishnaic Hebrew**, p. 140; and **S. Lieberman**, **Tosefta Zera'im**, **Kil'ayyim** 1:1, p. 203.

\(^{145}\)Variations between the *u* and *i*–*u* vowel in Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew are discussed by W. Chomsky, "Problematic Forms in Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew," (Hebrew), **Zevi Scharfstein Jubilee Volume** (Tel Aviv,
1970), pp. 180-1. He cites the opinion of Simcha Pinsker of variants such as Meḥūyāʾel/Mēhīyāʾel (Gen. 4:16), Pīnōn/Pūnōn (Gen. 36:41 and Numb. 33:42) which is that the Hebrew u-vowel is a combination of o and i, and is to be pronounced as German u-umlaut, ü. Reference is also made to the view of Dalman (Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch, pp. 71 f.) that the situation in Talmudic manuscripts is so confused that no conclusion can be drawn about the correct written form of any word if it contains either u or i. Chomsky suggests that the problematic form in the Passover Haggadah, mēsūbīn, "reclining," is another example of the u/i variants, and is equivalent to mēsibīn. A parallel case would be tūqad/tūqad, "will burn," W. Chomsky, ibid. The variants kūsār/kīsār in the Mishnah may be another example of this situation and have no relationship to the variations between Akkadian kisibirru and kus(s)ibirru.
This word occurs in Old Babylonian and in Neo-Babylonian and has been equated with *Lethyrus sativus*. It is a loanword in the Mishnah, karšīnā, rarely used as human food. Between the forms kīšēnu and karšīnā a process of dissimilation has taken place, ㎜ > ㎜, analogous to the development of Akkadian kussū > Aramaic kūrsa.  

146 DAB, pp. 95 and 103; AHw, p. 492a.

147 M. Ter. 11:9, M. Ma'as. Sen. 2:4, M. Šab. 20:3, and M. 4Oh. 17:1.

148 Moscati, Introduction, par. 9.10. A different source is suggested by Löw, who defines this word as "black vetch," and relates it to Sanskrit krśna, "black," Persian krān(k). If this be true, Akkadian kīšēnu is not originally Semitic, Löw, Flora, II, 485ff.
25) kat, "band, party, group," < kimtu/kintu, "family."

The Akkadian word is attested from the Old Babylonian period on. An example is: ina nišiya u kimtiya, "among my people and my family."\(^{149}\) There is a lexical equation of kimtu with puḫru, "group, gathering,"\(^{150}\) indicating a more generalized meaning closer to the Aramaic and Hebrew, but most frequently the word is used in the sense of "family."

It is proposed that Hebrew kat, "band, party, group,"\(^{151}\) is a loanword from kimtu. A possible development may be: kimtu > *kimt/*kint > *kitt > *katt > kat. Alternatively the development may have occurred in Neo-Assyrian, which also attests the form kintu. The assimilation of m or n to the following t is paralleled by attahar < amtahar, "I received," and taklittu < taklimtu, "show."\(^{152}\)

\(^{149}\) AHw, p. 479.  
\(^{150}\) Ibid.  
\(^{152}\) For the change a > i before two successive consonants, cf. above, p. 57 and Moscati, Introduction, par 10.8c. On the assimilation mt/nt > tt, cf. GAG, par. 31g. Hebrew kat cannot be derived from Akkadian kinätu, "colleague," AHw, p. 479, which appears in Aramaic as kînät, pl. kînawatā, Ezra 4:7, 9, 17, and 5:3, 6. An original /w/ has been reduced in the Akkadian to a and reappears in the Aramaic, raising doubts about a borrowing by Aramaic rather than cognate relationship, cf. E-D-B, p. 1097, and AHw, p. 479. For a different view of the relation of kimtu and kat, cf. AIA, pp. 69 and 238.
26) *lepet* < *laptu*, "Brassica rapa, turnip."

Akkadian *laptu*, variant form *labtu*, is attested in Old Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian. The Sumerian equivalent, *ULU.UB3AR*, appears to be a reflection of the Akkadian, as it is also given as the equivalent of the homonym, *luppu*, "bean," borrowed as Hebrew *lūp*, "arum." Mishnaic *lepet* is frequently attested. It is probable that this word was borrowed by Hebrew from Aramaic, as Syriac *lapṭā* is listed by Brockelmann as an Akkadian loanword. Mishnaic *liptān*, "one with a physical peculiarity, a turnip-shaped head," is a further development in Hebrew from *lepet*.

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153 *AHw*, p. 537, and *DAB*, p. 51.
154 *AHw*, ibid.
156 *M. Kil.*, 1:3, 9; 3:1; *M. Ma'as.*, 5:2, 8; *M. Hul.*, 7:4; and *M. Ḥaggôn* 1:4.
158 *M. Bek.*, 7:1.
27) $\text{lūp}$, "arum," $\left< \text{luppu}, \text{"kind of bean."} \right.$

Akkadian $\text{luppu}$ is attested in Old and in Neo-Babylonian, while the variant $\text{lubbu}$ occurs in Neo-Assyrian. $^{159}$ Sumerian $\text{LU.UB}^{16}$ appears to be a borrowing from the Akkadian. $^{160}$ Von Soden defines this word as "bean," and suggests tentatively that it is borrowed as Arabic $\text{lub(j)ā}.^{161}$ He was preceded in this identification by Thompson. $^{162}$

It is suggested that Mishnaic $\text{lūp}^{163}$ is a borrowing from $\text{luppu}$, although it cannot be certain that the Akkadian and the Hebrew words refer to the same species. Maimonides defines $\text{lūp}$ as a species of onion. $^{164}$ Another definition is $\text{Arum palestinum}$, a species which develops a small, edible bud. $^{165}$ On the basis of the similarity of this bud to a bean, $\text{luppu}$ was borrowed to designate this species. There also occurs $\text{lūp hāssōţe}$, "wild $\text{lūp}$," $\text{Arum discorides},^{166}$ the bud of which is edible only in emergencies.

$^{159}$AHW, p. 564. $^{160}$Ibid.
$^{161}$Ibid. $^{162}$DAB, p. 94.
$^{163}$M. Pā'ā 6:10; M. Kil. 2:5; M. Šeb. 5:2, 4; M. Ter. 9:6; M. Macad. 5:8; and M. Sab. 18:1.
$^{164}$Commentary of Maimonides on Sebi'it 5:2. The interpretation originates in TP Sebi. V:2.
$^{165}$Judah Felix, Mar'oth Hamishnah, p. 80.
$^{166}$M. Šeb. 7:1, 2; M. Uqqām 3:4; and J. Felix, ibid., p. 81.
28) *melag* < mulugu, a kind of marriage gift.

This term and its relationship to Mishnaic *melag* has been studied in detail by Levine.\(^{167}\) The connection between the Akkadian and the Hebrew terms was noted by Feuchtwang and by Zimmern.\(^{168}\) The term occurs in Nuzi, in Ugaritic, and in Neo-Babylonian. It denotes some kind of gift given by the father to his daughter upon the marriage, or after it. It is to be distinguished from the *nudunnu*.\(^{169}\) Intermediate between the Akkadian and the Mishnaic material is the Aramaic of the Elephantine period where the term is not used but where the institution appears to exist.\(^{170}\) In the Mishnah, there occurs the expression *caqbde melag*.\(^{171}\)

Levine traces a development in the Rabbinic understanding of *melag* from being property over which the wife had almost complete rights of sale to a condition under which her properties were under the executive control of her husband.\(^{172}\) Despite the many references from

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\(^{168}\)D. Feuchtwang, *ZA*, VI (1892), 441; *AFW*, p. 46.

\(^{169}\)Levine, *ibid.*, p. 45. \(^{170}\) *ibid.*, pp. 51ff.

\(^{171}\)M. Yeb. 7:1-2; cf. also *siphat melag*, *TB Ket.* 79b-80a; *niks melag*, *TB Ket.* 101a; and *benemat melag*, *TP Yeb.* VII:1.

\(^{172}\)Levine, *Survivals*, p. 62.
the periphery of the Babylonian culture sphere and from Neo-Babylonian, as against one Ugaritic reference, Levine is not certain that the institution of *mulugu* is originally Mesopotamian. He holds open the possibility that the institution was in existence on Palestinian soil, even in pre-Biblical times.\(^{173}\)

It is not possible to find an adequate etymology for *mulugu*. Levine reviews the suggestions that have been offered, among them that of Ungnad who considered it a Sumerian loanword from \(\text{MULUG} = \) *ša bēl*, "that which the master of the house may dispose of."\(^{174}\) He does not mention the suggestion of J. Lewy who noted that \(\text{ta-ma-la-gu}_5\)-um is equal to *guppu*, and is "a coffer in which documents are kept."\(^{175}\) A development from "box, basket" to "fund" is possible, but cannot be decided here. Talmudic *mešellā dišṭārē*, "container of documents,"\(^{176}\) should, however, be compared.


\(^{174}\)Ibid., p. 44.

\(^{175}\)J. Lewy, *Or.*, XIX (1950), 2.

29) **mešer** < **mišrûm**, plural **mišrētu, mišrû**, "border."

This word occurs in a group together with **bad-du** (patu), **iadu**, and **ahu**, and is also a synonym of **kisurrû**. An example is: **DN beš mišrû u kudurri kudurrašu lissu**, "May DN, the lord of borders and boundary stones, tear out his boundary stone." Hebrew **mešer** has been borrowed from **mišrû**, via Aramaic. It is used partially to replace Biblical **gebûl**, which also is replaced by **gebûr** and **tešûm**.

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177 MSL III, 85.
178 AHW, pp. 448 and 659; GAG, par. 610. Other forms are **miširru** and **mišarru**, AHW, p. 659.
179 AHW, p. 499.
180 M. B. B. 7:3; AFw, p. 9; DISO, p. 165; and Mandaic **misra**, Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 269.
181 Bendavid, BHMH, p. 341. This loan is questioned in AIA, p. 110.
30) *nidbāk* < *nadbaku*, "course of stone."

Akkadian *nadbaku*, "course of stones, bricks," is considered to be a development from *tabāku*, "spill, pour out," used idiomatically for building.\(^{182}\) A related word is *tibku, tipku*, variant *tikpu*, "layer of bricks," presumably also from *tabāku*.\(^{183}\) A relationship with Aramaic *nidbāk* has been noted.\(^{184}\) Mishnaic *nidbāk* derives from the Aramaic.\(^{185}\) Two possibilities of vocalization are *nidbāk* and *nidbak*.\(^{186}\)

\(^{182}\) B. Meissner, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch, AS I* (Chicago, 1931), 55f. (hereafter abbreviated as *AS I*). A parallel use of *spk, "spill, pour out," in reference to building earth siege works occurs in II Sam. 20:15; II K. 19:32; Isa. 37:33; Jer. 5:6; and Ezek. 4:2, 26:8. *AHw*, p. 766; cf. Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian *natbaku* and Middle and Late Babylonian *natbaktu*, *AHw*, p. 766.

\(^{183}\) A Sumerian equivalent of *tib/pku* is SIG₄.TAB.BA, the elements indicating "double row of bricks." The term *nà-da-bak-ka* is Neo-Babylonian, Meissner, *ibid*.

\(^{184}\) Ezra 6:4; B-D-B, p. 1102.

\(^{185}\) M. Ber. 2:4; M. *JOh*. 14:1. The term *nidbāk* in M. *JOh*. 6:1, "frame," or "stretcher," is considered to be incorrect. The variant preferred by Albeck is *nargād, (narwād)*, Albeck, *Mishnah, Tohorōt*, p. 141.

\(^{186}\) H. Yalon, *IVM*, p. 34.
31) nēpt < napu, "naphtha."

This Akkadian word is attested in Old Babylonian and in Neo-Assyrian, and is regarded as the source of the Kulturwort νιροθα in Greek. A Semitic origin is probable for this word, possibly from nabatu, "shine, glow."

The Sumerian equivalent, I.KUR.RA, means literally "oil of the mountains." 08

Mishnaic nēpt is to be regarded as a borrowing from the Akkadian, probably through the mediation of Aramaic. Earlier than the Mishnah this substance is referred to in the Book of Maccabees as nephtem. 090

187AHw, p. 742; AFw, p. 60.
188AHw, p. 742.
190II Macc. 1:36.
32) str, "destroy," < ūturu, "tear down, cut through."

Von Soden has sought to establish that the root of this verb is ntr, natāru, with ūturu as an S form, against the view of Muss-Arnolt that the G is yātāru. Examples are: ʿušārib māhāzišun ušattir abūbi, "he laid waste their cities, he tore (them) down like the deluge," and ʿadā ina akkullāti parzilli ušattir, "I cut through the mountain with iron akkullus (hammer-like tool)."

The verb str has entered Hebrew from Aramaic, and is used in place of Biblical hrs.

191 W. von Soden, Or, NS, XXVII (1958), 259f.
193 CAD, ibid., 276, from DIP II, 124:42.
194 Ezra 5:12; M. Sab. 7:2; cf. transferred senses: sōter ʾeṯ šecārān, "undoes her hair," M. Sōṭā 1:5; sōter ʾeṯ haddīn, "reverses the decision," M. Sanh. 3:8; and sōter bikecim, "he must count seventy days again," M. Naz. 2:10.
195 Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 122 and 130.
33) $l.b$, "crucify," < $\text{sal}^{\text{a}}\text{pu}$, "cross out, cancel," $\text{sil}^{\text{i}}\text{ptu}$, "diagonal, hypotenuse," $\text{sil}^{\text{b}}\text{u}$, "(bandage or wood) arranged crosswise."

There is a range of meanings here in the Akkadian paralleling Biblical $s.l.p$, "pervert, distort," and which suggests that $\text{sal}^{\text{a}}\text{bu}$ and $s.l.p$ are cognates. However, $l.b$, "crucify," is undoubtedly borrowed, as seen by the form of the word and by the limited semantic range. That all of the Akkadian words are related is seen by the element BAR in the various equivalents.

Mishnaic $l.b$, "crucify," $\text{sal}^{\text{a}}\text{bu}$, "crucified one," is a loan. This is seen clearly from the meaning of $\text{sil}^{\text{i}}\text{ptu}$, "diagonal, hypotenuse," attested in Old, Middle and Late Babylonian, and $\text{sil}^{\text{b}}\text{u}$, "wood or bandage arranged crosswise," attested in Neo-Assyrian.

196Cf. Prov. 19:3; Ex. 23:8; Deut. 16:19; and $\text{sa libbasu salpu}$, "whose heart is crooked," CAD XVI ($S$), 86, and dayy"an$sa$ $\text{salpa mesira tukallam}$, "You (Sama$i$) make the dishonest judge experience imprisonment," Lambert, BWL, 132:97.

197Cf. $\text{sal}^{\text{a}}\text{pu}$, CAD, ibid., 71; $\text{sullupu}$, "cancel," Late Babylonian, CAD, ibid.; $\text{sullupu}$, "false, dishonest, crossed out," Old and Late Babylonian, CAD, ibid., 240; $\text{sil}^{\text{i}}\text{ptu}$, "diagonal," CAD, ibid., 188, and $\text{gil}^{\text{b}}\text{u}$, ibid., 187; cf. BAR.NUN as equivalent of $\text{sil}^{\text{i}}\text{ptu}$, "diagonal," ibid., and LU.SA.BAR.RA = $\text{sa libbasu salpu}$, "whose heart is crooked," CAD, ibid., 86.

198M, Yeb. 16:3; M, $\text{Sab. 6:10}$; cf. also Mandaic $\text{sal}^{\text{a}}\text{ba}$, "cross," Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 387b.

199CAD, ibid., 187-8. It is possible, but not certain that Mishnah $\text{ma}^{\text{sl}}\text{ip}$, "sprinkling back and forth,"
M. Yomā 5:3, is identical, or it may be identical with maslīp, "whip."

Arabic ǧlb is considered to be a borrowing from the Aramaic, Lex. Syr., p. 629. The verb ǧlb in Mishnaic Hebrew replaces Biblical tly, "hang," and hō qaʾ, "impale." Bendavid, BHMM, pp. 349 and 366. This is not only the substitution of a word but also a historical development, illustrating the adopting of a foreign method of execution, crucifixion, from the Romans, and the application of the Aramaic and Assyrian word to it.
34) meqīp, "lends on credit," < qāpu, "entrust," qīptu, "loan," qīpu, "official."

Examples of this word are: šumma tamkārum šamallām iqīp, "if a merchant entrusted (something) to a trader;"200 qīptu eli qīptu ippūš, "He is making loan upon loan,"201 bēl qīptiya bāb harrāniya ša qatātim lā errīṣīma lū aba's, "would that the person who gave me (money or merchandise) in trust not ask me for collateral before my business trip begins for otherwise I shall come to shame;"202 and, šibirri ḳīnu.....ana bēlūtim lū iqīpim, "he (Marduk) entrusted to me a just staff for exercising rule."203 The qīpu is an official listed immediately after "king" and "son of a king," as in the following: lū šarru, lū mār šarri lū qīpu lū šaknu lū šatammu lū ḥazanno.204 It has been seen that this verb has entered Mishnaic Hebrew in wehaḥenwāni meqīp, "the shopkeeper advances credit."205


201 Lambert, BWL, 146:57.

202 CAD II (B), 198. 203 Ibid., 203.

204 CAD VI (H), 165.

205 M. J. Ab. 3:16, from which must be read meqīp, from מֶקַּפ, rather than maqqīp, from מִקָּפ, as read by Albeck, Mishnah, Neziqin, p. 367; the identification is made in AFW, p. 17. Compare also M. Seb. 10:1, hadāpat ḫeḥānuṯ, "credit given in a store."
Examples of Akkadian quppu are: *isqueanni ina quppi ša šūri*, "she placed me in a basket of reeds," from the Sargon legend, and, from Sennacherib's description of his confinement of Hezekiah: *kīma ʾissūr quppi*, "(I confined him to Jerusalem, his royal city,) like a caged bird."207

Mishnaic *quppā* has been seen to be a loan from Akkadian quppu.208 The intermediary was probably Aramaic.209 The Akkadian word quppu is equivalent to Biblical kēlūʾ, "cage," and "basket."210 The entrance of quppā into Mishnaic Hebrew causes some shift in the range of kēlūʾ but does not make it obsolete. The word kēlūʾ continues to function in the sense of "cage" and, in a variant form, kēlīḇā, in the sense of "box."211 On the


207OIP II, 33, iii, 27.

208AFW, pp. 15 and 34; M. Men. 10:3.


210In the sense "cage," Jer. 5:27; as "basket," Amos 8:1 and 2.

other hand, quppa does not appear to have the sense of "cage," but denotes "basket" and "box."\textsuperscript{212}

In Neo-Babylonian, quppu developed an extended meaning. In the passage ša ultu quppi ša K. aššatišu īššu, "which he had taken from the basket of K. his wife,"\textsuperscript{213} quppu refers to a fund belonging to the wife. The phrase ša ina quppi is parallel to mulugu, Mishnaic meÌšg, referring to inalienable property which the wife brings into a marriage.\textsuperscript{214}

The Mishnah has a passage in which quppa is used in a non-literal sense, related to the one above: ḫebātan meqabbēl cālāw cāsārā dinārin lequppa lekol māne ū māne, "The bridegroom undertakes to give her ten dinars for the quppa for every mina that she brings in."\textsuperscript{215} The Babylonian Talmud explains quppa šel bēšāmīm as "box of perfumes," e.g., personal things the wife may buy.\textsuperscript{216} The relationship between this and the Babylonian usage is that the money is under the sole discretion of the wife.

\textsuperscript{212}Cf. quppa šel bēšāmīm, "box of spices," TB Ket. 66b; quppa šel kērāšīm, "basket of creeping things," TB Yēmā 22b.

\textsuperscript{213}Levine, Survivals, p. 51.

\textsuperscript{214}Ibid., p. 50. \textsuperscript{215}M. Ket. 6:4.

\textsuperscript{216}TB Ket. 66b; cf. H. Danby, The Mishnah, p. 253, "pin money."
It is also possible that the Talmud's interpretation is not the original sense of quppā in the Mishnah.

Another use of quppu in Neo-Babylonian economic documents is quppu ya šarri, "the basket of the king."\textsuperscript{217} This refers to certain taxes which are collected as the perquisite of the king.\textsuperscript{218} Another example is PN ya muḫḫi quppi Eanna, "PN, in charge of the basket of Eanna."\textsuperscript{219} This, too, refers to the collection of certain required payments. Moore's view is that the quppu is the place of paying receipt or rent.\textsuperscript{220}

A related, if not identical, usage in the Mishnah is quppā in the sense of a communal fund for dispensing sustenance to the poor every Friday.\textsuperscript{221} The phrase ya muḫḫi quppi is parallel to Hebrew šehāyā mēmūne ṭel quppā šel qēḏāqā, "who was in charge of the charity fund."\textsuperscript{222}


\textsuperscript{218}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 290.

\textsuperscript{219}\textit{Ibid.}, no. 182:1, and p. 308.

\textsuperscript{220}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 308.

\textsuperscript{221}TB B. B. 11a.

\textsuperscript{222}M. Pēqū 8:7.
36) qurnīṭ < qurnu, "Origanum vulgare, thyme."

This word is to be identified with Mishnaic qurnīṭ. The feminine form in Hebrew was presumably borrowed from the Aramaic; compare Syriac qurnīṭā.

The short initial vowel and the long final vowel in Hebrew reproduces the pattern of the Akkadian, through the mediation of the Aramaic, which adapted the borrowing to the feminine form.

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223 DAB, pp. 78ff.; M. Šeb. 8:1; M. MaCaš. 3:9; M. cUqqIn 2:2; and Albeck, Mishnah, Zeraḥin, p. 159.

224 DAB, p. 78; Lex. Syr., p. 697. Brockelmann compares Akkadian qurnu but does not indicate that he considers it a loanword.
37) qurpayāt, "vessels with pointed bottoms," < karpatu, "vessel for drinking and storage."

Akkadian karpatu is used in conjunction with many substances that are stored in it, e.g., milk, beer, wine, salt, flour, and it may be made of clay, limestone, e.g., karpatu 𐤊𐤂𐤊𐤊 or lapis lazuli, karpatusāna ugnā.225

It is suggested that Mishnaic qurpayāt, "vessels with pointed bottoms,"226 is a loan from karpatu. The change from k > q can be internal in Hebrew, as seen by the change kpl > gpl, "fold."227 It should be noted that in the same Mishnaic passage occurs the word qosīm, no doubt identical with kās.228 An alternate suggestion is that qurpayāt is a place name signifying the origin of the vessel.229

225AHw, pp. 449f.

226M. Kēlīm 4:3; cf. commentary of Maimonides, ad loc.; for the vocalization, cf. Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorāt, p. 31. The conjunction of qurpayāt and qosīm, M. Kēlīm, ibid., should be compared with the parallelism of kās and krpā in Ugaritic, V AB A, 10f. A borrowing of karpatu > Syriac kēraptā is proposed by AHw, p. 33. On Mishnaic qurpayāt, cf. J. Brand, Ceramics, p. 506; G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends (Edinburgh, 1956), p. 82.

227Segal, GMH, p. 30.

228M. Kēlīm 4:3. Cf. also, AIA, p. 107.

229Cf. the commentaries of R. Simeon of Sanz and the commentary attributed to R. Asher, in the Vilna Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, ad loc.
38) *gurqeban*, "stomach," <*quqqubanu*, "stomach."

There appear in Akkadian a number of similar words:

ku-ku-ba-tum/tu = pi-i karsi = ku-ku-ba-nu ša šaši, "stomach," = "mouth of the stomach," = "stomach of a pig,"\(^{230}\)

and *qu-qu-ba-tu* = *qu-qu-ba-nu*.\(^{231}\) This last form is considered by von Soden to be a loanword in Mishnaic Hebrew, *gurqeban*.\(^ {232}\)

Arguments for a loan rather than a cognate relationship are as follows: if *quqqubanu/gurqeban* were cognates, then in Aramaic and Hebrew we would expect a dissimilation of *u > i* in the first vowel, as two successive *u*-vowels do not occur in these languages;\(^ {233}\) and, also, the purrusu noun form and the -anu ending are expected in Akkadian\(^ {234}\) but are unusual in Aramaic and Hebrew. The change of *qq > rq*, *quqqubanu > gurqeban*, is a case of dissimilation,\(^ {235}\) and the loss of the second *u*-vowel is an instance of the reduction of a short vowel in an open unstressed syllable, characteristic of Aramaic.\(^ {236}\) Hebrew must have received the word through Aramaic.

\(^{230}\) *Ahw*, p. 500b.  
\(^{231}\) *Ibid.*.  
\(^{234}\) *GAG*, pars. 55n and 56r.  
\(^{236}\) *Ibid.*, par. 10.10c.
39) *qat*, "handle," < *qatum*, "hand."

Mishnaic *qat* has long been recognized as a loan from Akkadian *qatum*. This word is attested as early as Old Akkadian. The borrowed word, *qat*, is not the only means by which Mishnaic Hebrew designates "handle," as there also occurs *yad haqat qum*, "the handle of the axe." Akkadian *qatum* enters, via Aramaic, not as a loan translation, but as an ordinary borrowing of a term for a particular object. In Biblical Hebrew, *qat*, "wood," is used for "handle." The variant form, *qnt*, is not a case of dissimilation, as this would occur if there were a doubling of the *t*. It is, perhaps, a hypercorrection. An additional consideration is that the consonant pattern *q-t* is incompatible in Hebrew, confirming this as a loanword, and that the only other


238I. J. Gelb, A Glossary of Old Akkadian, Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary, No. 3 (Chicago, 1957), p. 223 (hereafter abbreviated as MAD III). The entry is given syllabically: *ga-ti-is-su*. A derivation of *qatum* from *qatqum* < *lg*, "grasp," is rejected by Goetze who suggests a derivation from *qatum*, A. Goetze, JCS, II (1948), 269; *QAG*, *par*. 55b.


241 Compare M. Mak. 2:1, *nimrat habbarzel migatt*, "the iron slipped off its handle," and Deut. 19:5, *manasal habbarzel min haqat qum*, "the iron slipped off of the wood."

242Cf. the forms *mgntw*, Lowe, MPT, and *migganna*, Beer, *MK*, the Mishnah corresponding to M. Mak. 2:1.

words with this pattern are Greek loanwords, όθεδρα, καθέσπα, "seat," and οτιλίας, καθολίκος, "official."

Assyrian passages indicate that ῥαγγατουμ denotes a shallow area at the bank or mouth of a river, e.g., ῥαγγατε πα παρί ιδωδή, "(the ships of my warriors) reached the swamps at the head of the river,"244 and ῥαγγατε ές τιμίδι διολατ, "the shallows on the bank of the Tigris."245 In an Assyrian lexical list there is an equation of ῥαγγατομ with u-sal-la, "swamp, watered plain."246

Mishnaic יָנֶה כֶּבֶש is proposed as a loan from Assyrian ῥαγγατομ, with Aramaic as the intermediary. Aramaic ῥגא and Mandaeic ῥגאτ are closest in form to the Assyrian. The difference between the form of Hebrew יָנֶה כֶּבֶש and the Assyrian can be explained on the basis of variant formations in the Aramaic upon which the Hebrew draw. There occur Syrian יָנֶה כֶּבֶש247 and Mandaeic

244Sept. II, 74, line 77.
245Ibid.
246Yon Sodas, 38, XLIII (1936), 235.
247In 6. 168a; Hebrew יָנֶה כֶּבֶש occurs in 4. 22.
248Driver and McEvedy, Map, DIO., p. 322.
249LXX, SYR., p. 473.
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40) *reqaq < Aramaic *rqagqā, *raqta < raggatum, "marsh, shallow."

Assyrian passages indicate that *raggatum denotes a shallow area at the bank or mouth of a river, e.g., *ana *raqqat *pā *nāri *ikšudā, "(the ships of my warriors) reached the swamps at the head of the river,"244 and *ragqatum Ša kišād diqlat, "the shallows on the bank of the Tigris."245 In an Assyrian lexical list there is an equation of *raggatum with u-sal-la, "swamp, watered plain."246

Mishnaic *reqaq is proposed as a loan from Assyrian *raggatum, with Aramaic as the intermediary. Aramaic *raqta247 and Mandaic raqata248 are closest in form to the Assyrian. The difference between the form of Hebrew *reqaq and the Assyrian can be explained on the basis of variant formations in the Aramaic upon which the Hebrew drew. There occur Syriac *reqaqā249 and Mandaic

244OIT II, 74, line 77.
245Ibid.
246Von Soden, ZA, XLIII (1936), 235.
247TB B. M. 108a; Hebrew *reqaq occurs in M. Šab. 11:4.
249Lex. Syr., p. 473.
rqqtum. It is suggested that the loan process may have followed this pattern: Assyrian raqqatum > Aramaic raqt, raqat, / secondary formations: reqga > Hebrew reqg.

It is generally accepted that Nishanic is a borrowing from Akkadian ratar. What needs clarification, however, is the pattern of borrowing. It would be expected that the noun, ratar, would be borrowed from Aramaic Bar. This, in turn, would be borrowed from an Akkadian noun form, as is the case in other borrowings.

This, however, is not the case. There is a noun form from Bar Bar, “writing,” The Hebrew form, Bar, does not reproduce the Akkadian pattern. One would expect Bar > Bar, if the Aramaic vocalization is Bar, the common vocalization is Bar, the same is true. Only if the Aramaic form is Bar, can one argue for the loan from Aramaic Bar.


It can be speculated upon that the variant forms in Aramaic may have been obtained by association of raqqatum with the pattern of the media-waw or geminate root, *rq, *rq. There is no basis for any etymological association with any known roots, such as *rq, "spit," or raqqum, *rq, "be thin," B-D-B, p. 956. The form of raqqatum follows the passat model; compare sarratum "queen," sassatum, "grass," GAG, par. 54.1. As this pattern is based upon two radicals, the word could easily have been associated with the media-waw or geminate pattern. This loan is questioned but with inadequate discussion in AIA, p. 120.
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41) ṭēṯār, "document," < ṣāṭāru, "write."

The Akkadian verb, ṣāṭāru, is widely attested. An example is [tup]pātim labīratim taḥpia [u eš]ṣetim taštura, "you have broken the old tablets and written new ones."^252

It is generally accepted that Mishnaic ṭēṯār is a borrowing from Akkadian ṣāṭāru. What needs clarification, however, is the pattern of borrowing. It would be expected that the noun, ṭēṯār, would be borrowed from Aramaic ṣyr, ṭēṯār. This, in turn, would be borrowed from an Akkadian noun form, as is the case in other borrowings.

This, however, is not the case. There is a noun form from ṣāṭāru: ẓītru, "writing." The Hebrew form, ṭēṯār, does not reproduce the Akkadian pattern. One would expect ẓītru > ṭēṭēr. If the Aramaic vocalization is ṭēṯārā, the common vocalization, the same is true. Only if the Aramaic be vocalized ẓīṭrā ^256 is there any

^252 CAD VI (H), 172.
^253 AFw, pp. 19 and 29; B-D-B, p. 1009.
^254 The word ẓīr appears widely in Imperial Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic from Elephantine, Palmyrene and Nabatean, DISO, pp. 295-6.
^256 Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1555, lists this vocalization parenthetically but does not authenticate it. He also lists ẓīṭrā, ṭīṭrā, vocalized as such, with the
It appears that the Hebrew and, possibly, the Aramaic, do not reproduce an Akkadian noun pattern, but form a word according to native patterns. In addition, Akkadian 𒈳štu roughly does not have the very specific technical meaning of Aramaic and Hebrew štr, šetār, "legal document." The noun formed from the Akkadian verb has the same general sense which kēṭār has in Hebrew. The expression šiṭir šumī, "inscription of a name," is often in apposition with muṣarû, "inscription." For "legal document," Akkadian uses dannatu, lē-su, kanīku, kunukku, or tuppu. It does not use šiṭru in this meaning "line, orbit of the stars." This may be derived from šatāru, "write," and may also be identical with Arabic saṭara, "to rule (paper)," J. G. Hava, Arabic-English Dictionary, p. 320. Compare also jasāṭir, "row, line, handwriting," Hava, ibid.

Hebrew šetār is formed according to the qēbar pattern; compare kēṭār, qēbar, kēlāl, tēbar, and qēlāq, Segal, GMH, p. 230. It is probable that Hebrew received this word from Aramaic ʃetāra. Possibly the Aramaic was modelled after kēṭāb, which means "decree" and, presumably, the written document which contains it, Dan. 6:9, 10 and 11. The verbs kēṭab and šatār are synonymous.

Delitzsch, ibid., p. 652.

Delitzsch, ibid., p. 652.

Delitzsch, ibid., pp. 546-7.

Ibid., p. 437.

Ibid., pp. 507-8.

Cf. ištūma šētibtu llvmassu tuppašu ḫīpi, "after the interest has been demanded (and paid), destroy his tablet," CAD VI (H), 172, from CT 29, 41:13, Old Babylonian letter. It is also significant that in an Aramaic docket on a Neo-Babylonian business document, štr occurs, but in the Akkadian text itself there occurs unqu, "ring, seal." The example is: un-qu (PN) bi-is-di-e (Akkadian),
It would appear that, if a borrowing has taken place, Aramaic has borrowed the verb, šātāru, not the noun šītru, and has formed the noun according to its own patterns, as has Hebrew, borrowing from it. There is no evidence, however, that šātāru and šītr are cognate in Akkadian and Aramaic, and that a borrowing can be doubted. Aramaic had no need to borrow a generalized verb for "write" when it already had ktb and the noun formation from that root. It borrowed the general verb in order to use it for the very specific purpose of designating a šītr by <s>dh (Aramaic), "written by Bysdh," Cardascia, Archives, p. 178. The word unq~ corresponds to kan~ku and kunukku, both from kanāku, "seal." It may be conjectured that the word was first used in the sense "signature."
legal document. The verb appears to have dropped out of currency, and the noun-formation remained.\(^{266}\)

Mishnaic yešār and Biblical sōter, "officer," are an example of doublets, two separate borrowings from the same source. There is no question of yešār having developed internally from sōter, as the latter word was understood as a term for an official, without any reference to writing as a part of his function.\(^{267}\) While originally authority and the ability to write were connected, thus leading to yešār > sōter, the latter word functions on a different level.

In the Mishnah, yešār can occur alone,\(^ {268}\) or with a modifying elements, e.g., yešār ḫon, "note of indebtedness,"\(^ {269}\) yešārā ḥaliga, "records of drawing off the shoe,"\(^ {270}\) and yešārā berūrin, "deeds of arbitration."\(^ {271}\)

The entrance of yešār into Hebrew, together with another loanword, get, displaced Biblical sēper\(^ {272}\) and removed it from the area of "legal document."

\(^{266}\)For specialization in meaning of borrowed words, cf. U. Weinreich, Languages in Contact, p. 55.

\(^{267}\) Cf. Deut. 31:28; Prov. 6:7; I Chron. 26:29; and II Chron. 34:13. See, however, AIA, p. 260.

\(^{268}\)M. Qid. 1:1 and 2; M. B. M. 1:8.

\(^{269}\)M. B. B. 10:6.

\(^{270}\)M. B. Q. 3:3.

\(^{271}\)Ibid.

\(^{272}\)Deut. 24:1, 3; Jer. 3:8; Isa. 50:1; and Jer. 32:11 and 12.
42) šūmsūm < šaman šammū, "sesame."

This word is generally written with the logogram šE.GIS.l,273 and has been proposed as the source of the Hebrew loanword šūmsūm.274 The word is widely attested inside and outside of the Semitic sphere.275 It has been derived from šaman šammim.276

Recently, however, Kraus has drawn attention to the fact that the word, most often written as a logogram, also occurs syllabically, Old Babylonian ša-ma-ša-mi, and Old Assyrian ša-ma-[š]a-mi.277 This writing indicates that a derivation from šaman šammim is not possible. In addition, šaman šammim would presumably mean "oil of herbs," which, as Kraus notes, can hardly be the name of a plant.278 In addition, the Sumerian šE.GIS.l also gives no satisfactory sense.279 The suggested renderings of

273DAB, pp. 101-2; Code of Hammurabi, pars. 49 and 50.

274AFW, p. 56. This identification was already noted by Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1537a, but his attempted derivation from šemeš, "sun," is unacceptable.


276Kraus, ibid., p. 115, n. 22; DAB, p. 101; GAG, par. 59a.

277Kraus, ibid., pp. 114-5.

278Ibid., p. 115. 279Ibid.
the Sumerian, "corn of the oil tree" and "oil-wood barley" are not descriptive of the seed. In addition, there occur in Mari letters the forms SE.I.GIS AND SE.I.GIS. Kraus suggests that both Akkadian šamas(s)ammu and Sumerian šešil are borrowings from a third language and that the original word behind both forms cannot be recovered. He also notes that šamas(s)ammu is a plural tantum.

In the Mishnah, šumsūm occurs regularly, being part of a list with orez, dōhan, and perāgin, "rice, durra, and panic," and also in conjunction with gesān and pilpel, "black cummin and pepper."

It must be noted that there are variants to Hebrew šumsūm which appear closer to the Akkadian. These are šemšem, šamsēmin, and šamšem. The last form

Kraus, ibid., p. 115.
Ibid., n. 25, citing J. Bottéro and A. Finet, ARM, XV (1954), 263, and 85.
Kraus, ibid., p. 115.
M. Seb. 2:7; M. Hallā 1:4.
M. Teb. Yôm 1:5. Sesame oil is mentioned in M. Ṣab. 2:2. In the Code of Hammurabi, pars. 49 and 50, sesame is listed with grain as a common commodity, and in Tosefta Sabbat 2:3, TB Ṣab. 26a, sesame oil is referred to as the only oil available to the people of Babylonia.

Ibid., M. Hallā 1:4; M. Ṣab. 2:2.
Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, M. Teb. Yôm 1:6, p. 127. This manuscript is not consistent, however, as the
is closest to the Akkadian šama(y)ammu, and it may be that the name for a widely used commodity such as sesame may have entered Hebrew directly from Akkadian, without any Aramaic influence. This, however, cannot be stated definitely. The more common Hebrew šumšūm appears to be based upon the Aramaic šumšēma. The change from a > u in the first vowel may be due to the phenomenon of the change of vowels to u under the influence of labial consonants, e.g., Akkadian šammu > Aramaic šumna, "fat," and Semitic *libb > Arabic lubb. Of course, this change could have taken place directly in the Hebrew without Aramaic mediation.

form šumšēmēn is also cited, ibid.; cf. šamšēmym, Katsh, GM, Pl. 6, line 30. This is not vocalized, but a short first vowel is likely. The citation is M. Hallā 1:4.

289 Brockelmann, Grundriss, I, par. 75; Moscati, Introduction, par. 9.6.
43) șe pîr, "sac of the foetus," < saparu, "net."

Examples of this word in Akkadian are: usparirma
bēlum saparasa usalmisi, "the lord spread out his net to
enfold her," and saparis nadūma kamāris ǔšbū, "thrown
into the net, they sat in the snare."

This word has been identified with Mishnaic șe pîr by Tur-Sinaí. If this is a loanword, certain differences in consonants and form must be accounted for. One would expect the change ș > s. The opposite process does occur, however, compare Akkadian suluppî, "date," > Aramaic
șalpūpē. The noun pattern of saparu should correspond
to a Hebrew șāpār, compare ḥatanu, Hebrew ḥatān, "son-in-
law," or an expected development might be: saparu > šāpār
șe pîr. In fact, Aramaic șe pîrā and Hebrew șe pîr
correspond to the pîris form, compare kilīlu and kēlīl,
"crown." The adaptation of this borrowing to the pîris

290 Enuma e-liš IV:95  
291 Ibid., IV:112.

292 M. Niddā 3:3.

293 Tur-Sinaí, Commentary on Job, p. 232. Tur-Sinaí also finds this word in Psalms 56:9, šiprātēkā, and in
Job 26:13, šīrā, which he reads as șe pîrā, ibid.

294 Cf. imitti suluppē имвimîdu, "they will impose
upon him the estimate of the dates," Cardascia, Archives,
p. 137, and șalpūpē (pl.), TB Ber. 52b. An Assyrian
source is likely, as Akkadian șṣ was realized by Assyrians

295 GAG, par. 55e; Moscati, Introduction, par. 10c,g.
An original saparru may underlie saparu, involving no
accent change (Dr. Moshe Held, in oral communication).

296 GAG, par. 55j.
pattern distinguishes it from the homonym, ṣpr, "be beautiful." 297

It has been recognized that ausapīnu is a loan in Hebrew, qāmābîn, "friend of the groom, best man." 298 A parallel is sappû, "friend," in whose presence the bride is walked by the groom. Driver and Miles have compared this to the role of the ausapīnu. 299

Laubert brings evidence to show that the ausapīnu was also associated with the bride. A Sumerian equivalent to ausapīnu is KINNIR.SI, who, in Sumerian religious texts, is represented as lying with Inanna. 300 Laubert's view, the ausapīnu performed the Aus prince pretext, a function which, in later times, he delegated to others. In later times, the termAus in continued in Jewish tradition in the sense of "friend of the groom." 301 The relationship of the ausapīnu to Aus prince pretext cannot be verified here. However, it will be seen that there is a relationship between the Akkadian material and the later usage.

The Mishnah uses vawwâbîn as an equivalent to 302

297 There also occurs an Akkadian word, suparrûstû, "net," Delitzsch, Assyr. Hwb., p. 684. It is not clear if this is related at all as a loanword.
44) \( \text{susapin} \) < \( \text{susapinu} \), "attendant of the groom or bride."

It has been recognized that \( \text{susapinu} \) is a loan in Hebrew, \( \text{susa\text{'}pin} \), "friend of the groom, best man."\(^{298}\) A parallel is \( \text{tappu} \), "friend," in whose presence the bride is veiled by the groom. Driver and Miles have compared this to the role of the \( \text{susapinu} \).\(^{299}\)

Lambert brings evidence to show that the \( \text{susapinu} \) was also associated with the bride. A Sumerian equivalent to \( \text{susapinu} \) is \( \text{NIMGIR.SI} \), who, in Sumerian religious texts, is represented as lying with Inanna.\(^{300}\) In Lambert's view, the \( \text{susapinu} \) performed the \( \text{ius primae noctis} \), a function which, in later times, he delegated to others. In later times, the term \( \text{susa\text{'}pin} \) continued in Jewish tradition in the sense of "friend of the groom."\(^{301}\) The relationship of the \( \text{susapinu} \) to a \( \text{ius primae noctis} \) cannot be verified here. However, it will be seen that there is a relationship between the Akkadian material and the later usage.

The Mishnah uses \( \text{susa\text{'}pin} \) as an equivalent to \( \text{\text{\char'135}h\text{\char'135}eb} \), "friend," a usage to be compared with \( \text{tappu} \).

\(^{298}\) AFW, p. 46.

\(^{299}\) Driver and Miles, Assyrian Laws, p. 187, and n. 8.

\(^{300}\) Lambert, BWL, pp. 339f.

\(^{301}\) Ibid. Cf., however, a different view, AIA, pp. 127 and 289-90.
in the Assyrian Laws. The Mishnah regards the "status of being a friend of the groom," as a reciprocal legal obligation. The sent wedding gifts to his friend which had to be reciprocated at his own wedding. This obligation could be enforced through the action of the court.

In material outside of the Mishnah there is evidence that the was associated with the bride, as well. There was a custom in Judah where a was assigned to the groom, and another to the bride. They would sleep in the same house as the couple on their first night together, and would see that the evidence of virginity was not mislaid or falsified. There is reference to a who had the "testimony," of the virginity of a king's daughter, i.e., the blood-stained cloth. This material, while not identical with the claims of Lambert about the susapTnu, does have parallels with it. There is a relationship to the bride, as well as to the groom, and a relationship of the to the first night. This usage, however, is not found in the Mishnah.

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302 M. Sanh. 3:5; cf. Driver and Miles, Assyrian Laws, ibid.
304 Tosefta Ketubōk 1:4; TB Ket. 12a.
45) tāgār, "merchant," ≪ tamkarum.

The Akkadian word is a ṭ-formation from the Semitic root \( \sqrt{mkf} \), and the Sumerian D.AM.GAR is to be regarded as an Akkadian loanword. Goetze suggests that the original meaning of tamkarum is "banker," one who was associated with a sābitum, "female beer seller," who also had financial connections. In the Code of Hammurabi, the tamkarum was the one who provided the capital for the šamlūtu to work with in business ventures. Mishnaic tāgār, derives, through Aramaic tāgārā, from Akkadian tamkaru(m). The word tends to replace Biblical sōqēr although not completely.

306 Salonen, Or., NS, XIX (1950), 404-7.
308 Code of Hammurabi, pars. 32, 49, 100, 102, 104, and 106; Lambert, BWL, 134:139 and p. 319 on line 69. Akkadian šamlūtu has entered Aramaic as šewālya, "apprentice," a shift from the original meaning.
310 Bendavid, BBMH, p. 356; cf. šāhēr behēmā, M. Seq. 7:2. Arabic ṭajīr is regarded as a borrowing from Aramaic, with the Arabic verb, ṭjr, as derived from the noun. The problem of the long initial vowel in Arabic instead of a short vowel and a doubled second consonant (compare Aramaic tāgārā) may be answered, following Nödeke's suggestion, by assuming that it derives from a dialectical Aramaic tāgārā, S. Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 181. See also, AIA, pp. 198 and 263.
Mishnaic te'hum has been recognized as a loanword from Akkadian tabiimu. An example of the Akkadian is: massāri URU birāt gabbu ša ina muppi tahūmē, "the guards of all the forts which are along the border." There also occurs a lexical equation of ta-hu-um-mu with kippatu, "circle, limit." In Mishnaic Hebrew, te'hum takes the place of Biblical gebul which does not become obsolete, but takes on a specialized meaning in the plural gebulin, "areas outside of Jerusalem."

There is no apparent derivation of this word in West-Semitic and it replaces gbî in Aramaic documents. This suggests that it was first borrowed by

\[ t'\text{hūm} < \text{tabīmu}, "\text{border}." \]

\[ \text{M. Cer. 3:4 and 4:3. } \]

\[ \text{AFw, p. 9. } \]

\[ \text{CAD II (B), 263, from Harper Letters, 197:23. } \]

\[ \text{Von Soden, "Lexicales Archiv," ZA, XLIII (1936), 241, line 191; cf. kippatu, AHw, pp. 482-3. } \]

\[ \text{Bendavid, BHMH, p. 341. For gebūlin in this special sense, cf. M. Seq. 7:3. For areas outside of the Temple, including Jerusalem, medīnā is used, cf. M. R. H. 4:3; M. Cer. 10:13. } \]

\[ \text{A relationship with hōmā, "wall," proposed by Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1660, is not convincing, as te'hum is a semantic parallel to gebūl, "border, district," and does not share the semantic range of hōmā at all. } \]

\[ \text{The word thm occurs in Nabatean, Palmyrene and Elephantine, DISO, pp. 325-6. In the Aramaic inscriptions } \]
Aramaic, then entered Hebrew.

Thompson discusses 𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤓𐤃𐤃𐤄, a Sumerian writing, and notes that it has long been compared to Aramaic tarmūdā, Greek ῥῆμα, Syriac tūrma, and to Arabic tarmūd. Although an Akkadian form is not listed, it may reasonably be assumed to have existed, in view of the widespread use of this word. It is also possible that 𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤃𐤄 is not originally Sumerian.

It is suggested that Hebrew has borrowed this word from Akkadian, through the mediation of Aramaic. There are various vocalizations in Hebrew. Yalon, in Albeck's edition of the Mishnah, vocalizes tūrma. In the Neubronner Manuscript there occur tūrma and tarmūdīn. The vowel changed q > ū. Therefore, tūrma > tūrmā, Hebrew tarmūd, based place under the influence of a labial such as q. The Hebrew Tarmūd seems from the Aramaic.

of Bar-Rekub and Barga'ya gbl, not thm, is used often, indicating that thm is not original in Aramaic, KAI I, 39, No. 215:15 and No. 224:23. In a later inscription from Gōzne, thwm occurs, as it does in Elephantine, KAI I, 50, No. 259:1; Cowley, AP, 6:7, 8:5, and 13:13. The presence of tahumāt in Arabic is regarded as not native but as a loan from Aramaic, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 282; cf. also Syriac tahumā, Lex. Syr., pp. 820-1. See also AIA, pp. 128-9 and 291.
47) turmōs < *tarmusu < šamTAR.MUS, "lupine,"

Lupinus termis.

Thompson discusses šamTAR.MUS, a Sumerian writing, and notes that it has long been compared to Aramaic turmusā, Greek ὑπόμε, Syriac tūrmēsā, and to Arabic tarmus. Although an Akkadian form is not listed, it may reasonably be assumed to have existed, in view of the widespread use of this word. It is also possible that šamTAR.MUS is not originally Sumerian.

It is suggested that Hebrew has borrowed this word from Akkadian, through the mediation of Aramaic. There are various vocalizations in Hebrew. Yalon, in Albeck's edition of the Mishnah, vocalizes turmōs. In the Kaufmann Manuscript there occur tormōs and tormōsin. The vowel change a > u, *tarmusu > tūrmēsā, Hebrew turmōs, takes place under the influence of a labial such as m. The Hebrew form derives from the Aramaic.

318DAB, pp. 125-6; NCW IV, 671.
319Cf. this edition, M. Kil. 1:3; M. Sab. 18:1; M. Mak. 4:6; and M. Teb. Yom 1:4.
320Beer, MK, M. Kil. 1:3, and M. Sab. 18:1.
321Ibid., M. Mak. 4:8 (Albeck edition, 4:6). The reading tarmwsyn accepted by S. Lieberman, Tosefta Zerācim, p. 130, Terumah 5:7, only indicates that there is an initial short vowel. It may be read as tarmūsin, tormōsin, turmōsin, or tarmūsin. Compare also tūrmēsin, Katsh, GM, Pl. 152, line 7.
322Moscati, Introduction, par. 9.6.
CHAPTER III

LOAN TRANSLATIONS AND EXTENSIONS

1) ma\textsuperscript{a}h\textit{izin} \textit{et h\textsuperscript{a}jur} < \textit{i}k\textsuperscript{a}ta \textit{yujuzu}, "causing/to cause a fire to ignite."

Examples of the Akkadian idiom, using \textit{ahazu}, "seize, take hold," are: \textit{i\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{u} tu-sa-a\textit{h}-\textit{j}a-za-\textit{yu}, \textit{"you will cause it to catch fire,}" and, using the \textit{St} form, \textit{i\textsuperscript{a}t us-tap-\textit{h}a-\textit{zu}, \textit{"the fire I kindle."}\textsuperscript{1}

Aramaic is the intermediary between Akkadian and Hebrew, as seen by Syriac \textit{j\textsuperscript{h}dt nwr\textit{j}.\textsuperscript{2} The expression in the Mishnah, \textit{uma\textsuperscript{a}h\textit{izin} \textit{et h\textsuperscript{a}jur}, \textit{"causing a fire to ignite,}"\textsuperscript{3} is ultimately derived from the Akkadian.

\textsuperscript{1}AHw, p. 19b; CAD I, Pt. 1, 182-3.

\textsuperscript{2}Lex. Syr., p. 11b; Albeck, IM, p. 174.

\textsuperscript{3}M. \textit{Sab}. 1:11. There is a variant, \textit{um\textsuperscript{e}h\textit{izin}, Katsh, GM, Pt. 15, line 24. A variant from the Kaufmann Manuscript, \textit{um\textsuperscript{e}h\textit{idin}}, is cited ibid., p. 30, ad loc. This reading may reflect an Aramaic influence. The idiom also occurs in the non-causative form, k\textit{ed\textsuperscript{e} ye\textit{e\textsuperscript{e}hoz h\textsuperscript{a}jur, \textit{"so that the fire will take hold," M. \textit{Sab}.}, ibid. This is the reading of Yalon, as against the editions\textit{ te\textsuperscript{e}hoz, Yalon, IVM, p. 50. Another reading is \textit{seyv\textsuperscript{a}t, Katsh, ibid., line 25. The Biblical idiom, \textit{\textsuperscript{e}e mitlaqq\textsuperscript{a}hat, Ex. 9:24 and Ezek. 1:4, may be related, and may be a doublet, another reflection of the Akkadian idiom.\textsuperscript{161}}

Examples in Akkadian are: **mešretī tuṣabbītī** tuṣabbītī **binātī**, "you (Lamaṣtu) seized parts of the body, you destroyed the limbs;"[4] **ṭābu pāmma waṭar binītam**, "he (Sin) is sweet of mouth, grand in form;"[5] and **eṣemtu aḫītu** binūt amlūti ariš liṭṭašāmma, "let the foreign body, the human shape, come out quickly (from the womb)."[6] Other nouns from the same verb are **binīanni**, "form, figure,"[7] and **bunnānī**, "outer appearance, figure."[8] Examples are: **Ībukma ṣaltam ṣūṭuru binianni**, "he sent off Saltu, grandiose in form,"[9] and **ākīn (!) bunnāniya ḫerīṣ uṣeklīlūma**, "they (the great gods) have given me a perfect appearance in every respect."[10]

It is suggested that these forms have influenced the cognate **binyān**, used in the Mishnah in the sense of "human frame," e.g., **rōb binyānō wērōb minyānō**, "the greater part of its frame or the greater number of its members."[11] Albeck cites the definition by the Tosefta of binyān, which

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[4] **CAD II (B), 237.**
[5] **CAD, ibid., 238.**
[6] **Ibid., 243**
[7] **Ibid., 238.**
[8] **Ibid., 317-9, meaning no. 2 on 318.**
[9] **Ibid., 238.**
[10] **Ibid., 318**
is "the thighs, the legs, the ribs and the backbone."  

One might argue against this suggestion that Biblical binyān, "building," developed to the sense of "human frame" in a manner parallel to gizra, used in both senses. However, gizra in the sense of "building" is rare, occurring in Ezekiel, and the underlying concept in both words is different. I would suggest that gizra did not influence binyān, and that there is a probability of Akkadian influence.

However, the root gor can mean "totally burned, consumed," as in riqqar, "the spiles were completely burned." As the roots ganiq and ganiq are cognates, it is suggested that the specific development of ganiq, "be consumed," and ganiq, "charred wood," was transferred to the Aramaic cognate, forming ganiq. Mishnaic suganū is a further development, the root verbal form being based upon the Aramaic noun, sugane, indicating that the spiles have been acted upon by the source.

12 Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorot, p. 130.
14 Cf. gizra, Ezek. 41:12 and in v. 13, where it occurs together with binya, and Lam. 4:7, referring to the human form. Another sense of binitu and binitu is "(fish) eggs, roe," CAD II (B), 238 and 244. This should be compared with Aramaic binita, "small fish," TB B. Q. 19b.
3) \textit{mugmar, "spices placed upon coals,"} \textless{} \textit{gumartā} \textless{} \textit{gumāru, "coal, charcoal."}

An example of \textit{gumāru}, attested in Neo-Assyrian, is:

\par
\textit{Summa pi-ittu lu gumāru istu muḫḫi kanūnu ittuqut, "if charcoal or a live ember falls out of the brazier."}\footnote{CAD, V (G), 133; cf. also AHW, p. 298.}

The CAD holds that Arabic \textit{gamr} and Aramaic \textit{gumartā} were borrowed from this word, but that there is no connection with the Semitic root \textit{gmr}.ootnote{CAD, ibid.}

However, the root \textit{gmr} can mean "totally burned, consumed," as in \textit{rigqē...ugdammerū, "the spices were completely burned."}\footnote{AHw, p. 278; cf. also Lex. Syr., pp. 121f.}

As the roots \textit{gamāru}, \textit{gmr} are cognates, it is suggested that the special development of \textit{gamāru}, "be consumed" \textgreater{} \textit{gumāru, "charred wood," was transferred to the Aramaic cognate, forming \textit{gumartā}. Mishnaic \textit{mugmar} is a further development, the HofCal verbal form being based upon the Aramaic noun, \textit{gumartā}, indicating that the spices have been acted upon by the coals.\footnote{M. Ber. 6:6; M. Bēṣā 2:7 and M. CEd. 3:11. It is not clear that Mandeian \textit{gumarta, "consecrated wafer," is at all related, Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 836.}

\textit{Hammi emar}. If this is primary, the Hofcal suggested above should be ruled out, and the form is of a miqtał noun formation. Nevertheless, not only the verb \textit{gmr}, "consume," but \textit{gumartā} must be assumed for the understanding of this word.
(4) **dinu**, "judgment," in various combinations.

The pervasive influence of Babylonian legal terms upon Hebrew and Aramaic has been studied in detail by Kutscher,²⁰ Yaron,²¹ and Muffs.²² A number of recognized loan translations in this area which appear in the Mishnah are:  

- **bacal din** < **bel dababi**, "litigant,"²³ **din u derim** < **denu u dababi**, "lawsuit and complaint,"²⁴ and **dine n pasot** < **dinen napistim**.²⁵

A number of others will be discussed here.

a) **hakken y eker**, "he who claims from his neighbor," literally, "he who loads upon his neighbor."²⁶ Kutscher sought to derive the use of **can** in this context from the metaphor of piercing, Arabic **takan**.²⁷ Muffs, however, shows that **can** in this context is a loan translation of Akkadian **emedu**, "load upon, obligate," and that the same verb appears in Aramaic:  

\[ wt^\text{cnwk} ly mwm^\text{jh} lmwm^\text{j} \]

"And they obligated you to take an oath on my behalf."²⁸

Akkadian examples of **emedu** in the sense of "obligate, impose upon someone (penalty, oath)," are:  

- **bel bi ti**

²¹Yaron, LAP.
²²Muffs, Studies.
²³Kutscher, ibid.
²⁴Ibid.
²⁵Code of Hammurabi, par 3; M. Sanh. 4:1.
²⁷Kutscher, ibid., 238.
²⁸Muffs, ibid., p. 32, n. 1.
emid šīšu bēl gillati emid gillassu, "On the sinner impose his sin, on the transgressor impose his punishment;" 29
biltam kayyantam ūmissunūtima, "he imposed a permanent tribute upon them;" 30 and niš ili PN i-mi-du-šu, "They obligate PN with the oath of the gods." 31 The same idea is expressed also by šuzbulu (zabālu), šussu (našu), and šakānu. Examples are: arnušu lušāšā, "I will cause him to bear his guilt," 32 and māpir tāštī lā mustēšeru tušazbal arna, "Him who accepts a present and yet lets justice miscarry, you make him bear his punishment," 33 and also aransunu ina mubhika issakkan, "Their guilt is placed upon you." 34

b) šoter jet haddīn, "cancels the judgment," 35 should be compared with dīna sapānu, as in dīna lissapihīma, "let his judgment be disrupted." 36

29 Gilgamesh XI:180. 30 CAD, II (B), 235.
31 AHw, p. 212, Old Babylonian, Susa.
32 Enuma elīš VI:26.
33 Lambert, BWL, 132:98 (Šamaš Hymn).
34 AHw, p. 70. Akkadian šēnu is cognate with ūn, but it is not used in the legal sense, CAD, XVI (§), 131f. In Mishnaic Hebrew, ūn is used in the general sense of "carry," as a replacement of Biblical nsū and šms, Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 355 and 15. It already occurs in the Bible in this general sense, Gen. 45:17, but not in the special legal sense. This sense is expressed in the Bible by šām, Job 23:6, and šīk, Ex. 21:22 and Numb. 12:11.

35 M. Sanh. 3:8; cf. above, p. 132, where this expression is discussed in conjunction with šutturu > Aramaic, Hebrew šar, "destroy."

36 Maqlū III:127.
c) nigmar haddin, "when the sentence has been passed," should be compared with dīnam gamārum, as in the following examples: ḡāmir dīni, "(you) who decide my case," and dīnam gumrā-šunušim, "complete judgment for them." Also to be compared is DI.TIL.LA > ditilli, "verdict," as the element TIL is equivalent to gamāru. The phrase in the Mishnah, ḡāmrū-šet haddāhār, "when (the judges) reached their decision," may be compared with awātam gamāru.

d) ḡezaret bet dīn, "verdicts of the court," should be compared with Akkadian parāsu, "cut," and purussū, "verdict." An example is: ṣumma dayyānum dīnam iddin purussū puρiṣ, "if a judge has rendered judgment, given a verdict."

The Sumerian equivalent of dīnu is DI.KU5, and the second element, KU5, is also read as KUD and TAR, equivalent to...

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37M. Sanh. 6:1.
38AHw, p. 277. 39Ibid., p. 171.
40Ibid., p. 174; Labat, Manuel, p. 67.
41M. Sanh. 3:7.
42AHw, op. cit., p. 89b. While Biblical kly has the sense "decide," and may be a parallel development, cf. I Sam. 20:7; Isa. 10:23 and 28:22, it is not used with dīn. This suggests that the Mishnaic expression is not dependent upon it.
43M. M. Q. 3:3.
44Code of Hammurabi, par. 5; cf. Esther 2:1, nigzar.
lents of nakāsu, batāqu, and parāsu, "cut." The influence of this loan is already present in the Bible, with the word bāq̂, "cut, decide a verdict," and with gzar (Job 22:28 and Esther 2:1). A similar development occurs in Latin, caedo, "cut," and decido, "cut off, settle." An argument for loan translations from parāsu is offered by Falk. 47

45 Labat, Manuel, p. 47. 461 K. 20:40. 47 Z. W. Falk, "Hebrew Legal Terms III," JSS, XIV (1969), 39-44. There is considerable elaboration of translations of this concept in Late Hebrew, outside of the Mishnah. Examples are: pēsaq din, "verdict," TB B. B. 130b; ḥoteqin āket hahalākā, "they decide (cut) the law," Midr. Lev. R., 4:1; and neḥsebā cəlāw gēzērā, "the decree has been decided (literally, chiselled) for him," Yalqūt Ṣimeonī, Isaiah, par. 291. As the Latin can have had no influence on the earliest instance of this loan translation, Biblical bāq̂, it would appear that it cannot be invoked to explain the phenomenon in Mishnaic Hebrew. Moreover, while gzar, gēzērā, in Mishnaic Hebrew might be explained as a development of the Biblical bāq̂, it should be noted that it is used in Imperial Aramaic in the sense of "conclude a pact, order," DISO, p. 49. This would indicate that the influence upon Mishnaic Hebrew is from the outside, traceable ultimately to Akkadian.
5) יָשֶׁת הָעָשׁ, "prostitute, woman of loose morals," < waš, "to be a gadabout."

In the Code of Hammurabi there occurs the expression: sumer la naṣratna waṣiat, "if she was not careful, but was a gadabout." This use of waṣ in the participial form in the special sense of "being of loose morals" is reflected in the Aramaic nappat bārā, "one who goes outside, i.e., a prostitute." The Aramaic is the intermediary between the Akkadian and the Hebrew yōṣēt hūṣ, which is a direct translation of nappat bārā.

48 Code of Hammurabi, par. 143.
49 Targum Onkelos, Genesis 34:31.
6) מושי יטאר, "produce a bill of indebtedness,"
< ועץ, "appear (of a legal document)."

Muffs has shown that ועץ is used in the context of the appearance or producing of a legal document. An example is: יסמה ינה יערה ינה ליזי יגerton...וועה ישה יمارك סיג, "if tomorrow or the day after a deed...appears, it is to be erased."51 This idiom has influenced Aramaic, as seen by the expression used in a document from Elephantine: יוקלן ינפואן ילך יקאי יספ י핫 יטוי, "they will not be allowed to produce against you a new or old document."52 The Aramaic idiom has, in turn, influenced Mishnaic Hebrew, e.g., מושי יטאר חוכ פייגר ישה יhallא מושי יsemakar יט לא יסה יסג, "if a person produces a bill of indebtedness against his neighbor, and he produces a document that he sold him the field,"53 and מושי יגת, "if she produced a bill of divorce."54

51Muffs, Studies, p. 183. The usage is Neo-Assyrian.

52E. Kraeling, The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri (New Haven, 1953), 10:15-16 (hereafter abbreviated as BMAP); Muffs, ibid., pp. 182-3, n. 6, citing Kutscher, Tarbiz, XVII (1945), 125ff.


54Ibid., 9:9.
7) **leşba** hakkāhēd, ḥāṣar hakkāhēd, "lobe of the liver," < ubān amūtim, "finger (lobe) of the liver."

Akkadian amūtu is equated with ka-bi-du, kabattu, a cognate of Hebrew kābēd, "liver."55 Various parts of the liver are designated as ṣabliat amūtim, "middle of the liver," nār amūtim, river of the liver," ubān amūtim, "finger of the liver," and tarbaḥ amūtim, "courtyard of the liver."56 An example including ubānum, "finger," is: summa amūtim...bābam ġa lā tū bāb ekallim martum u ubānum lā ibsāṣi, "if the liver has no 'gate' (and) there is no 'gate' of the palace," meaning "gall bladder" or "finger."57

In the Mishnah there occur the terms ḥāṣar hakkāhēd58 and ṣesis**a** hakkāhēd.59 Both terms are considered identical by Albeck.60 The Targum Onkelos renders Leviticus 3:10, ṣejet hayyoteret ᵉcal hakkāhēd by ṣejet ḥigra ᵉcal kabda. In Syriac, ḥeṣsar, ḥeṣra has the


56AHw, ibid.; CAD, II (B), 25.

57CAD, ibid., from YOS, X, 31, xiii 9 (Old Babylonian).


59M. Tamid 4:3.

60Albeck, Mishnah, Middēd, p. 246; ibid, Qodošim, p. 302.
meaning "small finger," thus ḫēṣṣār hakkāḥēd and ḫāṣṣār hakkāḥēd are identical. Zimmern related Syriac ḫēṣṣār to Akkadian ubānu ẖiḥiṭu. The loan process, however, can be traced back further, to ubān amūṭim.


62AFw, p. 46. If this suggestion is correct, Mishnaic Hebrew ḫāṣṣār hakkāḥēd is a borrowing, through Aramaic and Syriac, from ḫēhrū, ẖiḥiṭu. The cognate form of ḫēhrū in Hebrew is ṣāḥīr.

63There does occur in Akkadian the expression tarbaṣ amūṭim, "courtyard of the liver," AHw, p. 46. As tarbaṣu and Hebrew ḫāṣṣār are equivalents, it is tempting to relate tarbaṣ amūṭim to ḫāṣṣār hakkāḥēd. This, however, is not possible if, as stated above, ḫāṣṣār hakkāḥēd and ḫēṣṣār hakkāḥēd are equivalent. Also, a part of an organ with the term tarbaṣu would be wide, rather than a projection like a lobe, (compare German Dâumel). A usage similar to tarbaṣ amūṭim occurs in the Babylonian Talmud, turbaṣ hawwēṣet, "the wide part of the windpipe," TB Hul. 43b.
The Akkadian verb kamāru, "heap up, pile up," has a Hebrew cognate, krm, with metathesis. There also occurs kmr in a sense other than the frequent one of "keep warm," shrink, shrivel, as in the example: nikmar kattannūr, "fell in like a furnace," in contrast to nāpal labūq, "fell outward."

The influence of Akkadian is seen in the special use of kamāru for the piling up of dates to hasten their softening and ripening. Dates in their special stages of ripening have specific names: kimri, "green, bitter," ḫalal, "yellow, sour," raṭab, "brown," and tamar, "dry." Of direct relevance is the term kumurrū, "laying dates for ripening."

The usage is reflected in Mishnaic Hebrew. The printed text of the Mishnah reads hammēkamēn bājadāmā, 64 AHw, p. 430b. This is to be distinguished from karamu, "hold back," ibid., p. 446. An example of kamāru is: mukammer nupšim uṭuḏdim, "who piles up wealth and abundance," Code of Hammurabi, Prologue, I:54.

Cf. kissēv šellakkōhēs šēhū kōrem cālāw ʿet hakkēlim, "the chair of the launderer upon which he piles the clothes," M. Kēlim 23:4.

Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 647.

Ibid., from TP B. M. X:12c.

"he who hides fruit in the ground," but the variant mekammer exists. Outside of the Mishnah, this usage is well attested. It has been suggested here that, since kamaru and krm appear to be cognates, only the extended sense of kumurr was transferred, through Aramaic, to Hebrew. However, an alternate possibility exists. Since the usual form in Mishnaic Hebrew is krm, the special use of kmr for piling up fruit for ripening was borrowed separately, probably through Aramaic. As the two forms are different in Mishnaic Hebrew, despite the ultimate cognate relationship, it is possible that kmr, in its special sense, should be grouped with the loanwords.

69 M. Macas. 4:1.

70 The variant mekammer is cited by Albeck, Mishnah, Zera'im, p. 233. It is also found in the marginal notes of R. Ezekia Landau and in the commentary of R. Joshua ben Malkizedeq in the Wilna Talmud, ad loc.

71 Cf. kômerîn canâbîm, Tosefta Menâbîm, 9:10; kômer, "mass of fruit," TB B. M. 74a; TB Yeb. 97a.
9) siblon ^ < zubullu^, "marriage gift."

Mishnaic siblon, "gift sent by the groom," has been considered a loanword from súbultum, a noun formed from wabalu, "bring." What lends some support to the suggestion is that súbultum occurs in a list of words relating to marriage gifts, e.g., biblu, "betrothal gift," terbatum, "bride-price," nidintum, "dowry," and súbultum, "present."

There are grammatical considerations, however, which call this loan suggestion into question. One would expect in the Hebrew a loanword with a lengthened initial vowel, after the model of súbultum. This does not occur with siblon, "wedding gift," although there does occur siblélet, "sending of provisions for a common meal," a meaning apparently unrelated. A derivation of siblon

\[72\]
M. Qid. 2:6; M. B. B. 9:5.

\[73\]
Driver and Miles, The Assyrian Laws, pp. 186 and 472. A derivation from sibl^, "carry," is here rejected. See also, GAG, par. 56j, for the noun form of súbultum.

\[74\]
MSL V, 11-12, from Har-ra-hubullu, Tab. I.

\[75\]
Tosefta Pesahím 7:10; TB Pes. 89b. Hebrew siblélet can be derived from súbultu according to the principle that Hebrew does not take two successive u-vowels in a word, and there is dissimilation of one to i, Mon-çati, Introduction, par. 9:12. The development would be súbultu > *siblélet > siblélet. A connection with marriage terminology may be that marriage gifts such as the biblum may have originated with the husband's supplying food for the wedding meal, Driver and Miles, Babylonian Laws I, 249-50.
from sbl, "carry," is quite plausible and is suggested by Fleischer.\(^{76}\) As the Mishnaic equivalent of Biblical ns, "carry," is sbl,\(^{77}\) siblon can be a development parallel to ma'set, "gift (in a general sense)."\(^{78}\)

Held, however, has pointed out that Hebrew sbl is the semantic equivalent of Akkadian zabalu, as well as a cognate, and that zubullu, from zabalu, is a term used to designate exclusively a marriage gift.\(^{79}\) An example is: abu ya zubullu izbiluni kallassu ilaqqia ana marisu iddan, "the father who has brought the marriage gifts may fetch his daughter-in-law and give her to his son."\(^{80}\) Held considers Aramaic and Syriac sblint a loan from zubullu.\(^{81}\) The influence of Akkadian is manifest in that both siblon and zubullu are restricted to the special sense of "marriage gift." Had siblon developed independently as a translation of ma'set ( < ns), one would expect it to have a semantic range as general as its model.

The relationship of Hebrew siblon, whether loan-word from Akkadian or loan translation, must be considered. The Hebrew does not reproduce the form of the Akkadian

\(^{76}\) In the notes to NCW III, 720. For Levy's view, cf. ibid., p. 467, also shared by S. Krauss, Lehnwörter I, 146 and 217, i.e., that siblon derives from Greek στραβος.

\(^{77}\) Bendavid, BMH, p. 355.

\(^{78}\) Gen. 43:34; II Sam. 11:8.

\(^{79}\) M. Held, JAOS, LXXXVIII (1968), 90-1.

\(^{80}\) Ibid., p. 90, n. 10. \(^{81}\) Ibid., p. 91.
zubullū, but it does appear to be a direct borrowing of Syriac sebllonā. The Hebrew word, then, can be considered an Aramaic loanword. The Aramaic, however, is not a loanword from Akkadian but an extension, the transfer of a specialized meaning of a word to its semantic equivalent which, in this case, is also a cognate. The Aramaic word is formed according to indigenous patterns, but its specialized meaning, as indicated above, shows the influence of Akkadian. Thus, sibllon and its source, sebllonā, should be classed with the extensions and loan translations.
10) **hebqer**, **heqqer**, "property confiscated, ownerless, forfeit," < **bagaru**, "contest, vindicate (in legal sense)."

In some contexts, **bagaru** has the sense of "challenge, contest," and in others it is a technical term designating the recovery by the proper owner of any property that happens to be in the possession of another, "vindicate," in the legal sense.⁸³ Examples of the first, general sense are: ahūšu ul ibaqqaruši, "her brothers shall bring no claim against her,"⁸⁴ and āhum āham lā ibaqqaru, "one will not raise claims against the other."⁸⁵

Mishnaic **hebqer/heqqer**⁸⁶ has been seen to go back to Akkadian **baqarum**.⁸⁷ There is, however, a semantic development. In Hebrew, the sense of the word is "ownerless property," and the verb **maqqir** also has the sense of "confiscate." To quote Speiser on this development: "The post-

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⁸⁴Code of Hammurabi, par. 179.

⁸⁵CAD, I, Pt. 1, 203-4, from YOS, 8, 99:19f.

⁸⁶M. cEd. 4:3; M. Pā'ā 6:1; for the variants between Palestinian and Babylonian manuscripts, cf. Bendavid, BHMH, p. 215, and Epstein, ITM, II, 1220f. The form **hbqr** is Palestinian, and **hpqr** is Babylonian.

⁸⁷Speiser, ibid.; Speiser also connects Biblical **bigqoret**, Lev. 19:20, with post-Biblical **heqqer**. Their meanings, however, are not identical. The Biblical sense is seen by Speiser as an "obligation to make good this economic damage," ibid., p. 36.
biblical usage of ḫbqr and ḫpqr still harks back to the established earlier meanings of the Akkadian terms. By then, however, the Hiphʿil had acquired a broader range: not only to restore property to its rightful claimant but also to declare anything free, forfeit, or ownerless; hence the occasional anarchic and un-complimentary connotation of the terms involved.88 What is not absolutely clear, however, is the development of meanings from "challenge" to "declare ownerless." A possible intermediate step may be exemplified by the passage: ina qāte PN ipqirrû, "they challenged (the structure of the house) out of the hands of PN."89 The challenge here implies a desire to remove the ownership of the one challenged. As indicated by Speiser, the connotation of anarchic behavior is a further development.90

Speiser's view, that the Hebrew and the Akkadian are cognate, is followed here. Thus, this word is grouped with the extensions rather than with the loanwords.

88 Speiser, ibid., p. 35.
89 AHw, p. 104, Late Babylonian.
90 An alternate explanation is that pqr, "act anarchically, throw off authority," is a metathesis of prq, "break (the yoke of) authority," cf. päqrû hamminım, "the heretics threw off authority," TB Sanh. 38b, and haparq melammenû cál Taβa, "he who casts off the yoke of Torah," M. J Ab. 3:5. Also possibly to be compared is Mandaic PRQ, "rave, run riot," Drower and Macuch, Man. Dict., p. 377a. In this event ḫenqer/ ḫenqer, "ownerless property," need not be derived from Akkadian ḫagaru but from prq/pqr, "throw off authority." A possible semantic development might be to "throw off ownership." However, it has been preferred to accept the proposal of Speiser and to derive ḫenqer/ ḫenqer from ḫagaru. This is in view of the fact that the Akkadian also appears to influence biqaret in Lev. 19:20, as indicated by Speiser, and in view of the general influence of Akkadian legal terms.
11) pirētē kehūnā, "young priests," < perētu, "young man."

Akkadian perētu is cognate with Hebrew perah, "sprout, flower," but it is suggested that the extended sense of "young man" is a loan. Akkadian ligimū, "sprout," is equated lexically with sebrū, māru, "young person, son," and also with perētu.91 This should be compared with Mishnaic pirētē kehūnā, "young priests (in training)."92

Equivalents in the Mishnah are: ḥāmāqeqeq qāmē qereq, "(the one who should not) stipulate an amount for their subsistence,"95 and ḥappēqeq qereq leqqeq eqeq, "one who stipulates an amount to give to his son-in-law."96

It might be argued that qeq and paq, in their extended senses, are internal translations of Biblical qeq, and that outside Akkadian influence is not needed to explain this development.97 However, for the following considerations it is preferable to regard the extended meanings as loan translations. Both qeq and paq are the Mishnaic Hebrew equivalents of Biblical qeq, in the simple
12) qass, psq < ḫarāšu, *determine a price.*

Akkadian ḫarāšu is cognate with Hebrew ḫrq. The basic meaning is "cut," and the extended meanings have influenced Hebrew through semantic equivalents.

An example of ḫarāšu illustrating the sense "decide, set an amount," is: ki šarru bēliya iḥtarṣamma ultu muḥḥi 1 GIN adi 2 GIN, "if the king my lord has set for my use a fixed amount of one or two shekels of gold."⁹⁴

Equivalents in the Mishnah are: seyyeqassēs lāhem mēzōnōt, "(that he should not) stipulate an amount for their sustenance,"⁹⁵ and happoseq mēcōt leḥātānō, "one who stipulates an amount to give to his son-in-law."⁹⁶

It might be argued that qass and psq, in their extended senses, are internal translations of Biblical ḫrq, and that outside Akkadian influence is not needed to explain this development.⁹⁷ However, for the following considerations it is preferable to regard the extended meanings as loan translations. Both qass and psq are the Mishnaic Hebrew equivalents of Biblical krt, in the simple

⁹³CAD VI (H), 92-5; cf. I K. 20:40, kēn miṣpāteka jattā ḫaraṣṭā, "indeed, you have pronounced your own verdict;" and Job 14:5, ḫim ḫarūṣim yāmāw, "if his days are determined."

⁹⁴CAD, ibid., 93. ⁹⁵M. Ṣeb. 4:1.

⁹⁶M. Ket. 13:5.

⁹⁷This process is discussed in Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 109-10.
senses of "cut down a tree" and "cease."\textsuperscript{98} Except for \textit{k\textbar r\textbar t b\textbar r\textbar t}, \textit{krt} does not have the extended meanings of \textit{q\textbar s\textbar s} and \textit{p\textbar s\textbar q} and cannot be regarded as the source of them. While Biblical \textit{h\textbar r\textbar s\textbar s} has the idiomatic sense of "decree, set a limit," it does not have the simple senses of \textit{krt}. Moreover, there is another extended meaning for \textit{q\textbar s\textbar s} which cannot be explained by \textit{h\textbar r\textbar s\textbar s}, and that is "subtract, deduct." This can only be explained on the basis of \textit{h\textbar a\textbar r\textbar a\textbar s\textbar u}.\textsuperscript{99} Outside influence, that is, loan translation of \textit{h\textbar a\textbar r\textbar a\textbar s\textbar u}, is a more probable explanation of the special senses of \textit{q\textbar s\textbar s} and \textit{p\textbar s\textbar q}.\textsuperscript{100} This outside influence is also operative upon Biblical \textit{h\textbar r\textbar s\textbar s}.\textsuperscript{101}

The probability of outside influence in the use of \textit{p\textbar s\textbar q} for "set an amount" is increased by evidence from Mandic. One of the meanings given for \textit{FSQ} is "arrange a marriage dowry," as in the passage: \textit{kt bai\textbar t mipsaq q\textbar a\textbar b\textbar in}, "when thou wishest to arrange a marriage-contract."\textsuperscript{103}

\textsuperscript{98}Bendavid, \textit{ibid.}, p. 351.

\textsuperscript{99}Cf. \textit{um\textbar g\textbar s m\textbar i\textbar k\textbar e\textbar t\textbar u\textbar b\textbar a\textbar h\textbar h}, "and he may deduct from her ketuba," \textit{Sifre, Numbers} 8, cited in Jastrow, \textit{Dictionary}, p. 1407; CAD VI (H), 93.

\textsuperscript{100}The problem is complicated by the fact that more than one word is exerting influence here. Akkadian \textit{p\textbar a\textbar r\textbar a\textbar s\textbar u}, "render a verdict," influences both Biblical \textit{h\textbar r\textbar s\textbar s} and Mishnaic \textit{p\textbar s\textbar q} in that sense.

\textsuperscript{101}Falk, \textit{JSS}, XIV (1969), 39-44.

\textsuperscript{102}Drower and Macuch, \textit{Man. Dict.}, p. 376.

\textsuperscript{103}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 376 and 398.
This suggests Akkadian influence upon Aramaic, and, in turn, Aramaic influence upon Hebrew.

Akkadian kapātu is cognate with Hebrew kpr, and kaşārū is semantically equivalent to gōr, both words meaning "tie." An extended sense is "assemble," for example, troops. Passages illustrating this usage are:

qešam luššaṭir, "he assembles an army," and qešan-šu kūpur, "assemble troops." A Neo-Babylonian example is:

\[\text{109} \text{maršān nešu nešaṭu iktar} \]  nešaṭu iktar, "he gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers." Akkadian kašārū is a term used for re-organizing an array. It conveys the concept that various elements are brought together into a compact and ordered array, and is used of building materials used in construction, and of army formations. Akkadian kišrū has the sense of "band, military unit," and kišir tābāzī, "battle array," appears

- in AM 114, p. 443.
- in AM 114, p. 443, from AM 111, 75:25.


- in AM 114, p. 456.
- in AM 114, pp. 488-89.
13) q̣isrē mîlḥāmā, "ranks of war," < kīṣir tāʾāzī, "battle unit," < kāpātu, kūppuțu, kāṣāru, "tie, assemble."

Akkadian kāpātu is cognate with Hebrew kpt,\textsuperscript{104} and kāṣāru is semantically equivalent to q̣šr, both words meaning "tie."\textsuperscript{105} An extended sense is "assemble," for example, troops. Passages illustrating this usage are: šābām Ṽukappit, "he assembles an army,"\textsuperscript{106} and šābām... kūṣur, "assemble troops."\textsuperscript{107} A Neo-Babylonian example is: isnarkābatimēs u sīsēsu mājadūtu iktaṣar, "he gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers."\textsuperscript{108} Akkadian kāṣāru is a term used for re-organizing an army. It conveys the concept that various elements are brought together into a compact and ordered array, and is used of building materials used in construction, and of army formations.\textsuperscript{109} Akkadian kīṣru has the sense of "band, military unit,"\textsuperscript{110} and kīṣir tāʾāzī, "battle array," appears

\textsuperscript{104}AHw, p. 443.
\textsuperscript{105}Ibid., pp. 456-7.
\textsuperscript{106}Ibid., p. 443, from ARM, III, 75:25.
\textsuperscript{107}AHw, p. 456, from ARM, I, 42:27-29.
\textsuperscript{109}Ibid., p. 96.
\textsuperscript{110}AHw, pp. 488-89.
to be reflected by the Hebrew loan translation, qisré milhāmā, "ranks of war." 111 "mace, breed," rukkūbū, "pollinate the date palm."

Akkadian rūkūbu, "mount," has the special sense of "mace, breed," as in the examples: IR.BU.BA = ti-lu-BU-ubū and, "pairing of birds," 112 and UBU.GIL12.DU.A = im-as-ri in gi-ka-hu wa-šu-ru, "sheep which is fit for breeding." 113 The D form, rukkūbū, is associated with the pollination of the female palm tree with the pollen from the male tree. 114 This process is also referred to in the Mishnah in qallīsm kol nayyēm, "They [the people of Israel] pollinate palm trees all day (the fourteenth of Nisan)." 115 The term markābū is also used in the Mishnah in the sense of "inoculate, graft," in connection with other grafts. 116

111 Ibid., p. 483; M. Sotā 8:5. This should also be compared with Biblical qĕṣer, "band, conspiracy," II K. 11:14 and 12:21. Biblical qĕṣer and Akkadian kisgru are parallel. This may be due to an earlier loan influence, or to parallel development. The latter possibility remains open for qisré milhāmā, too.
14) markīḫ < rakābu, "mate, breed," rukkubu, "pollinate the date palm."

Akkadian rakābu, "mount," has the special sense of "mate, breed," as in the examples: IR.BU.RA = ri-it-kū-ubūHU meš, "pairing of birds,"¹¹² and UDU.GISgis.DU.A = im-me-ri ša ana ra-ka-bu us-su-ru, "sheep which is fit for breeding."¹¹³ The D form, rukkubu, is associated with the pollination of the female palm tree with the pollen from the male flower.¹¹⁴ This process is also referred to in the Mishnah: markīḫIn dēqālim kol hayyom, "They (the people of Jericho) pollinate palm trees all day (the fourteenth of Nisan)."¹¹⁵ The term markīḫ is also used in the Mishnah in the sense of "innoculate, graft," in connection with other species.¹¹⁶

¹¹² MSL, III, 140.


¹¹⁴ DAB, p. 310; AFW, p. 54.

¹¹⁵ M. Pes. 4:8. This is explained in the Talmud, TB Pes. 56a, manhe kūprā dikrā lenūqēṭā, "they put the male flower over the female tree." Cf. also, Albeck, Mishnah, Zeraḥīm, p. 296. The Talmudic passage is referred to in Driver and Miles, Babylonian Laws, II, 185.

15) šemātè hārōš, "the black-headed ones,"
šalmat qaggadi, "the black-headed ones," a term for mankind.

The Akkadian expression is a standard poetic expression, dating from Old Babylonian times, and going back to Sumerian SAG.GE₆.GA.\footnote{CAD, XVI (§), 75-6.} The reference is to mankind as a totality, created by the gods and kept in safe pastures by the kings.\footnote{Ibid., 75.} The expression was continued down to the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, this providing the possible link between the Babylonian šalmat qaggadi and Mishnaic šemātè hārōš.\footnote{David B. Weisberg, "Late Babylonian Texts and Rabbinic Literature," HUCA, XXXIX (1968), 76. The CAD, ibid., 75, notes that there is a South Arabic parallel to this phrase, cf. ḫhr < ḫor riš, "black-headed one." W. Leslau, "Vocabulary Common to Akkadian and South-East Semitic," JAOS, LXIV (1944), 56.}
The Mishnaic expression does not have the same referent, however, as the Akkadian. It does not mean "mankind" but "men" as against "women," e.g., "He who vows not to benefit from šemātè hārōš may not benefit from the bald and the grey-haired, but may benefit from women and children, because only men are called šemātè hārōš."\footnote{M. Ned, 3:8. Independent development cannot be totally ruled out, as the phrase "black-haired people" occurs in Confucian writings, cf. S. Commins and R. Linscott, eds., Man and Man: The Social Philosophers (1947; rpt. New York, 1966), p. 363.}
16) ʾešem, ʾešum, ʾal šum, ʾal ʾēm, miššum, "because of, for the sake of," (ʾaššum ʾa-na šum, "because of."

Examples of Akkadian ʾaššum are: tamkārum ʾaššum šamallāšu ikkiru, "the merchant...because he denied his trader,"\(^\text{121}\) and Enlil aī illika...ʾaššu ʾā lā imtalku, "let Enlil not come...because he did not consider."\(^\text{122}\)

A direct loan translation of ʾaššum ʾa-na šum is Mishnaic ʾeš-ʾēm\(^\text{123}\) and ʾeš-em.\(^\text{124}\) The Akkadian serves as a model for other formations, ʾal šum,\(^\text{125}\) ʾal ʾēm,\(^\text{126}\) and miššum.\(^\text{127}\)

\(^\text{121}\)Code of Hammurabi, par. 107; cf. GAG, pars. 114s, 116g, and 176a.
\(^\text{122}\)Gilgamesh XI:167.
\(^\text{123}\)M. Git. 4:4.
\(^\text{124}\)M. A. Z. 3:7; M. ʾAb. 2:2 and 12, 4:11, 5:17. The form ʾeš-ʾēm occurs in Palestinian manuscripts, while ʾešum, closer to the Aramaic and the Akkadian, occurs in Babylonian manuscripts, Bendavid, BHMH, p. 197.
\(^\text{125}\)M. Pes. 10:5.
\(^\text{126}\)M. Sanh. 8:5 and 6.
\(^\text{127}\)M. Ter. 8:4; the relationship to the Akkadian has been noted by J. Barth, ZA, XXII (1908-9), 93f.; Segal, GMH, p. 24, n. 2; Bendavid, BHMH, p. 197. In the Bible, there occurs ʾeš-ʾēm, but only with the Divine name, "for the sake of the Lord," Joshua 9:9, I K. 3:2. The much wider scope and occurrence of this idiom in Mishnaic Hebrew indicates a loan process, not a dependence upon the Biblical usage.
CHAPTER IV

LOANWORDS OF LESSER PROBABILITY

1) ḫagās / angasu, "pear" or "plum."

The exact meaning of Akkadian angasu is not clear. Both the suggestions "pear" and "plum" are offered by Thompson.1 The consonantant correspondences between Akkadian and Hebrew are consistent with this being a loanword, e.g., ḫ > s. Hebrew ḫaggas would be a possibility on the basis of the assimilation of Akkadian ng to gg.2 Yalon, in the Albeck edition of the Mishnah, however, vocalizes ḫagas.3 The change in the accent pattern from the Akkadian to the Hebrew accounts for differences in vowel quantity; i.e., angasu was probably accented on the first syllable,4 while ḫagas is accented on the last. The second a-vowel, receiving the stress, was lengthened to ֶא, and the first a-vowel, losing the stress, was reduced to ֶא.5

These factors, however, could also occur in the case of cognates, and it may be that Hebrew ḫagas is not a loan.

1DAB, pp. 93 and 307; AHw, p. 51.
3M. Kil. 1:4; M. Macas, 1:3; M. Cuqsim 1:6.
4Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.6.
5Ibid., par. 10.8.
Arabic *injasāq* is identical, but the final consonant, ˹, is not expected in a cognate. The entrance of *angasū* into Akkadian is late, Neo-Assyrian, and the word may possibly be borrowed from Aramaic or some other language.\(^7\) There is no evidence that Sumerian *u₂₃* is equivalent to *u₂₃*, and it has been generally assumed that Aramaic *jawwa₂* and Hebrew *jawwa₂* are loanwords from Sumerian.\(^8\) However, the forms of the Akkadian and the Aramaic do not correspond to each other as expected in the case of a loan. The /w/ sound was not present in Sumerian, and the writing of this sound in Akkadian required the use of Sumerian Pl and, later, the Assyrian ² sign.\(^11\) If, indeed, *jawwa₂* is borrowed from Sumerian, via Akkadian, it is difficult to account for the presence of /w/ in all of the dialects, when it was not even present in Sumerian.\(^12\) The tendency is a reverse one; originally /w/ is reduced in Akkadian.\(^13\) Its reappearance in the line 17 of the text 132, II (B), 135.\(^9\)

\(^{6}\) *DAB*, ibid., p. 307.

\(^{7}\) *AHw*, ibid.
2) Jawwāz / usu, "goose."

An example of usu in a passage is: bi$n u$i qa-bi-e ša ina bāši sunūlu...tapattan, "you eat goose eggs from the dung which have been preserved in sand."⁸ There is a Sumerian UZ which is equivalent to usu⁹, and it has been generally assumed that Aramaic Jawwāz, Hebrew Jawwāz, are loanwords from Sumerian.¹⁰ However, the forms of the Akkadian and the Aramaic do not correspond to each other as expected in the case of a loan. The /w/ sound was not present in Sumerian, and the writing of this sound in Akkadian required the use of Sumerian PI and, later, the Assyrian m sign.¹¹ If, indeed, Jawwāz is borrowed from Sumerian, via Akkadian, it is difficult to account for the presence of /w/ in all of the dialects, when it was not even present in Sumerian.¹² The tendency is a reverse one; original /w/ is reduced in Akkadian.¹³ Its reappearance

⁸CAD II (B), 135. ⁹Deimel, ṢL, p. 105.


¹¹GAG, par. 21.

¹²Cf. Syriac wazza, Arabic wazz, Ji�waz, Aramaic Jawwāz. Arabic Ji�waz is regarded as a borrowing from Syriac wazza, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 117.

¹³Cf. *iwbil > ûbil, walādu > alādu, GAG, ibid.
in cognate languages argues for a cognate rather than a loan. Another peculiarity is that, generally, final \( \bar{u} \) in Akkadian loanwords appears as \( --\bar{y} \) in Aramaic; compare \( \text{ḫubullû} \rightarrow \text{ḫibûlyā}, \text{karû} \rightarrow \text{karyā}. \) Thus, one would expect a loan \( \text{usu} \rightarrow \#\text{jûsyā}. \) The problem of Sumerian UZ may be explained tentatively as a Sumerian transcription of an original \( \# \text{wazz} \). Whether this was originally Semitic or not cannot be stated decisively. It appears, however, that Aramaic does not draw \( \text{jawwāz}, \text{wazzā} \) directly from Akkadian.

There are other vocalizations of this word, e.g., \( \text{dekūn}^{10} \) and \( \text{leqūn}^{10} \) Aramaic \( \text{dekūn} \) and Hebrew \( \text{dēkūn} \) reproduce the Akkadian \( \text{purā} \) form, e.g., \( \text{atūn}, \text{bēnān}, \text{ṣērūn}^{20} \) and it is possible that the Hebrew word is a loanword. \( \text{Arab.}^{18} \text{awz} \) is regarded by Pragmeli as a loanword in Arabic.\(^{21}\)

\(^{18}\text{CAD XII} (2), 167.\)

\(^{10}\) M. Salonen, Hippologica Assadiana (Nelson, 1941), 499.

\(^{10}\) E. Syrace \( \text{dēkūn}, \) "pack saddle," lex. \( \text{Arv.}^{10} \), p. 16; Palestine Aramaic \( \text{dēkūn}, \) TB R. M. 279.

\(^{20}\) \( \text{Mal.}^{23} \text{2: 2; Albeck, Mishnah,} \), p. 27; Fr. Fr. and Hebrew, p. 135.

\(^{21}\) See, \( \text{Heb.}^{23} \text{2: 2;} \) in 28th. 55k.
3) **Jukkāp**, "saddle," / **ukāpu**, "saddle, bag, strap."

The Akkadian term occurs in an Old Assyrian passage: 𒉺𒈶𒈵𒈵uncture 𒈵ukāp, "the price of the donkeys, the pack sacks, the straps (?)".14 The CAD is doubtful about the exact meaning of this word. Another suggestion is "thick net, coarse garment."15 Possibly, Old Assyrian ukāpu was borrowed as Aramaic **Jukāpā**,16 and was then borrowed as Hebrew **Jukkāp**.17 There are other vocalizations of this word, e.g., **Jekūp**18 and **Jekēp**.19 Aramaic **Jukāpā** and Hebrew **Jukkāp** reproduce the Akkadian purās form, e.g., ukāpu, kunāśu, Šubārum,20 and it is possible that the Hebrew word is a loanword. Arabic **Jikāf** is regarded by Fraenkel as a loanword in Arabic.21

14 CAD XXI (Z), 167.
17 M. Kēlim 23:2; Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorot, p. 97.
18 Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 139.
20 GAG, par. 55k.
The possibility of a cognate, as against a loanword, exists. There is also a cognate verb, *ekēpu, ukkəpu*, "press upon, draw near, follow directly," Hebrew *jēp*, "press, be urgent," Syriac *jēp*, "force on, press, urge." The lexicons equate this verb with the word for "saddle," assuming an etymology of "saddle" developing from "press on." If this is so, there is no loanword here, although there appears to be no necessary connection between these two ideas. This is especially true in the case of the Akkadian for which several different definitions were given. These definitions are related to equipment for a horse or mule, although not to the idea of weight, pressure. Even without a connection with a cognate verb, *jēp*, there remains the possibility that *ukēpu* and *jūkēpā*, *jukkāp* are themselves cognates.

form of *ukēpu*, Hava, *ibid*. In Hebrew, the *k* may have been doubled to preserve the original hard pronunciation. Otherwise, in its position after a vowel, it would have been aspirated.

2² *AHw*, p. 194.


2⁵ Cf. *B-D-B*, *ibid.*, where Arabic *jikāfun* is cited under *jēp*, and *Lex. Syr.* *ibid.*, where *jēp*, "urge," and *jūkēpā*, "saddle," are listed under the same root.
4) hemṣēs, "first stomach of ruminants," / missisam, namsasu, "stomach."

Akkadian missisam occurs in a lexical list with other equivalents for the stomach of a sheep. Another equivalence is nam-sa-su with karšu, "stomach." Mishnaic hemṣēs, "first stomach of ruminants," may be related as a loanword. However, the intermediate link may be Aramaic mēṣōsā, which is closer to the Akkadian. Another factor in the uncertainty is that there is a Latin word, omasum, "tripe, paunch," which may, conceivably, be the source of hemṣēs, mēṣōsā.

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26 Cf. UZUKUN.A, SA, GA = sargatum, ku-ku-dur = mes-sag-am, AHw, p. 500b.
27 Cf. ban-dil-lum, nam-sa-su (var. ru) = kar-šu, CAD II (B), 79.
5) zibborít, zarbūhít, "spout, rim of vessel," zarbabu, "vase, vessel."

An example of this word is: zarbabu ikunú ina qirêti usbû, "They set up drinking vessels, sat down to a banquet."

It is suggested tentatively that Mishnaic zibborít, "spout, rim of a vessel," is a loan from zarbabu. A Hebrew form which is closer to the Akkadian than zibborít is zarbūhít, and the Mishnaic form may be a development from this.

The reason that a loanword in this case is less than certain is the existence of an Aramaic verb zrb, "flow." Forms such as zibborít and zarbūhít can conceivably be created from a root zrb which may be the source of these words. Moreover, Akkadian zarbabu and Hebrew zibborít are somewhat different in meaning.

30 Enuma elis VI:75.

31 M. Miq. 10:1; cf. also zar-ba-bu ša KAS, "a vessel for beer," MSL VII, 111:94.

32 Midr. Lev. R. 5:3; Midr. Numb. R. 10:7; the Midrash interprets bemizregê yayyin of Amos 6:6 as: bešosêt yeysî lähem zarbūhít, "in bowls that have a rim."

33 TB Yoma 78a; a Semitic root zrb/zrp/zḻp and zrzp does exist, cf. zlp, M. Para 6:2, and märzer, "gutter," M. B. B. 3:6. Neo-Punic zbrm and Syriac zabôra should also be compared, KAI, I, 26, 137:5-6; ibid., II, 137.

34 Segal, GMH, pp. 110-1.
6) **zarāz**, "belt wrapped around an animal," / **zurzu**, "pack-sack, belt."

The word **zurzu** occurs in an Old Assyrian passage:

\[\text{ṣīm emārī zurzī ukāpī, "the price of the donkeys, the pack-sacks, the straps (?)"} \]
and in other Old Assyrian and Nuzi texts. Another possible rendering is "web, net," as **zurzu** is equated with **azamillum**. This word, however, is not present in Akkadian again until the Late Assyrian period.

The CAD regards **zurzu**, "belt, part of soldier's equipment," as an Aramaic loanword from **zarāz**. The two possibilities of interpreting this phenomenon are: 1) to regard **zurzu** as borrowed by Aramaic from Old Assyrian, and then reborrowed by Late Assyrian; or, 2) to regard it as originally Aramaic, or present in an early stage of Aramaic, and borrowed by Assyrian. Its infrequency in Akkadian or Assyrian argues for the second possibility.

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35CAD XXI (Z), 167.


37CAD, ibid., 167; Mishnaic **zārāz**, "belt wrapped around an animal," M. Keli'm 23:2; Mishnaic **zār-Tz**, "diligent, ready," from Aramaic **zarāz**, **zarēz**, "belt, girdle," reflects Biblical **hgr/dzar mtnym.**
7) ḫabīt, "jar, container," / ḫabû, "vessel."

Suggestions have been made that Hebrew ḫabīt is a borrowing from Akkadian ḫabû. There is a problem, however, in accepting this identification, as Akkadian words ending in final --ū appear in Aramaic with final --ya; compare sīsū, sūsyā, "horse." The CAD considers Syriac ḫabīta as a loanword from an as yet unattested Akkadian variant, *qabitu. It is difficult, however, to make a case for a loan from a conjectural link.

Attention has been called by Weisberg to a variant in the Aruk of ḫabīt, which is ḫabīyya. This form also appears in a manuscript from the Geniza, vocalized ḫabīyya. This form would fulfill the requirement that ḫabû appear in Hebrew as ḫabīyya. Weisberg's reasoning is also conjectural. He considers the development to be: Akkadian *qabitu > Hebrew ḫabīt, with a secondary link being Akkadian ḫabû > Hebrew ḫabīyya/ ḫabīyya.

38 AFW, p. 33; CAD VI (H), 20; AHw, p. 306b. Occurrences in the Mishnah are: M. B. Q. 3:1; M. KeIIm 2:2, 3; and M. Miq. 2:10. The vessel is described in Brand, Ceramics, pp. 114 and 158.

39 CAD VI (H), 20.

40 David Weisberg, HUCA, XXXIX (1968), 77f. The variant is on M. Miq. 2:10.

41 Katsh, GM, Pl. 130, line 10. A variant from the Kaufmann Manuscript, ḥabayya, is also cited, ibid., p. 260, line 10. Both variants are of M. Miq. 2:10.

42 David Weisberg, ibid.
In view of the variants noted, ḫābiyyā and ḫābiyyā, the second link suggested by Weisberg, ḫābū > ḫābiyyā/ ḫābiyyā, has more probability than the first. The derivation of Hebrew ḫābit from either ḫābū or a conjectured ḫabiatu, ḫabitu poses problems, discussed above, which reduce the probability of there being a loanword here.

There remains the possibility that Akkadian ḫābū, as well as Hebrew ḫābit, ḫābiyyā, ḫābiyyā, all derive from Aramaic. ḫābū is attested no earlier than Standard and Neo-Babylonian and may well be an Aramaic loanword.

43 Cf. Syriac ḫābitā, Lex. Syr., p. 209. Brockelmann follows Zimmern and Haupt in considering this word as a loan from Akkadian ḫāp(b)u, ibid. Arabic ḫabiyat is considered a loan from Aramaic and Syriac ḫabita, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 168. Fraenkel considers Mishnaic Hebrew ḫābit as originally Aramaic, ibid.

44 CAD VI (H), 20. Possibly Old Babylonian ḫubunnu, "bowl," CAD, ibid., 219, may be connected with ḫābiyyānā, "small vessel," M. Kellīm 2:2. More probably, however, ḫābiyyānā is a diminutive form of ḫābit, cf. Segal, GMH, p. 120. For an argument against a loan ḫabiatu > ḫābit, or ḫābū > ḫābiyyā, cf. AIA, pp. 101 and 274.
8) ḫazrār, "crab-apple," / ḫenzuru, ḫāṣḥur, "apple."

Akkadian ḫenzuru is equated lexically with ḫāṣḥur, "apple tree."45 Zimmern considered ḫāṣḥur as a loanword in Aramaic ḫazzūrā, "apple."46 This may be doubted. Von Soden considers ḫenzuru merely a dialectical variant of ḫāṣḥur,47 yet Aramaic ḫazzūrā is much closer to ḫenzuru than to ḫāṣḥur. It would also appear that ḫenzuru is a loan from Aramaic, as it appears no later than Middle and Neo-Babylonian.48 It is dubious to assume a relationship of ḫāṣḥur/(.hxxenzuru) > ḫazzūrā.

The relevance of this discussion for the Mishnah is that the variant ḫazrār occurs, and is defined as "crab-apple," Pyrus Syriaca, or Sorbus aria.49 This variant is borrowed from Aramaic ḫazzūrā, but a loan from Akkadian is doubtful.

The suggestion has been made by Meissner that,

45CAD VI (H), 170; AHw, p. 347; DAB, p. 304.
46AFw, p. 54.
47AHw, p. 347.
49M. Kil. 1:4; the editions and the commentary of Albeck have ḫazrār. Albeck, Mishnah, Zera'ot, p. 102. Bertinoro's commentary is evidence of a variant tradition, as he defines the word as "wild apple" and cites Aramaic ḫizar. This is borne out by the variant ḫazrār in R. Rabbiwicz, Didude Superim, Variae Lectiones (Munich, 1886-88), I, 15, ad loc. The pattern of doubling the final consonant in ḫazrār is discussed in Segal, GMH, p. 110, par. 244.
while ḫinizuru is the West Semitic form of ḫāshārumu, both words are not native to Akkadian but are loanwords, possibly from Armenian.  

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...
9) ḥazzeret, "lettuce," / ṣasarratu.

The Akkadian botanical term, dating from the post-
Old Babylonian period, is not defined by the CAD or by von
Soden.\(^{51}\) Thompson suggests that it is to be equated with
Euphorbia helioscopia.\(^{52}\)

It is suggested that Mishnaic ḥazzeret, "lettuce,"
used to fulfill the requirements of mārōr, "bitter herbs,"
on Passover,\(^{53}\) and represents a borrowing of this term.
It is not clear what the original species, to which this
term applied, was. If Thompson's conjecture is correct,
that ṣasarratu is a poisonous plant,\(^{54}\) the relationship
may consist in a similarity perceived through bitterness
of taste. Also, both plants contain a milky juice.

This identification, however, must be considered
very tentative, as neither the CAD nor von Soden venture
a definition, and the word is attested only lexically.
Furthermore, the consonant change s > z is unusual.

\(^{51}\)AHW, p. 329; CAD VI (H), 122.

\(^{52}\)DAB, p. 148.

\(^{53}\)M. Pes. 2:6; cf. also M. Kil. 1:2, M. Pes. 10:3,

\(^{54}\)DAB, ibid. It is evident from the discussion in
the Talmud, commenting upon the Mishnah, M. Pes. 10:3, that
the juice of the ḥazzeret, "lettuce," was considered to be
"poisonous," requiring the sweetening effect of the ḥarōset,
TB Pes. 116a. The term used for "poison" is Aramaic qappā,
Greek ἤπιος ῥῆνος, "worm," S. Lieberman, Tosefta, Zeraḡim,
Terumot 7:11, p. 145. The semantic relation between these
senses should be compared to nāḥash, "snake," used of the
bitter pungent taste of an onion, TB ĒEr. 29b.
10) ḫaṁṭa, "type of bread or cake," / ḫamāṭu, "glow, be hot."

Akkadian ḫamāṭu is widely attested. An example is: Annunaki issu dipărāṭi ina namrītsunu uḥammatu mātum, "The Annunaki carried torches; in their fierce glow they cause the land to burn." The noun form, ḥimṭu, ḥintu, denotes "scorching, fever."

It is suggested tentatively that Mishnaic ḫaṁṭa, "a type of bread or cake," is borrowed from ḫamāṭu on the analogy of ḫrr, "be hot," > ḫarārā, "bread baked on hot coals." This suggestion remains only tentative because the missing link in the process is absent. The possibilities would be 1) ḫamāṭu > *an Akkadian noun > ḫaṁṭa, or 2) ḫamāṭu > *Aramaic or Hebrew verb, *ḥmt > ḫaṁṭa. These two possibilities may indicate a loan. A third possibility is that they are cognates.

55AHW, pp. 316f.; CAD VI (Ḫ), 64f.
56Gilgamesh XI:104. 57CAD, ibid., 193.
58M. Macaš 1:7; M. Teb, Yom 1:1, 2:4; Brand, Ceramics, pp. 173f., and pp. 596f.
59Cf. M. Sab. 1:10; M. B. Q. 2:3.
11) ḫāmām / ḫamīmu, "Amomum Cardamum."

Akkadian ḫamīmu occurs in Neo-Assyrian as the name of an aromatic ingredient. Possibly this word was borrowed as Aramaic ḫēmāmā, and Mishnaic ḫǎmām. It is also a Kulturwort, as seen by Greek ἄμωμον, but Hebrew did not borrow the word from Greek, or one would find forms such as Jámām or ca’mām. There exist variants in Hebrew, ḥimūm and ḫamīm. From Soden does not record the Aramaic as a loanword but as a cognate. This, and the fact that it is not attested earlier than Neo-Assyrian, may indicate an Aramaic loanword in Assyrian, or that both languages borrowed from another source.

61 AHw, p. 317; CAD VI (H), 66.

62 M. cUqṣīm 3:5; Löw, Flora, III, 498.

63 NCW II, 70.

64 Compare ἄμωμον > ḫmēlān and ca’mēlān, "cook’s starch, flour," Bendavid, BHMH, p. 186.


66 Beer, MK, cUqṣīm 3:5.

12) ḫisūsū, "cartilage," / ṣasīsu, "ear, wisdom," (?)  

An attempt was made by Zimmern and Holma to relate Akkadian ṣasīsu, "ear, wisdom," from ṣasasū, "be mindful, intelligent, to plan," to Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew ḫisūsū, seḥōs. Some support for this identification comes from the fact that a primary meaning of ṣasīsu is "aperture of the ear," as in the example: kīma upāṭi ina nabīrî u ṣasīsi, "like dirt in the nostrils and the apertures of the ears." Also, Late Babylonian ṣasīstu is a bread for ritual purposes baked in the shape of an ear. The expressions palḵ uzna and palḵ ṣasīsu, "wide in respect to the ear (understanding)," may be compared.

Doubt is cast upon this identification, however, for the following reasons. Akkadian ṣasīsu denotes "aperture of the ear," not the cartilage. Moreover, if ṣasīsu in its physical connotation is borrowed, why is its wider sense of "wisdom" much more frequently attested, not borrowed? Finally, while Mishnaic seḥōs, variant, ḫisūsū, denotes "cartilage of the ear," it also denotes

68 AFw, p. 48; Holma, Körperteile, p. 30.
69 CAD VI (I), 126. 70 Ibid.
71 Ibid., 127; Enūma eššā I:10.
72 M. Bek. 6:1; the Targum Yerushalmi on Lev. 8:23 renders tenûk, "lobe," by ḫisūsū.
cartilage of the chest and at the bottom of the spinal column. 73

73 Mt. Pes. 7:11; cf. Rashi, ad loc., TB Pes.
13) ṭāḇīṭah / ṭāḇū, "pitcher."

Zimmern considered Akkadian ṭāḇū, plural ṭāḇāni, "pitcher," as the source of the Mishnaic loanword ṭāḇīṭah.\(^{74}\) This view, however, was based upon the entry ṭāḇū in Delitzsch's Handwörterbuch.\(^ {75}\) This reading, however, has been questioned by Meissner, who holds that the correct reading is ṭāḇū or ṭāḇū.\(^ {76}\) This renders the status of ṭāḇīṭah as a loanword doubtful. Generally, Akkadian ṭ in loanwords enters Hebrew as ṭ, e.g., ṭūḇṣarru > ṭīpsār, "scribe, official." The equivalence of Akkadian and Hebrew ṭ is consistent in cognates also, e.g., ṭāḇu, ṭāḇān, "wet," ṭāḇu, ṭāḇān, "good, pleasing," and ṭāḇīṭu, ṭāḇān, "butcher, cook." If a form *ṭāḇīṭah could be attested in Hebrew, a suggestion might be made that the ṭ was emphatized to ṭ, in terms of a view of such change maintained by Segal.\(^ {77}\) However, as *ṭāḇīṭah is not attested, and the emphaticization of ṭ, becoming ṭ, in Mishnaic Hebrew is also not certain, this loanword must be considered doubtful.

\(^{74}\)AFw, p. 33; M. Sab. 17:6 and 24:5.

\(^{75}\)Delitzsch, Assyr. Hwb., p. 302. The reading here is indicated as uncertain.

\(^{76}\)Meissner, Studien, pp. 79-80.

\(^{77}\)Segal, GMH, p. 30.
14) knn / kanānu, "roll, wind."

Akkadian kanānu is attested from Old Babylonian on.\(^78\) Examples are: ’ilū kīma kalbi kunnunu, "the gods rolled up (cowered) like dogs,"\(^79\) and MUS.DI.HUS = kananu sa šerri, "the winding up of a serpent."\(^80\)

It is suggested tentatively that Mishnaic knn is a loan from kanānu. Examples are: hammēkannēn ḫet haḥebel cal yād cal yād, "he who coils the rope of a bucket little by little,"\(^81\) and ubaḥebel šehu mekūnān cal šawwārāh, "and by the rope that is wound around its (a pitcher's) neck."\(^82\) This word is rare in the Mishnah, krk, "wind," being more widely used.

There is insufficient evidence to decide that knn is borrowed rather than a cognate. While Mandaic KNN has been seen as a loan from kunnunu,\(^83\) von Soden treats kanānu and Hebrew knn as cognates.\(^84\)

\(^78\)AHw, p. 435a.
\(^79\)Gilgamesh XI:115. \(^80\)AHw, ibid.
\(^81\)M. Pārā 7:7. \(^82\)M. Maks. 4:1.
\(^83\)Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 219b.
\(^84\)AHw, p. 435a. The expression nāhāṣ mekūnān, "a serpent coiled," Midrash Ha'amul, Shemot, Mordecai Margules, ed. (Jerusalem, 1956), p. 264, line 7, Besalah 14:13, should be compared with kananusa šerri, AHw, ibid. The Mishnah, however, regularly uses krk; compare nāhāṣ kārūk, M. Ber. 5:1.
15) kēresā / karāsu, "leek."

Akkadian karāsu, karṣu, is attested as early as Old Babylonian.\(^{85}\) The Sumerian GA.RAS is not original but is an Akkadian loanword.\(^{86}\) Zimmern counted kēresā as a loanword from Akkadian karāsu,\(^{87}\) but the distribution of the word in the various dialects indicates that this cannot be the case. The ṣ-consonant in Hebrew and Akkadian goes back to original t, as seen by Aramaic kērētā and Mandaic karatia.\(^{88}\)

\(^{85}\) AHw, p. 448; DAB, pp. 52ff.

\(^{86}\) AHw, ibid.

\(^{87}\) AFw, p. 57. Mishnaic occurrences are: M. Kil. 1:2; M. Seb. 7:1, 8:3; M. Maca. 5:8; M. Sab. 8:5; M. Ned. 6:9, and kērese šade, "field leeks," M. Kil. 1:2 and M. cūqšim 3:2.

\(^{88}\) Cf. Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 201a; Aramaicised Hebrew kāṭî, M. Ber. 1:2. According to Gelb, Old Akkadian had a separate symbol to designate the sound corresponding to Proto-Semitic t. This view, however, is not shared by von Soden. The symbols ṣ and š were distinguished in the writing, but ṣ could express original t, although not consistently or exclusively. This could also have been represented graphically by š. In the Old Babylonian period ṣ and š began to coalesce. In the earlier period, however, the ṣ-sound may have been distinguished in speech, Gelb, MAD II, 35-37; von Soden, Akk. Syll., p. XXI.
16) **lagīn** "bottle, vessel," / **laḥannu**, "drinking vessel."

Akkadian **laḥannu** appears to be a Sumerian loanword, dugLA.HA.AN.\(^89\) Von Soden indicates that Aramaic **laqnā**, Mishnaic **lagīn**, is a loan from Akkadian.\(^90\) It is not clear, however, how the assumed transfer of the consonants **ḥ** > **q/g** can be explained.\(^91\) Hebrew and Aramaic **lagīn**, and Aramaic **lagnā, leqūnā**, have been derived from Greek **λεκάνη**.\(^92\) Hebrew and Aramaic **lagīn** are much closer to the Greek and may have been borrowed from it. Possibly, there is a Kulturwort here, and Akkadian **laḥannu** is identical, but the possibility of a borrowing from Akkadian to Greek is also doubtful.\(^93\)

Zimmern also claimed an identification of **līgnu**, **liginnu**, and **līgittu**, "measure of grain," with Aramaic **lagnā**.\(^94\) However, this definition of **liginnu** is not

\(^89\)AHw, p. 527. \(^90\)Ibid.

\(^91\)The known change of **ḥ/k**, and the rare change of **k/g** cannot account for this, GAG, par. 25d and par. 28c.

\(^92\)Krauss, Lehnwörter I, 163 and 173, **leqūnā** < **λεκάνη**; NCW II, 526, and 475, for **lagīn**, **legīna** < **λέγίννος**. Latin lagena; Liddell and Scott, GEL, p. 409, **λεκάνη** and **λέκνος**; cf. also Latin lanx, "dish, platter."


\(^94\)AFW, pp. 21f.
noted by von Soden in his Handwörterbuch. His entry for liginnu equates it with IM.GID.DA, "one-column clay tablet."95

Akkadian mizzru, mazzru is equivalent to S10.(NU).AL.
ZUN, and is defined as a kind of wool.96 According to Weis-
berg, Mishnaic misran is a loan from mizru.97 The Mish-
naic word has been defined by Rabbi Hai Gaon as "a woolen
garment important people place on their beds under the
mattress."98

The loanword proposed by Weisberg, misru > mizzra
is not absolutely certain. There is a Mishnaic Hebrew root
war, "weave,"99 which may be cognate with Akkadian. There
is a lexical entry, mizaratum, "(wool) matted."100

406; and AHw, p. 637.

97D. Weisberg, BUCA, XXXIX (1968), 73.
98AHw, p. 552. A borrowing of lagannu > lgna,
lagin, is also rejected in AIA, p. 108.
17) mizrān, "mattress," / mizru, mazru, "wool material."

Akkadian mizru, mazru is equivalent to SIG.(NU).AL. ZUN, and is defined as a kind of wool.96 According to Weisberg, Mishnaic mizrān is a loan from mizru.97 The Mishnaic word has been defined by Rabbi Hai Gaon as "a woolen garment important people place on their beds under the mattress."98

The loanword proposed by Weisberg, mizru > mizrān, is not absolutely certain. There is a Mishnaic Hebrew root mjr, "weave,"99 which may be cognate with Akkadian. There is a lexical entry, mazratum, "(wool) matted."100

96Delitzsch, Assyr. Hwb., p. 248; Deimel, SL, p. 248; and AHw, p. 637.

97D. Weisberg, HUCA, XXXIX (1968), 73.


100The full passage is: SIG.(NU).AL.ū1.A = (ṣipātu lā) mazratum, "(wool which has not) been matted," Delitzsch, Assyr. Hwb., ibid. AHw, ibid., also suggests Hebrew mjr as a cognate. Possibly, Syriac mizrānā, "belt," should be compared, Lex. Syr., p. 379. However, Brockelmann considers this to be derived from the root ẓr, "gird," following Nödeke. He also cites Zimmer's view that mizrānā is borrowed from Akkadian mēśiru, "girdle, belt." A loan mizru > mizrān is also rejected in AIA, p. 111. It is tempting to compare Mishnaic mizrān to Syriac mizrānā whatever the origin of the latter.

An example of the Akkadian verb is: KI.I.NUN.NA *tamarras*, "you stir into ghee."\(^{101}\) The noun *mirsu* occurs in the following example: *miris dišpi I.NUN tegê", "you heap on them *mersu* made of honey and ghee."\(^{102}\) Zimmern listed *mirsu* in his *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, identifying it with Mishnaic *mrs*.\(^{103}\) There is no clear evidence that this verb is borrowed from Akkadian. It is conceivably a cognate in Aramaic and Akkadian.\(^{104}\)

\(^{101}\) CAD VI (H), 190; AHw, p. 609.

\(^{102}\) Ibid.

\(^{103}\) AFw, p. 38; cf. M. Yoma 4:3 and 5:3, *memăres* beš, "stirring it." An extended sense appears to be: *memăresin beš*rez bavăpičit, "They may flood a rice field in the seventh year," M. Seb. 2:10. In the Targum Onkelos, *mrs* is used as the equivalent of *mrb*, "crush," Lev. 21:20, and *mēk*, "crush," Lev. 22:24.

\(^{104}\) Akkadian *maras* is attested in Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian. It is listed as cognate with Aramaic *mrs*, AHw, ibid.
Zimmern considered Akkadian māṣāḥu as borrowed by Aramaic and Hebrew māṣh, "measure," and māṣḥāb, "surveyor." There are, however, no phonetic peculiarities to distinguish this as a loanword. Von Soden considers it a cognate with Aramaic ṣāḥ, and he notes that it occurs in Middle and Late Babylonian. Some basis for considering this a loanword is the fact that in Imperial Aramaic the word māṣh is attested in the sense of "oil," suggesting that the homonym māṣh, "measure," is borrowed, although this is not conclusive. Arabic māṣh, "to survey land," has the correspondence of Aramaic, Akkadian ṣ and Arabic ẓ, arguing for a cognate. On the other hand, if they were cognates, Akkadian ṣ should not appear as Arabic ẓ. The Arabic word may be borrowed from Aramaic, but there is insufficient basis for regarding the Aramaic or the Hebrew as loans from Akkadian.


There is a very doubtful entry for māṣh, "measure," DISO, ibid. The root exists in Syriac in this sense, Lex. Syr., pp. 406f. Mishnaic mēṣāḥah, "rope," M. Kīl. 9:9, M. KelIm 21:3, is also based upon the root māṣh.

110Arabic māṣh, misāḥata are regarded as borrowed from Syriac mīṣḥata rather than from Jewish Aramaic māṣh, mēḵaḥa, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 282. This loan is also rejected by Kaufman who proposes an Aramaic origin, ATA, pp. 110 and 279.
20) **maskūn / maskānu**, "security, pledge."

Examples of this word in Akkadian are: **summa DAM lū maskattā ina kīdi taltakan**, "if you place a woman or pledge in the field," and **bīsu u amēlušu maskānu šabtatū**, "his house and slaves are being held in pledge." The term makes its appearance in Middle Assyrian, Middle and Late Babylonian. Earlier terms are **liṭūtu** and **nepuṭu**, equivalents of later **maskānutu**.

Hebrew **maskōn** has been considered a loanword from Akkadian **maskānu**. It is possible, however, that this is an extension of meaning in cognate roots under the influence of Akkadian. The verbs **ṣakānu** and **škn** are cognates in Akkadian and Hebrew, and the **maprās**/**maprūš** formations are common to both languages.

These considerations may point to an extension, the transfer of an idiomatic sense in one language to the cognate in the other, with a parallel development of the sense in both languages.

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111 Driver and Miles, Assyrian Laws, p. 384, A, 6, 71.
112 CAD XVI (§), 10. 113 Ibid.
115 J. Barth, Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1894), p. 490 (hereafter abbreviated as Nominalbildung); AFW, p. 18; Delitzsch, Assyr. Hwb., p. 431.
specific form of the word in each language. There are, however, considerations which militate against this possibility. While šakānu and škn are cognates, they are not semantic equivalents. The Akkadian has the sense of "put, place," and the Aramaic and Hebrew the sense of "dwell." Extensions occur where both words are semantically equivalent in their basic meaning, and a special case is where the semantic equivalent is also a cognate.

However, the maprās, maprūs form is rare in Hebrew. Aside from maskān, it occurs with gutterals, e.g., maḥsōr, "lack," maḥázōr, "cycle," with few exceptions, e.g., maṭmōn, "treasure." Otherwise, the initial vowel changes to ʾ, e.g., mizmōr, "psalm, song," mʾsqōlet, "weight, plumb." Perhaps the unusual form of maskān was borrowed from maskānu. An alternative to this may be to explain the maskān form as an attempt to distinguish from the form mʾskān, "dwelling, sanctuary."

There are, however, problems with a borrowing from Akkadian to Aramaic and Hebrew. The vowel change ʾ > ʾ which is presupposed in such a borrowing is hard to explain. This change occurred only in certain periods. In view of the lateness of the occurrence of maskānu, an Aramaic

119Moscati, Introduction, par. 8.83.
source may be plausibly suggested. In Nabatean, there occurs the noun form *mṣkwny, "my pledge."\textsuperscript{120} It should be noted that this form, going back to *mṣkwn, is closer to the Hebrew *mṣkhn\textsuperscript{121} than is Akkadian *mṣkānu, in view of the vowel \(\hat{a}\) indicated by the transcription. There also occurs in Nabatean a verbal form, *mṣkn, "give as pledge."\textsuperscript{122} It is not clear whether this is primary or denominative.

In view of these difficulties, this word has been grouped with the loanwords of lesser probability.

\textsuperscript{120}DISO, p. 170.

\textsuperscript{121}Occurrences in the Mishnah are: M. B. M. 6:7, and M. Pes. 8:6.

\textsuperscript{122}DISO, p. 171. Akkadian *mṣkattum, "pledge," goes back to *maṣkantum, GAG, par. 56c. It may be the source of Aramaic *maṣkantā, or more correctly, Aramaic *maṣkantā would have to go back to the same source as Akkadian *mṣkattum, that is, *maṣkantum. As indicated above, an Akkadian source is not conclusively established. A loan *mṣkānu > Syriac meṣkāna is accepted by Kaufman, who sees no problem in the \(\hat{a} > \hat{e}\) vowel change, AIA, pp. 72, 174, and 243.
21) npū, nps, "hatchel wool," / napāvu, "hatchel wool."

Zimmern identified napāvu with Mishnaic npū.\textsuperscript{123} It cannot, however, be accepted that Mishnaic npū is a loanword. There are variants between s and q in Mishnaic Hebrew.\textsuperscript{124} If the form npū is the primary one, it is possible that a loan napāvu > npū can be considered.\textsuperscript{125} If, however, the form npū is the primary one in Hebrew,\textsuperscript{126} a loan cannot be assumed at all. It would be more correct to say that an original npū was modified according to factors peculiar to Akkadian. It is unlikely that there is a loanword here but a cognate.

\textsuperscript{123}AFW, p. 28; M. Sab. 7:2 and 13:4.
\textsuperscript{124}Bendavid, BHMH, p. 186; Segal, GMH, p. 33.
\textsuperscript{125}The change s > q occurs in loans from Akkadian to Hebrew, cf. Sarru-kīn > Sargon.
\textsuperscript{126}Examples of this variation in the manuscripts are: wehāmmēnapā, Beer, MK, Sabbat 7:2, and ḫ(mm)npsw, Lowe, MPT, ad loc. The variation between s and q also occur in loanwords from Greek and Latin, e.g., qastarā, gastrā < castrā, "camp." In Arabic, the instrument for this operation is minbād. One would expect minpad if this were originally Arabic and cognate with Aramaic. Fraenkel suggests that the word is possibly borrowed, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 260. Akkadian nappāsu, "beating stick (?)", is also rejected as the source of a loan, AIA, p. 113.
The Akkadian expression occurs in lexical lists, where it is equated with būnu and bunnannī, "face."¹²⁷ It is probably to be connected with šabāru, which has several meanings, one of which is "squint, look askance, signal with the eyes."¹²⁸ The CAD suggests that the basic idea underlying this and the other meanings of the word is that of a quick and repeated sideways motion, attested mainly of the eyes.¹²⁹ An example is: ṣēġu abāʿma turrīṣa ubānāti errub ekallīšma ṣābbūrā ḫāṭī, "When I walk the street, fingers are pointed at me. Even when I enter the palace, eyes look askance at me."¹³⁰

It is suggested tentatively that there may be a relationship between this expression, subur pānī, and Mishnaic sēḥer pānīm, "countenance, expression."¹³¹ While the verb šabāru appears, on slight evidence, to have a negative connotation, subur pānī, equivalent to būnu and bunnannī, is neutral, like Hebrew sēḥer pānīm, which needs an adjective to qualify it, e.g., sēḥer pānīm yāḥōt, "a friendly expression."¹³² The adjective, however, may also be tautologous, or for emphasis, and sēḥer pānīm may have

¹²⁷CAD XVI (§), 228.
¹²⁸Ibid., 2-4. ¹²⁹Ibid., 4.
¹³⁰Lambert, BWL, 34:81 (Ludlul I).
¹³¹M. Ab. 1:15. ¹³²Ibid.
a positive connotation in itself. There does not seem to be any case of șeber pānim rāc, "unpleasant expression," and the verb 1̇hasbīr pānim, "to show a friendly expression," requires no qualifying adjective.

A consideration which casts doubt upon this loanword proposal is the fact that the Akkadian is only attested lexically, not in literary passages.

Another possibility is that șeber pānim is to be related to Biblical sbr, "look at, look to, hope." Thus, the Hipcil, hasbīr pānim, "show a friendly expression," can be a parallel to haršē pānim, "show a friendly expression," used in the specific sense of comforting a mourner. In this event, there is no loanword at all. There remains the possibility, however, that there is some cognate relationship between šabāru, șubur pānim, and Hebrew sbr, "look at, look to, hope," and șeber pānim, "friendly expression."

133TP Yoma 43b; cf. Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 951b.
134Pss. 145:15; Neh. 2:13 and 15.
135TP M. Q. III:82b. Other possibilities, less satisfying, are that șeber pānim is a SâpcaI of brr, "brighten," e.g., "show a bright (cheerful) face," Jastrow, Dictionary, ibid.; compare yāṣer...pānāw, Numb. 6:25, or that sbr is the Aramaic for "lift up," cf. yissāṣ...pānāw, Numb. 6:26. The problem of the change s > š is discussed above, p. 52, and below, pp. 221f.
23) spr, "cut the hair, shear," / ṣepešeru, "to strand, dress the hair, trim."

Akkadian ṣepešeru is attested in Nuzi, Late Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian. Examples are: muṣatiša teleggi kunī̂stam ta-ša-pir, "you take combings from her hair, strand it into a roll of hair..." and kîma nagimtu ṣuṣi u-ṣap-pi-ra šu-pur-a-a, "He (Marduk) trimmed my nails as if expelling a tabooed woman."

Possibly, Mishnaic spr, "cut the hair, shear," is a loan from ṣepešeru. Possible evidence for this is the fact that spr appears to enter Hebrew after the Biblical period, not completely replacing the earlier terms gph and gzz. Its entrance created a confusion of homonyms with spr, "talk, converse," and to avoid confusion, other terms for "converse" were brought into activity, sāḥ, hirṣā, tīnā, ṣāmar.

The problem with this identification is both phonetic and semantic. A change of consonants in borrowing such as ą > s is most rare. Generally the Akkadian consonant ą
appears in Aramaic as ג, and ש in Aramaic, if it does not reflect original ש, reflects מ; compare the personal name בֶל-סֶּרֶע-עָשָׂר, and Aramaic בלסרת.\textsuperscript{141} There is some indefiniteness between ש and ג in Assyrian and Babylonian; compare Neo-Babylonian פָּסָּנָא and Assyrian פָּסָּנָא, "cover, veil."\textsuperscript{142} If גֶּפֶּרּוּ was borrowed as סָּפָּר, a variant form may be involved.

Akkadian גֶּפֶּרּוּ does not mean "cut" exclusively. It is used in connection with stranding, dressing hair, stranding linen, trimming an object with precious stones, trimming away an inscription, and paring vegetables.\textsuperscript{143} One Sumerian equivalent, AG, can also be read as $S_A$\textsubscript{5}, equivalent to הָּסָּנָא, "cut," and an element in $S_A$\textsubscript{5}.A, גֻּלּיבֶּת, "savings."\textsuperscript{144} On the other hand, other equivalents are DIB, equal to גָּבָּט, "seize," in the sense of "pinch,"\textsuperscript{145} and קֶס.ד.א, equal to קָּשָׂר, רָּקָּס, "tie."\textsuperscript{146} One must assume a semantic development from "trim, arrange, tie, order" to "cut, shear," as a part of hair grooming. Thompson, cited by the CAD, proposed as identification with Arabic דַּעַרַף, "braid a woman's hair."\textsuperscript{147} If this be so,
then in Hebrew one would expect *spr and in Aramaic *cpr, if these be cognates. The presence of spr may argue for a loan. This loan proposal is of a lesser degree of probability than others where the semantic and consonantal criteria are more directly satisfied. 148

148 Relevant to this discussion is Syriac  strtoupper, "kind of knife," Lex. Syr., p. 492 and Arabic  safarat, "kind of knife," Hava, Arabic-English Dictionary, p. 369, and Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 247. Fraenkel's view is that this term goes back to a root in Arabic,  safar, "cut," ibid. In view of this, Aramaic and Hebrew  spr, "cut the hair," and this Arabic root are cognates. It would not be possible to speak of a loanword here, although Akkadian  sepru may still be related.
24) cūqā, cugya, ṭuɣyā, "cavity, trough, pit," / ikū, ekū, "ditch, canal."

The Akkadian word ikū, ekū, is attested as early as Old Akkadian, as in the examples: i-ka-am pa-al-ga-am, "ditch, canal," and assum i-ki-im birītim marī PN ibqurūkunūtma, "concerning the fact that the sons of PN have made a claim against them for the common border ditch." 150

Mishnaic cūqā, "cavity, trough, pit," 151 and cugya, ṭuɣyā, "ditch dug around the roots of a vine," 152 have been considered loanwords from Akkadian ikū. 153 This is not completely certain for the following considerations. There are variants in Hebrew manuscripts where words spelled with ṭ in Palestinian manuscripts are spelled with ḫ in Babylonian ones. 154 If the primary form of the Mishnaic word is ṭuqā, ṭuɣyā, one can assume a loan: ikū > ṭuɣyā, ṭuɣā, as the original ṭ was not pronounced in Akkadian or transmitted. If, however, the Hebrew forms cūqā, ṭuɣyā, are primary, the presence of the ṭ indicates a cognate, not a loan. 155

149 AHw, p. 370. 150 Ibid.
151 M. Macas 1:7; M. CEr. 8:9; and M. Miq. 6:1.
153 AHw, p. 44.
154 Bendavid, DHMH, pp. 213-4; Segal, GMH, p. 28.
155 cf. idu / ydc, "know." For a similar view, cf. AIA, p. 235. In later Aramaic, ḫ lost its consonant value and was often interchanged with ρ, Moscati, Introduction, par. 8.56.
25) pīš, "open," / palāṣu, "pierce, penetrate."

Examples of the Akkadian, attested from Old Babylonian on, are: \( \text{ṣum-ma bīt awīlim lū ip-pa-li-īš lū im-qu-ut} \), "If a man's house is broken into or collapses,"\(^{156}\) and \( \text{ṣumma awīlum bītam ipluš ina pāni pilšim suāti idukkūṣūma} \), "If a man breaks into a house, he shall be put to death before that breach."\(^{157}\)

It might be argued that Mishnaic \( mēpūlāš \), "open,"\(^{158}\) is borrowed from palāṣu on the ground that in Biblical Hebrew \( pāteret \) (Ex. 21:2) is the equivalent to palāṣu, pilšum. However, there is no strong evidence to rule out a cognate palāṣu / pīš.\(^{159}\)

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156Law Code of Eshnunna, par. 37.
157Code of Hammurabi, par. 21.
158M. Sab. 16:1; M. Cer. 9:4. This is considered a loan in \( \text{AFw} \), p. 13. Cf. also Syriac, Lex. Syr., p. 577a.
159This pīš should be distinguished from pīš, "roll, wallow in the ground," Micah 1:10; Jer. 6:26, 25:34; Ez. 27:30, cf. Ugaritic \( cpr \) pitt, "dust of wallowing," \( \text{I}^\# \text{AB}, \text{vi}, \text{15, G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends}, \text{p. 108}. \) Compare with our word Amharic \( fāllāš \), "dig the earth with the hands," W. Leslau, Hebrew Cognates in Amharic (Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 39. Possibly related is Hebrew \( bīš \), e.g., \( b̄ōle\)\( stitución \)\( māntehā \), "they break the clods under it (a vine, prior to planting)," Midr. Lev. R. 36:2.
26) §arsūr, "pitcher with a strainer," / §arsaru, "water container."

The noun §arsaru, "container for water storage," is attested in Late Babylonian and in Neo-Assyrian, e.g., māmīt ina §arsari me šatū, "the oath sworn by drinking water from a §arsaru jar." It is suggested tentatively that Mishnaic §arsūr, "pitcher with a strainer at its mouth," is a borrowing.

What raises questions about this loanword, however, is the fact that the noun, §arsaru, is attested quite late, although the verb, §araru, is attested as early as Old Babylonian. Moreover, there is a cognate ġrr in Mandaic, e.g., ġstarar bainh dimhta, "his eyes burst into tears." This verb must also underlie the noun ġrān, "one whose eyes discharge a briny liquid." If §araru / ġrr are possibly cognates in Aramaic and Akkadian, then borrowed by Hebrew from Aramaic, the nominal formation §arsūr is characteristic of Mishnaic Hebrew, requiring no loan process.

160 CAD, XVI (8), 115, from Surpu II:62.
162 CAD, ibid., 105f.
163 Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 397b; cf. Hebrew zlg, used with ġnayyūm; cf. also Akkadian šarru, "flowing, leaking," CAD, ibid., 114, Late Babylonian.
164 M. Bek. 7:3.
165 Segal, GMH, p. 112.
27) qeđerā / diqāru, "cooking and drinking vessel."

Akkadian diqāru was used as a drinking vessel, as seen by the equivalence di-qa-ru = maltu rabâ, "large drinking vessel,"\(^{166}\) or as a container for water, medicine, or food, or for cooking.\(^{167}\) It could have been made of various materials: clay, stone, or bronze.\(^{168}\)

Mishnaic qeqēra, "cooking vessel,"\(^{169}\) has been regarded as a loanword from Akkadian.\(^{170}\) A number of questions, however, can be raised against this identification. In all the dialects one finds a metathesized form, qidrā, qeđerā, but none that reproduces the shape of the original. A parallel example may be the Greek loanword λιμήν, "harbor," which, in Palestinian sources, was transcribed as lemen, while in Babylonian sources, removed from the Greek language area, was metathesized to nāmēl. The loanword, however, was reproduced in Hebrew in a form similar to the

\(^{166}\)AHw, pp. 172f.
\(^{167}\)Ibid.; CAD III (D), 157-9.
\(^{168}\)AHw, ibid.
\(^{169}\)M. Hul. 8:3.
\(^{170}\)AFW, p. 33; cf. also Arabic qidr, Hava, Arabic-English Dictionary, p. 591, Aramaic qidrā, and Mandaic qidrā, Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 410. Cf. Lex. Syr., p. 649, where the Syriac is considered a loan from diqāru, following Jensen and Zimmern. Fraenkel notes the identity of Arabic qidr and Aramaic qidrā, Hebrew qeqēra. One would expect in Arabic a form *qadīr if this were dependent upon the Hebrew with its long second vowel, Fraenkel, Aram. FW., p. 63.
original, and the metathesis is a variant within Hebrew dialects.

It is possible that a loanword enters in a metathesized form, yet the non-existence of a form closer to the original requires explanation. It should be noted that a form \( \text{diqūrā} \) did exist in Aramaic. In the Commentary of Rabbi Hai Gaon on Mishnah Kelim, a definition of \( \text{pīṭāsīn} \), Greek \( \piθος \), "wine jar," is given. It is there stated that there are \( \text{diqūrē} \), identical with \( \text{dānē} \), and that they resemble \( \text{qanqannīm} \), except that \( \text{qanqannīm} \) are long and \( \text{diqūrē} \) are rounded.\(^{171}\) Aramaic \( \text{dānā} \) is identical with Akkadian \( \text{dannu} \), "vessel, container," and it is plausible to consider Aramaic \( \text{diqūrā} \) as identical with \( \text{diqāru} \). If \( \text{diqūrā} \) existed in Gaonic times, it may have existed earlier and may be a link between Akkadian \( \text{diqāru} \) and the metathesized forms \( \text{qidrā}, \text{qidr}, \text{qēdērā} \).

There is, however, a problem with the vowel pattern in the Akkadian and the Hebrew. A change of \( \bar{\text{a}} > \bar{\text{u}} \) is unusual, unless the word in Aramaic be \( \text{*diqūrā} \), where an \( \bar{\text{a}} > \bar{\text{o}} \) change is possible.\(^{172}\) Another objection that may be raised is the fact that \( \text{qēdērā} \) is such a basic, common object that a borrowing appears unnecessary. The possibility is that \( \text{diqāru} \) and \( \text{qēdērā} \) are cognates.

\(^{171}\) Commentary of Rabbi Hai Gaon, M. Kēlīm 3:6.

\(^{172}\) Moscati, Introduction, par. 8.88. A similar doubt about this loan is expressed in AIA, pp. 58 and 230. This change, however, takes place in Western Aramaic and may not be relevant to our case.
Mishnaic qe'era replaces the almost obsolete Biblical parur and dud. 173 Bendavid, BHMH, p. 359. An archaic survival is Mishnaic parur in M. Bezah 1:7.
28) tiltān / tultu, "fenugreek," Trigonella Foenum Graecum."

This plant name, cited by Thompson,174 is identical with Mishnaic tiltān.175 It is not clear that this is a loanword, however. If the name can be etymologically related to the characteristic of three clustered leaves which the plant has, the form of the name is Aramaic. It would then be a loan from Aramaic into Akkadian.

174DAB, p. 65.

175Low, Flora, II, 475; M. Kil. 2:5; M. Ter. 10:5, 6; M. Ma'asā. 4:6; M. Ma'asā Seng 2:2, 3; and M. Niddā 2:6.
CHAPTER V

LESS PROBABLE LOAN TRANSLATIONS AND EXTENSIONS

1) Jabbūḥ ṭāqē, "Polygonum aviculare," / ḫaṭṭu ṭē. Neither the CAD nor von Soden give a definition of the plant name, which literally means "shepherd's staff." Thompson suggests "Asa foetida." There are other popular names for plants formed analogously, e.g., ḫē summāṭālī, "dove's dung," a popular name for the carob, lišān kalbi, lit. "dog's tongue," and nēṣ qaqqārī, lit. "lion of the earth." The relationship of ḥaṭṭu ṭē and Mishnaic Jabbūḥ ṭāqē, defined by Albeck as "Polygonum aviculare," is not clear. The CAD suggests that Aramaic ḫūṭā ṭāqēyā is a loan from an Akkadian *hutar ṭē, a form not actually attested. Moreover, Akkadian ḫūṭāru is not attested earlier than Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian, and may be conceivably an Aramaic loanword. Also, noting

1CAD VI (H), 156; AHw, p. 337.
2DAB, pp. 352ff.
3M. Held, Landsberger Festschrift, p. 398.
4M. Sab. 14:3; Albeck, Mishnah, Mācēd, p. 51.
5CAD, ibid., 156.
6CAD, ibid., 265.

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the lateness of ḫattu reš, occurring only in Standard Babylonian, the language of literary texts of the Neo-Babylonian or Neo-Assyrian period, the possibility remains that this is an Aramaic loan in Akkadian.

Also problematic is the relationship of Hebrew ♦abbūp roce to ḫattu reš and ṣuṭra deraqyā. One would expect a Hebrew construction with seḥet, "staff." This raises the possibility that the Hebrew term refers to a different plant, one which has a hollow stalk, while the Akkadian and Aramaic are referring to some unknown plant which has a solid stalk. Both terms reflect traditional standard equipment of shepherds, a solid object, a staff, and a flute. Hebrew ♦abbūp roce can be translated as "shepherd's pipe" or "shepherd's flute." The plant may have been named because of its form rather than because it was used to make the instrument. As noted by Sellers, the simple flute remains throughout the Fertile Crescent today and is played in the same manner as by the ancient Egyptians. 8

7CAD VI (H), 156.

2) keleb hammayim / kalab me, kalab tamti, "sea dog, dog fish (?)."

Sumerian ʿUR.A is equivalent to kalab me. There also occurs kalab tamti. Mishnaic keleb hammayim can be considered a loan from Akkadian, using native and cognate terms in a combination influenced by the Akkadian. There is, of course, the possibility that these are independent coinages, as it is natural that marine beings be compared to land animals; compare German Seelöwe, "seal," Meerschwein, "sea-hog," and Seehund, "seal."

9AHw, p. 425a.
10Landsberger, Fauna, p. 85. This is also compared to Aramaic kalbā demayyā, ibid.
11M. Kēlim 17:13.
3) **mihhā beyād**, "thwart an action," / **retta māḥāsu**, literally, "strike the hand."

The Akkadian expression occurs in the following passage from Ludlul Bēl Nēmegi: **imhaṣ retti māḥîiya uṣaddi kakkaṣu Marduk,** "It was Marduk who struck the hand of him who beats me, so that he made him drop his weapon."\(^{12}\) The expression occurs in translation in Aramaic, **wēlāṭitay dī yēmaḥbē bīdē,** "there is no one who can thwart Him."\(^{13}\) In the Mishnah, there occur the expressions **mihhū beyādām,** "they prevented them,"\(^ {14}\) and **wēn meṃaḥin beyādō,** "they do not prevent him."\(^ {15}\) Some doubt about this loan translation is raised by the fact that the passage in Ludlul is concrete, not metaphorical, as in the Aramaic. If frequent metaphorical uses of this phrase were found in Akkadian, the case would be strengthened.

\(^{12}\)Lambert, BWL, p. 58, Ludlul, IV:11-12.

\(^{13}\)Daniel 4:32.

\(^{14}\)M. Pes. 4:8.

\(^{15}\)M. Sanh. 2:4. Mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic meḥā goes back to *mēḥā* and ṭēḥ, the exact correspondent of māḥāsu. This loan translation is discussed by Held, "ṭēḥ/ *ṭēḥ* in Ugaritic and Other Semitic Languages," JAOS, LXXIX (1959), 171 and n. 39.
4) $hāqēl$ $rāy$, "act disrespectfully," $gallūt$ $rāy$, "disrespect," / $qaggadu$ $galālu$, "to be dishonored," and $kōbed$ $rāy$, "respect, gravity," / $qaggadu$ $kabātu$, "honor."

An example, from Old Babylonian, of the first idiom is: $\text{ana } šīrumma...ritaggudim...qaggadni...iqallil$, "because of the dancing about we are dishonored (literally, our head becomes light)."\(^{16}\) The opposite idea is expressed in the following examples: $kabat$ $qaggadi$, "respect,"\(^{17}\) $rīska$ $ukabbat$, "he will respect you,"\(^{18}\) and $qaggassa$ $tukabbit$, "respect her."\(^{19}\)

It should be noted that there is a difference between the Akkadian and the Hebrew idioms. In the Akkadian, the object of the verb $gallūt$ or $kabātu$ is $qaggadu$, "head," this part representing the whole; that is, the person who loses or gains honor. In the Hebrew, $gallūt$ $rāy$\(^{20}\) is an attitude of disrespect to something else, and $lō$ $yāqēl$ $rāy$ $kēneged...$ means "let him not show disrespect to..."\(^{21}\) Similarly, $kōbed$ $rāy$ is an attitude of respect or seriousness.\(^{22}\) The idioms in Hebrew may be based upon the Akkadian but they are not direct translations.

\(^{16}\) GAG, par. 150J.
\(^{17}\) Lambert, BWL, 252:24. \(^{18}\) AHw, p. 417.
\(^{19}\) Ibid.; cf. also p. 416, for the G construction.
\(^{20}\) M. J Ab. 3:13. \(^{21}\) M. Ber. 9:5.
\(^{22}\) M. Ber. 5:1. Closer to the Akkadian is the expression $mēyaggereš$ $rāy$ $šah$, "making heavy (honoring) her own head (herself)," i.e., being arrogant, Midr. Gen. R. 18:3.
5) kol šeneēsap min hassūq / ina šuqi šūrub,
"brought in from the street."

The Akkadian expression is used in a legal context, referring to the adoption of a child: ina šu-qī šu-ru-ub, "brought in from the street." This expression is quite similar to the Mishnaic expression and may be the source of it: kol šeneēsap min hassūq, "whoever has been taken in from the street (and does not know his father or mother)." This is the definition of an ḫaseē, "foundling." This has been suggested as a borrowing in view of the great influence of Akkadian legal terminology upon Aramaic and Hebrew. It should be noted, however, that this kind of expression is quite general and need not have been borrowed specifically from Akkadian.


24M. Qid. 4:2. Psalm 27:10, yaṭaspenī, "will gather me in," appears to be the very same idea, in view of the first part of the verse, "for my father and mother have abandoned me." If this is borrowed, the Akkadian influence has been exerted upon the Hebrew at an earlier period. However, the possibility of parallel development remains open.
6) ziqqa, "bond, obligation," zqq, hizdaqeq, "be bound, obligated," / kasha, raka, "tie, bind (in the legal sense)."

Examples of riku, riksatu, from raka, are:

- girram u riksatim ana abisa u ummisa la iskun, "he did not conclude a formal marriage contract with her father and mother,"\(^{25}\) and balum yib y u riksatim istam, "has purchased...without witnesses and contract."\(^{26}\) The verb appears in this example: kaspum issa Ebi-ti-su alpisu eglatim u mimma isu KU, BABBAR raki, "the (debt of) silver is secured by his house, his oxen, the fields, and whatever (else) he owns."\(^{27}\)

Examples of kisu, kisirtu, from kasha, are:

- kisirtu ba 10 qa samne u...sipate, "the contract for 10 qa of oil and...wool,"\(^{28}\) and istissu u sinissu assum GU, UN, HI, A eglim u kisir bitim...astanapparakkum, "I have written you several times on account of the rent payments for the field and the rent of the house."\(^{29}\)

The common Mishnaic ziqqa, "bond, obligation to a

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\(^{25}\) The Laws of Eshnunna, par. 27.

\(^{26}\) Code of Hammurabi, par. 123; cf. also par. 124.

\(^{27}\) CAD, II (B), 283. The verb raka, is used in the sense "make someone responsible," B. Kienast, Alt-assyrische Texte (Berlin, 1960), 37:50 and 66:34.

\(^{28}\) AHw, p. 488b.

\(^{29}\) CAD II (B), 234.
person," and the verb *zqq*, *hizdaqqeq*, "be bound to, dependent upon, obligated to," may possibly be a loan translation of the special sense of *kašaru* and *rakāsu*.

Some question can be raised, however, by the fact that *zqq* does not have the general application of "tie" in Hebrew and Aramaic that *kašaru* and *rakāsu* have in Akkadian. Thus, a loan translation, a transfer of an extended sense, is less certain. Independent coinage also remains a possibility.

It is suggested that the technical use of *zqq* in the sense of "marries," is a loan translation of *kašaru* and *rakasu*. Another example is *kiltallat šakal* in the sense of "(property) is his when she enters and hers when she leaves." Independent coinage, however, is probably not.

30 Cf. M. Yeb. 3:9, *ziggit yāḇām*, "the interdependence of the widow and her late husband's brother;" Biblical *ziggit* "fetters," Nahum 3:10; Isa. 45:14; Ps. 149:8; and Job 36:8, is possibly derived from Aramaic *zqq*, "bind," B-D-B, p. 397a.

31 Cf. M. Yeb. 2:5, *zōqeq *et *eset *yāhîw*, "he holds his brother's wife tied to the leviratical marriage," and M. Sebu. 6:3, "movable chattel binds (zōqeq) the immovable with reference to the obligation of making oath."
7) \( \text{könes} \, \text{yissâ} / \, \text{assatam} \, \text{ana} \, \text{bitim} \, \text{yûrubu}, \) "taking a woman into the house, marrying."

In Akkadian legal contexts, the concepts of marrying (\( \text{assatam} \, \text{aqqa} \, \text{zum} \)) and taking the woman into the house are closely associated. This is attested in the G and in the causative S forms, as in the following examples: \( \text{summa} \, \text{Thussîma} \, \text{ana} \, \text{bitisu} \, \text{Irub}, \) "if he marries her, and she enters his house," and \( \text{ana} \, \text{bit} \, \text{PN} \, \text{usûribûsî}, \) "he brings her into the house of PN."\(^32\)

It is suggested that the technical use of \( \text{könes}, \) "brings in," in the sense of "marries," is a loan translation of \( \text{erëbu} / \, \text{yûrubu}. \)\(^34\) Another example is: \( \text{bikenîsätâh} \, \text{sellû} \, \text{ubisîjätâh} \, \text{sellû}, \) "(property) is his when she enters and hers when she leaves."\(^35\) Independent coinage, however,

\(^{32}\) The Laws of Eshnunna, par. 18.

\(^{33}\) AHw, p. 236.

\(^{34}\) M. Yeb. 3:1, 6, and 7; \( \text{könes} \, \text{yissâ} \) is an equivalent of \( \text{nosê} \, \text{yissâ}, \) cf. Bendavid, BHMH, p. 179; \( \text{kns} \) is also the equivalent of Biblical \( \text{isp} \) in the general sense of "gather," ibid., p. 338; \( \text{isp} \) is also used in the specific context of marriage, II Sam. 11:27. A similar expression is \( \text{waye} \, \text{ehe} \, \text{Yishq} \, \text{ha} \, \text{jelâh}, \) "and Isaac brought her into the tent," Gen. 24:67. This raises the possibility that the loan from Akkadian influenced Hebrew at an earlier stage, or that this is not a loan at all, but an independent coinage.

\(^{35}\) M. Ket. 8:4; cf. the formula used by Alexandrian Jews: \( \text{kêsetikkan} \, \text{le} \, \text{têhi} \, \text{le} \, \text{im} \, \text{ledat} \, \text{Môse} \, \text{w} \, \text{yisrâ} \, \text{êl}, \) "when you enter my house you will become my wife according to the custom of Moses and Israel," Tosefta Ketûbot 4:19, cited in Albeck, Mishnah, Nâsim, p. 79.
remains a possibility in this case. 36

&ayin Selattannûr, &ayin Selakkîrû / In kîrû.
"eye" or an oven, outlet for smoke."

An example of this extended use of kîru, "eye," is:

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The case usage occurs in the Mishnah: &ayin Selattannûr &ayin Selakkîrû, "(if a creeping thing was found) in the outlet of an oven or of a double stove." 38

It can be contended that there is independent development here. In Hebrew and Aramaic, &ayin and &kîru are used metaphorically in the sense of "hole, opening," e.g., hannalet &#ayin, "If a man touched...the ring-shaped collar piece," 39 and hannalet &kîru.39, &kîru, "the ring attached to an axe." 40

On the other hand, a possible argument for an influence from Akkadian can be made. A number of other terms related to the area of ovens or stoves are also loanwords, e.g., Semitic GIRû > kîru > kîru, kirayyîn, "oven." 41

97 VII (1/7), 157; cf. also AIA 3. 36-1b.
31Pa 8:17. 35k 6:17a; 3112.

An example of this extended use of īnu, "eye," is:

\[
\text{ana kūri }& \text{ sa 4 IGI-mẽs-Ša kašiti tušerredma ina bīrit}
\]

IGI-mẽs tareddi, "you put (the mixture) into a cold kiln that has four draft holes and place it between the holes." 37

The same usage occurs in the Mishnah: bēcayin  vellattannūr bēcayin  sellakkīrā, "(if a creeping thing was found) in the outlet of an oven or of a double stove." 38

It can be contended that there is independent development here. In Hebrew and Aramaic, cayin and ḡēnā are used metaphorically in the sense of "hole, opening," e.g., hannūgēca...bācayin, "If a man touched...the ring-shaped collar piece," 39 and hācayin  sebama'ca,qād, "the ring attached to an adze." 40

On the other hand, a possible argument for an influence from Akkadian can be made. A number of other terms related to the area of ovens or stoves are also loanwords, e.g., Sumerian GIR₄ > kiru > kīrā, kirayyim, "oven." 41

37CAD VII (I/J), 157; cf. also AHw, p. 383b.

41AHw, pp. 484-5. For a different view, cf. AIA, p. 108.
and Sumerian UDUN > *utūnu*, Aramaic *jatūna*.\(^{42}\)

In addition, there are some very specific extensions of *cayin* in Hebrew which correspond to similar usages in Akkadian, suggesting that there is a definite influence of the Akkadian. Both *țnu*, in Old Assyrian, Old Babylonian, and Neo-Assyrian, and *cayin* in Hebrew are used in the sense of "fountain."\(^{43}\) Akkadian *ina ĭni lemutti*, "with the evil eye," and *țnu lemuttu* correspond to Hebrew *cayin hāra*.\(^{44}\)

This evidence, however, does not decisively rule out the possibility of independent coinage discussed above, and this word must be grouped with the loans and extensions of lesser probability.

\(^{42}\) B-D-B, p. 1083b; Labat, Manuel, p. 191.

\(^{43}\) AHw, p. 383; Gen. 16:7 and 24:16, 29, 30, 42, 45; and Deut. 8:7.

\(^{44}\) AHw, *ibid.*; TB B. M. 107b.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Akkadian loanwords comprise a small part of that segment of the Mishnaic Hebrew vocabulary which is distinct from Biblical Hebrew. In the majority of cases there is a distribution of the word in Aramaic and other dialects, indicating that Aramaic was the medium for the entrance of the Akkadian word into Hebrew. Loanwords with the highest degree of probability are those which are originally non-Semitic, generally Sumerian. They cannot be considered as Semitic cognates but truly as loans. A second group contains words which are Semitic, but which are considered as loans, not cognates, because of a derivation in Akkadian or a phonological pattern which does not correspond to anything in Aramaic or Hebrew.

With reference to these categories, the results of this study have been as follows. The majority of the words accepted in these groups have been proposed by Zimmern or by others, and these proposals have been accepted. An attempt has been made to collect all the relevant information on these words and to provide a study more thorough than offered by Zimmern in his monograph or the identifications made in the dictionaries. An effort has been made to collect all the relevant information made available
since Zimmern's monograph and to take advantage of significant developments in Akkadian lexicography since that time. The effects of the entrance of a new word into Hebrew have been considered, wherever possible. Consideration has been given to the replacement of earlier words or specialization of function where words from the earlier strata and loanwords both remain in the lexicon. This aspect has not generally been considered in earlier studies. The work of Bendavid, often referred to, has been most helpful in establishing the differentiae between Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew and thus facilitating that aspect of our study.

Loanwords which are being suggested here are:


In some cases of loanwords which have already been identified, it has been possible to offer more information
clarifying the relationship of the Hebrew to the Akkadian. Examples are as follows: In the loan ǰārīs < ʾerēṣum, "tenant farmer," the fractions of the crop given to the owner are almost identical in Akkadian and in the Mishnah, and the terms describing acceptance for rental are parallel, legû / ʾmēqabbēl. In the loan ʾhazzān < ʾḥazzānu, "official, headman," there is in Akkadian a use of this term as a religious official of a temple, bringing it closer to the Hebrew usage as a religious official of the synagogue. In the case of ʾguppā < ʾguppā, "box, basket," there are also non-literal connotations of ʾguppā in Hebrew as "money at the disposal of the wife" and "charity fund." Similar non-literal uses are also found in Akkadian, where ʾguppā is parallel to mulugu, "property under the control of the wife," and ʾguppā ʾsa ʾsarrī refers to taxes due to the king. In the case of ʾsusāpīnu > ʾsusēpīn, Mishnaic and related material confirm Akkadian evidence that this role was associated with the bride as well as the groom.

An attempt has been made to distinguish words which have been combined by Zimmern; for example, ʾṣāsisu > ʾṣāsis, "pole, framework," to be separated from ʾṣāš, "touch," and ʾdap < ʾdappū, "board," to be distinguished from ʾtuppu, "clay tablet."

A number of loanwords suggested by Zimmern have been questioned here on philological grounds. They are: ʾḥāḥit < ʾḥāḥē, "vessel, jar," ʾḥazırā, ʾḥazzūr < ʾḥinzūr, ʾḥasḥuru, "apple," ʾḥisḥūs, "cartilage," ʾḥisīṣu, "ear,"
The loanwords that have been accepted can be broken down into several areas:

1) Agriculture, Landscape: jappār < appāru, kērī < karū, mešer < mišru, ṛeqāq < ṛeqaqā, ṛaqā < raqqatum, tehūm < tahūmu.

2) Anatomy: šēhir < saparu, qurqēbān < quqqubānu.

3) Animals, Birds: gaz < kassūsu, tanneqā < tarlugallu.

4) Architecture, Building: āsquppā < askuppätu, ǧarṭah < arḥu, bib < bibu, dāq < dappu, dir < dūrū, kēk, kūk < gwh < gnh < kimāḫhu, nībāk < nadbaku.

5) Clothing, Things Worn: birī < birītu, kābūl < kaballu, mōk < mukku.

6) Implements, Instruments: ābbūb < ebbūbu, jallā < allu, ḫāzinā < ḫāṣṣīnu, šēlāb < šilbu, qat < qatu.

7) Minerals, Plants: ǧabdār < abāru, ǧeslag < asīaku, bat šūḥ < ǧasmūn < ḫassū, gēš < gasū, ḥīltīt < ḥīl tiyāti, ḥāṣīt < ḥassā < ḫassū, karsīnā < kāṣēnu, lepet < laptu, lūp < luppu, kēsūt < kēṣū, nēpt < naptu, qurnīt < qurnu, šūmsūm < sāmasammā, tīā < tiyātu, tūrmūs < tarmūsu
8) Legal, Economic: šomēd < imittu, ṣmd < ēmedu, ĵāris < ērēšum, gēt < gittu, zūz < zuzu < zāzu, melûg < mulugu, meqîp < āpu, sušētu < susapīnu, šûm < šāmu, šuṭāp < šuṭāpu.

9) Professions: ḫazzān < ḫazzanu, naṭom < nuḥatimmu.

10) Vessels: qâd < qudu, qurgāyā, qurgāyôt, gârāp < karpatu.

11) Miscellaneous: yestēqād < ṣaddaqad, ḫimmātī, ḫemmātāy, ḫemātay < immati < ina mati, waddāy < wuddi, kat < kimtu, str < sutturu.

As is to be expected in loanwords, the most frequent examples are in technical areas, names of plants, minerals, and legal and economic terms. While some new loanwords have been discovered since Zimmern's monograph, including some suggested here, the influence of Akkadian is not as great in the area of loanwords as he assumed. A much greater recognition of the role of Aramaic is required. Not only was Aramaic the medium of transmission, but some of the words thought to be Akkadian loans can be defended as Aramaic-Akkadian cognates, even if the Akkadian word is attested in Old Akkadian or Old Babylonian. In the later period there are Aramaic loans into Akkadian. This does not rule out a recognition of the great influence of Akkadian and Assyrian upon Old and Imperial Aramaic. What is needed is detailed study of that influence and of
the relationship of the peripheral Akkadian dialects to Aramaic. These may be closer to West-Semitic ancestors of Aramaic rather than to Akkadian. This information would help clarify the complex question of loans versus Aramaic-Akkadian cognates.

In a number of cases, 15 words, it was not possible to establish with certainty that a word is a loan and not a cognate. These have been proposed in this study as possible loanwords or have been suggested by others, and the philological evidence is not decisive. These words are in addition to the suggestions of Zimmern listed above which have been questioned in the study. These words are:

- ḳaggās < ḳāgasu, "pear,"
- ḳawwāz < ḳusû, "goose,"
- ḳukkāp < ḳūkāpu, "saddle,"
- ḳemšēs < ḳmissisam, "stomach,"
- ḳizzbōrît < ḳzarbābu, "pitcher,"
- ḳāwwāz < ḳasāwāz, "goose,"
- ḳūkāg < ḳūkāp, "saddle,"
- ḳemšēs < ḳmissisam, "stomach,"
- ḳizbōrît < ḳzarbābu, "pitcher,"
- ḳāuwā ḳ̣uς < ḳuṣū, "goose,"
- ḳemšēs < ḳmissisam, "stomach,"
- ḳizzbōrît < ḳzarbābu, "pitcher,"

When all these doubtful words are considered against the nearly sixty loanwords in this study which have been accepted as suggestions by others or have been proposed here, the proportion, about one half, emphasizes the degree of inconclusiveness which exists in the study of the loanword problem. This is due mainly to the fact
that we are studying borrowings between cognate languages, and because the full vocabulary of Aramaic and the total lexicon of Hebrew of the Biblical period beyond the literary remains, the Bible, are not available to us. It has been noted in the Introduction that certain words occurring in the Mishnah and in Old Akkadian can be cognates because of consonant changes in Akkadian which are not present in Hebrew. On the other hand, words occurring no earlier than Middle or Late Babylonian could conceivably be loanwords, but the absence of decisive philological evidence coupled with the Aramaic influence suggests the possibility of an Aramaic loan into Akkadian. The value of discussing these words here is, I believe, to set them up for further research to decide, and because, even as cognates, they may shed light upon the meaning of Mishnaic Hebrew words.

The chapter on loan translations and extensions contains several categories: loan translations proper; loan renditions, where the Akkadian provides a general model for analogous constructions in Hebrew; extensions, where a special technical or idiomatic sense in Akkadian is taken over by the semantic equivalent in Hebrew; and a final category, where this process of extension occurs with roots which are cognate in Akkadian and in Hebrew. In these categories it was not always possible to provide decisive proof of Akkadian influence as against parallel development in the various dialects. In the last
two categories it is not always clear that the cognate relationship was recognized. Also, certain words were cognates but not semantic equivalents. These considerations increase the probability that these words may have been borrowed as loanwords.

In the area of loan translations and extensions, the following have been suggested here as original proposals, to the best of my knowledge: loan translations, Ješbaḥ hakkābād < Syriac ḫēṣṣar kabād < ubān amūtim, "lobe of the liver," maṣaḥāzin ḫet hājūr < Syriac ahdt nwrs < ʾisāta šūḥuzu, "ignite a fire," and qiyārā milhāma < kiṣir tāḥāzi, "ranks of battle;" extensions in cognate roots, bīnān < binātu, binītu, "human frame, form, structure," mügmar < Aramaic gumartā < gumāru, "coal, charcoal," thus, "spices placed upon coals," gōmērīn ḫet naddīn < dīna gamāru, "pass sentence, decide a case," sōṭēr ḫet naddīn < dīna sapāḥu, "cancel, disrupt judgment," yōṣēṭ ḫūṣ < Aramaic nāqqat bārā < waṣīat, "woman of loose morals," and kōmērīn mekammērin < kumurrū, "pile up dates or fruits for ripening." As noted in the discussion of this last word, the possibility remains that this should be treated as a loanword rather than an extension. This is because Hebrew ʾkrām may be cognate with Akkadian kamāru but not semantically equivalent.

The following were treated as extensions and loan translations of lesser probability: ḫabbū ṭōče < ḫāṭṭu ṭāʿā, "shepherd's staff," a kind of plant, ʾẓaqq, "tie,
obligate," "kašaru, rakāsu, "bind (in a legal sense)," keleḵ hammayim < kalab me, kalab tamti, "sea-dog," kēnes 
issā < ašṣatam ina bitim šurubu, "take in, marry a woman," mīḥā beyād < Aramaic mēḥā beyād < retta maḥāṣu, "strike the hand, obstruct, protest," hāqēl rōš < gaqqadu qalālu, "be disrespectful," kobed rōš, "seriousness," < gaqqadu kabātu, "treat with respect," jāsap min hasṣuq < ina sūqi šurubu, "gather in from the street, adopt," and ca yin sellattannūr < in kīrī, "eye, hole of the stove."

In these cases, Akkadian influence has not been demonstrated beyond all doubt, and they may be parallel developments. In the case of jabbūr ōše and ḫattu ṭēr, these terms may not even refer to the same plant. The question of parallel development rather than Akkadian influence can be raised against sōṭēr ūt haddīn, gomērīn ūt haddīn, as well as against ṣiqs, ṣpsq < parāṣu, "determine a price," and gezar dīn < purussu < parāṣu. The possibility of parallel development was raised in the discussion, but in view of the more technical nature of these terms and the recognized influence of Akkadian upon legal and economic terms, it was felt that they belonged with extensions and loan translations of greater probability.

If the loan translations and extensions which have been considered more probable are listed in categories as were the loanwords, they fit into the following classifications:
The largest number of loan translations and extensions are again in the legal and economic area. This is not surprising in view of the widespread influence of Akkadian legal terminology as shown by the work of Kutscher, Yaron, and Muffs.

The loan translations are not parallel to the loan-words in number and in range. Thus, there are none in the categories of building terms, plants, minerals, clothing and professions. In the "miscellaneous" category, there are a number which have no common bond between them. One group, from **assum**, is grammatical, while **qisrē milhāmā** has a technical sense. It is to be expected that loan
translations will be restricted to specific areas even more than loanwords. Only special technical terms will be translated or serve as models for analogous constructions. In other cases, the word will be borrowed phonemically, or, the borrowing language will make use of its own resources. Many of the expressions suggested here as loan translations were not technical enough to rule out parallel development rather than borrowing. The limited range and number of loan translations in Mishnaic Hebrew, and the larger number and range of loanwords can be accounted for by the vitality of Mishnaic Hebrew and of Aramaic, and by the great influence of Greek, more proximate in speech area and time. There was a great influence of Greek loanwords and loan translations upon Hebrew, including grammatical and syntactical aspects.¹

The results of consulting the Kaufmann Manuscript,² the Babylonian manuscript edited by Porath,³ and variants cited by Yalon,⁴ are that certain loanwords were seen to have variant forms closer to the Akkadian than the usual Hebrew vocalization permits. Akkadian askuppatu, "threshold," occurs as a variant יָשָׁקְפַּי, alongside of the more common יָשָׁקָפַי.⁵ In the Kaufmann Manuscript, יָפַי

¹Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 135-46.
²Beer, MK.
³Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew.
⁴Yalon, IVM.
⁵Beer, MK, Sabbat 10:2; Yalon, IVM, pp. 19 and 214.
(there appearing as \( \text{app\`ar} \)), having a doubled second consonant, is consistent with the form for a loan from \( \text{app\`aru} \), Sumerian AMBAR.\(^6\) In the same manuscript, \( \ddot{\text{E}}\text{mm\`aray} \), "when," occurs with a doubling of the second consonant as would be expected in a loan from \( \text{immati} \lt \text{ina mati} \).\(^7\) Akkadian mukku, from Sumerian MUG, "thread, rag," appears as muk\( \ddot{\text{k}} \)in in the plural as against Yalon's vocalization m\( \ddot{k} \)in,\(^8\) while the variant s\( \ddot{\text{am\`em}} \), s\( \ddot{\text{am\`em\`im}} \),\(^9\) is closer to the Akkadian \( \text{sam\`asam\`ma} \), "sesame," than the more common \( \text{s\`um\`s\`um} \). Akkadian tarm\( \ddot{\text{u}} \)s, "lupine," has several variants, t\( \ddot{\text{om}} \)s, t\( \ddot{\text{om}} \)s, and t\( \ddot{\text{om}} \)s.\(^{10}\) However, Lieberman, in his edition of the Tosefta, prefers the reading trmwsyn, indicating that the first vowel is short, closer to the presumed Akkadian TAR.MUS > *tarmusu.\(^{11}\) In the case of tarlugallu, from Sumerian DAR.LUGAL.MUSEN, the variant tarn\( \ddot{\text{g}} \)l\( \ddot{\text{im}} \) in the Kaufmann Manuscript\(^{12}\) is closer to the Aramaic tarnug\( \ddot{\text{l}} \)la and to the Akkadian than the more frequent

\(^{6}\text{Beer, MK, Be\`a 5:7; E. Y. Kutscher, Le\`on\`enu, XXXI (1967), 108-9.}\)

\(^{7}\text{Beer, MK, Ber\`a\`Tat 1:1; Kutscher, Hanok Yalon Festschrift, p. 269.}\)

\(^{8}\text{Porath, ibid., p. 140; Yalon, IVM, pp. 19 and 214.}\)

\(^{9}\text{Porath, ibid., p. 127; Yalon, IVM, p. 215.}\)

\(^{10}\text{Cf. t\( \ddot{\text{om}} \)s, Albeck, Mishnah, Zera\`c\`Im, p. 101; t\( \ddot{\text{om}} \)s, Beer, MK, Ki\`ayyim 1:3; M. Sabbat 18:1; t\( \ddot{\text{om}} \)s, Beer, MK, Maks\`Ir 4:8.}\)

\(^{11}\text{S. Lieberman, Tosefta, Zera\`c\`Im, p. 130.}\)

\(^{12}\text{Beer, MK, Sabbat 24:3.}\)
The various Mishnah fragments from the Geniza collected in Ginze Mishnah\(^{13}\) also provide some interesting evidence relating to the possible form in which a loanword may have entered into Hebrew. While the proposed loan \(\text{bab} > \text{hab} \text{i} \), "vessel," was questioned in this study, it was noted that a greater probability would exist if there were a form \(\#\text{habiyy} \text{a} \), closer to \(\text{bab} \). Weisberg found such a form in the Aruk.\(^{14}\) In Ginze Mishnah, however, the form \(\text{habiyy} \text{a} \) is actually found in a manuscript.\(^{15}\) While this alone does not remove all doubts about the proposed loanword, it does add significant evidence to the discussion. The form \(\text{g} \text{as} \), "lime,"\(^{16}\) is somewhat closer to Akkadian \(\text{gassu} \) than the usual \(\text{gos} \), while \(\text{jaslag} \), "laundry alkali,"\(^{17}\) is closer to Akkadian \(\text{aslaku} \), "launderer," and Aramaic \(\text{jaslega} \), "alkali," than the usual \(\text{jeslag} \). In two of these manuscripts there occur the form \(\text{wadday} \),\(^{18}\) lending support to the proposal made here that the source of this word is Akkadian \(\text{wuddi} \), "certainly," and that the \(\text{aleph} \) in the usual form, \(\text{wadday} \), is a mater lectionis. A manuscript

\(^{13}\text{Katsh, GM.}\)

\(^{14}\text{D. Weisberg, HUCA, XXXIX (1968), 77f.}\)

\(^{15}\text{Katsh, ibid., Pl. 130, line 10.}\)

\(^{16}\text{Ibid., Pl. 136, line 12.}\)

\(^{17}\text{Ibid., Pl. 146, line 4.}\)

\(^{18}\text{Ibid., Pl. 119, line 12 and Pl. 156, line 6.}\)
in this collection vocalizes $\text{m}^{\text{h}}\text{k}\text{\textk}\text{\textin}$, "threads," sup-
porting the doubled, unaspirated form of the second con-
sonant as in the reading $\text{m}^{\text{h}}\text{k}\text{\textk}\text{\textin}$, noted by Porath. This
brings the form closer to Akkadian $\text{m}^{\text{k}}\text{k}\text{\textu}\text{\textk}\text{\textu}$.

There are cases, however, where consulting the
variants does not yield results in the form of closer re-
semblance to the Akkadian original. For example, the loan
$\text{q}^{\text{\textap}}\text{u}$, "lend on credit, trust," appears in M. J Abot 3:16,
and the passage there should be read $\text{w}^{\text{\texte}\text{\texth}\text{\texta}\text{\texth}\text{\textn}\text{\textw}\text{\textn}\text{\textw}}\text{i}^{\text{\textm}}\text{\textq}\text{\texti}\text{\textp}$,
"the store-keeper lends on credit." This vocalization is
required by a media-waw verb such as this. The Kaufmann
Manuscript has, however, $\text{m}^{\text{a}\text{\textq}\text{\texti}\text{\textp}}$, indicating that the word
was understood as if it were from the root $\sqrt{\text{n}\text{\textq}\text{\textr}}$. In the
case of the word $\text{k}^{\text{\textu}\text{s}\text{\textb}\text{\texta}\text{\textr}}$, "coriander," there is a variant
$\text{k}^{\text{\texti}\text{\texts}\text{\textb}\text{\texta}\text{\textr}}$. This, however, cannot be attributed with cer-
tainty to the loan process, although there is some prob-
ability of this. Akkadian $\text{k}^{\text{s}\text{i}\text{\textb}\text{\texti}\text{\textr}\text{\textru}}$ is closer to Hebrew
$k^{\text{s}\text{\textb}\text{\texta}}$. However, variants occur in Akkadian itself; along-
side of Assyrian $\text{k}^{\text{i}}\text{s}\text{\textb}\text{\texta}\text{\textr}\text{\textru}$ there also occurs Middle and
Late Babylonian $\text{k}^{\text{\textu}(\text{s})\text{s}\text{\texti}\text{\textb}\text{\texti}\text{\textr}\text{\textru}}$. The variants in Hebrew may
be due to internal, dialectic factors as well as to the
loan process.

There are inconsistencies within the same manuscript.

19 Katsh, GM, Pl. 97, line 10.

20 Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 140.

21 Beer, MK, $\text{\textv}\text{\texte}\text{\texth}\text{\texts}\text{\text\texth}\text{\textc}\text{\texti}\text{\textt}$ 9:1; M. Dem. 1:1; Porath, Mish-
naic Hebrew, p. 140; S. Lieberman, Tosefta, Zera'\text{\textg}\text{\texti}\text{\textm}, p. 203.
For example, `md, "estimate," which is considered in this study to come from Akkadian emēdu, "lay upon, impose," should properly be spelled with `aleph, as the cayyin would not be transferred in a loanword. One finds, however, variants where the spelling is with cayyin. This confusion is not due to any cayyin being transferred in the loan, but to variations between Palestinian and Babylonian traditions. Possibly the spelling `md, camed, comadot, is the result of the association of the word with a known Hebrew word, `md, a kind of folk etymology.

The general assumption of this study has been that in almost every case Aramaic has been the first receiver of the Akkadian loan, and from there it was borrowed by Hebrew. In some cases this can be shown clearly, because the word is attested in Biblical Aramaic or in Elephantine documents. Examples are `utturu > Biblical Aramaic str

22Beer, MK, Makkot 3:11, camedu; cf. also, Katsh, GM, Pl. 51, line 14, M. JAb. 1:16, comadot, "by estimate." There can be inconsistency within the very same manuscript, cf. Beer, MK, Makkot 1:1, camedin, "they estimate." The same confusion of `aleph and cayyin takes place with regard to Greek loanwords; cf. becarkev, "in the law courts," Beer, MK, Gittin 1:5, but jarka`et, Lowe, MPT, ad loc. The Palestinian Talmud, close to the Greek speech area, does not transcribe with cayyin, as there is none in the source, but the Babylonian sources, not knowing the Greek source, assimilate it to a Semitic root Crk.

23Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 185-6.

24A proposal is made by Bendavid that `md in the sense of "estimate" is due to Greek influence from `md μελιν, "stand," > "weigh," Bendavid, BHMH, p. 149. This may be an additional factor operating in the Greek speech area, but it does not apply for the Babylonian area.
Hebrew הָדַבָּק, "destroy," nadbāk > Biblical Aramaic הִדְבָּק, "layer of bricks," and תַּחְמָה > Elephantine תָּחְמָה, "boundary." In other cases, Hebrew is a further development of and can only be explained on the basis of the Aramaic. Examples are: הָסִינָה > Aramaic הָסִינָה > Mishnaic Hebrew הָזִינָה, "axe," רַקְקָט > Aramaic רַקְקָט, variant רַקְּקָט > Hebrew רֶקְּקָט, "marsh, shallow water," the Hebrew having developed from a variant form in Aramaic, and הַסִּיס > Aramaic הַסִּיס, "lettuce," from which developed הָסִיס, הָסִיָּיָי, a general term for onions and leeks.

In the other cases, where this specific evidence was not available, but where there appeared an Aramaic counterpart to the Hebrew word and where its form was consistent with the Hebrew, it was assumed that the loanword was transmitted through Aramaic. There are, however, a small number of cases where Aramaic may be questioned as a vehicle of the loan, either because no Aramaic counterpart is known, or because the Aramaic form exhibits the influence of Hebrew. There appears to be no Aramaic for בִּרְיָט, "chain," גָּזָיס > גָּזָיס, "pole," קַבֵּל > קַבֵּל, "type of garment or cap," and נִיָּרוּ > נֶיֶר, "papyrus." This last word did not originate in Akkadian or Assyrian, but the latter was the source from which Hebrew received it. Possibly, these are earlier loans, coming from a period of direct Assyrian cultural influence upon Hebrew.

Similarly, although the majority of the loan
translations have an Aramaic counterpart, indicating that Aramaic was the vehicle of entry into Hebrew, there are a few cases where an Aramaic expression has not been found. These are: qisřē milḥāmā < kiṣir tāḇāzi, "ranks of war," and šepōrē hārōʿs < salmat qaggadi, "the black-headed people."

Although an Aramaic counterpart has hitherto not been noted, it is not possible to state categorically that these loan translations represent a direct contact of Akkadian with Hebrew. Such a counterpart may have existed in one of the Aramaic dialects although not known to us.

Speaking both of loanwords and loan translations, while some may, indeed, have entered at an early period, without Aramaic mediation, it is difficult to establish the date and method of entry of these loans. Judeans came into contact with Assyrians, but by the time of Ezekiel's contact with the Neo-Babylonian empire, Akkadian was probably no longer the spoken language of Mesopotamia. Direct contact would apply only in a minority of cases. In general, Aramaic served as a kind of reservoir of Akkadian influence. The time of entry of an Akkadian word into Aramaic is not necessarily identical with its date of entry into Hebrew. Both time points are difficult, or impossible, to establish.

Finally, this study has been limited to the Mishnah. If the scope of the study were widened to

There are differences between the contexts of discourse in the various Late Hebrew documents, some of which are related to their degree of influence by Aramaic.
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<td>ruṭṭu ṯan, &quot;to impregnate the palm tree,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>َاَرْجَعُ</td>
<td>sakāpu, &quot;strike down,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>َاَرْجَعُ</td>
<td>saparu, &quot;net,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>َاَرْجَعُ</td>
<td>sigarru, &quot;cage,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>َاَرْجَعُ</td>
<td>sirnānu, &quot;windpipe,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>َاَرْجَعُ</td>
<td>sukallu, &quot;vizier,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>َاَرْجَعُ</td>
<td>susapīnu, &quot;attendant of the bride or groom,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>َاَرْجَعُ</td>
<td>šabātu, &quot;seize,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>َاَرْجَعُ</td>
<td>šalāpu, &quot;to cross,&quot; šilbu, &quot;material arranged crosswise,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>َاَرْجَعُ</td>
<td>šalmat qagqadi, &quot;black-headed people,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>َاَرْجَعُ</td>
<td>šaṣṣar, &quot;water container,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>َاَرْجَعُ</td>
<td>šepēru, &quot;to trim,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>َاَرْجَعُ</td>
<td>šubur ṯani, &quot;facial expression,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>sadagad</td>
<td>&quot;last year,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>sahuqum</td>
<td>&quot;destruction,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>sakanu</td>
<td>&quot;place, set down,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>salaqum</td>
<td>&quot;dissect,&quot;</td>
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<td>samasammu</td>
<td>&quot;sesame,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>samu</td>
<td>&quot;buy,&quot; &quot;simu,&quot; &quot;price,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>sanju</td>
<td>&quot;second,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>sebuttum</td>
<td>&quot;transport,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>suju (variant: suibu)</td>
<td>&quot;lamb,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>subcontract</td>
<td>&quot;marriage gift,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>sukulu</td>
<td>&quot;complete,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>sumu</td>
<td>&quot;garlic,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>sugru</td>
<td>&quot;street,&quot; &quot;ina suqi surubu,&quot; &quot;bring in from the street, adopt,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>susu</td>
<td>&quot;complete,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>sutapa</td>
<td>&quot;partner,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>sutturu</td>
<td>&quot;destroy,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>suzubu</td>
<td>&quot;save,&quot;</td>
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<td>tahumu</td>
<td>&quot;boundary,&quot;</td>
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<td>tamahu (variant: tamaku)</td>
<td>&quot;hold,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>tamkarum</td>
<td>&quot;merchant,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>taphu, taphu</td>
<td>&quot;pitcher,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>tappu</td>
<td>&quot;associate, friend,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>tapputu</td>
<td>&quot;partnership,&quot; &quot;tapputa epesu,&quot; &quot;make a partnership,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taganu</td>
<td>&quot;set in order,&quot;</td>
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tarba§ amūtim, "wide part of the liver," lit.: "courtyard of the liver," ..................172n.
tibku, tipku, tikpu, "layer of bricks or stones," ....130.
tuppu, "tablet," .......................................72, 245.
uban amūtim, "lobe of the liver," ......34, 171f., 250, 252.
ułulu, "alkali," .....................................260.
usu, "goose," ......................................191f., 248.
wabalu, "bring," ....................................19.
wasu, "produce a document," .................22, 35, 170, 252.
wuddi, "certainly," .................................41, 49, 244, 247, 255.
zabalu, "carry," zubullu, "marriage gift," ...175ff., 252.
zimpu, "mold," .........................................14.

Aramaic

(JA = Jewish Aramaic; Eleph. = Elephantine; Imp.)
Aram. = Imperial Aramaic; Mand. = Mandaic; Nab. = Nabatean; Pal. = Palmyrene; Syr. = Syriac. These indicate, not the total distribution of the word in the various dialects, but the form cited in the text. Where no other indication is given, the citation is from Jewish Aramaic.)

\[\text{Jabbūbā, (Syr.), "flute,"} \] (Syr.), "flute," \[\text{...} \] 90.

\[\text{Jābārā, "lead,"} \] "lead," \[\text{...} \] 61.

\[\text{Jīgrā (JA, Imp. Aram.), "letter,"} \] "letter," \[\text{...} \] 44.

\[\text{Jāḥdt nwrī (Syr.), "kindling a fire,"} \] "kindling a fire," \[\text{...} \] 161, 252.

\[\text{Jāwāzā, "goose,"} \] "goose," \[\text{...} \] 191f.

\[\text{Jīkr (Syr.), "force, urge,"} \] "force, urge," \[\text{...} \] 194.

\[\text{Jūkāpā (JA, Syr.), "saddle,"} \] "saddle," \[\text{...} \] 193f.

\[\text{Jəmat (Mand.), Jəməmati (Syr.), emməmat (Malula dialect), "when?"} \] "when?" \[\text{...} \] 95n.

\[\text{Jisqupta, Jisqūpā (JA, Syr.), Jsqupta, squpta} \] (Mand.), "threshold," \[\text{...} \] 15n., 58, 96n.

\[\text{Jpklj (Imp. Aram.), "official,"} \] "official," \[\text{...} \] 3n.

\[\text{Jeprrā, "reed growth,"} \] "reed growth," \[\text{...} \] 64n.

\[\text{Jrdklj (Imp. Aram.), "architect,"} \] "architect," \[\text{...} \] 3n.

\[\text{Jərḥā (Syr.), "half-brick, lathe,"} \] "half-brick, lathe," \[\text{...} \] 97n.

\[\text{Jərs, "bind in a legal sense,"} \] "bind in a legal sense," \[\text{...} \] 98n.

\[\text{Jasūbā, "fir,"} \] "fir," \[\text{...} \] 103.

\[\text{Jasəlgā, ṣalɡā, "alkali,"} \] "alkali," \[\text{...} \] 66f.

\[\text{Jəstəqad (Syr.), "last year,"} \] "last year," \[\text{...} \] 101f.

\[\text{Jatūnā, "furnace,"} \] "furnace," \[\text{...} \] 242.

\[\text{bIḥā, "drain,"} \] "drain," \[\text{...} \] 104n.

\[\text{bēlō (Imp. Aram. JA), "tribute,"} \] "tribute," \[\text{...} \] 3n.
bīnītā, "small fish," ............................................ 163n.
bīrā (Imp. Aram., JA), "fortress," ........................... 3n.
bār ḡazzā, "type of bird," ......................................... 106n.
gbl (Imp. Aram.), "boundary," .................................... 158.
gwā (Nab.), "sepulchral chamber," ............................. 16f., 73ff.
getṭā (Syr.), gīṭā (JA), "document," .......................... 71n.
gešā, "stone," ................................................. 44, 106.
galgilā, "Eruca sativa," ........................................ 110n.
gmb (Pal.), "sepulchral chamber," ............................. 16f., 73ff.
gumartā, "coal," ................................................. 164.
gumarta (Mand.), "consecrated wafer," ...................... 164n.
gerīšin, "bread," ................................................. 44.
grh dyn (Eleph.), "sue in court," .............................. 20.
gešā, "gypsum," ............................................... 15n., 107n.
gšš, "touch," .................................................. 111, 245.
dappā (JA, Syr.), "board," ..................................... 72.
dwr, "circumference," daura (Mand.), dūrā (Syr.),
dīrā (JA), "home, abode," .................................. 112f.
ḥibūlyā, "pledge," ............................................. 192.
himta (Mand.), "sores," ....................................... 203n.
wazzā (Syr.), "goose," .......................................... 191f.
zabōrā (Syr.), "vessel," ....................................... 196.
zuza (JA), zuza (Syr.), "coin," .......... 115, and 115n.
zoo, "bind," .................................. 238n.
zrb, "flow," .................................. 196.
zarza, "belt," .................................. 197.
ḥuṭra ḍeracyya, "Shepherd's Staff," type of plant .... 231f.
ḥeltita (Syr.), "gum of Asafoetida," ............. 118n.
ḥamama (Syr.), ḫemama (JA), "Amomum," .......... 204.
hpp, "wash the hair," ................................44.
ḥāšina, "axe," .................................. 54, 117, 258.
ḥessar kabda (Syr.), "lobe of the liver," .......... 171f.
ḥabaḍa, "together," ................................38.
knn (Mand.), "to wind, wrap," ..................... 208.
kenāt, plural: kenawata, "colleague(s)," .......... 124n.
kora, "pile, heap," ................................77.
karya, "pile, heap," ................................192.
karia (Mand.), "ruins," ............................ 77n.
kūrsā, "chair," .................................. 123.
kēraṭa (Syr.), "vessel," ..................... 140n.
kittā, "group," .................................. 124.
līṭy miy (Imp. Aram.), "be filled with fury," .......... 3n.
lapta (Syr.), "turnip," ........................................... 125.
mizrānā (Syr.), "belt," ......................................... 212n.
mḥy bēyād, "strike the hand, protest," ... 234, 251.
mēsra (JA), misra (Mand.), "boundary," ............... 3n., 129.
marrā, "hoe," ....................................................... 15n.
mrs, "stir," .......................................................... 213n.
mīshārā (Syr.), mēṣōparā (JA), "surveyor," ........ 214.
mēṣōsā, "stomach," ............................................... 195.
mṣkwn (Nab.), maskantā (JA), "pledge," ................. 217.
nagha, naghā, "the night before," ......................... 28.
ngfr (Imp. Aram.), "carpenter," ............................ 3n.
nīdbēk, "layer of bricks or stones," .............. 43, 130, 258.
nāptōmā (Syr.), "baker," ....................................... 81f.
npr (Imp. Aram.), "totality," ............................... 3n.
nṣnta, "naphtha," ................................................. 131.
nog, "go out," ynpq spr (Eleph.), "will produce a document," ................................. 170.
nanqat bārā, "prostitute," ................................. 169, 250.
seḥlōnā (Syr.), "marriage gift," .......................... 175ff.
sbr, "lift up," ..................................................... 220n.
skl (Imp. Aram.), "vizier," ................................ 3n.
spr by (Eleph.), "document for purchase of a house," . 39n.
šapar (Syr.), "kind of knife," ......................223n.
str, "destroy," ........................................132, 257.
psq (Mand.), "arrange a marriage dowry," ..........182.
prq (Mand.), "rave, run riot," .....................179n.
pētora, "table," ........................................56.
šaliba (Mand.), "cross," ................................133.
$r$ (Mand.), "flow," .....................................226.
qūdā, "box," ...........................................84n.
qidrā, "cooking vessel," ...............................227n.
gulpā, "axe," ..........................................63n.
gappā, "worm, poison," ...............................202n.
gūrnītā (Syr.), "thyme," ..............................139.
qarg(u)bana (Mand.), "stomach," ....................141n.
gattā (Syr.), "handle," ................................142.
raqtā (JA), raqata (Mand.), reqaqtā (Syr.),
"marsh, shallow," ............144f., 244, 246, 258.
šalpūnē, "dates," ......................................153.
šūnšēma, šusmēa, "sesame," .........................150ff.
šepīra, "sac of the foetus," ..........................153.
sawtapa (Syr.), sutapa (Mand.), "partner," ...........86.
štp (Palm.), "to be a partner," .......................86n.
šezīlā, "to save," ......................................33.
šaklāl, "to complete," ........................................ 33.
šēš, "to complete," ........................................ 33.
š̄m, "hate, divorce," ...................................... 20.
thīm, teqūmā (Nab., Palm., Eleph., JA), tahūmā (Syr.), "border, boundary," ... 3n., 15n., 158f., 246, 258.
turmūsā (JA), tūrmsā (Syr.), "lupine," ..................... 160.
tarnūglā (Syr., JA), "rooster," ............................ 88, 254.
tarnaula (Mand.), "rooster," ............................... 89.

Hebrew

Jābīr, "lead," ................................................. 56, 61f., 246.
Jībīl, "gate," ................................................ 260.
Jabbūb roce, "Shepherd's Staff," a plant ............. 91, 231f.,

Jiggeret, "letter," .......................................... 44.
Jhz, "seize," maṭḥūzin yēt hāṭur, "causing a fire
to ignite," .................................................. 161, 250, 252.
Jallā, "club," "lance, hoe," ............................ 41, 45, 63, 244, 246.
Jmd, "to estimate," J̣̄med, "estimate" (variants:
cmd, ernity) ................................................. 41, 46f., 247, 257.
jemʿatay, jimmāṭi, "when?" ....12n., 26, 41, 94f., 247, 254.
ejemʿalāʿah, "young bird," ...........................................90n.
ṣang, "gather in," jāṣap min ḫassūq, "take in from the street," "adopt," ..........................9, 236, 251.
jiṣāppār, "swamp, reed growth, pasture," ...........12n., 17, 41, 64, 246, 253f.
jepsār, "possibly," ..........................15.
jeqbaḥ ḥakkāped, "lobe of the liver," ....34, 171f., 250.
jor leyom, "the night before the day," ....................28.
jāriṭah, "half-brick," .................97, 246.
jeslāq, "alkali," ..............................41, 66f., 246, 255.
jesteqad, "last year," ......................101f., 247.
bin, "drain," .....................................48, 104, 246.
berōmim, "multi-colored material," .........................2n.
bīrit, "chain," .................14, 41, 56, 68f., 246, 258.
bat suḥāḥ, "fruit of the Aleppo pine," ......103, 244, 246.
geḥbūl, "boundary," ....................................38.
gad, "coriander," .............................37, 121.
giddēm, "amputee," ...................................44.
gaz, gas, "falcon," ......................49, 54, 105f., 244, 246.
gzr, "to decree," ............................23, 167f.
gizrā, "form," .....................................163.
gelal, ġolēl, gal, "stone, cover of a tomb," ...........44, 106.
gallāb, plural: gallābīm, "barber(s)," ......................2n.
gešm, "garment," ...........................................260.
ĝes, "lime, gypsum," .........................................107f., 246, 255.
gārāb, "itch," ..................................................42.
gārāb, "vessel," .............................................42, 109, 244, 247.
gargar, gargar, "berry," ......................................42, 110.
gargīr, "Eruca sativa," .........................................42, 110.
gerīšīn, "bread," ..............................................44.
gārī, "pole, frame of bed," ...................................42, 57, 111, 245, 258.
gārṣās, "sounding pole," .....................................111.
gās, "grope, touch," ..........................................42, 111, 245.
dōhan, "millet," ..................................................2n.
dap, "board," .....................................................41, 49, 72, 245f.
dīr, "enclosure," .................................................112f., 244, 246.
hehpēr, hehpēr, "ownerless property," .....................13, 178f.
hēn, ġīn, "yes," ....................................................27.
hogāc, "to impale," .............................................134n.
waddāj, "certainly," ............................................41, 49, 114, 244, 247, 255.
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<td>wazīm</td>
<td>&quot;geese,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>zibbōrit, zarbūbit</td>
<td>&quot;saucer, rim of a vessel,&quot;</td>
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<td>zūz</td>
<td>&quot;monetary unit,&quot;</td>
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<td>zayyēp</td>
<td>&quot;to forge,&quot;</td>
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<td>zky</td>
<td>&quot;to clear, free of obligation,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>zīp</td>
<td>&quot;bristle,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>zārāz</td>
<td>&quot;belt,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>zqq</td>
<td>&quot;bind, oblige (in a legal sense),&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥebeṭ</td>
<td>&quot;thong of a sandal,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥāḥīt, ḥābiyyā</td>
<td>&quot;vessel, container,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥāṣīna</td>
<td>&quot;axe,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥazzān</td>
<td>&quot;official of the synagogue,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥazzeret</td>
<td>&quot;lettuce,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥazrār</td>
<td>&quot;crab-apple,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥkk</td>
<td>&quot;scratch,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥkr</td>
<td>&quot;rent,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥiltīt</td>
<td>&quot;gum of Asafoetida,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥamīṭa</td>
<td>&quot;cake,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥamām</td>
<td>&quot;Amomum,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥasīt</td>
<td>&quot;leek,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥishūs, seḥūs</td>
<td>&quot;cartilage,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḥpp</td>
<td>&quot;wash the hair,&quot;</td>
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<td>ḥaṣād</td>
<td>&quot;fine date,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḥāṣar hakkābed</td>
<td>&quot;lobe of the liver,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḥrṣ</td>
<td>&quot;decide, decree,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṭebel</td>
<td>&quot;untithed grain,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṭgr</td>
<td>&quot;to fry,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>טֶנֶנְתָה</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to litigate,&quot;</td>
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<td><strong>תָּשְׂרָח</strong></td>
<td>&quot;pitcher,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>יָהַדְאִי</strong></td>
<td>&quot;together,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>יָפַדְא</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to make beautiful, to enhance,&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;to strengthen his legal right,&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;to go out,&quot;</td>
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<td><strong>מָכַּר</strong></td>
<td>&quot;produce a document,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>כֶּהֵחָד</strong></td>
<td>&quot;together,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>כָּפֶּדָא</strong></td>
<td>&quot;liver,&quot; &quot;lobe of the liver,&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;seriousness, respectfulness,&quot;</td>
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<td><strong>כָּבֵּעַל</strong></td>
<td>&quot;garment,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>כָּקִק</strong></td>
<td>&quot;sepulchral chamber,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>כָּלֶבַהּ הַמַּיְיָמ</strong></td>
<td>&quot;dog fish,&quot;</td>
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<td><strong>כָּמָר</strong></td>
<td>&quot;pile up fruit for ripening,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>כָּנִי</strong></td>
<td>&quot;roll, wind up,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>כָּנְס</strong></td>
<td>&quot;gather, bring in,&quot; &quot;bring a woman in, marry,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>כָּוָס</strong></td>
<td>&quot;bird of prey,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>כָּפוּל</strong></td>
<td>&quot;fold,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>כָּסָבָר</strong></td>
<td>&quot;coriander,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>כָּרָא</strong></td>
<td>&quot;heap, pile,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>כָּרֵי</strong></td>
<td>&quot;heap, pile,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>כָּרִו</strong></td>
<td>&quot;pile up,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>כָּרֵסֶה</strong></td>
<td>&quot;stomach,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>כָּרֵסִינָה</strong></td>
<td>&quot;vetch,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>כָּט</strong></td>
<td>&quot;cut, fix, determine,&quot;</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(From the Hebrew Lexicon)
<table>
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