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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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Comments
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

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This dissertation, entitled

ARKADIAN LOANWORDS AND PARALLELS

IN MISHNAIC MISHNA

has been read and approved by

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APPROVAL

This dissertation, entitled

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IN MISHNAIC HEBREW

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Candidate for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

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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.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR       Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AFO         Archiv für Orientforschung
AFw         Zimmern, Heinrich. Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss.
AHw         Soden, Wolfram von. Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.
AIA         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 Elis

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 Elis, 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 Röllig, 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
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.

Abodah Zarah Ab. Kilayyim Kil.
Arakim Ar. Makser Seni Makser Seni
Baba Bathra B. B. Makket Mak.
Baba Mezia B. M. Makshirin Mak.
Baba Qamma B. Q. Mak.
Bekhorot Bek. Menahot Men.
Berakhot Ber. Megilla Meg.
Bikkurim Bik. Middot Mid.
Demai Dem. Miqwaot Miq.
Edut Ed. Macad Qatan M. Q.
Eruvin Er. Nazir Naz.
Gittin Git. Nedariim Ned.
Horayot Hor. Cholot Oh.
Hullin Kul. Pesahim Pes.
Keritot Ker. Qiddusim Qid.

x
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.¹ This influence has had, as one of its effects, the transfer of lexical elements, loanwords, into Biblical Hebrew, a fact long recognized.²

It has also been recognized that the later stratum of the Hebrew language, lešon ḥakāmīm, rabbinic Hebrew,³

---


³This is the term the Rabbis themselves used to distinguish their language from lešon Torah, "the language of the Torah," TB Hul. 137b. This language is distinguished from lešon hedyot, "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 BHHM). 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 the 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 Zimmer 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.7 In

7Siegmund 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 $1^\text{es}on \text{ ḥakāmīm}$, 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., $\text{wēdīstamās bētāģāpālap}$, "who uses the crown perishes," ($^\text{a}b. \text{ 4:5}$), possibly from $\text{agū}$, "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*.

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

*8CAD*, vols. A, Pt. 1; A, Pt. 2; B, D, E, G, H, J/L, 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 mēkammēr.

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 šeneqē sapā mēn hasšūq, "anyone taken in from the street," and kalab me, kalab šantī keleba šu šim, "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 ṣemmā'ay, "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 ṣappār, "swamp, meadow," M. Bēṣā 5:7, Kaufmann Manuscript, Ḳibid., has been cited as confirmation of a borrowing of ṣappār from appāru, Sumerian AMBAR, Kutscher, Lešonēnu, 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. baṣappār and me’emmā'ay, Ḳibid., 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 šēbat, "tongs," < šābatu, qat, "handle," < qatu, "hand," and šētar, "document," < šatāru, "write."\textsuperscript{18} J. Oppert, in 1886, related maskānu and Hebrew maskōn, "pledge,"\textsuperscript{19} D. Feuchtwang identified kērī, "heap," šōbār, "receipt," and heqqēr, "ownerless property," with their Assyrian sources.\textsuperscript{20} A significant study by Meissner in 1891 identified a number of botanical loanwords in Hebrew.\textsuperscript{21} Identifications by Barth included bēl dabābi > ba'āl dehābā, "opponent," dalānu > dǝḥ, "disturb," taqānu > tān, "set in order," and sakāpu, "strike down," skp/sgp, "afflict."\textsuperscript{22}

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

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{22}J. Barth, Wurzeluntersuchungen (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 3, 11, 32 and 53; cf. variants skp/sgp in Mishnaic Hebrew, Y. N. Epstein, \textit{Introduction to the Text of the Mishnah 2 vols.} (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1948), II, 1226 (hereafter abbreviated as ITM).
A number of Late Hebrew words which were related to Assyrian in the dictionary itself are *simānu > simānīm*, "windpipe," *zi·ipu, "form, mold," > zayyēn, "forge," and *qalāpu > qēlipē, "husk." Jastrow's Dictionary, in 1903, relying upon Schrader and Delitzsch, recognized the Assyrian origins of *šālq < šalāqu, "dissect," bērīt < bēritu, "chain," and susēbīn < 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

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24M. 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 *šūmšūm, "sesame," derives from *šamassāmumu, and then his attempt to derive it from *šemēs, "sun," p. 1537.

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

26Ibid., pp. 23ff.
appearance of Zimmern's Akkadische Fremdwörter in 1915. 27

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. 28

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

\[\text{askuppatu} \rightarrow \text{isqūpā}, \text{"threshold,"} \text{gasū} \rightarrow \text{geṣā}, \text{"gypsum,"} \text{kisibirru} \rightarrow \text{kūsbartā}, \text{"coriander,"} \text{marru} \rightarrow \text{marrā}, \text{"hoe,"} \text{and tāhūmu} \rightarrow \text{tēhūmā}, \text{"boundary."}\]
development took place as a parallel development upon a common Semitic root, ḫṣr. 29

Torkczyner (Tur-Sinai), in 1935, sought to explain Mishnaic qarpi on the basis of Sumerian gapdiπu, "top of a building." 30 His attempt is not acceptable because he proposes reading the Mishnaic word as *gapdiπu > *gadpi, assuming a correction of r > d in Hebrew. This is not borne out by the manuscripts of the Mishnah, and it is inadequate semantically. In the Mishnah, qarpi denotes some type of courtyard. 31

Other suggestions of Tur-Sinai which deserve consideration are his identification of ṣerη, "sac of the foetus," with saparu, "net," 32 and his relating ḫavīn hāra, "evil eye," with Akkadian izzi likkilmusu, "(may the gods) look upon him with anger." 33

Kutscher has sought to relate Akkadian kimahu (Sumerian KI-MAH), "grave," to Mishnaic kōk, "sepulchral chamber." It has been recognized that Palmyrene gmb and Nabatean gwb, with the same meaning, are loanwords from

30N. Torczyner, Leshonenu, VII (1935), 130.
the Akkadian. Mishnaic \( \text{kûk} \), plural \( \text{kûkkîm} \), 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 \( h \) was retained, as in Akkadian; but in the Western dialect, it was obsolete. Lacking a symbol for the \( h \), the Western dialect represented the \( h \) in the borrowed word by \( k \), thus the change from \( gm\overline{b}/gw\overline{b} \) to \( \text{kûk} \). This was facilitated by the fact that the \( k \), following a vowel, was aspirated.34

Following Barth and Schulthess, Kutscher accepts the loanword AMBAR > \( \text{appâru} \) > \( \text{appâr} \), "water-covered grazing place, swamp." What is important is that he finds a vocalization in the Kaufmann Manuscript of the Mishnah, \( \text{appâr} \), as against the \( \text{Apâr} \) of the Albeck edition. This form, with a dages\( \overline{y} \) following an initial \( \text{d} \)aleph, is unusual unless it is explained as a borrowing.35 Other relationships to Mishnaic Hebrew which he notes are purgidam > \( \text{gêraqdân} \), "lying flat on the back,"36 and qam\( \overline{u} \)q, "a corpse lying doubled up," and kam\( \overline{a} \)su, "crouch, bend."37

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


35 Kutscher, \( \text{Le} \)son\( \overline{é} \)nu, XXXI (1967), 107-17.

36 Ibid., p. 114; cf. GAG, 120J; and M. Held, JCS, XV (1961), 10b.

37 Kutscher, 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 Handworterbuch.

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 šaṭāru ana, "to inscribe the hand to," is the source of the expression muktāb lemalēqut, "marked with the royal mark;" that šeḥāre šārōʾiš goes back to Akkadian galmat 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

38R. C. Thompson, DAB.
39B. Landsberger, Die Fauna des Alten Mesopotamien (Leipzig, 1934) (hereafter abbreviated as Fauna).
40David 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 śapār, "spin wool."\textsuperscript{41} The expression ritta šapār ana certainly clarifies Biblical yiktāb yādqē,\textsuperscript{42} but the expression múktāb lēmalkūt, "levied for royal service,"\textsuperscript{43} can also be compared with Mishnaic múktāb bēistraṭiyā šel melek, "levied for the king's army," which may be a reflection of Latin conseribere and Greek ἱπάτω, "enrol."\textsuperscript{44} Moreover, Weisberg does not relate pitinu with Biblical miptān, 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 šābār, "receipt," nedūnyā, "dowry," and ḫeņger, "ownerless property," were made by Feuchtwang and Pick.\textsuperscript{45} Driver and Miles, in their studies of Babylonian and Assyrian law, discuss the relationship of šarābōn, "surety," and erebu, "enter," sīlōnōk, "gifts from the groom," and šūbultu, from wabālu, "bring," and that of

\textsuperscript{41}M. Səyā 6:1. \textsuperscript{42}Isa. 44:5.

\textsuperscript{43}TB 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 gablū, "battle," > qbl, "complain, sue," and grh mlamh, "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 šē 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 zakkū in Nuzi and Alalakh, as nqy in Biblical Hebrew, Neo-Babylonian murrugu, Aramaic mrg, Mishnaic zky, Demotic mḏ, and Greek katharopoio. Levine's study of the relationship of mulūgu to mḏg, inalienable property of the wife brought into a marriage, is also of importance. Something of the original meaning survives in Mishnaic

46 G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, The Assyrian Laws (Oxford, 1935); šēnhîn, p. 144, n. 1; siblônt, pp. 186 and 472, where a connection with zabalū is rejected, and šēris, 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 libbašu tāḥ, "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 dnt, 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: mššl šēṭār < wasšl, "produce a document," 55 ṭēn, "litigate," tāqūn šēnuca, "requires an oath," < emēdu, "impose," and slq yd, "remove, pay off" < ṣērēru, "remove, pay off," and gāsu utṭīr "(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

53Muffs, 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 16yappot kōn, "to strengthen his legal right," M. B. B. 7:2, which should be compared with dannu, "strong, legally valid."

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

55Muffs, Studies, p. 183

56Ibid., p. 32, n. 1. 57Ibid., 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 gâ'în barzel, property brought into a marriage by the wife for which the husband accepts responsibility, and Akkadian alpe ul latî ul imutti, "(lit.) bulls and cows that do not die,"60 and his contention that legal terms for "decree," hrg and gsr, are to be traced to the influence of parâsu.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.
62TB 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.

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

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

65Segal, 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.

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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 vocalization70.

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 meְ'emmatay, "when," going back to immatay/immati, rather than the accepted ̆emmatay. This is closer to the Akkadian original, immati > inamat.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

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: ἡ εὐφωνία ἔσ μέν γάρ 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 יָלֶּיָמָן, not referring to "dawn" but to the "night before," equivalent to Aramaic נֶגֶה, נֶגֶה. 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:

"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 יָרְבָּא differs from Hebrew יָרְבָּא in that it denotes the night after the day, while יָרְבָּא is the night before, as is נֶגֶה, נֶגֶה, cf. ibid., and Albeck, IM, p. 173, n. 31; cf. also, M. Pes. l:1: יָרְבָּא לִפְלַקְטְאָא-כָּסָר, "the night before the fourteenth."
and I, from Jonathan son of MḤNYM, the administrator of Simeon ben Kosiba, Prince of Israel."83 The words הַקְר, "rent," and פָּרָנָס, "administrator," also occur in another document.84 In yet another document, there occurs the phrase וְדִיָּל הַתִּבְּחָה וֶהָגָּד אֶל הַשָּׁבָר, "the 'fine date' and the הָגָּד in the village."85 This phrase is identical with that in M. A. Z. 1:5, דַּגְדֵּל הַתַָּבּ וֶהָגָּד, verifying the reading of the Kaufmann Manuscript and the Yerushalmi against the הָגָּד 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 Pe'ēa 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.

95W. 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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97 Ibid., pp. 78f.

98 Ibid., p. 79.

99 Words such as kanānu, knn, "wind," marāṣu, mrs, "stir," maṣāpu, maṣ, "measure," and qalāpu, qlp, "peel"
Mishnaic Hebrew has instances of verbs with the \( \text{\textit{sap\text{\textit{C}}}e\text{\textit{l}}} \), e.g., \( \text{\textit{šaklēl}}, \) "complete," \( \text{\textit{šacamēm}}, \) "stupefy," \( \text{\textit{šahrēr}}, \) "free." Akkadian cannot, however, be regarded as the source of the limited amount of \( \text{\textit{sap\text{\textit{C}}}e\text{\textit{l}}} \) forms that are to be found. Traces of the \( \text{\textit{sap\text{\textit{C}}}e\text{\textit{l}}} \) are widely found in all of the dialects, indicating that Akkadian cannot be the primary source.\(^{100}\) Rabin has recently studied thirty examples of the \( \text{\textit{sap\text{\textit{C}}}e\text{\textit{l}}} \) in North West Semitic and has concluded that only two are traceable to Akkadian. He posits Amorite as the source of the \( \text{\textit{sap\text{\textit{C}}}e\text{\textit{l}}} \) form in the various Semitic languages.\(^{101}\) A number of Aramaic verbs have been traced directly to Akkadian, e.g., \( \text{\textit{šeztū}} < \text{\textit{šuzubu}}, \) "save," \( \text{\textit{šaklēl}} < \text{\textit{šuklulu}}, \) "complete," and \( \text{\textit{šeztū}} < \text{\textit{šugu}}, \) "complete."\(^{102}\)

This may be, however, the borrowing of the entire form as is, rather than of the \( \text{\textit{sap\text{\textit{C}}}e\text{\textit{l}}} \) 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.

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


şakléi, which does occur in Mishnaic Hebrew and was borrowed from Aramaic and, ultimately, from Akkadian. In the case of the noun ūtāp̄, "partner," it is possible that the word was borrowed directly from ūtāpû, 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 ḫegba hakkāhêd, "lobe (finger) of the liver," from ubān amūtim, and ḥeḇre hare "ā, "black-headed ones," from šalmat qaqqadi.

In a loan rendition, the model compound provides a general hint for the reproduction, e.g., German Vaterland after Latin patria. Akkadian ana ṣum > assûm, "because of," is the model for several constructions: 1ēṣûm, 1ēšêm, 1ēal ṣum, misṣûm.

One aspect of the loanshift process is where an extended or idiomatic use of a word is taken over by the

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103u. Weinreich, Languages in Contact, p. 51.
104Ben David, 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.\textsuperscript{105} An example in the Mishnah is בָּרָּשׁ, "cut," and idiomatically, "fix a price," translated by פֶּשׁ and קָּסָ, "cut" and "fix a price."\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{107} Examples of this process in the Mishnah are: הָּמַּמְשֶׁתֶּר, "one who produces a bill of indebtedness," וַּאֱסָח, and כָּן הָּבָּטִּינֶר כִּנְּרִי, "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: פָּרָּשׁ

\textsuperscript{105}Hoenigswald, \textit{Language Change}, p. 22, n. 19.

\textsuperscript{106}CAD, VI (H), 92ff.; M. B. M. 5:7; M. Seb. 4:1; TB Git. 50b. There are cases, cited by Bendavid, \textit{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, "fix, determine," are internally translated by פֶּשׁ and קָּסָ. 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.

\textsuperscript{107}Jespersen, \textit{Growth}, p. 72.
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.  

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. Examples from Akkadian and Hebrew, reflecting combinations with a word for which there was no earlier corresponding words are mulugu > mēloğ, "property of a wife brought into a marriage of which the husband has the fruit without responsibility for the loss," and combinations such as cağde mēloğ, "mēloğ servants," sigmat mēloğ, "a mēloğ maid-servant," and bēhemat mēloğ, "a mēloğ animal."

In the terminology of Hoenigswald, this type of loan is called "innovation without item-by-item replacement," or "new 'names' for new 'things."" 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 מַלּוֹג 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.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.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."¹¹³ Examples are the replacement of Old English eam by French uncle, and Middle English ey by Scandinavian egg.¹¹⁴ Akkadian kisibirru, source of קֻסְבָּר, replaces gad, "coriander," used in the Bible, and Biblical מִפְּתָן "threshold," is replaced by דִּשְׁקָפָ֑א < askuppatu.¹¹⁵ The

¹¹¹Levine, Survivals, p. 62.
¹¹²Weinreich, Languages in Contact, p. 54.
¹¹³Weinreich, ibid., pp. 54f.; and Hoenigswald, Language Change, pp. 28f.
¹¹⁴Hoenigswald, ibid.
¹¹⁵Cf. gad, Numb. 11:7, replaced by קֻסְבָּר, M. Kil. 1:2; Afw, p. 57; מִפְּתָן, I Sam. 5:5, replaced by דִּשְׁקָפָ֑א, 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 yahad, yahdaw, "together," are replaced in the Mishnah by k'ehehad. This is based upon Aramaic kabadâ, itself a loan translation of Akkadian istēni. 117

Another possibility is that the content of the clashing old and new words may become specialized if both survive. 118 For example, Biblical gebul, "border of a country, territory," is replaced in Mishnaic Hebrew by separ, tehūm, and mešer, the latter two words being loans from Akkadian. 119 The word gebul continues in the special senses of "landmark" and "limitation (of a definition)." 120

Another example is Biblical segar, "book, missive, document," which is replaced in the sense "legal document" by

116 Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 120-23.

117 Kutscher, Tarbiz, XXXIII (1963-64), 118-30; GAG, par. 120c. This loan translation is already present in the later books of the Bible, Isa. 55:25; Ezra 2:64, 3:9; and Kohelet 11:6. A similar process from Greek is yēsel in place of Biblical yel, Bendavid, BHMH, p. 116.

118 Weinreich, Languages in Contact, p. 55.

119 Bendavid, BHMH, p. 341; and cf. sefar, M. Sōtā 9:2.

120 M. Seq. 7:3; TP Hallā I, 57b; TB B. B. 69b.
the loanwords get and יֶטֶר. In the Mishnah, סֵפֶר, alone, denotes the sacred book, the Torah.\textsuperscript{121} However, evidence that this process is not thoroughgoing, and that earlier connotations remain, is the Mishnaic term סֵפֶר קֶתֶבָּא, "formula of a marriage document," a remnant of the earlier legal sense of סֵפֶר.\textsuperscript{122}

Weinreich points out that there is often insufficient information in loanword studies to decide whether the old word has become specialized or discarded.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{121}M. Yad. 3:5; and M. קֵלִים 15:6.


\textsuperscript{123}Weinreich, Languages in Contact, p. 55, n. 72.

\textsuperscript{124}Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 132-34.
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 g-t, t-g, g-t are incompatible in Hebrew. Thus words with these consonants are to be considered foreign, e.g., get < gittu < GID.DA, "document," qat, "handle," < qatu, "hand." Other occurrences of these consonant combinations are also foreign, from Greek, e.g., tgn, "fry," < tapywnov, "frying pan," qetidra < kadospa, "chair," qatuljos < kaboliko's, "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

125 Albeck, IM, p. 129. A case of the retention of a nearly obsolete term is that of s̄ēper ke'tubatāh, "the document of her marriage contract," M. Ed. 1:12, a reflection of the earlier legal sense of s̄ēper. In most Mishnaic discourse, as noted above, get and setar replace s̄ēper. Another case of the retention of a nearly obsolete word is pātur, "pot," M. Beša 1:7. This is quite rare, as Biblical pātur is replaced by qētarā, Bendavid, BIMH, p. 359.

126 Moscati, Introduction, p. 75.

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: āmed, "estimate," > imittu, emēdu, "lay upon, impose," āmatay, āmmatay, āmmatî > immatî > ina mati, "when," ārīs > errēsum, "tenant farmer," > erēsum/hr̄t/hr̄s, "plow," waddāy > wuddā, "certainly," > idū, "know," zūz > zu zu > zāzu, "divide," hence, "subdivision of a larger coin," ḫiltiț, "gum of asafetida," > ḫil tiyāti, taggar > 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: gargir, Eruca," < girgirru, to be distinguished from gargar, "berry, grain," gasis, "pole, frame of bed," < gasišu, "pole," to be distinguished from gys, "grope, touch," lopet < laptu, "turnip," to be distinguished from lap, "embrace, touch," and garaḥ, "vessel," < karpatu, to be distinguished from garah, "itch."

In the case of bišu, "drain," the evidence for a loan is that the Hebrew is borrowed from a variant form, bibu, which is an alternate in Assyrian for Babylonian bišu. In the case of a cognate, one might expect a Hebrew counterpart to bišu, as in the case of šušu, še, "lamb." The variant šubu 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 ṣebat, "tongs," is such a borrowing, as the cognate form ṣbt exists alongside of the borrowed ṣbt.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 ṣbt, "adorn," and takṣit, "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.130 Because of the disappearance of the ḫ in Akkadian and its re-appearance in Arabic and Hebrew ḫkk, 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*.131 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.132 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 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 < 'igra > "letter," gadāmu < √gd'm, "cut off," > gidēm, "amputee," galālu < glel, "stone," > gōlel, "cover of a tomb," gariṣṭu < gerīṣṭn, "bread," and ḫapāpu < ḫīpp, "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 šāṭāru, "write," šītru, "writing," and Aramaic and Hebrew yeṭār, "legal document," and ḥapu, "trust," qīptu, "position of trust," borrowed in the special sense of meqiṭ, "lends on

133cf. egertu, AHw, p. 190; gadāmu and galālu, p. 273; gariṣṭu, 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 ḥisḥūs, ṣēḥūs, "cartilage of the ear," with ḥāṣīsu, "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 ḥisḥūs, ṣēḥūs can apply to cartilage in other parts of the body.

c) Consonantal Correspondences: Akkadian script does not differentiate between ç, ç, and ḫ. Loanwords with original ç and ḫ\(^{134}\) will appear in Akkadian as if written with ç (ç) and should thus enter Hebrew. Examples are: ārīs, from errēṣum, "tenant farmer," < ērēṣu /

\(^{134}\)GAG, par. 23b. Correspondences are: ç = ç, ç = ḫ, ç = ḫ, ç = ç, and ç = ç.
Semitic "tenancy." Possibly Assyrian "tenancy," is an intermediate step. Similarly, "estimate," would derive from "impose," "the estimate of the date harvest." There are, however, variants, "impose." It must be assumed that the variation, with the presence of an "c, is attributable to variants in manuscript traditions and has not been transferred.

A contrary view, that the presence of an "c 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 "one," is a loan from Akkadian "ten," he makes the following statement: "This may be taken as an indication that Akkadian, though graphically not representing the "c/, still possessed this phoneme at the time "ten was borrowed into Hebrew and Sabean." This statement is not accurate. Up to the Old Babylonian period, the "c/ phoneme was pronounced, as may be concluded from the many times that adianum, "fixed time," is written with a "h. After this period Akkadian


136AHw, pp. 211ff. and p. 377; Segal, GMH, p. 28; Epstein, ITM, II, 719, 1210 and 1227. The "c occurs in the Yerusalmi version of the Mishnah.


138GAG, par. 23c.
loses the \( c \) in pronunciation as well as graphically. An example is a name such as \( Nebuzar-adan < Nabu-zar-iddina \), where the element \( z\) is cognate with \( zera\) 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 \( J \), examples being: \( \epsilon\rho\chi\epsilon\lambda\nu\sigma\nu > \text{arkiyot} \), \( \epsilon\mu\beta\omega\lambda\nu > \text{ambule} \), and \( \epsilon\mu\delta\nu\omega\nu > \text{amilan} \). Babylonian manuscripts transcribe these words with \( c \), \( \text{carkat} \), \( \text{cinbal} \), and \( \text{camilan} \).\(^\text{139}\) Possibly these words are being associated with similar-sounding Semitic roots.

Conversely, Palestinian manuscripts have \( c \) in place of \( J \), as \( \text{cmed} \) and \( \text{ckl} \), "be consumed," in place of \( \text{kl} \).\(^\text{140}\)

The implication of this for loanwords is to bring into question certain identifications that have been suggested. Akkadian \( ik\), "ditch," is regarded as the source of the loanwords \( \text{cugya} \) and \( \text{cuga} \). If the spelling with \( c \) is basic, it can be doubted that this is a loanword. If the variant \( \text{uyya} \) 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

\(^{139}\)Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 185-86.

\(^{140}\)Segal, GMH, p. 28.
Babylonian, are absent in Biblical Hebrew, and recur in Mishnaic Hebrew. These are: ebētu, "bind, tie," / ḫebēt, ṣel sandal, "thong of a sandal," ekēku, "scratch," / ḫkk, nēru, "kill," / bēṣar nēḥīrā, "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: Nabu-kudurrī-usur (PN) > N[Ng]kwdrsr,142
birītu > birīt, "chain," bibu > bīb, "drain."

g > g: Nergal (DN) > Nrgl,143 gittu > get, "document."


142 KAI I, No. 227, Vs. 5.
143 Ibid., No. 222, A, 9.
d > d: Sarru-usahaan (or dAssur-usahaan) (PN) > 
Srsrd,\textsuperscript{144} dappu > dan, "board."

w > w: wuddi > waddi, "certainly."

z > z: Nabú-zer-iddina > Nebüzardan (PN),
zuzu > zu, monetary unit.

h > h: Sin-ahhe-eriba (PN) > Sanherib, ūazannu > 
ţazzān, "mayor, official."

b > b: Bel-ešir (PN) > Bitr,\textsuperscript{145} gittu > get,
"document."

k > k: Sarru-kēnu (PN) > Ūrkn,\textsuperscript{146} kisibirru > 
kūsbēr, "coriander."

k > g: Mannu-ki-Assur (PN) > Mngsr,\textsuperscript{147} kassusu >
gaz, "falcon," a loan proposed here. The shortening of the
word in Hebrew is considered in the discussion below.

k > q: The change k > q is not necessarily re-
lated to the loan process. Within Akkadian it is often
unclear from the writing whether k or emphatic q is in-
tended.\textsuperscript{148} One finds both the writing kukkubānu and
quqqubanu, "stomach."\textsuperscript{149} Segal also notes a tendency in
Mishnaic Hebrew to emphasise certain consonants, e.g.,
Biblical kpl > Mishnaic qpl, "fold.\textsuperscript{150} Thus loans such

\textsuperscript{144}KAI I, No. 236, Rs. 4.
\textsuperscript{145}Ibid., No. 233, 1, 12.
\textsuperscript{146}Ibid., No. 233, 15.
\textsuperscript{147}Ibid., No. 234, Rs. 4.\textsuperscript{148}GAG, par. 26b.
\textsuperscript{149}AHw, p. 500b.\textsuperscript{150}Segal, GMH, p. 30.
as askuppatu > isquppā, "threshold," and kukkanānu/guqqubanu > gurqebān, "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.

\[h > k\]: This is quite rare. This change is involved in Kutscher's proposal: kimābhū > Palmyrene kmb
Nabatean gwh > Aramaic, Hebrew kōk, kūk, "sepulchre."\[151\]

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

\[m > m\]: Nabū-usallim (or Nabū-salim) (PN) > Nbwslm,\[153\] mukku > mōk, "thread, rag."

\[m > w\]: Simānu > Siwān, name of a month,\[154\] kimābhū > Palmyrene gmb > Nabatean gwh > Aramaic, Hebrew kōk, kūk, "sepulchre."\[155\]

\[n > n\]: Sarru-na'id (PN) > Šrn'd,\[156\] napṭu > nept.

\[151\]Kutscher, E. L. Sukenik Volume, Eretz Israel, VIII (Jerusalem, 1967), 273-79. Western Aramaic represented Eastern Aramaic by aspirated following a vowel. The phenomenon of the interchange of ḫanāšu/kanāšu, "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."

$s \rightarrow s$: Sin-abbē-eriba (PN) > Ṣanherib, kisibirru > kūsbār, "coriander."

$s \rightarrow ʃ$: Esagilla (Temple name) > Šngl, 157

saparu, "net," > ṣepir, "sack of the foetus," susapīnu > ʃešbin, "attendant of the bride or groom." This change may be due to the loan process, or to variants in Akkadian itself between $ and ʃ. 158 Perhaps the variant form was borrowed.

$q \rightarrow q$: La-qipu (PN) > Lq, 159 ãpu > meqin, "lend on credit."

$p \rightarrow b$: Sēb-dAssur > Sbšr (PN), 160 senēpu > ʃsnb, a measure of volume, 161 susapīnu > ʃešbin, "attendant of the bride or groom." The inherited writing does not always distinguish clearly between $ and p in Akkadian. This is true when $ 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 KAI I, No. 228, A, 16.

158 GAG, par. 69b; cf. Old Assyrian yamme, Late Babylonian samantu, "eight," ibid.

159 KAI I, No. 235, Rs. 4.

160 Ibid., Vs. 3. 161 Ibid., 215:6.
compare Akkadian bagaru, "to vindicate (in the legal sense)," bâqirânum, but Nuzi pâqirânu, "vindicator."\textsuperscript{162}

\[\text{ṣ > ș: } \text{Bēl-Sarra-uşur (PN) > Blsarš,}\]

"material arranged crosswise," > šelān, šēlūb, "cross."

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

\[\text{q > q: } \text{Lā-qIpu (PN) > Lq,}\]

"box, basket."

\[\text{r > r: } \text{Sarru-kēnu (PN) > Sargōn, šaṭāru > šēṭār,}\]

"write" "document."

\[\text{ṣ > ș: } \text{Sarru-nāṣid (PN) > Šrnnū,}\]

"sesame."

\[\text{v > v: } \text{Sarru-aṣāredu (PN) > Srsrd,}\]

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) $\rightarrow$ Rs1, $^{168}$ Sutturu $\rightarrow$ str, "destroy."

$t \rightarrow t$: Sarpanitum (DN) $\rightarrow$ Zrpnt, $^{169}$ Sutapu $\rightarrow$ Sutap, "partner," Tarlugallu $\rightarrow$ Tarnegol, "rooster."

$t \rightarrow d$: Natbaku $\rightarrow$ Nidbuk, "layer of stone or brick."

This variant may be within Akkadian itself, as the form Nadbaku does occur. $^{170}$

$t \rightarrow t$: It is not clear that this change takes place within the loan process. Zimmern considered Tapiha, "pitcher," a loan from Tapfu. $^{171}$ It was later shown by Meissner that the word is to be read Tapfu. $^{172}$ This makes the loan proposal doubtful unless it can be assumed that a consonant change $t \rightarrow t$ occurs. While in Akkadian the script does not distinguish adequately between $t$ and $\hat{t}$, $^{173}$ and Segal considers that within Hebrew an emphaticisation of $t \rightarrow \hat{t}$ occurs, i.e., Tefel $\rightarrow$ Tefel, "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

$^{168}$KAI I, No. 236, Vs. 2.

$^{169}$KAI I, No. 222, A, 8.

$^{170}$AHw, p. 766.

$^{171}$AFw, p. 33.


$^{173}$GAG, par. 29b.

$^{174}$Segal, GMH, p. 30.
consonant correspondences but the borrowing of attested variants of Akkadian by the Aramaic and Hebrew. Mishnaic ḫāzīnā is identified with ḫāṣīnā, "axe," by Albeck, and this goes back to Akkadian ḫāṣīnu. Possibly the change ẖ > z is internal to the Hebrew. On the other hand, there is a writing ina ha-az-zi-in-ni ša sarri, "by the axes of the king." This variant may have been borrowed. Another possibility is that indeed there is a change ẖ > z, compare Sarpanitu (DN) > Zrpnt.

It is suggested here that kassūsu, "falcon" is borrowed as Hebrew gaz, with a shortening of the word. This is discussed below. A change ẖ > 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 kazzūzi, "falcons," and this variant may have been borrowed.

There are words in which Akkadian ḫ represents Semitic ş as seen by the interdialectical distribution, e.g., karāšu, "leek," Hebrew kēresā and karti and Aramaic kerēti. 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 $\text{t}$. Old Akkadian signs SA, SE$_1$, SI and SU corresponded to Semitic $\text{s}$ and $\text{š}$, while SA, SI, and SU corresponded to Semitic $\text{t}$. The pronunciation of this sound was closer to Arabic $\text{t}$, as seen by the variants in the personal name $\text{Se-li-bu-um}$ / $\text{Ta-la-bu}$.\(^{181}\) This view is not shared by von Soden. In his view, the only written distinction is between $\text{s}$ and $\text{š}$; the symbol $\text{s}$ also represented $\text{t}$ as well as $\text{š}$; thus Semitic $\text{t}$ had no exclusive or consistent symbol.\(^{182}\) In Old Babylonian, the sounds $\text{s}$ and $\text{š}$ generally merged.\(^{183}\) Von Soden does not deny, however, that in the spoken language, in certain dialects, three different $\text{s}$ sounds were distinguished, this including also $\text{t}$.\(^{184}\)

Following the reconstruction of Falkenstein, Semitic $\text{t}$ was reflected in Old Akkadian by $\text{s}$, 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 $\text{t}$ was represented in Old Akkadian by $\text{s}$ or $\text{š}$, cf. $\text{Jarrasum}$, "tenant farmer," and the personal names $\text{Ja-ra-sum}$ and $\text{Er-re-sum}$, AHw, p. 243.

\(^{183}\)Ibid.

\(^{184}\)Ibid.
Old Akkadian $\text{šúmum}$ > Old Babylonian $\text{šúmum}$, and, as the word passed into Sumerian: Old Akkadian $\text{šúmum}$ > Earliest Sumerian $\text{šum}$ > Later Sumerian $\text{šum}$. Had Sumerian borrowed this word at a later period, say, Old Babylonian, it would have appeared in Sumerian as $\text{šum}$. This may explain why in loans in the reverse direction Sumerian $\text{šum}$ appeared in Akkadian as $\text{iš}$, later as $\text{š}$, and in Aramaic as $\text{iš}$. Thus, Sumerian words with $\text{s}$ passing through Old Akkadian into other Semitic languages could be represented by the latter by $\text{iš}$, e.g., $\text{BAN.SUR} > \text{*pəšūru} > \text{pəšūru}$, "table," and $\text{*pəšūru} > \text{Aramaic pəšūru}.^{185}$ The case of $\text{Assur} > \text{Aramaic Atur}$ 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:

- $\text{birītu} > \text{birīt}$, "chain," $\text{taḫūmu} > \text{ṭeḫūm}$, "boundary, abāru $\to \text{ṣapār}$, "lead." The last two examples follow the rule that short vowels in open unstressed syllables are reduced to $\emptyset$.


$^{186}$Moscati, *Introduction*, par. 10.8g. The same occurs in Aramaic, cf. ibid., par. 10.10c.
the bride or groom." In the case of **erresum**, Old Akkadian **arrasum**, "tenant," > Hebrew **yāris**, the first vowel is lengthened in accordance with the rule that open pre-tonic syllables undergo lengthening, a > ā; compare also **gasīs** > **gāsīs**, "pole." The loanword **quqqubanu** > **qurqēban**, "stomach," is a case where the unstressed second vowel is reduced to ɔ, and dissimilation occurs, qa > rq. 187

Certain mono-syllabic words are the result of the dropping off of the case endings, e.g., qatu, "hand," > qat, "handle." However, the vowel change i > a, in the case of kimtu, "family," > *kint/kimt > *kitt > *katt > kat, "group," takes place regularly before two successive consonants. 188 The i-vowel re-appears, however, in the plural and construct forms, e.g., kitta. The regular change of u > o in short accented vowels 189 explains qudu > qad, "box," and mukku > mok, "rag, thread."

b) **Shift of Accent:** In Akkadian the stress is upon the last syllable if that syllable is the result of contraction, e.g., ṣaniu > ṣand, "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., balītu, "lordship," or a short vowel in a closed syllable, e.g., napīstu, "life," kubbūru,

187 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.

188 Ibid., par. 10.8c. 189 Ibid.
"stout." If there is no long syllable, stress may come to rest upon the first syllable, e.g., saparu, "net."\textsuperscript{190}

In contrast, Aramaic and Hebrew generally have the stress on the final syllable, except for some cases of penultimate patterns.\textsuperscript{191} Syriac always has the stress upon the last syllable.\textsuperscript{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: \textit{mulugu}\textsuperscript{193} > \textit{mēługū}, "type of marriage gift," where the initial vowel, losing its stress is reduced to \textit{a}, and the second short \textit{u}, receiving the stress, is changed to \textit{ā}. In the case of \textit{nādbaku}\textsuperscript{194} > \textit{nīdbāk}, "layer of bricks," the second syllable is lengthened because it receives the stress.\textsuperscript{194} In addition, short vowels in closed syllables, unstressed, can undergo change in quality, e.g., \textit{a} > \textit{i}, as in the case of \textit{nādbaku}\textsuperscript{195} > \textit{nīdbāk}. The same rule is exemplified by the initial vowel of \textit{askuppatu}\textsuperscript{195} > \textit{sīṣqūptā}\textsuperscript{195} > \textit{sīṣqqūptā}, "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

\textsuperscript{190}Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.6; GAG, par. 38.
\textsuperscript{191}Moscati, Introduction, pars. 10.8 and 10.10.
\textsuperscript{192}Ibid., par. 10.10. \textsuperscript{193}Ibid., par. 10.8c.
\textsuperscript{194}Ibid. \textsuperscript{195}Ibid.
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syllable. In Hebrew, the anaptyctic vowel is ə, which assimilates to itself a and i (but not u) of the preceding syllable. Examples are ㎡sr > *㎡sr > meser, "boundary," and ㎡pt > *㎡pt > lepet, "turnip."

d) Unusual Vowel Changes: In a number of cases the expected vowel changes do not occur. One example is ㎡.uintimmu, "cook, baker," where one might expect Hebrew ㎡nuhtem, the second, unstressed, vowel being reduced to zero, and accented i changing to ə. Instead, the form nahtem conforms to the pattern which includes qardem and matom. The word ㎡paru, "net," which has been proposed by Tur-Sinai as a loan in ㎡pir, "sac of the foetus," should correspond to a Hebrew ㎡sapär, compare ㎡hātanu, Hebrew hātān, "son-in-law," or a development might be imagined: ㎡paru > *㎡sapär > *㎡pär. Perhaps the actual adaptation of Aramaic ㎡pira and Hebrew ㎡pir was the result of an attempt to avoid confusion with the root ㎡pr, "be beautiful." The difference between Akkadian ㎡ and Hebrew ㎡ may be due to variations in the dialects of Akkadian, or, as Kaufman maintains, because Assyrians realized Akkadian /s/ as [ʃ]. The reduction of the first unstressed vowel follows the rule, compare ㎡hum > təhm. 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) > Sngl, KAI I, No. 228, A, 16. Original sapārī may underlie saparu, involving no accent change (Dr. Moshe Held, in oral communication).
word was adapted to the perīs form, e.g., ṣe₄zIr, ṣe₄rIs, ṣe₄rId, ṣe₄nIp. 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 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, 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) ḫabār > 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 ḫabār occurs in the Mishnah.³ Another relationship to the Mishnah is seen in the punishment cited in Alalakh tablets: e-ba-ra-am ina pišu išappāku,

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

²AFw, p. 4; CAD I, Pt. 1, 38.

³M. Kēlim 14:5; AFw, p. 59.
"they pour hot lead into his mouth." While the Mishnah, discussing the death penalty of "burning" does not mention יבון, this is implied by the commentary of the Talmud which refers to קִילָה יבון, "a bar of lead," which is dropped into the criminal's mouth.\footnote{CAD, I, Pt. 1, 36, citing D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets (London, 1953), 8:32.}

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

This word, attested as early as Old Akkadian, is a loanword from Sumerian *gisAL*, and is equated with *marru*, "spade." An example is *naši marri allū tupšikkī*, "carrying spades, hoes, and corvee baskets." The **allu** is also the divine symbol of Ninurta.

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 *gesēt*, "bow," and *rōmaḥ*, "spear."

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6 AHw, p. 37b; CAD I, Pt. 1, 356f.
7 CAD, ibid., citing Borger, Esarhaddon, sec. 62:38.
8 CAD, ibid.

9 M. Ṣab. 6:4; M. Kēlîm 16:8. The sense of *jallā* as "tool" is not entirely lost in Aramaic. The Talmud explains the Mishnaic word as *qulpā* (< Akkadian *kalapp/bbu*, "axe"), TB Ṣab. 63a. Perhaps in Babylonia the meaning of the Akkadian word was maintained.
3) jappar < apparu, "swamp, reed growth."

Akkadian apparu is a loan from Sumerian AMBAR. Esarhaddon speaks of the Gambulean who qereb agammē g₁-appārāti šitkunu šubtu, "dwells in the marshes and the swamps." The walls of Babylon were surrounded by an artificial apparu, as appears from the inscriptions of Hammurabi: apparam lū uštasqiršu, "I surrounded it with an artificial swamp."12

Mishnaic jappar is to be identified with apparu as a loanword.13 There is no basis for any derivation from pêrî, "fruit," hence, "fruitful meadow."14 While Albeck's edition of the Mishnah, vocalized by Yalon, presents the word as japar,15 Kutscher's reading, jappar, is being followed here. His view is based upon the reading in the Kaufmann Manuscript, hallānōt ba-jappar. He regards the ḫataf-pataḥ under the initial ḥaleph as incorrect, and as characteristic of inconsistencies by the

10AHW, p. 59.
11CAD I, Pt. 1, 142, citing Borger, Esarhaddon, sec. 110.
12L. W. King, Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi I (London, 1898), No. 57:18-19 (hereafter abbreviated as LIH).
13M. Bēṣā 5:7; AFW, p. 43. The Targum Yeruṣalāmi renders sup, "reeds" in Exodus 2:3 as jepēra. As seen from Genesis 41:2, the reed growth was a grazing place.
14J. Levy, NCW, I, 148.
15Albeck, Mishnah, Mōṣēd, 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.\(^\text{16}\)

\(^{16}\)Kutscher, Lešonenu, XXXI (1967), 108-9; Beer, MK, M. Beša 5:7. Cf. also, AIA, p. 46.
4) *āšlāg,* "alkali used in laundering," < *āšlāku,* "fuller, launderer," < Sumerian A.ZA.LAG.

The Sumerian equivalent of *āšlāku* is 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀墒ชำระ, 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, *āšlāg* occurs in context with other minerals used in laundering: neteř, "soda," bōriš, "soap," and qomulyaš, "cimolean earth." It has been suggested that Mishnaic *āšlāg* is a loan from *āšlāku.*

A vocalization *jašlag* occurs in a Mishnah manuscript from the Geniza, a form closer to the Akkadian and to Aramaic *jašlegā,* which is probably the intermediary between the Akkadian and the Hebrew. Katsh also calls attention to a spelling in the Babylonian Talmud, *jayšk,* which, if correct, is closer to the final consonant of the Akkadian. It is, however, corrected in the margin in

17AHW, p. 81; MSL, III, 149, 328.


20Katsh, GM, Pl. 146, line 4.

21Ibid., p. 292, ad loc.; cf. TB Sanh. 49b.
in accordance with the reading of the Mishnah. There is also the Mishnaic variant \( \text{מג} \) and the Aramaic \( \text{םלגר} \). 23

This word is attested in Old and Neo-Babylonian, and in Middle and Neo-Assyrian. 24 An Assyrian example is: \( \text{םלגרו} \) - \( \text{בִּרֶי} \) - \( \text{פַּסִילָי} \) and \( \text{אמר} \) - \( \text{לְרָע} \) - \( \text{כָּרִי} - \text{כָּרִי} \). 25

The CAD lists this word under hely, "in-between terrain," 26 assuming an etymological relationship referring probably to the chain linking the manacles. Von Soden, however, distinguishes between helyu 1, "fortress," helyu 2, "fetters," and helyu 3, "in-between." 27 The Sumerian equivalents support this, as the equivalents for "middle-region" are MURU, and BABY - "in-between." 28

The identity of this word with Mishnaic helyu, "knee-belt, garter," 29 has long been recognized. 30

22  \( \text{CAD II (A), 854f.} \)

23  \( \text{CAD, ibid., 255.} \)

24  \( \text{ibid., 254f.} \)


26  Aruk, s.v. \( \text{םלגר} \). This is its reading for TB Sab, 90a.
5) b específically refers to Assyrian beritū, "clasp, chain, fetters."

This word is attested in Old and Neo-Babylonian, and in Middle and Neo-Assyrian. An Assyrian example is: malikšunu...bi-ri-tu parzillī addī, "I threw their ruler into iron fetters."

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

The identity of this word with Mishnaic birītu, "knee-band, garter," has long been recognized.

24 AHw, p. 129; CAD II (B), 254f.
25 CAD, ibid., 255.
26 Ibid., 254f.
27 AHw, p. 129.
28 Ibid. On the basis of this, the word has been grouped with the non-Semitic loans.
29 M. Sab. 6:4. It is defined as a knee garter used for holding up the stockings, while kebālīm, "chains," in the same passage, are a pair of them with a chain joining the two, Albeck, Mishnah, Me'ed, p. 31.
30 Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 166b, citing E. Schrader, KAT, p. 542. AFW, p. 43, connects berēṭi, "alleys," with beryāṭa, 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 kisittu, "chain, bond."  

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

It is generally recognized that Hebrew geš is a loan from gūša. It is used in the Mishnah in the general sense of "document," partially replacing Biblical qēsar and, like qēsar in the Bible and in Elephantine, requiring an additional element to define its nature. When modified by the element 'āššā or 'alā, geš denotes "divorce," although this is also evident from the context when geš stands alone. Arabic ḍarab, qāṣir, "unfolded document," and qēsar, "unwritten document," N. T. L. 10:11. In the Mishnah, qēsar is more used in the wider sense; compare qēsar bēy, T.B., 101a, 101b, and ḍarab qēsar, M. T. 1:4, and ḍarab qēsar, M. T. 1:19. And qēsar is often written as ḍarab.  

6) get, "document," < gittu, "tablet, document."

While this word is attested in Late Babylonian, it is regarded as a Sumerian loanword from imGID.DA, "long tablet." It has several senses: "one-column tablet," "statement of account," "receipt," and, in the form kuGID.DA, "parchment document." An example is: GIS.LI.U.UM.MES su-nu pussut ili gittanisunu buppu, "their wax tablets are erased, their (clay) tablets broken."

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 sepher and, like sepher 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.

32AHw, p. 294b; cf. imgiddu, ibid., p. 376.
33Tbid., p. 294b. 34CAD VI (H), 171b.
35AFw, p. 19; and AIA, pp. 62-3.
36Cf. get pashut, "unfolded document," and get m'sqasr, "folded document," M. B. B. 10:1. In the Mishnah, s'tar is more used in the wider sense; compare s'tar hoh, ibid., 10:6, and s'tar halisa, M. B. M. 1:8, and get hoh, TB B. Q. 95a, and get halisa, TB Ket. 51b.
37M. Git. 1:4.
38Tbid. 1:6.
"register," is regarded as a loan from Aramaic *gittā*, although the consonant change $g > q$ is unusual.\(^{39}\)

This word is attested in Neo- and in Late Babylonian, as in the passage:  $g^\text{th}/\text{n-$g$}t\text{tu}
\text{ in $g^\text{th}/\text{d}n\text{tu}\text{ un $g^\text{th}/\text{d}n\text{tu}$, "I supported by those the boards (forming) the cornice of their (the palaces') gates.}^{\text{40}}\text{ 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 $dib$, "heard of a door."

The use of the form dappu in Esarhaddon may be a Neo-Assyrian hypercorrection.\(^{42}\) Zimmern considered Aramaic *gappū*, Hebrew *gappū*, as loans from Aramaic, but he did not distinguish between $gub > dappu$, "clay tablet," and *dappu*, "board."

They are to be kept apart, according to Lewis, who distinguishes between $lit$-prefix, "baker," and $tup$-prefix, "staple."

In the Mishnah, *dīn* is used seriously, "a column of writing in the Torah scroll or a document,\(^{45}\) and *milhamah* (lit), "the bakers' shelf," and "strips from which a garment is sewn together."

40\text{Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 249; Syriac *gètā* is derived from Akkadian *gittu* by Jensen, cited in Lex. Syr., p. 113.}

41\text{Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 10; CAD III (D), 106.}


43\text{Lewy, Or. XIX (1928).}

44\text{Lewy, Or. XIX (1928). For a different view, cf. AlA, pp. 57-8.}
7) \textit{dapp} < \textit{dappu}, "wooden board."

This word is attested in Neo- and in Late Babylonian, as in the passage: \textit{gip}\textsubscript{3} \textit{dapi kulul babani\textsubscript{in} mid}, "I supported by them the boards (forming) the cornice of their (the palaces') gates." \textsuperscript{40} Although the attestation in Akkadian is late, the \textit{CAD} considers this as possibly a Sumerian loanword. This is suggested by the variant writings \textit{dappu} and \textit{dabbu}, and also, by Sumerian \textit{DIB}, "board of a door." \textsuperscript{41} The use of the form \textit{adappu} in Esarhaddon may be a Neo-Assyrian hypercorrection. \textsuperscript{42} Zimmern considered Aramaic \textit{dapp\u0101}, Hebrew \textit{dan}, as loans from \textit{dappu}, but he did not distinguish between \textit{DUB} > \textit{tuppu}, "clay tablet," and \textit{dappu}, "board." \textsuperscript{43} They are to be kept apart, according to Lewy, who distinguishes between \textit{tu-pu-um}, "plank," and \textit{tup-pu-um}, "tablet." \textsuperscript{44} In the Mishnah, \textit{dapp} is used variously, "a column of writing in the Torah scroll or a document," \textsuperscript{45} \textit{dapp} \textsubscript{Sellanahtom}In, "the baker's shelf," \textsuperscript{46} and "strips from which a garment is sewn together." \textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{40}AHw, p. 10; \textit{CAD} III (D), 106, from Lyon, Sargon, 16:74. Compare Biblical \textit{lu\textsubscript{e}b}, Canticles 8:9.

\textsuperscript{41}\textit{CAD} III (D), 106. \textsuperscript{42}\textit{Ibid}.

\textsuperscript{43}AFw, p. 19; cf. Syriac \textit{dapp\u0101}, Lex. Syr., p. 162.

\textsuperscript{44}J. Lewy, \textit{Or}, XIX (1950), 5.

\textsuperscript{45}M. Yad. 4:8; M. Git. 9:7. It replaces Biblical \textit{delle\textsubscript{e}b}, Jer. 36:23.

\textsuperscript{46}M. K\u0161\textsubscript{e}lim 15:2.

8) kâk, kukkim, "sepulchral chamber," < Nabatean gwh < Palmyrene gmh < Akkadian kimahhu < Sumerian KI.MAḪ.

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

The relationship of Palmyrene gmḥ 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 ṣ occurring between vowels becomes m in Middle Babylonian, e.g., awatun > amatu.53 This process cannot account for a progression from kimahhu > gmḥ > gwh. In fact, the ṣ > m change may be merely graphic. The ṣ 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 \textit{m} to \textit{w}, which would support the claim that \textit{kimah}, \textit{gmb}, became \textit{gwh}.\textsuperscript{55} There is also the change \textit{Dumuzi} \textsuperscript{56} > \textit{Du'uzu}, \textit{damiq} \textsuperscript{56} > \textit{de'iq} \textsuperscript{56} > \textit{deq}.

What is most problematic in this identification is the relationship of \textit{kuk}, \textit{kuk} to Nabatean \textit{gwh}. The change of \textit{g} \textsuperscript{54} > \textit{k} is common, and presents no problem. The change of \textit{\textbar{u}} \textsuperscript{56} > \textit{k}, however, is much more unusual. Kutscher's view is that while Eastern Aramaic retained the \textit{\textbar{u}}, Western Aramaic coalesced original \textit{\textbar{u}} and \textit{\textbar{u}} into \textit{\textbar{u}}. Thus the \textit{\textbar{u}} was not present in Western Aramaic. The borrowing of \textit{kimah} was from Akkadian to Eastern Aramaic (compare Palmyrene \textit{gmb}) where the \textit{\textbar{u}} was retained. Then Western Aramaic borrowed the word from the Eastern dialect. Not having a symbol for the \textit{\textbar{u}}, the former represented it as \textit{k}, inasmuch as the \textit{k}, when following a vowel, as in \textit{kak}, was aspirated and pronounced as \textit{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, \textit{Simanu} > \textit{Siwan}. On the other hand, Greek transcriptions reveal cases where this does not occur, e.g., \textit{samu} > \textit{\textbar{u} \textbar{u} \mu}, \textit{emuqu} > \textit{\eta \mu \nu \kappa}, W. von Soden, Akk. Syll., pp. XXI-XXII.

\textsuperscript{56}GAG, par. 31d.
system and pronounced as a double k, e.g., kukkin. This loanword suggestion can be accepted on the basis of the close semantic relationship between all of these words, kimağbu > g₉ > g₉ > k₉, and in terms of this explanation of the change in the symbols used to represent the original sound.

Another change of k/₉ 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.

In the various occurrences of this word in the Mishnah, Yalon, in Albeck's edition, vocalizes k₉k, kukkin. Kutscher, however, prefers to vocalize k₉k, kukkIm. There is support for this in the Kaufmann

57Kutscher, Eretz Israel, VIII (1967), 279.
58GAG, par. 25d. In the case of bissātum in place of kisātum, "totality," the k is original and the h is secondary. A similar example is pānasu for kanāsu, "submit." On the other hand, there occurs tamāku for tamābu, "hold," ibid. This last example raises the speculative probability that there is an identity between Akkadian tamābu and Aramaic, Hebrew tmk. They function in identical contexts, e.g., tāmin GIS-PA (pāṭa), "who holds the scepter," CAD VI (h), 154, and tomek sēbek, "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 līluḥ > likl̩k, "moistening, soiling," GMH, p. 28.

60E. Y. Kutscher, Eretz Israel, VIII (1967), 279.
Manuscript, where one finds kukkan. The second kaph 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 koph, kukkan, was given in the Mishnah edition of Rapp. Another occurrence of this word, following the Kaufmann Manuscript, is provided by M. Oh. 18:4, se'de kukkan, as against se'de bogen of Albeck and other editions.


62 Kutscher, ibid. A different view is given by AIA, pp. 69, 160, and 238. Following Nöldeke, Kaufman proposes a development: Babylonian kima (pronounced [kiwā]) > kuwa > kūn > koph, ibid., p. 238.

63 E. Rapp, ed., Möc ed Qatan (Giessen, 1931), pp. 31 and 52.

64 A. Goldberg, Masseket Oholot (Jerusalem, 1956), p. 130.
9) kerā < karā, "heap, pile."

Akkadian karā is a Sumerian loanword, e.g., GURU₇ = ka-ru-u.⁶⁵ An Old Babylonian example is: karā ašnan lu āštappak, "I kept on heaping up piles of grain."⁶⁶ A part of a boat is gī₇GURU₇.MA = karā elippi, "the hold of a boat."⁶⁷ Mishnaic kerā is to be regarded as a loanword from karā, through the mediation of Aramaic. The identification of karā with Aramaic kāra was made long ago.⁶⁸ Mishnaic kerā does not completely replace Biblical cāremā, "pile," which continues in use. There is, however, some evidence of specialization in the Mishnah, where kerā 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. -Oh. 15:7.

A distinction between cāremā and kerā is made in Tosefta Terumah 3:17. Outside of the Mishnah, in the Midrash, the verb ḫry has the general sense of "heap up, pile up," e.g., harba maram tikre călehā, "much money will you pile up (pay)," Midr. Gen. R. 100:5. As against the vocalization of kerā of Yalon, there also occurs the vocalization kāri, Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 104. This is not consistent, however, and the form kerā is also noted there.

It is not clear why Kaufman rejects a Sumerian source for karā, cf. AIA, p. 106.
10) *ketu*, "tuft, fine hairs, fibers," < *kisu* < Sumerian GI.SA, "bundle of reeds."

The Akkadian *kisú* is a loanword from Sumerian GI.SA, and has been proposed as the source of Aramaic *kissa*. The expression *dalat kisí* is understood as "a door made of reed-stocks joined together," and, in a more general sense, there occurs the equivalence: **MAS.TUR.RA SAR** = *zippu = kis-su sa sam-me (?)*, "bundle of herbs."

In Mishnaic Hebrew, *kesú* *sellaggisú*<sub>k</sub>, refers to "the thin fibers of a certain type of cucumber," and *kesú* *sellaggatan* 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.
11) \( \text{m}^\text{k} \) < \( \text{mukku} \), "thread, tow, inferior wool."

Akkadian \( \text{mukku} \) is a loanword from Sumerian \( \text{MUG} \), which is equivalent to \( \text{g}^\text{Q} \), "thread, rope,"\(^{75}\) and is an element in \( \text{sig}_2 \text{MUG} \).\(^{74}\) \( \text{HUL} = \text{nugaru} \), "worn garment."\(^{76}\) Another sense is expressed in \( \text{sub}^\text{Ă} \text{t mukku} \), "garment made of coarse wool."\(^{77}\) In addition, \( \text{mukku} \) denotes inferior wool or tow, matted wool that cannot be spun.\(^{78}\)

Mishnaic \( \text{m}^\text{k} \) corresponds to some of these meanings except the sense "rope." A passage referring to \( \text{m}^\text{k} \text{in} \) removed by the launderer requires the rendering "threads."\(^{79}\) A soft, absorptive substance is referred to when \( \text{m}^\text{k} \) 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 \( \text{m}^\text{k} \text{in} \).\(^{81}\)

A variant form is the plural \( \text{mukk}^\text{Ă} \text{n} \),\(^{82}\) as against

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

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

\(^{77}\) \( \text{CAD XVI (S)}, 222. \)

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

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

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

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

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

An example is: Ggilium gur Amhatismun, "as for this Gilium, his permanent dwelling is a baker."84 The earlier reading of the Sumerian NUN.LAL.DIM85 has been rejected. The Sumerian logogram equivalent to Amhatismun is NU,86 while, syllabically, the equivalent in NUN.LAL.DIM.87 Edzard suggests that the Akkadian may still be derived from the Sumerian in one or two ways: NUN.LAL.DIM > nuhatiym, and by dissimilation, nuhatiymu, or the dissimilation may have taken place in Sumerian: NUN.LAL.DIM > *NU.LAL.DIM > nuhatiymu.88

The Kinnamian Hebrew mahām, "professional baker," is well attested.89 The noun pattern with the final long vowel is characteristic of Hebrew, and it is a Hebrew adaptation of the borrowing, not borrowed itself.90 There

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83 Akk., p. 901.
84GAB, par. 128b, from Old Babylonian.
85GAB, p. 901.
86GAB, p. 901.
87D. O. Edzard, IA, IV (1962), 109, n. 91.
88Ibid. Aramaic appears to be the vehicle of the loan, cf. Syriac mahām, Lex. Syr., p. 425.
90GAB, p. 114-20. Kinnamian suggests al-
up(a)mmukkīn, Katsh, GM, Pl. 97, line 10, M. Neg. 11:12.
12) naḥtōm < nubatimmu, "baker."

Akkadian nubatimmu is attested as early as Old Babylonian.⁸³ An example is: Gimillum šu dūršu nubatimmum, "as for this Gimillum, his permanent calling is a baker."⁸⁴ The earlier reading of the Sumerian NU.ḪAL.DIM⁸⁵ has been rejected. The Sumerian logogram equivalent to nubatimmum is MU,⁸⁶ while, syllabically, the equivalent is MU.ḪAL.DIM.⁸⁷ Edzard suggests that the Akkadian may still be derived from the Sumerian in one of two ways: MU.ḪAL.DIM > *mubattimu, and by dissimilation, > nubatimmu, or the dissimilation may have taken place in Sumerian: MU.ḪAL.DIM > *NU.ḪAL.TIM > nubatimmu.⁸⁸

The Mishnaic Hebrew naḥtōm, "professional baker," is well attested.⁸⁹ The noun pattern with the final long vowel is characteristic of Hebrew, and it is a Hebrew adaptation of the borrowing, not borrowed itself.⁹⁰ There

⁸³AHw, p. 801.
⁸⁴GAG, par. 128b, from Old Babylonian.
⁸⁵Cf. AFW, p. 39. ⁸⁶AHw, ibid.
⁸⁷O. Edzard, ZA, LV (1962), 109, n. 91.
⁸⁸Ibid. Aramaic appears to be the vehicle of the loan, cf. Syriac naḥtōmā, 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, *hanaht^emam*, but this is quite unusual, as the Kaufmann Manuscript of the Mishnah generally has the form *nahtom*. As stated above, this form is characteristic of Hebrew. On the other hand, Talmudic Aramaic and Syriac *nahtomā* 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, $\mathfrak{I} > \breve{\mathfrak{I}} > \breve{\mathfrak{u}}$. It cannot be thought to be attested in a borrowing. Assyrian, in this case, is the transmitter of this word to Hebrew. There appears to be no Judeo-Aramaic equivalent of *naht*, suggesting that this borrowing in Hebrew is independent of Aramaic and may have come from the language of the Assyrian empire with Egypt, Assyria, and Israel. Esarhaddon conquered Egypt in 671 B.C., and his influence was felt in Palestine.


92Beer, *MK*, M. *Dem.* 5:1; M. *CeEr.* 7:11; and M. *CeEd.* 7:7.
13) $\text{neyar} < \text{niaru}, "papyrus."

Examples of this word, which is attested in Neo-Assyrian, are: kerke niare, "papyrus roll,"$^{93}$ elippi niari, "a papyrus boat,"$^{94}$ and kuš na-a-a-ri/rumes, "parchment."$^{95}$ This word has been identified with Mishnaic $\text{neyar}$, "papyrus,"$^{96}$ and the Hebrew is considered by von Soden to be a loan from Akkadian. As this word is quite late in Assyrian, it cannot be thought to be native but is a borrowing. Assyrian, in this case, is the transmitter of this word to Hebrew. There appears to be no Judaeo-Aramaic equivalent of $\text{neyar}$, 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.


$^{95}$AHw, p. 784.

$^{96}$O. Schroeder, "lúkus-sar = amēkussaru, 'Pergament-schreiber,'" ZA, XXX (1915-16), 91-92; APw, p. 19; Tur-Sinai, LB, Vol. Halāshon, 337. Occurrences in the Mishnah are M. 'Ab. 4:20, and M. Kelim 10:4. The word $\text{neyar}$, M. Kelim 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-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) <kq>ku<q>du<q>, qu<q>du<q>, "box, basket."

This word is attested only in Neo-Babylonian and occurs in lexical lists where it is equated with <g1s>/g1BUGIN. KUD.DA.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 ku<q>du as a Sumerian loanword,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 k<q>hab<q>bah<q>f<q>, "the Babylonian wooden bowl."102 The change from k to q may be due to variant writing in the Akkadian itself,103 or may be due to a development within Hebrew; compare Biblical kpl > Mishnaic qpl, "fold."104

100 AHw, p. 499. 101 Ibid.

102 M. Kelîm 16:1; Tosefta Kelîm, Baba Qamma 3:11, qId. Compare Aramaic qûda, Midr. Qhelet R. 2:11. The Aramaic may be the intermediary between Akkadian and Hebrew.

103 Cf. AHw, p. 499, where a variant qu<q>du is cited. A similar situation is kukkubu/quqgubu, "stomach," ibid., p. 500.

104 Segal, GMH, p. 30.

The sumerian SA.AM is equivalent to si-imu, "price." An example from Old Babylonian is: sa'amanum nadin iddinosum u sib1 sa ina mahrisunu isamu itbalam, "the purchaser having then produced the seller who made the sale to him and the witnesses in whose presence he made the purchase." Mishnaic sum, "estimate, valuation," is a loan from sumu. There has been a semantic shift from sumu, "buy," to sum, "estimate." There is one occurrence of the word in the Mishnah which is somewhat closer than usual to the original: Yisra'el sesam parah mikkohen, "an Israelite who acquired a cow from a Kohen on the basis of its estimated value." The verb, sam, has the combined sense of acquiring control and also evaluating. According to the commentaries, the Israelite, after evaluating the cow, undertakes to increase its value, acquiring partial control. The profit is shared by both parties.

105 MSL III, 143; Deimel, 8L, p. 194, SAM2 = simu.
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. Halassen, p. 445, sought to equate Mishnaic swm with Biblical sim, "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.
109 Bertinoro, commentary on M. Ter., and Albeck, Mishnah, Zera'im, p. 212.
16) \( \text{šūtān} < \text{šūtāpu}, \text{tappù}, \) "partner, associate."

Akkadian \( \text{šūtāpu} \) is a S formation from \( \text{tappù} \), "friend, associate," itself a loan from Sumerian \( \text{TAB} \).\(^{110}\) The expression \( \text{kasap tappe} \), "capital of a business partnership,"\(^{111}\) illustrates a commercial connotation for this word.

It has long been recognized that \( \text{šūtāpu} \) is the source of the loans \( \text{šūtāp}, \) "partner," and the verb \( \text{štp}, \) \( \text{histattēr}, \) "join in partnership."\(^{112}\) The word occurs in the Mishnah\(^{113}\) and in other Semitic languages.\(^{114}\) There are various possibilities in the vocalization of the Hebrew, \( \text{šuttāp}, \)\(^{115}\) \( \text{šutāp}, \) being closer to the Akkadian,\(^{116}\) or \( \text{šötap}; \) compare Syriac \( \text{šawtapa} \).\(^{117}\)

Akkadian \( \text{šūtāpu} \) and the abstract form, \( \text{šūtāpūtu} \),

\(^{110}\) R. Labat, Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne (Paris, 1959), p. 95 (hereafter abbreviated as Manuel).

\(^{111}\) 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. ɐEr. 6:7; M. ɐSeq. 1:7; M. Hul. 1:7; and M. Bek. 9:3.


\(^{115}\) Yalon, IVM, pp. 123-24.

\(^{116}\) Ibid.

\(^{117}\) Ibid.
"partnership," appear to be later forms. Middle Babylonian examples of šutāpū are: EN-li (bēlī) ittīkunu lū šutāp, "may my lord be your partner," and ūūmma šutāpū lā imangurū, "when the partners are not in agreements."\textsuperscript{118} A Neo-Babylonian example of the abstract form is: zeru šātī ana irrisūtu u šutāpūtu ana PN māri ša PN₂ iddin, "he gave this see to PN, the son of PN₂, for tenancy and partnership."\textsuperscript{119}

The late form šutāpū appears to be an unusual development from tappa. Generally, nominal S forms are based upon verbs, e.g., šappuqtum, "destruction," < halaqu, "destroy," and šēbultum, "transport," < wabālu, "bring."\textsuperscript{120} The existence of a verbal form, *šatāpu, is not certain at all.\textsuperscript{121} Where Hebrew uses histattēp, Akkadian must use epēšu with the abstract, e.g., tappūtam Ipusū,\textsuperscript{122} and šutāpūtu Itepušu.\textsuperscript{123}


\textsuperscript{119} G. Cardascia, Les Archives des Murašu (Paris, 1951), p. 177, line 5 (hereafter abbreviated as Archives). Compare ibid., p. 178, where šutāpūtu is derived from tappa, tappūtu.

\textsuperscript{120} GAG, pars. 561 and J.

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

\textsuperscript{122} CAD IV (E), 222.

\textsuperscript{123} Cardascia, ibid., p. 178.
17) \( \text{tarn}^\text{a} \text{g}^\text{a} \text{l} < \text{tarlugallum}, "cock, rooster."} \\

Akkadian tarlugallu is a loanword from Sumerian DAR.LUGAL.MUSEN.\(^{124}\) The initial element in Sumerian, DAR, is equivalent to \text{burrumu}, "brightly colored,"\(^{125}\) and, as suggested by Prince, DAR.LUGAL.MUSEN originally denoted a "cock-bird of brilliant plumage."\(^{126}\)

Several variant vocalizations of the Hebrew must be discussed. While Yalon, in the Albeck edition of the Mishnah, vocalizes \( \text{tarn}^\text{a} \text{g}^\text{a} \text{l} \)\(^{127}\), 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, \#tarnug\(\text{a}l\)\(^{a}\) > \#tarnug\(\text{a}\)l\(^{a}\). The accent shifts forward to the last syllable, as in Syriac, or backwards.\(^{128}\)

There are variant forms of this Hebrew word. There

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

\(^{125}\)Deimel, \textit{SL}, p. 71.

\(^{126}\)Prince, \textit{ibid}. Lexical equivalents of tarlugallu in Akkadian are: \text{bi-ib-ru}, CAD II (B), 222. This equivalent, \text{bibru}, may be connected with \text{barbûr}, I K. 5:3. Another equivalent is \text{ku-du-ra-nu} \text{muse} = \text{tar-lugal-lum/lu}, AHw, p. 499b.

\(^{127}\)Albeck, \textit{Mishnah}, Nezîqîn, p. 326.

occurs in the Kaufmann Manuscript the plural form tarnאוגלי, presumably going back to a singular *tarnאוגל. Another Hebrew variant transfers the long vowel to the first syllable, e.g., twrnglym. The most common form, tarnאוגל, 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 hאומר, hארגאל. In the Mishnah, tarnאוגל occurs quite frequently. A secondary development is the diphthongization of the second vowel. In the Kaufmann Manuscript there occurs the form tarnאוגלי, and this should be compared with Mandaic tarnאאול, a corrupt form, as the g has been lost. The details of the vowel and stress changes underlying these various dialectical variants are not fully understood.

130 Lowe, MPT, ad loc.
131 M. Ter. 11:9; M. Maכאס. 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. A. Z. 1:5; M. Hul. 3:5 and 12:1; and M. Toh. 3:8.
133 Prower and Macuch, Man. Dict., p. 482a.
134 There is inconsistency within the same manuscript, for example, in the continuation of the passage where tarnאוגלי occurs, there also occurs tarnאוגלי, 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) ‘abbūb < 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 ‘abbūm, "flute, tube,"\(^2\) is a loan from ebbubu.\(^3\) Examples are ‘abbūb šel qāne, "reed flute,"\(^4\) ‘abbūb šel nēhōset, "brass flute,"\(^5\) and ‘abbūb šellaqqallā‘in, "iron tube for roasting grain."\(^6\) The

\(^1\) AHw, p. 180b; CAD IV (E), 138a; W. G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature (Oxford, 1960), 54:31, commentary (hereafter abbreviated as BWL).

\(^2\) M. Men. 10:4, "tube for roasting."

\(^3\) AFw, p. 29; cf. Mandaic ambuba, Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 21; Syriac abbūbā, Lex. Syr., p. 1; and Latin ambula, "Syrian flute girl." The vocalization of this word in the Kaufmann Manuscript is consistently ‘abbūb, 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 inaniziq < inazziq, GAG, par. 32b; Moscati, Introduction, p. 59. Arabic junub is the result of a similar process, cf. ḫarrub > harnub, Moscati, ibid. It is, therefore, incorrect to assume on the basis of junub that ‘abbūb is derived from a root ḫnbb, "be hollow," NCW, I, 5. The view of Segal that the initial ḫalef is a prefix, as in the case of ḫprōāh, "young bird," is also doubtful, cf. Segal, GMH, p. 113. The initial consonant appears to be borrowed from the Akkadian.

\(^4\) M. Car. 2:3. \(^5\) Ibid. \(^6\) M. Kelīm 2:3.
word also appears in *abbūb ro₃e, "Polygonum aviculare."

This word is to be distinguished from Hebrew שָׁלֹג, "stand," It is semantically equivalent to *מְלָח, "lean," as seen by the equivalence of סֶנֶדֶדֶ, "staff for walking," and Hebrew שָׁלֹגֶנָא. 8

Akkadian emētu is used in many combinations designating "obligate, impose guilt, punishment, tribute, tax upon." Examples are: arna emētu, "lay guilt upon," hurēra emētu, "obligate one to undergo trial by ordeal," and ṣīna emētu, "place judgment upon." 9 Another example is ḫiltam ḫayantam Ṭissunūtī, "to imposed upon them permanent tribute."

In Neo-Babylonian texts, *mētu and the noun ṭittu 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: giluṣṣu, ṭubbi ṭassuṣu ḫay⎡una ṭakkī, "We will impose upon him the estimate of the dates together with the blossoms, and


8M. Sab. 14:3. 9
2) ṣmd, "estimate," ṣonmed, nominal form, < emedu, "impose upon, obligate," imittu, "estimate of future yield."

This word is to be distinguished from Hebrew ṣmd, "stand." It is semantically equivalent to ṣcn, "lean," as seen by the equivalence of nemedum, "staff for walking," and Hebrew miscenet. ⁸

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

In Neo-Babylonian texts, emedu 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 mubbi mangaga immidšuma inakkis, "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, "and imitti suluppe immidušu. "They will impose upon him the estimate of the dates."12

Mishnaic ḫmd and cmd, "assess, estimate," and the noun forms, ḫomed, cômèd, are a loan from this Neo-Babylonian use of emēdu.13 Examples are becômèd hâmès se'īm gehālīm, "as much wood as would by estimate yield five seah of coal,"14 me-cômèd ūmīcérūcā, "from mere supposition or hearsay,"15 and val tarbe le'ecaser vômādūa, "do not give tithes too much by guessing."16

11G. Cardascia, Archives, pp. 203f.

12Ibid., p. 137.

13Tur-Sinai, LB, Vol. Ḥalāšon, p. 445, citing E. Y. Kutscher’s suggestion in Lehonenu, X (1947), 295. An alternate suggestion is made by Bendavid, BHMH, p. 149. He suggests a possible Greek influence, ἱστηκαί, ἱστῶν ἔκτισιν, "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 46, "courts, archives," for ἱπξεῖων, Palestinian Jarkavyot, an assimilation to a Hebrew ḥr̄k, Bendavid, Ibid., p. 185.

14M. Tamid 2:5. 15M. Sanh. 4:5.

16M. Jab. 1:16. Compare cwmidwt, Katsh, GM, Pl. 51, line 14, ad loc. The variant wwmidwt in the Mishnah of the Palestinian Talmud (ed. W. R. Lowe), is also cited, Ibid., p. 102, note to line 14.
3) *immātī*, more common:  *ēmātay < 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," *iṣtu mati adi mati*, "from when to when,"\(^{18}\) is a cognate of Hebrew *mātay*. The form *immati* has long been seen to be the source of Mishnaic *ēmātay*, "when,"\(^{19}\) "whenever,"\(^{20}\) and *ag ēmātay*, "until when."\(^{21}\)

The form *ēmēmātay* 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 *immātay*/*immātī* < Akkadian *immati* < *ina mati*. On the basis of various traditions of vocalizing the Mishnah, Kutscher suggests that the form *immātī* is more correct

\(^{17}\)GAG, par. 119a.  \(^{18}\)Ibid.
\(^{19}\)AFW, p. 70; M. Ber. 1:1.
\(^{20}\)M. Pāṣā 3:5.  \(^{21}\)M. Ber. 8:7.
\(^{22}\)Beer, MK, M. Ber. 1:1.
\(^{23}\)Kutscher, Hanoch Yalon Festschrift, p. 269.
in Hebrew, and is closer to the original Akkadian. 24

iv 1) **'eṣqoppär < 'eṣqoppātu, "threshold."**

The Akkadian word is attested as early as Old Babylonian. 25 An Assyrian variant is **'esqoppātu.** 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: 21isions, "part of a
wagon," 27 and **'esqoppātu ḫwā Ṣ adj. "the 'threshold' of the middle 'finger' of the lung." 28

Akkadian **'esqoppātu** has been identified with Mishnaic Hebrew **'eṣqoppā, "threshold."** 29 A Yemenite variant, where the first vowel is closer to the initial vowel of the Akkadian, is **'eṣqoppā.** 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 > 1. 31

25 **ABY,** p. 744.
26 **ABY,** par. 36a.
27 **Ibid.**
28 **Ibid.**
29 **Ibid.**
30 **Ibid.**
31 **Ibid.**

24 **Ibid.** Also cited is the Malula dialect, emmat. Compare also Mandeian ʼemmāt, 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 ʼemmāt, Lex. Syr., p. 27, citing the same reference to Jensen. A different view is expressed by Kaufman, who suggests a derivation from *šumma mati < *šammati, AIA, pp. 104 and 275.
4) \( \text{Jisquppā} \prec \text{askuppatu}, \) "threshold."

The Akkadian word is attested as early as Old Babylonian.\(^{25}\) An Assyrian variant is \( \text{aksuppum} \).\(^{26}\) 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: \( \text{gīšī-DIB.GIGIR} = \text{as-kup-pu}, \) "part of a wagon,"\(^{27}\) and \( \text{askuppi ubān ḫāṣī qabiliṭi}, \) "the 'threshold' of the middle 'finger' of the lung."\(^{28}\)

Akkadian \( \text{askuppatu} \) has been identified with Mishnaic Hebrew \( \text{Jisquppā}, \) "threshold."\(^{29}\) A Yemenite variant, where the first vowel is closer to the initial vowel of the Akkadian, is \( \text{Jasquppā}. \)^{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., \( \text{a} > \text{i}. \)^{31}

\(^{25}\)\( \text{AHw}, \) p. 74b.  
\(^{26}\)\( \text{GAG}, \) par. 36c.  
\(^{27}\)\( \text{AHw}, \) ibid.  
\(^{28}\)\( \text{Ibid.} \)


\(^{30}\)Yalon, IVM, p. 214. An extended meaning of \( \text{Jisquppā} \) is "yard" or "a ship," Tosefta Bābā Batra 4:1.

\(^{31}\)Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.8c. Arabic \( \text{Juskuffat} \) is regarded as a loan from Syriac \( \text{jeskuptā}, \) Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 19. It is closer in form to Syriac than to Judaeo-Aramaic. The doubling of \( \text{ff} \) gives the word an Arabic form, Fraenkel, ibid. Cf. the discussion in AIA, pp. 49 and 224-5. Kaufman considers these words, with Hebrew \( \text{masqup}, \) going back to a root \( \#\text{sSq} \), "to support," ibid., pp. 224, 225.
5) $\text{šārāh} \prec \text{arhu}, "\text{half-brick}."

This word is attested in Old Babylonian and in Neo-Babylonian.\textsuperscript{32} In lexical lists it is equated with \textsuperscript{33}SIG\textsubscript{4}·MI and SIG\textsubscript{4}·AB.\textsuperscript{33} This word is the source of Mishnaic $\text{šārāh}$, defined by the Mishnah as: $\text{ḥāši lebēnā sel vešelōša tēphāhim}, "\text{a half-brick three handbreadths wide}."\textsuperscript{34} Aramaic appears to be the vehicle of this loanword.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{32}AHw, p. 67b.

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid. The meaning of the Sumerian elements is unclear. As $\text{AB}$ is also the equivalent of $\text{arhu}$, Ugaritic $\text{jarh}$, "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 SIG\textsubscript{4}·ANSE, the last element meaning "donkey," AHw, p. 40.

\textsuperscript{34}M. cEr. 1:3, 4; cf. Tur-Sinai, LB, Vol. Halāsōn, pp. 147-8, where this identification is made. Tur-Sinai's suggestion that $\text{arhu}$ is to be related to $\text{yārēāh}$, "moon," of "half-moon" in contrast to $\text{lebēnā}$, "full brick," $\text{lebēnā}$, "full moon," ibid., cannot be accepted. Other meanings for $\text{šārāh}$, or Aramaic $\text{šārāh}$, 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, Massekeit Supērim 12:10.

\textsuperscript{35}Cf. Syriac $\text{jarbā}$, Lex. Syr., p. 48. It was derived from Akkadian $\text{arbu}$ by B. Meissner, OLZ, XXV (1922), 241, cited in Lex. Syr., ibid. Cf. the discussion in AIA, p. 223.
6) ־אריס <.errēšum, "tenant farmer."

Examples of this word are: "קמונה אתילום אגלה ana גできない עアナ errēšim iddīn, "if a man gives his field to a tenant farmer for rent,"36 and "itti mārē PN ana errēšūtim יושב, "(X land) which I rented from the sons of PN in a tenancy contract."37 The term derives from erēšu, "seed, cultivate," Hebrew הַרָּשׁ.38 Closer to the Hebrew is Neo-Assyrian Ėrisūtu.39

Suggestions that errēšum is the source of Mishnaic ־אריס, "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 ־אררנום, AHw, p. 243. The sign 6 was used in Old Akkadian for the phoneme corresponding to Semitic t, as in בֵּית, W. von Soden, Akk. Syll., p. 6. The relationship with the word for "plow" is seen in the equivalence of ana errēšūti with NAM.APIN. LA.ŠE, the element APIN denoting "plow," AHw, ibid.

39 AHw, p. 68.

40 M. Pe'ē 5:5; M. Dem. 6:8; M. Hallā 4:7; M. B. M. 5:8; M. B. B. 3:3, 10:4; and M. Se ṭē 7:8.

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

42 AFw, p. 40; G. R. Driver and J. Miles, Assyrian Laws, p. 505. Arabic ־יריס is regarded as a borrowing from Aramaic √ירס, 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: \textit{u lu ana mislānī \& lu ana šaluš eqlam iddin}, "whether he let the field for one half or one third the crop."\footnote{Code of Hammurabi, par. 46.} An arrangement involving similar proportions for the \textit{ārīs} or \textit{mēqabbēl} is one of the possible arrangements attested in the Mishnah and the Talmud. The \textit{ārīs}, like the \textit{errēsum}, was responsible for a proportion of the crop, in contrast to the \textit{ḥoker} who paid a fixed amount, regardless of the yield.\footnote{M. Bar Ilan and S. Zevin, ed., \textit{Enṣiqlopēdiyā Talmudit}, Vol. II (Jerusalem, 1952), 186. Cf. M. Pē'ās 5:5 and the commentary of Maimonides, ad loc.} Moreover, the Mishnaic formula: \textit{hāmmēqabbēl šāde meḥāb̄ēro}, "he who rents a field from his neighbor,"\footnote{M. E. M. 9:1} parallels the Old Babylonian formula: \textit{ana errēsūtim ilqu}.\footnote{AHw, p. 244a.}

A vocalization \textit{ārīsin} is suggested by Albrecht, based upon the suggestion of Lagarde that the word derives from \textit{šrs}, "place a value upon," and that our word, \textit{ārīs}, is in the Pī'ēl and should be vocalized \textit{ārīs}.\footnote{K. Albrecht, Mischna Bikkurim (Giessen, 1922), 1:2, p. 16, citing P. Lagarde, \textit{Semitica}, I, 50.} Albrecht acknowledges but does not accept the suggestion of Jensen that the word derives from Assyrian \textit{irrisu} < \textit{erēsū}, "sow."\footnote{Albrecht, \textit{ibid.}, citing P. Jensen, ZA, I (1886), 406.}
Jensen's view is to be preferred. In addition, the vocalization of ḫarīṣīn occurs regularly in the Kaufmann Manuscript. A variant of the abstract form occurs in a Mishnah fragment from the Geniza, baḫarūṣūx. The more common ḫarīṣūt corresponds more closely to Neo-Assyrian ārisūti. In example is: ḥaddāqē manna Minnaq, kha ḫāṣiṣi, "Since last year no one has given me food for my mouth." It has been suggested that all of these forms go back to *ḥattāqām. It must closely resembles the Late Babylonian form, ḥaddāqām, and, as is evident from Syriac ḫathāqām, the vehicle for the loanword in Naharai Aramaic.

The difference between the Late Babylonian and the Syriac and Hebrew forms is related to one shift of stress and resulting vowel changes. Presumably, ḥaddāqām was accented on the first syllable. Syrian and Hebrew ḫathāqām are stressed on the final syllable. The exact nature of

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49 Beer, MK, M. Pe'er 5:5, M. Corlā 2:3.
50 Katsh, QM, 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; AHw, p. 68. Cf. a different view of the borrowing, ATA, pp. 60 and 231. On the basis of the Arabic, Kaufman considers erēṣu the borrowed form.
7) ḫēštēqad < Late Babylonian ṣaddaqad, "last year."

There are various forms of this word in different periods of Akkadian: Old Babylonian ṣaddaqdim, Old and Middle Babylonian ṣaddaqda, Neo-Assyrian ṣaddagdiš, and Late Babylonian ṣaddaqad.\(^{52}\) An example is: ultu ṣaddagis mamma NINDA,ḤI.Å ṣa pīya ul inandina, "Since last year no one has given me food for my mouth."\(^{53}\) It has been suggested that all of these forms go back to ṣadda-gdim.\(^{54}\)

Mishnaic Hebrew ḫēštēqad has been long seen to go back to ṣaddaqad.\(^{55}\) It most closely resembles the Late Babylonian form, ṣaddaqad, and, as is evident from Syriac ḫēštēqad,\(^{56}\) 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, ṣaddaqad was accented on the first syllable.\(^{57}\) Syriac and Hebrew ḫēštēqad are stressed on the final syllable. The exact nature of

\(^{52}\) GAG, par. 72c.

\(^{53}\) CAD I, Pt. 1, 240b.

\(^{54}\) GAG, ibid.

\(^{55}\) D. O. Edzard, "Mari und Aramäer," ZA, LVI (1964), 147. The first recognition of this loanword was made by H. Pick, OLZ, XII (1909), 165–7, cited by Edzard, ibid. Also cited is Perles, OLZ, XXI (1918), 67.

\(^{56}\) Lex. Syr., p. 53b. Cf. a different view by Kaufman who posits an Amorite origin and separate borrowing by Akkadian and Aramaic, AIA, pp. 125 and 288.

\(^{57}\) Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.6.
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 ë.\textsuperscript{58} Possibly, with the bringing together of the first and second consonants, the voiced \textit{d} was assimilated to the $\textit{v}$, and became unvoiced $\textit{t}$.

8) bat ʿsuḥ, "fruit of the Aleppo Pine," &as̄uḥu, "fir tree."

The definition of &as̄uḥu as "fir tree" is given tentatively by von Soden and by Thompson. 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 &as̄uḥu, Aramaic ʾašūḥā. But it is less certain that the same word, if not the same species, necessarily, appears in Mishnaic bat ʿsuḥ. The Talmud defines this fruit as "white figs." Lieberman, however, explains that bat ʿsuḥ is a popular name for the ʿoren ṭalbat, "Aleppo Pine," and, by extension, for its fruit. It is plausible that &as̄uḥh, ʿṣuḥ, could be borrowed for a species of pine which is related to the &as̄uḥu, "fir."

59AHw, p. 85 and DAB, pp. 266f.
60AFw, p. 53.
61M. Dem. 1:1; M. Ṣeb. 5:1.
62TB Ber. 40a.
9) **bīb < bī-u, bību, "drainage opening."

Examples of this word, which is attested in Middle and Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian, are: RN...bi-i-be ša dūrī sa bīt Assur...iksir, "Adad-nirari has made watertight the drainage openings of the wall around the Assur temple,"\(^{64}\) 1 bi-i-be lā gammur, "one unfinished drainage opening."\(^{65}\) The change of the glottal stop, \(\text{ḥ} \), to \(\text{b} \), which occurred in Assyrian\(^{66}\) did not take place in Late Babylonian: ana bi-\(\text{ḥ}\)e (var. bi-\(\text{ḥ}\)) ša dūrī tušerrebšunūti, "you slip them (the figurines) into the drainage opening of the city wall."\(^{67}\)

The bīb of the Mishnah\(^{68}\) appears to derive from Assyrian through the mediation of Aramaic.\(^{69}\)

\(^{64}\)CAD II (B), 297.  
\(^{65}\)Ibid.  
\(^{66}\)GAG, par. 24b; cf. also šu′u, "ewe," and Middle and Neo-Assyrian šūbu, ibid.  
\(^{67}\)CAD, ibid.  
\(^{68}\)M. Cer. 8:10; M. A. Z. 3:4; cf. also goren bihi̇n, "a cleaner of sewers," Midr. Exodus R. 6:1. Examples of variants in Hebrew between \(\text{ḥ} \) and \(\text{b} \) are cited in Epstein, ITM, II, 1223-26. In our case, however, the \(\text{b} \) is a borrowed feature of the Assyrian variant.  
\(^{69}\)Cf. bīṣa, TP Ta\'can. IV, 68d, cited in Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 129. Arabic bībat is considered to be a borrowing from Aramaic bīb, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 23. However, a derivation from ṣabb, "be hollow," which Fraenkel, ibid., believes to be the source of this word and of Aramaic ḫabūbā, "flute," is not acceptable, cf. above, ḫabūb < ṣabbu, pp. 90-1. Both bī′u and bību may, however, have been pronounced as [bīw], GAG, par. 24b. The loan is questioned by AIA, p. 96, but accepted by AHw, pp. 134f.
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: \( \text{pa}_T \text{ kazzU}z_T \text{ u sul}̄\text{s}i...\text{eli ba}\text{jerutim u}̄\text{stabn}i\text{me} \), "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 \( \text{ka-as-su-su} = \text{qar-ra-du}. \) While Yalon, in Albeck's edition of the Mishnah, reads \( \text{haggaz} \), there occurs the reading \( \text{gz} \) in the Mishnah of the Talmud Yerusalmi and \( \text{hagge}z \) in the Kaufmann Manuscript. The reading \( \text{gz} \) is elsewhere preferred by Albeck.

It is proposed that Mishnaic \( \text{gz} \) is a loanword from \( \text{kassūsu} \). 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 \( \text{Sarru-KIn} > \text{Sargōn} \). The change from \( s > z \) may be due to variants within Akkadian itself, e.g.,

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70 AHw, p. 454. 71 CAD II (B), 89.
72 AHw, ibid.
73 M. Hul. 3:1; Albeck, Mishnah, Qodosim, p. 123.
74 Lowe, MPT, M. Hul. 3:1.
75 Beer, MK, M. Hul. 3:1.
76 Albeck, IM, p. 136.
kazzūzī, "falcons," as against kassūsu. What has apparently occurred here is a shortening of the word parallel to galālu < Aramaic gelālā > gal, "stone," Job 8:17.

The Akkadian word is attested as early as Old Babylonian, denoting a substance for coating walls, for making bricks, and an abrasive powder for washing the hands. Students gūg, "line used to delineate something," still is a phenomenon, having been transmitted through Aramaic. Hebrew has also borrowed direct from as alqāta, and it is likely that the Greek word is also a borrowing from Akkadian or that the word is a Kulturwortsound in widely separate languages.

C. A. D. II (B), 89; AHw, p. 454.

The parallelism of gal/垓 bēr jābānîm, 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 cozniyyā, 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. AIA, p. 160 for the suggestion that post-vocalic /k/ was realized in Neo-Assyrian like West Semitic [g].
11) ḡēš, "lime," < ḡassu, "gypsum, limewash."

Sumerian IM.BABBAR, "white clay," is the equivalent of ḡassu. 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. Mishnaic ḡēš, "lime used to delineate pathways," is a loanword, having been transmitted through Aramaic. Hebrew has also borrowed Greek ὑφός as gippēsīs, and it is likely that the Greek word is also a borrowing from Akkadian 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. Mig. 9:2; ḡēš yēwēnî, "clay from the mire," is called yiṭēqēt haderākim, "roadside pegs," when it dries, cf. Bertinoro’s commentary on the Mishnah, 82 where the identification of ḡēš with ḡassu is made, citing Jensen.
82 AFW, p. 31; Lex. Syr., p. 129, where the identification of ḡēša with ḡassu 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 jīṣ/jaṣṣ/juss is regarded as a borrowing from Aramaic gipṣēs, itself borrowed from Greek and Latin, ὑφός, 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 ḡassu 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 ḡassu < ḡassu.
This represents a lengthening of the short a-vowel of the Akkadian, presumably because of the accent. The Kaufmann Manuscript reads g." The manuscript reproduced in is not consistent, as in line 14 it reads g."
12) \( \text{\textit{garab}} < \text{karpatu}, \) "vessel, container."

Akkadian \textit{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 \textit{garah}, a vessel equivalent to the \textit{habat},\(^{89}\) is a loanword from Akkadian, via Aramaic \textit{grb}, \textit{garbā}.\(^{90}\) The form of the Aramaic and Hebrew words is closer to the Akkadian than to the Ugaritic \textit{krpn}. The consonant change of \( k \rightarrow g \) is paralleled by \( \text{Sarru-kīn} \rightarrow \text{Sargon} \), and \( \text{kibrītu} \rightarrow \text{goprīt} \). The vehicle of the loan is Aramaic.\(^{91}\)

\(^{88}\) 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 \textit{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 \textit{garāb}, "scab, itch."

\(^{91}\) Cf. Syriac \textit{garbā}, Lex. Syr., p. 130. Ethiopic \textit{gerāb} is also cited there. Two Arabic words, \textit{qirbat} and \textit{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 \textit{gurābu}, "reinforcement around an earthenware jar," occurs in Late Babylonian and is regarded as an Aramaic loanword, CAD V (G), 136. Generally Akkadian final \(-\text{t}\) is not dropped in loanwords, but there are exceptions, e.g., \textit{mahārāt} > Mandaic \textit{mhrāj}, "ship's bow," \textit{gurdatu} > Babylonian Talmud \textit{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 Erucoides.\textsuperscript{94} The form of gargir is distinguished from its homonym, gargar, garcer, "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," \textit{TB Yoma} 18b. It also agrees that gargir is an eye medicine, explaining \textit{jörát} of II K. 4:39 as gargir, with the comment: "They brighten (mēj jörát) the eyes... one rubs it across his eyes," \textit{TB Yoma}, ibid.

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

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

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

This word has been identified with gaṣāš, "sounding pole." 97 This identification is not correct, as gaṣāš is to be related to the Hebrew and Aramaic root, gašš, "touch, grope." 98 Akkadian gaṣīṭu should be related to gaṣīṣ šellammitā, "frame of a bed." 99 Possibly, gaṣīṭu and gaṣīṣ are related semantically in that poles make up the framework of a bed. The Sumerian equivalents of gaṣīṭu are gišBu and gišSUD, both of which can be read as Akkadian arāku, "be long." 100 Thus, gaṣīṭ šellammitā may be compared with Jarûkoti hammitā, "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. Zaphim 3:1 and 3. Perhaps also related is qeṣīsin, "splints," TB Sab. 53a.
100 Labat, Manuel, p. 171.
101 M. Sab. 23:5.
15) ḏīr, "enclosure," < ḏūrum, "wall."

Akkadian ḏūrum is attested as early as Old Babylonian in the sense of "wall." The word ḏāru denotes "settlement of shepherds." If the view of von Soden be accepted, that ḏūrum is related to Aramaic ḏīra, "circumference," Arabic ḏār, "surround," and ḏaur, "enclosure," it is not possible to speak of a loanword. All of these words are to be considered as cognates. On the other hand, the CAD denies that ḏūru or ḏāru, "settlement of shepherds or nomads," is related to a root referring to a cyclic movement. It is on the basis of this separation of ḏūrum and ḏāru from the cognates

102AHw, p. 178; CAD III (D), 192-5.
103CAD, ibid., 115.
104M. B. Q. 6:1; M. Seq. 6:1.
105Cf. Targum Yerushalmi on Micah 2:12, where ḥadāḥ ḏīrā is rendered by ḥegō ḏīra.
108CAD III (D), 197.
referred to above that this loanword relationship, dūrum
\[\text{dirā} \succ \text{dir},\] can be proposed.

The modal participle waddīy, "certainly, indeed," is regarded by von Soden as an imperative D form from idam, "know." It is attested only in Mari.\textsuperscript{109}

It is suggested that the particle waddāy in Mishnaic Hebrew, "certainly," is a loan from waddīy. This appears more probable than the view of Segal that waddāy derives from ḫady, "confess, agree."\textsuperscript{110}

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

\textsuperscript{109}\textsuperscript{109} Segal, GMM, p. 119. Von Soden also lists Old Babylonian widdā and the later waddīy, also formed from idam, but with the meaning "probably." Gadd, par. 121d. However, there is a context in which it appears in the sense of "certainly:" min-de-me ana-ku ina bi-šti mān-ri-1 ah-ē-ē-ē ismattālim.\textsuperscript{110} "No doubt I plotted mischief at the time of the former sin," W. G. Lambert, "The Fifth Tablet of the Ekn Kpin," Iraq, LXIV (1962), 121:6.

\textsuperscript{110} Segal, GMM, p. 138; cf. M. Kat. 5:2. The final "aleph which appears in the usual spelling of this word is a later lectio.-ina. The word also occurs in manuscripts as ḥawāy, vocalized ḥaddāy(y). Katz, BM, Pl. 119, line 12, and ibid., Pl. 156, line 9. Another form is ḥaddāy, vocalized (w)addāy(y), ibid., p. 239, line 12, citing the Kaufmann Manuscript.
16) wadda'y, "certainly," \(<\) wuddi.

The modal participle wu(di)di, "certainly, indeed," is regarded by von Soden as an imperative D form from id\(^\wedge\)m, "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 \(\sqrt{wd}\)w, "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 mindema, also formed from id\(^\wedge\)m, 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 ma\(\wedge\)r-i-1 a\(\wedge\)su-sa lemuttim\(\wedge\)m, "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.
17) **zūz**, "monetary unit," < **zuzu** < **zāzu**, "divide."

Akkadian **zūzu** derives from **zāzu**, "divide," in a manner analogous to **peras** < **parāsu**, "cut, divide," a half of a **māne**. The **BAR** sign which is the equivalent of **zāzu** is also equivalent to **mīšlu**, "half," and to **parāsu**. In the Mishnah, **zūz** occurs, and is the equivalent of **dīnār**, Latin **denarius**. Bendavid notes that both terms occur 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 **zūz** is dominant. In the Mishnah, the terms co-exist, although there is a convention of using **zūz** for designating many of the units, while **dīnār** is used for a single unit. The loanword enters through Aramaic.

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111CAD XXI (Z), 170; for **peras**, cf. M. Ed. 3:3.
112Labat, Manuel, pp. 69-71.
113M. Pēʿā 8:8; M. Ket. 1:5; as a unit of weight, M. Ter. 10:8. The **zūz** / **dīnār** 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**.
114Bendavid, ibid., citing M. Pēʿā 8:8.
18) ḫazzān < ḫazannu, ḫazānu, ḫaziiannu, "magistrate, official."

Mishnaic ḫazzān has been recognized as a loanword from ḫazannu. 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 ḫazannu is also used in religious contexts, e.g., Lū ḫa-za-nu ša bīt dAG i lika anāku, "I am the ḫazannu of the temple of Nabu, your god."

In the Mishnah, the word has several senses: a member of the synagogue hierarchy, ḫazzan hakkēneset, second to the roš hakkēneset, a teacher of children, and, as ḫazzan hakkēneset, 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. Sōta 7:8.
120 M. Šab. 1:3. 121 M. Mak. 3:12.
Akkadian ḫassinu 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 tamât, "You will die by the axe of the king." Another example, where the word is used for a divine symbol, is: ḫa-zi-in mi-it-[t]u u GIS.MAR KU.BABBAR, "axe, mittu-weapon, and spade of silver (divine symbols)."

Aramaic ḫasinâ has been borrowed from ḫassinu, as has Greek ἅζην. Mishnaic ḫasinâ is explained by Albeck as identical with ḫasinâ. The variation of s/z occurs in the Akkadian itself, with ḫ 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, GMH, p. 32. The Targum on Isa. 44:12 renders maqṣād by ḫasinâ. A possible cognate relationship between ḫassinu and Biblical garzen is suggested by AHw, p. 332. A ceremonial axe from Ugarit is inscribed ḫgn, J. Friedrich, Extinct Languages (New York, 1957), p. 85, fig. 4. A change ḫ > ǵ 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. Kelîm 14:2; Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorot, p. 65. The identification of ḫazinâ with ḫasinâ 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., ḫazayyênâ, Beer, MK, ad loc., and ḫyyn, to be read, presumably, as ḫazzinâ, ḫazyânâ, or ḫazînâ. Lowe, MPT, ad loc. Cf. a different view, AIA, p. 102.
20) h̄īltīt < ḫīl tīyātī, "gum of asafoetida."

There are several combinations with ḫīl, "resin, exudation," from the verb ḫālu, "flow."127 They include: ḫīl erti, "resin of copper," ḫīl balūbī, "resin of galbanum," ḫīl šarbātī, "sap of the willow," ḫīl erinī, "sap of the cedar," and ḫīl tīyātī, "gum of asafoetida."128 Possibly Mishnaic tīyā is borrowed from tīyātū,129 but the source of hīltīt130 is clearly from hīl tīyātī.131 The medium of the loan was Aramaic.132

127CAD VI (H), 54.

128CAD, Ibid., 189; DAB, pp. 336ff.

129M. Tēb. Yōm 1:5; M. cUqṣūn 3:5; NCW IV, 639; Löw, Flora, III, 125; AFw, p. 58. Another rendering is "ranunculus," Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorāt, p. 460.

130M. ʿAb. 20:3; M. cUqṣūn 3:5.

131DAB, p. 8, n. 2.

21) $\text{חָסִית}$, $\text{חָסייִיָּה}$, "Allium," "leeks," <
Aramaic $\text{חֶסֶּבא}$, "lettuce," < $\text{חָסֶבָה}$, "lettuce."

Akkadian $\text{חָסֶבָה}$ is attested from Old Babylonian on, and is associated lexically with $\text{מָרָעְדַּר}$, "small, bitter lettuce."\(^{133}\) The relationship of $\text{חָסֶבָה}$ to Aramaic $\text{חֶסֶבָה}$, has been noted.\(^{134}\)

It is suggested that another term in the Mishnah, $\text{חָסִית}$, plural $\text{חָסייִיָּה}$, a general term for leeks, arum, onion and garlic, may be borrowed from Aramaic $\text{חֶסֶּבָה}$, and thereby derive ultimately from Akkadian. This term may have been borrowed on the basis of a general similarity, bitterness of taste.\(^{135}\)

\(^{133}\)CAD VI (H), 128; DAB, pp. 72f.

\(^{134}\)DAB, ibid.; AFW, p. 57. "Bitter Herbs," $\text{מָרָעְדַּר}$, in M. Pes. 2:6, is used in a general sense, and one of the species that fulfills the requirement is $\text{חָצֵרֶט}$, "lettuce," ibid., defined in the Talmud as $\text{חֶסֶּבָה}$, TB Pes. 39a. This is significant, as $\text{חָסֶבָה}$ in Akkadian is associated lexically with $\text{מָרָעְדַּר}$, CAD, ibid.

\(^{135}\)M. Ter. 9:7, 10:10; Bertinoro's commentary on 9:7; Albeck, Mishnah, Zera'im, p. 206. The relationship of $\text{חָסִית}$ to $\text{חֶסֶּבָה}$, "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 $\text{חָסייִיָּה}$, Beer, MK, M. Ter. 9:7, is followed by Yalon in the Albeck edition of the Mishnah. There is also another vocalization, $\text{חָסיִית}$, S. Lieberman, Tosefta Zera'im, Terumot 9:3, p. 155.

Akkadian $\text{חָסָּבָה}$, "thyme," has a form which corresponds well with $\text{חָסִית}$ 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 (H), 148, where no definition is given.
22) kabûl < kaballu, type of garment.

This term is attested in Mari, Nuzi and in Hittite texts from Boghazkoi.\textsuperscript{136} It is not clear to what type of garment it refers, although the word is regarded as borrowed by Mishnaic Hebrew as kâbhûl.\textsuperscript{137} It is defined as a piece of cloth worn upon the head as a kerchief upon which rests an ornament for the forehead.\textsuperscript{138} Another definition is "woolen cap."\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{136}AHw, p. 414; DAB, p. 66.

\textsuperscript{137}M. \textit{ab.} 6:5; \textit{Ar.} p. 35.

\textsuperscript{138}Commentary of Maimonides on the Mishnah, \textit{ibid}.

\textsuperscript{139}Albeck, \textit{Mishnah, M\textsuperscript{\textregistered}ed}, 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, **kīsbar**. **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 **1/υ** 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**-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 מְיַיָ'אָל/מְיָיָאָל (Gen. 4:18), פִּינָן/פּוּנָן (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, מְסֵיבִּין, "reclining," is another example of the u/i variants, and is equivalent to מְסִיבִּין. A parallel case would be תָּיָּד/תָּיָד, "will burn," W. Chomsky, ibid. The variants כּסְבָּר/כּסְבָּר in the Mishnah may be another example of this situation and have no relationship to the variations between Akkadian kisibirru and kus(s)ibirru.
24) karsina < kisēnu, "vetch."

This word occurs in Old Babylonian and in Neo-Babylonian and has been equated with Lethyrus sativus. It is a loanword in the Mishnah, karsina, rarely used as human food. Between the forms kisēnu and karsina a process of dissimilation has taken place, šš > rs, analogous to the development of Akkadian kussû > Aramaic kūrsā.

146 DAB, pp. 95 and 103; Ahw, p. 492a.
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 kisēnu 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 niṣya u kimtiya, "among my people and my family." There is a lexical equation of kimtu with puḫru, "group, gathering," 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," 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." 

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 kinātu, "colleague," AHw, p. 479, which appears in Aramaic as kānat, pl. kānāwātā, 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. B-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.UB Spar, 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 laptā 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.

153AHw, p. 537, and DAB, p. 51.
154AHw, ibid.
155Ibid., p. 564.
156M. Kil. 1:3, 9; 3:1; M. Macaš. 5:2, 8; M. Hul. 7:4; and M. Uqqin 1:4.
157Lex. Syr., p. 369b.
158M. Bek. 7:1.
27) ḫūp, "arum," < ḫūppu, "kind of bean."

Akkadian ḫūppu is attested in Old and in Neo-Babylonian, while the variant ḫubbu occurs in Neo-Assyrian.° Sumerian ḫū.UBub appears to be a borrowing from the Akkadian.° Von Soden defines this word as "bean," and suggests tentatively that it is borrowed as Arabic ḫub(j)ā.° He was preceded in this identification by Thompson.°

It is suggested that Mishnaic ḫūp° is a borrowing from ḫūppu, although it cannot be certain that the Akkadian and the Hebrew words refer to the same species. Maimonides defines ḫūp as a species of onion.° Another definition is Arum palestinum, a species which develops a small, edible bud.° On the basis of the similarity of this bud to a bean, ḫūppu was borrowed to designate this species. There also occurs ḫū ḫāṣṣētē, "wild ḫūp," Arum discorides,° the bud of which is edible only in emergencies.

159AHw, p. 564. 160Ibid. 161Ibid. 162DAB, p. 94. 163M. 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. 164Commentary of Maimonides on Šebiyya 5:2. The interpretation originates in TP Šeb. V:2. 165Judah Felix, Mar'oth Hamishnah, p. 80. 166M. Šeb. 7:1, 2; M. Cūqāsim 3:4; and J. Felix, ibid., p. 81.
This term and its relationship to Mishnaic mel~g has been studied in detail by Levine. The connection between the Akkadian and the Hebrew terms was noted by Feuchtwang and by Zimmern. 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. 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. In the Mishnah, there occurs the expression CaQde mel~g. Levine traces a development in the Rabbinic understanding of mel~g 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.

168D. Feuchtwang, ZA, VI (1892), 441; AFw, p. 46.
169Levine, ibid., p. 45. 170Ibid., pp. 51ff.
171M. Yeb. 7:1-2; cf. also šiphat mel~g, TB Ket. 79b-80a; nikšē mel~g, TB Ket. 101a; and behemat mel~g, TP Yeb. VII:1.
172Levine, 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.\footnote{Levine, \textit{Survivals}, p. 62.}

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 \textit{MULUG} = \textit{ša bēl}, "that which the master of the house may dispose of."\footnote{Ibid., p. 44.} He does not mention the suggestion of J. Lewy who noted that \textit{ta-ma-la-gu₅-um} is equal to \textit{quppu}, and is "a coffer in which documents are kept."\footnote{J. Lewy, \textit{Or.}, XIX (1950), 2.} A development from "box, basket" to "fund" is possible, but cannot be decided here. Talmudic \underline{mēlōgā diṣṭārē}, "container of documents,"\footnote{TB Ket. 85a; TB B. B. 151a. For a contrary view of the development of \textit{mēlōg}, cf. \textit{AIA}, p. 111.} should, however, be compared.
29) meṣer < miṣrum, plural miṣretum, miṣru, "border."

This word occurs in a group together with bad-du (patu), āmū, and ānu,177 and is also a synonym of kisurrū.178 An example is: DN bel miṣri u kudurru kudurrašu lissuṣ, "May DN, the lord of borders and boundary stones, tear out his boundary stone."179

Hebrew mešer has been borrowed from miṣru, via Aramaic.180 It is used partially to replace Biblical gēḇūl, which also is replaced by seḇar and teḇûm.181
30) nīdbāk < 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 tībku, tipku, variant tikpu, "layer of bricks," presumably also from tabāku. 183 A relationship with Aramaic nīdbāk has been noted. 184 Mishnaic nīdbāk derives from the Aramaic. 185 Two possibilities of vocalization are nīdbāk and nīdbak. 186

182 B. Meissner, Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch, AS I (Chicago, 1931), 55f. (hereafter abbreviated as AS I). A parallel use of ṣpīk, "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 tīb/pku is SIG₄.TAB.BA, the elements indicating "double row of bricks." The term na-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 nīdbāk in M. jOh. 6:1, "frame," or "stretcher," is considered to be incorrect. The variant preferred by Albeck is nargād, (narwād), Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorot, p. 141.

186 H. Yalon, IVM, p. 34.
31) nēpt < napṭu, "naphtha."

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

The Sumerian equivalent, I.KUR.RA, means literally "oil of the mountains."188

Mishnaic nēpt is to be regarded as a borrowing from the Akkadian, probably through the mediation of Aramaic.189 Earlier than the Mishnah this substance is referred to in the Book of Maccabees as nēphthar.190

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

Von Soden has sought to establish that the root of this verb is ntr, natāru, with šuttur as an S form, against the view of Muss-Arnolt that the G is ẓatāru.191 Examples are: usahrib mahāzīsin usattir abūbi, "he laid waste their cities, he tore (them) down like the deluge,"192 and ẓadā ina akkullatī parzilli usattir, "I cut through the mountain with iron akkullus (hammer-like tool)."193

The verb str has entered Hebrew from Aramaic,194 and is used in place of Biblical hras.195

193 CAD, ibid., 276, from DIP II, 124:42.
194 Ezra 5:12; M. Sab. 7:2; cf. transferred senses: sōtēr āg ẓecārah, "undoes her hair," M. Sāvā 1:5; sōtēr āg hadātn, "reverses the decision," M. Sanh. 3:8; and sōtēr ẓibācīm, "he must count seventy days again," M. Naz. 2:10.
195 Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 122 and 130.
33) $qalb$, "crucify," < $qalabu$, "cross out, cancel," $qiliptu$, "diagonal, hypotenuse," $qilbu$, "(bandage or wood) arranged crosswise."

There is a range of meanings here in the Akkadian paralleling Biblical $slp$, "pervert, distort," and which suggests that $qalabu$ and $slp$ are cognates.\textsuperscript{196} However, $qlb$, "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.\textsuperscript{197}

Mishnaic $qlb$, "crucify," $qalub$, "crucified one," is a loan.\textsuperscript{198} This is seen clearly from the meaning of $qiliptu$, "diagonal, hypotenuse," attested in Old, Middle and Late Babylonian, and $qilbu$, "wood or bandage arranged crosswise," attested in Neo-Assyrian.\textsuperscript{199}

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

\textsuperscript{197}Cf. $qalāpu$, CAD, \textit{ibid.}, 71; $sullupu$, "cancel," Late Babylonian, CAD, \textit{ibid.}; $sullupu$, "false, dishonest, crossed out," Old and Late Babylonian, CAD, \textit{ibid.}, 240; $qiliptu$, "diagonal," CAD, \textit{ibid.}, 188, and $qilbu$, \textit{ibid.}, 187; cf. BAR, NUN as equivalent of $qiliptu$, "diagonal," \textit{ibid.}, and LU,SA,BAR,RA = $ya$ libbasu $salpu$, "whose heart is crooked," CAD, \textit{ibid.}, 86.

\textsuperscript{198}M, Yeš. 16:3; M, Šab. 6:10; cf. also Mandaic $qaliba$, "cross," Drower and Macuch, \textit{Man. Dic.}, p. 387b.

\textsuperscript{199}CAD, \textit{ibid.}, 187-8. It is possible, but not certain that Mishnah $mašlip$, "sprinkling back and forth,"
M. Yoma 5:3, is identical, or it may be identical with *mašlīpa*, "whip."

Arabic *glib* is considered to be a borrowing from the Aramaic, Lex. Syr., p. 629. The verb *glib* in Mishnaic Hebrew replaces Biblical *tīy*, "hang," and *hōqa*, "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) meqîp, "lends on credit," < qûpû, "entrust," qîptu, "loan," qîpu, "official."

Examples of this word are: šumma tamkârum šamâllâm iqîp, "if a merchant entrusted (something) to a trader;" 200 qîptu eli qîptu ippuš, "He is making loan upon loan;" 201 bîl qîptiya bâb harrâniya ša qatâtim lâ errisima lâ aba-šas, "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 šinu....ana bêlûtim lû iqîpim, "he (Marduk) entrusted to me a just staff for exercising rule." 203 The qîpu is an official listed immediately after "king" and "son of a king," as in the following: lû šarru, lû mär šarri lû qîpu lû šaknu lû šatammu lû ḥazannu. 204 It has been seen that this verb has entered Mishnaic Hebrew in wehaḥenwâni meqîp, "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 meqîp, from qûpû, rather than maqqîp, from qûpû, as read by Albeck, Mishnah, Nezîqîn, p. 367; the identification is made in AFw, p. 17. Compare also M. Seb. 10:1, haqâpat heḥanût, "credit given in a store."
Examples of Akkadian quppu are: ḫškunanni ina quppi ša ūrī, "she placed me in a basket of reeds," from the Sargon legend, and, from Sennacherib's description of his confinement of Hezekiah: kīma issūr 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 kēlūh, "cage," and "basket." 210 The entrance of quppā into Mishnaic Hebrew causes some shift in the range of kēlūh but does not make it obsolete. The word kēlūh continues to function in the sense of "cage" and, in a variant form, kēlīḥā, 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, quppā 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 ṣa ultu quppi ṣa K. aššatisu issû, "which he had taken from the basket of K. his wife,"\textsuperscript{213} quppu refers to a fund belonging to the wife. The phrase ṣa ina quppi is parallel to mulugu, Mishnaic mešog, referring to inalienable property which the wife brings into a marriage.\textsuperscript{214}

The Mishnah has a passage in which quppā is used in a non-literal sense, related to the one above: hebāṭan meqabbēl cālāw cāsārā dinārin lequppā lekol måne ū måne, "The bridegroom undertakes to give her ten dinars for the quppā for every mina that she brings in."\textsuperscript{215} The Babylonian Talmud explains quppā ṣel bēšāmîm 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. quppā ṣel bēšāmîm, "box of spices," TB Ket. 66b; quppā ṣel bēšāmîm, "basket of creeping things," TB Yoma 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 ṣa šarri, "the basket of the king." This refers to certain taxes which are collected as the perquisite of the king. Another example is PN ṣa muḫḫi quppi Eanna, "PN, in charge of the basket of Eanna." 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.

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. The phrase ṣa muḫḫi quppi is parallel to Hebrew šehāyā mēmūne ẓal quppā šel śēdāqā, "who was in charge of the charity fund."


\[218\] Ibid., p. 290.

\[219\] Ibid., no. 182:1, and p. 308.

\[220\] Ibid., p. 308.

\[221\] TB B. B. 11a.

\[221\] M. Pē'ā 8:7.
36) gurnit < qurnu, "Origanum vulgare, thyme."

This word is to be identified with Mishnaic qurnit.\textsuperscript{223} The feminine form in Hebrew was presumably borrowed from the Aramaic; compare Syriac qurnita.\textsuperscript{224} 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.

DAB, pp. 78ff.; M. Seb. 8:1; M. Ma'as. 3:9; M. Ḥiqqin 2:2; and Albeck, Mishnah, Zerācem, p. 159.

DAB, p. 78; Lex. Syr., p. 697. Brockelmann compares Akkadian qurnu but does not indicate that he considers it a loanword.
37) qurpayōt, "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 ya pīli or lapis lazuli, karpatusina ugnū.225

It is suggested that Mishnaic qurpayōt, "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 > qpl, "fold."227 It should be noted that in the same Mishnaic passage occurs the word qosim, no doubt identical with kos.228 An alternate suggestion is that qurpayōt is a place name signifying the origin of the vessel.229

225AḤW, pp. 449f.

226M. Kelim 4:3; cf. commentary of Maimonides, ad loc.; for the vocalization, cf. Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorot, p. 31. The conjunction of qurpayōt and qosim, M. Kelim, ibid., should be compared with the parallelism of ks and krpn in Ugaritic, V AB A, 10f. A borrowing of karpatu > Syriac keraptā is proposed by AḤW, p. 33. On Mishnaic qurpayōt, cf. J. Brand, Ceramics, p. 506; G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends (Edinburgh, 1956), p. 82.

227Segal, GMH, p. 30.

228M. Kelim 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) *gurgēbān*, "stomach," < *quqqubānu*, "stomach."

There appear in Akkadian a number of similar words:

ku-ku-ba-tum/tu = pi-i karsi = ku-ku-ba-nu ša šaphi, "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, *gurgēbān.* 232

Arguments for a loan rather than a cognate relationship are as follows: if *quqqubānu/gurgēbān* 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 -ānu ending are expected in Akkadian 234 but are unusual in Aramaic and Hebrew. The change of *qq* > *rq*, *quqqubānu* > *gurgēbān*, 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.

230AHw, p. 500b. 231Ibid.


233Moscati, Introduction, par. 9.12.

234GAG, pars. 55n and 56r.

235Moscati, Ibid., par. 9.10.

236Ibid., par. 10.10c.
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 haqurdom, "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, "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

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237 E. Schrader, KAT, p. 580; M. Mak. 2:1.
238 I. 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 *qaptum ḫ lqb, "grasp," is rejected by Goetze who suggests a derivation from *qatum or *qatum, A. Goetze, JCS, II (1948), 269; QAG, par. 55b.
241 Compare M. Mak. 2:1, nis'mat habbarzel miggattâ, "the iron slipped off its handle," and Deut. 19:5, wēnāṣal habbarzel min haqurdom, "the iron slipped off of the wood."
242 Cf. the forms mgntw, Lowe, MPT, and miqannatā, Beer, MK, the Mishnah corresponding to M. Mak. 2:1.
243 Moscati, Introduction, p. 75; cf. a differing view, AIA, pp. 118-9.
words with this pattern are Greek loanwords, \( \text{qēdīdrā} \), \( \text{kāθēsō} \), "seat," and \( \text{qāttēlōs} \), \( \text{kāθōlikōs} \), "official."

Assyrian passages indicate that \( \text{raggatum} \) denotes a shallow area at the bank or mouth of a river, e.g., \( \text{ana raggat pi nāri ikīdē} \), "(the ships of my warriors) reached the swamps at the head of the river," \(^{244}\) and \( \text{raggatūm še rišīd diqat} \), "the shallows on the bank of the Tigris." \(^{245}\) In an Assyrian lexical list there is an equation of \( \text{raggatum} \) with \( \text{u-sal-la} \), "swamp, watered plain." \(^{246}\)

Mishnaic \( \text{rēgōq} \) is proposed as a loan from Assyrian \( \text{raggatum} \), with Aramaic as the intermediary. Aramaic \( \text{raga} \) \(^{247}\) and Mandaic \( \text{ragata} \) \(^{248}\) are closest in form to the Assyrian. The difference between the form of Hebrew \( \text{rēgōq} \) and the Assyrian can be explained on the basis of variant formations in the Aramaic upon which the Hebrew draw. There occur Syriac \( \text{rēgōqā} \) \(^{249}\) and Mandaic

\(^{244}\) \( \text{Ibid} \).

\(^{245}\) \( \text{Ibid} \).

\(^{246}\) \( \text{Yon Sodan, \( \text{MS} \), XLIII (1936), 235.} \)

\(^{247}\) \( \text{AA 8, K. 162a; Hebrew \( \text{rēgōq} \) occurs in A. 2, p. 114.} \)

\(^{248}\) \( \text{Dréer and Macush, Man. Dle\ldots\, p. 22\ldots.} \)

\(^{249}\) \( \text{Lex. Sib.\ldots\, p. 473\ldots.} \)
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40) ṛeqāq < Aramaic rqaqṭā, raqtā < raqqatum, "marsh, shallow."

Assyrian passages indicate that raqqatum denotes a shallow area at the bank or mouth of a river, e.g., ḫm raqqat pi nāri ikšudā, "(the ships of my warriors) reached the swamps at the head of the river," and raqqatum ša kišād diqlat, "the shallows on the bank of the Tigris." In an Assyrian lexical list there is an equation of raqqatum with u-sal-la, "swamp, watered plain." Mishnaic ṛeqāq is proposed as a loan from Assyrian raqqatum, with Aramaic as the intermediary. Aramaic raqtā and Mandaic raqata are closest in form to the Assyrian. The difference between the form of Hebrew ṛeqāq and the Assyrian can be explained on the basis of variant formations in the Aramaic upon which the Hebrew drew. There occur Syriac ṛeqaqā and Mandaic ṛeqaqā.

244OIP II, 74, line 77.
245Ibid.
246Von Soden, ZA, XLIII (1936), 235.
247TB B. M. 108a; Hebrew ṛeqāq occurs in M. Šab. 11:4.
249Lex. Syr., p. 473.
It is suggested that the loan process may have followed this pattern: Assyrian raqqatum > Aramaic raqta, raqatā / secondary formations: rotqāqā / rotqatā > Hebrew rotqag.  

It is generally accepted that Mishnaic ḫār is a borrowing from Akkadian ḫārā. What made clarification, however, is the pattern of borrowing. It would be expected that the noun, ḫār, would be borrowed from Aramaic ḫār, ḫārā. 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 šākara, šākara, "writing." The Hebrew form, ḫār, does not reproduce the Akkadian pattern. One would expect ḫār > ḫārā, if the Aramaic vocalization is ḫārā, the common vocalization, the same is true. Only if the Akkadian form is ḫārā can the pattern be accepted. The lentative does not reproduce the Akkadian pattern. Therefore, the loan is questioned but with inadequate discussion in AIA, p. 120.


251 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, √rww, √rqq. There is no basis for any etymological association with any known roots, such as √rqq, "spit," or raqqatum, √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.
41) ṣeṭār, "document," < ṣaṭāru, "write."

The Akkadian verb, ṣaṭāru, is widely attested. An example is [tup]pātim labātim taqpiā [u ēṣ]ṣetim taṣṭura, "you have broken the old tablets and written new ones."\(^{252}\)

It is generally accepted that Mishnaic ṣeṭār is a borrowing from Akkadian ṣaṭāru.\(^{253}\) What needs clarification, however, is the pattern of borrowing. It would be expected that the noun, ṣeṭār, would be borrowed from Aramaic šāy, ṣeṭārā.\(^{254}\) 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 ṣaṭāru: šitrū, "writing."\(^{255}\) The Hebrew form, ṣeṭār, does not reproduce the Akkadian pattern. One would expect šitr > šeṭer. If the Aramaic vocalization is šeṭārā, the common vocalization, the same is true. Only if the Aramaic be vocalized šitrā\(^{256}\) is there any

\(^{252}\text{CAD VI (H), 172.}\)
\(^{253}\text{AFW, pp. 19 and 29; B-D-B, p. 1009.}\)
\(^{254}\text{The word štr appears widely in Imperial Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic from Elephantine, Palmyrene and Nabatean, DISO, pp. 295-6.}\)
\(^{255}\text{Delitzsch, Assyr. Hwb., p. 652.}\)
\(^{256}\text{Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1555, lists this vocalization parenthetically but does not authenticate it. He also lists šitrā, šitrē, 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. 257 In addition, Akkadian šitru 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 ketān has in Hebrew. The expression šitir šumi, "inscription of a name," is often in apposition with musarû, "inscription." 258 For "legal document," Akkadian uses dannatu, 259 lešu, 260 kaniku, 261 kunukku, 262 or tuppu. 263 It does not use šitru in this meaning "line, orbit of the stars." This may be derived from šatāru, "write," and may also be identical with Arabic šatara, "to rule (paper)," J. G. Hava, Arabic-English Dictionary, p. 320. Compare also šasātir, "row, line, handwriting," Hava, ibid.

257 Hebrew šetār is formed according to the qepār pattern; compare ketān, qērān, kēlāl, tepār, and qētān. Segal, GMH, p. 230. It is probable that Hebrew received this word from Aramaic ṣ̌etārā. Possibly the Aramaic was modelled after kētābā, which means "decree" and, presumably, the written document which contains it, Dan. 6:9, 10 and 11. The verbs ktb and šatāru are synonymous.

258Delitzsch, ibid., p. 652.


263Cf. l.emūma šibtu iššassu tuppasu ḫip, "after the interest has been demanded (and paid), destroy his tablet," CAD VI (יה), 172, from CT 29, 41:13, Old Babylonian letter. It is also significant that in an Aramaic docket on a Neo-Babylonian business document, ṣ̌tr occurs, but in the Akkadian text itself there occurs unqu, "ring, seal." The example is: un-qu (PN) bi-is-di-e (Akkadian),
sense.

It would appear that, if a borrowing has taken place, Aramaic has borrowed the verb, šiṭaru, not the noun šiṭru, and has formed the noun according to its own patterns, as has Hebrew, borrowing from it. There is no evidence, however, that šiṭaru and štr 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

štr 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."

264 The root štr occurs as a verb in Aramaic, DISO, p. 295. The verb šāf, "write," occurs in Arabic but is regarded as a loanword from Aramaic šētarā, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 250. There is also evidence of a Sabean verb, štr, "write," B-D-B, p. 1009. Following the view of Fraenkel, the Arabic evidence does not help our case, but the existence of a verb štr in Aramaic argues for the borrowing of the verb. Moreover, there is some basis for maintaining that Neo-Babylonian re-borrowed the noun-form šētarā. In a Neo-Babylonian text, there occurs the passage: a-na la-e-ni-e l en -a-an ša-ṭa-ra-li il-(te-)qu-u, "So that (the agreement) should not be altered, they took a document," Richard Haase, Einführung in das Studium keilinschriftlicher Rechtsquellen (Wiesbaden, 1965), p. 14, citing J. Kohler and P. E. Feiser, Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben I, 25f. As the parāšu form is not normally used in Akkadian for concrete objects, it appears to have been borrowed from Aramaic. This tends to strengthen the view that Akkadian did not provide the noun form from which šētarā is taken.

265 KAI I, No. 222 C, 1, 2; No. 233:9, 12; No. 245:1, 3; No. 256:7; Ezra 4:8, 5:7, 5:2, 7:22; and Dan. 6:9, 10, 11. Cf. a different view, AIA, pp. 260-1.
legal document. The verb appears to have dropped out of currency, and the noun-formation remained. 266

Mishnaic **טָר** and Biblical **טַר**; "officer," are an example of doublets, two separate borrowings from the same source. There is no question of **טָר** having developed internally from **טַר**, 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 **טַר** > **טַר**, the latter word functions on a different level.

In the Mishnah, **טָר** can occur alone, 268 or with a modifying elements, e.g., **טָר** הִפְנָה, "note of indebtedness," 269 **טָר** הַלִּיָּה, "records of drawing off the shoe," 270 and **טָר** הֶרֶם, "deeds of arbitration." 271

The entrance of **טָר** into Hebrew, together with another loanword, **גַּט**, displaced Biblical **שֵּׁר** 272 and removed it from the area of "legal document."

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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. 1:8 and 2; M. B. M. 1:8.
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.
This word is generally written with the logogram \textit{SE.GIS.I}, and has been proposed as the source of the Hebrew loanword \textit{šumšum}. The word is widely attested inside and outside of the Semitic sphere. It has been derived from \textit{šaman šammim}.\textsuperscript{276} Recently, however, Kraus has drawn attention to the fact that the word, most often written as a logogram, also occurs syllabically, Old Babylonian \textit{ša-ma-ša-mi}, and Old Assyrian \textit{ša-ma-[š]a-mi}.\textsuperscript{277} This writing indicates that a derivation from \textit{šaman šammim} is not possible. In addition, \textit{šaman šammim} would presumably mean "oil of herbs," which, as Kraus notes, can hardly be the name of a plant.\textsuperscript{278} In addition, the Sumerian \textit{SE.GIS.I} also gives no satisfactory sense.\textsuperscript{279} The suggested renderings of

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

\textsuperscript{274}AFw, p. 56. This identification was already noted by Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1537a, but his attempted derivation from \textit{kemeš}, "sun," is unacceptable.


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

\textsuperscript{277}Kraus, ibid., pp. 114-5.

\textsuperscript{278}Ibid., p. 115.

\textsuperscript{279}Ibid.
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 \textit{SE.I.GIS} AND \textit{SE.I.GIS}. Kraus suggests that both Akkadian \textit{\textsc{sam}as(s)amm\textsc{u}} and Sumerian \#se\textsc{\textgamma}\textsc{\textgamma} are borrowings from a third language and that the original word behind both forms cannot be recovered. He also notes that \textit{\textsc{sam}as(s)amm\textsc{u}} is a plural tantum.

In the Mishnah, \textit{\textsc{sum}\textsc{sum}} occurs regularly, being part of a list with \textit{\textsc{o}rez, do\textsc{\textgamma}an, and p\textsc{\textgamma}ag\textsc{\textgamma}in, "rice, durra, and panic." and also in conjunction with \textit{ge\textsc{s\textgamma}ah and pilp\textsc{\textgamma}l, "black cummin and pepper." It must be noted that there are variants to Hebrew \textit{\textsc{sum}\textsc{sum}} which appear closer to the Akkadian. These are \textit{\textsc{sem}\textsc{em}}, \textit{\textsc{sam}\textsc{e}\textsc{m}\textsc{in}}, and \textit{\textsc{sam}\textsc{e}\textsc{m}}. The last form

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{\textsc{kraus}, ibid., p. 115.}
  \item \textit{ibid., n. 25, citing J. Bottéro and A. Finet, ARM, XV (1954), 263, and 85.}
  \item \textit{kraus, ibid., p. 115.}
  \item \textit{ibid.}
  \item \textit{m. \textsc{seb}. 2:7; m. \textsc{hall\textsc{\textgamma}} 1:4.}
  \item \textit{m. \textsc{teb}. \textsc{yom} 1:5. sesame oil is mentioned in m. \textsc{shab}. 2:2. in the Code of Hammurabi, pars. 49 and 50, sesame is listed with grain as a common commodity, and in Tosef\textsc{\textgamma}a \textsc{Sabbat} 2:3, TB \textsc{shab}. 26a, sesame oil is referred to as the only oil available to the people of Babylonia.}
  \item \textit{beer, mk, m. \textsc{teb}. \textsc{yom} 1:5.}
  \item \textit{ibid., m. \textsc{hall\textsc{\textgamma}} 1:4; m. \textsc{shab}. 2:2.}
  \item \textit{porath, mishnaic hebrew, m. \textsc{teb}. \textsc{yom} 1:6, p. 127. this manuscript is not consistent, however, as the
\end{itemize}
is closest to the Akkadian šamaś(s)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 šumšēmā. 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 šamnu > Aramaic šumna, "fat," and Semitic *libb > Arabic lubb.\textsuperscript{289} Of course, this change could have taken place directly in the Hebrew without Aramaic mediation.

form šumšēmən is also cited, \textit{ibid.}; cf. whšmšym, Katsh, GM, Pl. 6, line 30. This is not vocalized, but a short first vowel is likely. The citation is M. Ḥallā 1:4.

\textsuperscript{289}Brockelmann, \textit{Grundriss}, I, par. 75; Moscati, \textit{Introduction}, par. 9.6.
43) **sēpir**, "sac of the foetus," < **saparu**, "net."

Examples of this word in Akkadian are: *usparirmu belum saparasu usalmisi*, "the lord spread out his net to enfold her," 290 and *saparis naduma kamāris ušbu*, "thrown into the net, they sat in the snare." 291

This word has been identified with Mishnaic **sēpir** 292 by Tur-Sinai. 293 If this is a loanword, certain differences in consonants and form must be accounted for. One would expect the change *y* > *s*. The opposite process does occur, however, compare Akkadian *suluppā* "date," > Aramaic *salpūpe*. 294 The noun pattern of saparu should correspond to a Hebrew *sāpar*, compare *hatanu*, Hebrew *ḥātan*, "son-in-law," or an expected development might be: saparu > *sāpar > sēpar*. 295 In fact, Aramaic *sēpirā* and Hebrew *sēpir* correspond to the *piris* form, compare *kilīlu* and *kelīl*, "crown." 296 The adaptation of this borrowing to the *piris*

290 **Enuma eliš** IV:95
291 Ibid., IV:112.
292 M. Niddā 3:3.
293 Tur-Sinai, Commentary on Job, p. 232. Tur-Sinai also finds this word in Psalms 56:9, *sīpraṭḵā*, and in Job 26:13, *ṣippā*, which he reads as *ṣēpirā*, ibid.
294 Cf. imitti suluppē *immidūy*, "they will impose upon him the estimate of the dates," Cardascia, Archives, p. 137, and *salpūpe* (pl.), TB Ber. 52b. An Assyrian source is likely, as Akkadian /s/ was realized by Assyrians as [s], AIA, pp. 162-163. Cf. above, pp. 51, 59.
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 This pattern is inferred from the homonym, ṣpr, "be beautiful."²⁹⁷ It has been recognized that ausāpi’u is a loan in Sumerian, ḫurī, "friend of the bride, best man."²⁹⁸ A parallel is ṣapū, "friend," in whose presence the bride is called by the groom. Driver and Miles have compared this to the role of the ausāpi’u.²⁹⁹ Lauter brings evidence to show that the ausāpi’u was also associated with the bride. A Sumerian equivalent to ausāpi’u is KIN.KI, who, in Sumerian religious texts, is represented as lying with Inanna.³⁰⁰ In Lauter’s view, the ausāpi’u performed the role of priest-poet, a function which, in later times, he delegated to others. In later times, the term ṣapū continued in Jewish tradition in the sense of "friend of the bride."³⁰¹ The relationship of the ausāpi’u to a priest-poet 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 ṣapū as an equivalent to ṣapū, "friend." A usage to be compared with ṣapū.³⁰²

²⁹⁷ There also occurs an Akkadian word, ṣuparrūštu, "net," Delitzsch, Assyr. Hwb., p. 684. It is not clear if this is related at all as a loanword.
44) ụsu'pīn < susapīnu, "attendant of the groom or bride."

It has been recognized that susapīnu is a loan in Hebrew, ụsu'pīn, "friend of the groom, best man." A parallel is tappū, "friend," in whose presence the bride is veiled by the groom. Driver and Miles have compared this to the role of the susapīnu.

Lambert brings evidence to show that the susapīnu was also associated with the bride. A Sumerian equivalent to susapīnu is NIMGIR.SI, who, in Sumerian religious texts, is represented as lying with Inanna. In Lambert's view, the susapīnu performed the ius primae noctis, a function which, in later times, he delegated to others. In later times, the term ụsu'pīn continued in Jewish tradition in the sense of "friend of the groom." The relationship of the susapīnu to a 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 ụsu'pīn as an equivalent to ụchē, "friend," a usage to be compared with tappū.

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 *sushebin*, the "status of being a friend of the groom," as a reciprocal legal obligation. The *sushebin* 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 *sushebin* was associated with the bride, as well. There was a custom in Judah where a *sushebin* 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 *sushebin* who had the *cheduk*, "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 *susapInu*, does have parallels with it. There is a relationship to the bride, as well as to the groom, and a relationship of the *sushebin* to the first night. This usage, however, is not found in the Mishnah.

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

The Akkadian word is a formation from the Semitic root \( \sqrt{mkr} \), and the Sumerian DAM.GAR is to be regarded as an Akkadian loanword.\(^{306}\) 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.\(^{307}\) In the Code of Hammurabi, the tamkarum was the one who provided the capital for the samallûm to work with in business ventures.\(^{308}\) Mishnaic taggar, derives, through Aramaic taggārā, from Akkadian tamkaru(m).\(^{309}\) The word tends to replace Biblical sōpêr although not completely.\(^{310}\)

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 samallûm has entered Aramaic as wēwalyā, "apprentice," a shift from the original meaning.


310 Bendavid, BHMH, p. 356; cf. ṣōrē bêhēmā, M. Seq. 7:2. Arabic ṭajîr is regarded as a borrowing from Aramaic, with the Arabic verb, tjr, 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 taggārā) may be answered, following Nöldeke's suggestion, by assuming that it derives from a dialectical Aramaic taggā, S. Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 181. See also, AIA, pp. 198 and 263.
46) \( \text{te\'h\'um} < \text{ta\'h\'umu} \), "border."

Mishnaic \( \text{te\'h\'um} \)\(^{311}\) has been recognized as a loanword from Akkadian \( \text{ta\'h\'umu} \).\(^{312}\) An example of the Akkadian is: \( \text{ma\'ṣṣārā} \text{ URU} \text{ birāt} \text{ gabbu} \text{ ūa ina} \text{ muḫḫi} \text{ ta\'h\'umu} \), "the guards of all the forts which are along the border."\(^{313}\) There also occurs a lexical equation of \( \text{ta-ḥu-um-mu} \) with \( \text{kippatu} \), "circle, limit."\(^{314}\) In Mishnaic Hebrew, \( \text{te\'h\'um} \) takes the place of Biblical \( \text{gebūl} \) which does not become obsolete, but takes on a specialized meaning in the plural \( \text{gebūlin} \), "areas outside of Jerusalem."\(^{315}\)

There is no apparent derivation of this word in West-Semitic,\(^{316}\) and it replaces \( \text{gbūl} \) in Aramaic documents.\(^{317}\) This suggests that it was first borrowed by

\(^{311}\) M. CEr. 3:4 and 4:3.

\(^{312}\) AFw, p. 9.

\(^{313}\) CAD II (B), 263, from Harper Letters, 197:23.


\(^{315}\) Bendavid, BHMH, p. 341. For \( \text{gebūlin} \) in this special sense, cf. M. Seq. 7:3. For areas outside of the Temple, including Jerusalem, \( \text{medīnā} \) is used, cf. M. R. H. 4:3; M. CEr. 10:13.

\(^{316}\) A relationship with \( \text{ḥōmā} \), "wall," proposed by Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1660, is not convincing, as \( \text{te\'h\'um} \) is a semantic parallel to \( \text{gebūl} \), "border, district," and does not share the semantic range of \( \text{ḥōmā} \) at all.

\(^{317}\) The word \( \text{ṭīm} \) occurs in Nabatean, Palmyrene and Elephantine, DISO, pp. 325-6. In the Aramaic inscriptions
Aramaic, then entered Hebrew.

Thompson discusses *yam*[^1] **fa**<[^2]U<[^3]M** **I**[^4], a Sumerian writing, and notes that it has long been compared to Aramaic *tarmūš*[^5], Greek ἔρυμος, Syriac *tūmrān*, and to Arabic *tarmūs*[^6]. 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 *yam*[^1] **fa**<[^2]U<[^3]M** **I**[^4] 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 Alberek's edition of the Mishnah, vocalizes *yera*[^7]. In the Masoretic Manuscript there occur *tūmrān*[^8] and *tarmūn*[^9]. The vowel changed *q* > *b*. *Thamūnu* > *tīrmūn*. Hebrew *t̪armūn* had its place under the influence of a labial such as *g*[^10]. The Hebrew term survives from the Aramaic.

[^2]: In this edition, M. Kii. 1:3; M. Heb. 181:1; M. Yeb. 181:1.
[^3]: *Thamūn*, M. Kii. 1:3; M. Yeb. 181:1.
[^4]: 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 Gözne, 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 tahūmā, Lex. Syr., pp. 620-1. See also AIA, pp. 128-9 and 291.
47) \( \text{turmos} \prec *\text{tarmu} \u0103 \prec \text{samTAR.MUS}, \text{"lupine,"} \) 

Lupinus termis.

Thompson discusses \( \text{samTAR.MUS} \), a Sumerian writing, and notes that it has long been compared to Aramaic \( \text{turmu} \u0103 \), Greek \( \Theta \kappa \rho \rho \mu \varepsilon \), Syriac \( \text{turm}^e\varepsilon\kappa \), and to Arabic \( \text{tarmu} \).\(^{318}\) 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 \( \text{samTAR.MUS} \) 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 \( \text{turmos} \).\(^{319}\) In the Kaufmann Manuscript there occur \( \text{tormos} \)\(^{320}\) and \( \text{tormosin} \).\(^{321}\) The vowel change \( a > u, *\text{tarmu} \u0103 \prec \text{turm}^e\varepsilon\kappa, \) Hebrew \( \text{turmos}, \) takes place under the influence of a labial such as \( m \).\(^{322}\) The Hebrew form derives from the Aramaic.

\(^{318}\) DAB, pp. 125-6; NCW IV, 671.

\(^{319}\) Cf. this edition, M. Kil. 1:3; M. Sab. 18:1; M. Mak\$ 4:6; and M. Tek. Yom 1:4.

\(^{320}\) Beer, MK, M. Kil. 1:3, and M. Sab. 18:1.

\(^{321}\) Ibid., M. Mak\$ 4:8 (Albeck edition, 4:6). The reading \( \text{turmwsyn} \) accepted by S. Lieberman, Tosefta Zer\dagger\c\im, p. 130, Terum\dagger 5:7, only indicates that there is an initial short vowel. It may be read as \( \text{tarmusin}, \text{tormosin, turmosin}, \) or \( \text{tarmusin} \). Compare also \( \text{turm}^e\varepsilon\kappa \), Katsh, GM, Pl. 152, line 7.

\(^{322}\) Moscati, Introduction, par. 9.6.
CHAPTER III

LOAN TRANSLATIONS AND EXTENSIONS

1) ma₆₇₉₁ timezone et h₉₄₁₁₅ < i₆₇₁₁₅ ū₉₄₁₁₃, "causing/to cause a fire to ignite."

Examples of the Akkadian idiom, using ahāzu, "seize, take hold," are: i₆₇₁₅ tu-₉₃₂₇₄₁ₗ₅-₆₇₁₇₄₅-₆₃₁₄₃₇, "you will cause it to catch fire," and, using the St form, i₆₇₁₅ us-t₃₉₃₁₆₇₇₅₅-₆₇₁₇₄₅, "the fire I kindle." ¹

Aramaic is the intermediary between Akkadian and Hebrew, as seen by Syriac ḫdt nwr.² The expression in the Mishnah, uma₆₇₁₉ timezone et h₉₄₁₁₅, "causing a fire to ignite,"³ is ultimately derived from the Akkadian.

¹AHw, p. 19b; CAD I, Pt. 1, 182-3.
²Lex. Syr., p. 11b; Albeck, IM, p. 174.
³M. Sab. 1:11. There is a variant, um₆₇₁₉ timezone, Katsh, GM, Pt. 15, line 24. A variant from the Kaufmann Manuscript, um₆₇₁₉ timezone, is cited ibid., p. 30, ad loc. This reading may reflect an Aramaic influence. The idiom also occurs in the non-causative form, ke₆₇₁₉ ye₆₇₁₁₉ ḥ₆₇₁₉, "so that the fire will take hold," M. Sab., ibid. This is the reading of Yalon, as against the editions' ṭe₆₇₁₁₉, Yalon, IVM, p. 50. Another reading is ṣe₆₇₁₁₅ gaz, Katsh, ibid., line 25. The Biblical idiom, '₆₇₁₉ mitlqqahat, Ex. 9:24 and Ezek. 1:4, may be related, and may be a doublet, another reflection of the Akkadian idiom.

Examples in Akkadian are: mesreiti tusabbiti tu'abbiti binati, "you (Lamaštu) seized parts of the body, you destroyed the limbs;"⁴ tabu pamma watar binitam, "he (Sin) is sweet of mouth, grand in form;"⁵ and esemtu abitu binitu ameluti argis littašamma, "let the foreign body, the human shape, come out quickly (from the womb)."⁶ Other nouns from the same verb are biniannu, "form, figure,"⁷ and bunnanu, "outer appearance, figure."⁸ Examples are: ṭibukma Šaltam šuturu biniannim, "he sent off Saltu, grandiose in form,"⁹ and ëkin (!) bunnaniya iserix ušeklišuma, "they (the great gods) have given me a perfect appearance in every respect."¹⁰

It is suggested that these forms have influenced the cognate binyan, used in the Mishnah in the sense of "human frame," e.g., ṭob binyano weṛob minyano, "the greater part of its frame or the greater number of its members."¹¹ Albeck cites the definition by the Tosefta of binyan, which

⁴CAD II (B), 237. ⁵CAD, ibid., 238.
⁶Ibid., 243 ⁷Ibid., 238.
⁸Ibid., 317-9, meaning no. 2 on 318.
⁹Ibid., 238. ¹⁰Ibid., 318
¹¹M. JOh. 2:1.
is "the thighs, the legs, the ribs and the backbone."\textsuperscript{12}

One might argue against this suggestion that Biblical \textit{binyān}, "building,"\textsuperscript{13} developed to the sense of "human frame" in a manner parallel to \textit{gizrā}, used in both senses.\textsuperscript{14} However, \textit{gizrā} in the sense of "building" is rare, occurring in Ezekiel, and the underlying concept in both words is different. I would suggest that \textit{gizrā} did not influence \textit{binyān}, and that there is a probability of Akkadian influence.\textsuperscript{15} However, the root \textit{ger} can mean "totally burned, consumed," as in \textit{giser}...\textit{sedera}: "the splices were completely burned."\textsuperscript{17} As the roots \textit{giser}...\textit{ger} are cognate, it is suggested that the special development of \textit{giser}, "be consumed" $\rightarrow$ \textit{ger}, "charred wood," was transferred to the Aramaic cognate, forming \textit{giseri}. Mishnaic \textit{sagūr}\textsuperscript{18} is a further development, the verbal form being based upon the Aramaic noun, \textit{giseri}, indicating that the splices have been acted upon by the root.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{12}Albeck, Mishnah, \textit{Tohorót}, p. 130.

\textsuperscript{13}Cf. \textit{binyān}, Ezek. 41:12 and \textit{binya}, v. 13.

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

An example of gumāru, attested in Neo-Assyrian, is:

\[\text{summa} \pi'\text{-ittu lū gumāru īstu muḫḫi kanūnu īttuqt, "if charcoal or a live ember falls out of the brazier."}^{15}\]

The CAD holds that Arabic gamr and Aramaic gumartā were borrowed from this word, but that there is no connection with the Semitic root gmr.\(^{16}\) However, the root gmr can mean "totally burned, consumed," as in riqqē...ugdammerū, "the spices were completely burned."\(^{17}\) As the roots gamāru, gmr are cognates, it is suggested that the special development of gamāru, "be consumed" > gumāru, "charred wood," was transferred to the Aramaic cognate, forming gumartā. Mishnaic mugmār\(^{18}\) is a further development, the HofCal verbal form being based upon the Aramaic noun, gumartā, indicating that the spices have been acted upon by the coals.\(^{19}\)

\(^{15}\text{CAD, V (G), 133; cf. also AHw, p. 298.}\)

\(^{16}\text{CAD, ibid.}\)

\(^{17}\text{AHw, p. 278; cf. also Lex. Syr., pp. 121f.}\)

\(^{18}\text{M. Ber. 6:6; M. Bešā 2:7 and M. cEd. 3:11. It is not clear that Mandeans gumartā, "consecrated wafer," is at all related, Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 836.}\)

\(^{19}\text{The Kaufmann Manuscript, Berakōt 6:6, has hammigēmar. If this is primary, the HofCal suggested above should be ruled out, and the form is of a miqṭal noun formation. Nevertheless, not only the verb gmr, "consume," but gumartā must be assumed for the understanding of this word.}\)
4) *dînu*, "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: *ba'cal dîn* < *bêl dababi*, "litigant,"23 *dîn udêdûrîm* < *dînu u dababu*, "lawsuit and complaint,"24 and *dînê nêpasot* < *dîn napisîtim*.25

A number of others will be discussed here.

a) *haṭṭîqen* < *âharê*, "he who claims from his neighbor," literally, "he who loads upon his neighbor."26 Kutscher sought to derive the use of *ṭîn* in this context from the metaphor of piercing, Arabic *ta'cana*.27 Muffs, however, shows that *ṭîn* in this context is a loan translation of Akkadian *emêdu*, "load upon, obligate," and that the same verb appears in Aramaic: *wînwk ly mwmsîm* lwâwm, "And they obligated you to take an oath on my behalf."28

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

21Yaron, LAP. 22Muffs, Studies.
23Kutscher, ibid. 24Ibid.
25Code of Hammurabi, par 3; M. Sanh. 4:1.
26M. Ket. 13:4. 27Kutscher, ibid., 238.
28Muffs, ibid., p. 32, n. 1.
emid ḫaṣu bēl gillati emid gillassu, "On the sinner impose his sin, on the transgressor impose his punishment;" 29
biltam kayyantam ʾmissunūtīma, "he imposed a permanent tribute upon them;" 30 and nī ṣ ʾ ili PN i-mi-du-ṣu, "They oblige PN with the oath of the gods." 31 The same idea is expressed also by ʾuzbulu (zabālu), ʾussu (naṣu), and ʾakānu. Examples are: ʿarnuṣu ʿuṣassā, "I will cause him to bear his guilt," 32 and mābir ṭāʾti lā muṭṭeseru tūṣazbal arna, "Him who accepts a present and yet lets justice miscarry, you make him bear his punishment," 33 and also aranṣunu ina muhbika issakkan, "Their guilt is placed upon you." 34

b) ṣoter ṣer haddin, "cancels the judgment," 35 should be compared with ḏīna sapābu, as in ḏīna lissapisima, "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 ʾēnu is cognate with ṭēn, but it is not used in the legal sense, CAD, XVI (§), 13ff. In Mishnaic Hebrew, ṭēn is used in the general sense of "carry," as a replacement of Biblical ns ʾ and ʾems, 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 ʾēm, Job 23:4, and ṣīt, Ex. 21:22 and Numb. 12:11.
35 M. Sanh. 3:8; cf. above, p. 132, where this expression is discussed in conjunction with ṣutturu ṣ Aramaic, Hebrew str, "destroy."
36 Maqlū III:127.
c) nigmar hadđin, "when the sentence has been passed," should be compared with dīnam gamārum, as in the following examples: gamir dīni, "(you) who decide my case," and dīnam gumrā-šunūsim, "complete judgment for them." Also to be compared is DI.TIL.LA > ditillū, "verdict," as the element TIL is equivalent to gamāru. The phrase in the Mishnah, gamrū-še haddābār, "when (the judges) reached their decision," may be compared with awātam gamāru.

d) gezerē bet dīn, "verdicts of the court," should be compared with Akkadian parāsu, "cut," and purussū, "verdict." An example is: Summa dayyānum dīnam iddin purussūm iprus, "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 dinu.

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 nakasu, batagu, and parasu, "cut." The influence of this loan is already present in the Bible, with the word ḫṣq, "cut, decide a verdict," and with gzd (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 parasu is offered by Falk.

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: pesaq din, "verdict," TB B. B. 130b; ḫōṯeṯkîn ḥet hahalakā, "they decide (cut) the law," Midr. Lev. R., 4:1; and neḥṣebā ḥalaw gezērā, "the decree has been decided (literally, chiselled) for him," Yalqût Šim'onī, Isaiah, par. 291. As the Latin can have had no influence on the earliest instance of this loan translation, Biblical ḫṣq, it would appear that it cannot be invoked to explain the phenomenon in Mishnaic Hebrew. Moreover, while gzd, gezērā, in Mishnaic Hebrew might be explained as a development of the Biblical ḫṣq, 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) יָגוֹּסֶּט הֻשׁ, "prostitute, woman of loose morals," < וָשֶׁט, "to be a gadabout."

In the Code of Hammurabi there occurs the expression: שוממה לא נָנָגְרַתָּא וָשֶׁט, "if she was not careful, but was a gadabout." 48 This use of וָשֶׁט in the participial form in the special sense of "being of loose morals" is reflected in the Aramaic נַּפְּגַּת בָּרָא, "one who goes outside, i.e., a prostitute." 49 The Aramaic is the intermediary between the Akkadian and the Hebrew יָגוֹּסֶּט הֻשׁ, 50 which is a direct translation of נַפְּגַּת בָּרָא.

48 Code of Hammurabi, par. 143.
49 Targum Onkelos, Genesis 34:31.
6) mošî ‏שֶׁטָר‏, "produce a bill of indebtedness,"<br>wašû ‏わしゅ, "appear (of a legal document)."

Muffs has shown that wašû is used in the context of the appearance or producing of a legal document. An example is: Yumma ina šērtu ina līdis egertu...tuša ša marāqu šî, "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: lă yklwn ynpqwtn clyky spr ḫdT wctyq, "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., hammōšî ‏שֶׁטָר‏ hob cal ḥāqerō wehallā hōšî' šemmākar lō jet hassāde, "if a person produces a bill of indebtedness against his neighbor, and he produces a document that he sold him the field,"53 and hōšî' ḥet, "if she produced a bill of divorce."54

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

52 E. 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.


54 Ibid., 9:9.
7) Jesbaḥ hakkāḥēd, ḥāṣar hakkāḥēd, "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 qabliat amūtim, "middle of the liver," nār amūtim, river of the liver," ubān amūtim, "finger of the liver," and tarbaṣ amūtim, "courtyard of the liver."56 An example including ubānum, "finger," is: summa amūtim...bābam la ṭo bāb ekallim marīm u ubānum lā ibassī, "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 hakkāḥēd58 and Jesbaḥ hakkāḥēd.59 Both terms are considered identical by Albeck.60 The Targum Onkelos renders Leviticus 3:10, wējēt hayyōteret cal hakkāḥēd by wēyat ḥisrā dē cal kabda. In Syriac, ḥēṣṣar, ḥēṣrā has the


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

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


59M. Tamid 4:3.

60Albeck, Mishnah, Moçoād, p. 246; ibid, Qodosim, p. 302.
meaning "small finger," thus ḫeṣṭā c hakkāḥēd and ḫaṣar hakkāḥēd are identical. Zimmern related Syriac ḫeṣṣar to Akkadian ubānu šišīrtu. The loan process, however, can be traced back further, to ubān amūtīm. 63


62 AFw, p. 46. If this suggestion is correct, Mishnaic Hebrew ḫaṣar hakkāḥēd is a borrowing, through Aramaic and Syriac, from šeḥru, šišīrtu. The cognate form of šeḥru in Hebrew is ṣācīr.

63 There does occur in Akkadian the expression tarbaš amūtīm, "courtyard of the liver," AHw, p. 46. As tarbašu and Hebrew ḫaṣēr are equivalents, it is tempting to relate tarbaš amūtīm to ḫaṣar hakkāḥēd. This, however, is not possible if, as stated above, ḫaṣar hakkāḥēd and ḫeṣṭā c hakkāḥēd are equivalent. Also, a part of an organ with the term tarbašu would be wide, rather than a projection like a lobe (compare German Dāumel). A usage similar to tarbaš amūtīm occurs in the Babylonian Talmud, turbaš hawwešet, "the wide part of the windpipe," TB Hul. 43b. 
8) *kumērin*, mekammērin, "piling up dates, fruit, for ripening," < kumurrū.

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 laḥūr, "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," ratāb, "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 hammēkāmen bājadāmā,

64AHw, p. 430b. This is to be distinguished from kārumu, "hold back," ibid., p. 446. An example of kamāru is: mukammer nupšim uṭuṭdim, "who piles up wealth and abundance," Code of Hammurabi, Prologue, I:54.

65Cf. kisse ṣellakkōphēs šēhū kōrem cālāw ḫet hakkelīm, "the chair of the launderer upon which he piles the clothes," M. Kēlim 23:4.

66Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 647.

67Ibid., from TP B. M. X:12c.

"he who hides fruit in the ground," but the variant \textit{mekamr} exists.\footnote{The variant \textit{mekamr} is cited by Albeck, Mishnah, Zer\textit{\textacircumflex}c\textit{\textacircumflex}m, p. 233. It is also found in the marginal notes of R. Ezekiel Landau and in the commentary of R. Joshua ben Malkizedeq in the Wilna Talmud, ad loc.}

Outside of the Mishnah, this usage is well attested.\footnote{Cf. k\textit{\textacircumflex}mer in c\textit{\textacircumflex}n\textit{\textacircumflex}h\textit{\textacircumflex}m, Tosefta Men\textit{\textacircumflex}h\textit{\textacircumflex}h, 9:10; k\textit{\textacircumflex}mer, "mass of fruit," TB B. M. 74a; TB Yeb. 97a.} It has been suggested here that, since \textit{kamaru} and krm appear to be cognates, only the extended sense of \textit{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.
9) $s\text{iblon} \leftarrow z\text{ubullu}$, "marriage gift."

Mishnaic $s\text{iblon}$, "gift sent by the groom,"\textsuperscript{72} has been considered a loanword from $\text{ubultum}$, a noun formed from $\text{wabalu}$, "bring."\textsuperscript{73} What lends some support to the suggestion is that $\text{ubultum}$ occurs in a list of words relating to marriage gifts, e.g., biblu, "betrothal gift," terbatum, "bride-price," nidintum, "dowry," and $\text{ubultum}$, "present."\textsuperscript{74}

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 $\text{ubultum}$. This does not occur with $s\text{iblon}$, "wedding gift," although there does occur $s\text{ibolet}$, "sending of provisions for a common meal," a meaning apparently unrelated.\textsuperscript{75} A derivation of $s\text{iblon}$

\textsuperscript{72}M. Qid. 2:6; M. B. B. 9:5.

\textsuperscript{73}Driver and Miles, The Assyrian Laws, pp. 186 and 472. A derivation from $\text{ublt}$, "carry," is here rejected. See also, GAG, par. 56j, for the noun form of $\text{ubultum}$.

\textsuperscript{74}MSL V, 11-12, from $\text{Har-ra-$\text{ubullu}$, Tab. I.}

\textsuperscript{75}Tosefta Pesahim 7:10; TB Pes. 89b. Hebrew $s\text{ibolet}$ can be derived from $\text{ubultu}$ according to the principle that Hebrew does not take two successive u-vowels in a word, and there is dissimilation of one to i, Mosceti, Introduction, par. 9:12. The development would be $\text{ubultu} \rightarrow *s\text{ibulet} \rightarrow s\text{ibolet}$. 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. As the Mishnaic equivalent of Biblical ns', "carry," is sbl, siblon can be a development parallel to mas'el, "gift (in a general sense)." As the Mishnaic equivalent of Biblical ns', "carry," is sbl, siblon can be a development parallel to mas'el, "gift (in a general sense)."

Held, however, has pointed out that Hebrew sbl is the semantic equivalent of Akkadian zabbatu, as well as a cognate, and that zubullu, from zabbatu, is a term used to designate exclusively a marriage gift. An example is: abu ša zubullu ibziluši 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." Held considers Aramaic and Syriac sbint a loan from zubullu. 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 mas'et ( < 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 σύμπολον.

77 Bendavid, BIMMH, 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.
zubullû, but it does appear to be a direct borrowing of Syriac sêlônû. 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, sêlôn and its source, sêlônû, should be classed with the extensions and loan translations.

Kaufman also rejects a direct borrowing zubullû > sêlônû > sêlôn but does not consider the possibility of an extension loan, AIA, pp. 90 and 266.
10) *heqer*, *henqer*, "property confiscated, ownerless, forfeit," < *baqaru*, "contest, vindicate (in legal sense)."

In some contexts, *baqaru* 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: *ahhuṣu ul ibaqqarūṣi*, "her brothers shall bring no claim against her," 84 and *ahum aham lā ibaqqarū*, "one will not raise claims against the other." 85

Mishnaic *heqer/heqer* 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 *maIqaqir* also has the sense of "confiscate." To quote Speiser on this development: "The post-


84 Code of Hammurabi, par. 179.

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

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

87 Speiser, ibid.; Speiser also connects Biblical *bigqoret*, Lev. 19:20, with post-Biblical *heqer*. 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 hbqr and ḫpqr still harks back to the established earlier meanings of the Akkadian terms. By then, however, the ḫiph-il 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 qaṭe PN ḫpqirrû, "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.

88Speiser, ibid., p. 35.
89AHw, p. 104, Late Babylonian.
90An alternate explanation is that ḫqr, "act anarchically, throw off authority," is a metathesis of ḫrq, "break (the yoke of) authority," cf. ḫaqrû ḫamminîm, "the heretics threw off authority," TB Sanh. 38b, and ḫaqreq mlîmmennû cîl Tà, "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. Dic., p. 377a. In this event ḫeqēr/ḥeqēr, "ownerless property," need not be derived from Akkadian ḫaq̄aru but from ḫrq/ḥqr, "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 ḫeqēr/ḥeqēr from ḫaq̄aru. This is in view of the fact that the Akkadian also appears to influence biḡâret in Lev. 19:20, as indicated by Speiser, and in view of the general influence of Akkadian legal terms.
11) *pirēḵ kehūnā*, "young priests," < *perḫu*, "young man."

Akkadian *perḫu* 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 *šeḫru, maru*, "young person, son," and also with *perḫu*.91 This should be compared with Mishnaic *pirēḵ kehūnā*, "young priests (in training)."92

Equivalents in the Mishnah are: Ḥevyqgannes, mānē

mēṣăḏ, "must he should not) stipulate an amount for their assistance,"93 and ḥappēḵq mēṣăḏ leqūlānō, "one who stipulates an amount to give to his son-in-law."94

It might be argued that *qqā* and *paqā*, in their extended senses, are internal translations of Biblical *qqā* 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 *qqā* and *paqā* are the Mishnaic Hebrew equivalents of Biblical *qqā* in the simple

91AHw, p. 552a, from Malku I, 142 and 152.

12) qṣṣ, ṣsq < ẖarāṣu, "determine a price."

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

An example of ẖarāṣu illustrating the sense "decide, set an amount," is: ẖsarru bēliya iḥtarṣamma ultu muḥhī 1 GIN adī 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: ḫeyyegaṣṣēṣ lāhem mezōnōt, "(that he should not) stipulate an amount for their sustenance," and happoseq mēcōt leḥātānō, "one who stipulates an amount to give to his son-in-law." 96

It might be argued that qṣṣ and ṣsq, 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 qṣṣ and ṣsq are the Mishnaic Hebrew equivalents of Biblical ḫrq, in the simple

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

94CAD, ibid., 93. 95M. Yeš. 4:1.

96M. Ket. 13:5.

97This process is discussed in Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 109-10.
senses of "cut down a tree" and "cease." Except for κατακόρων, krt does not have the extended meanings of קָצַּד and πσκ and cannot be regarded as the source of them. While Biblical קֶסֶף has the idiomatic sense of "decree, set a limit," it does not have the simple senses of krt. Moreover, there is another extended meaning for קָצַּד which cannot be explained by קֶסֶף, and that is "subtract, deduct." This can only be explained on the basis of קֶסֶף. Outside influence, that is, loan translation of קֶסֶף, is a more probable explanation of the special senses of קָצַּד and πσκ. This outside influence is also operative upon Biblical קֶסֶף.

The probability of outside influence in the use of πσκ for "set an amount" is increased by evidence from Mandic. One of the meanings given for πσκ is "arrange a marriage dowry," as in the passage: κτ ὑπήρξεν πσκ qabin, "when thou wishest to arrange a marriage-contract."

98 Bendavid, ibid., p. 351.

99 Cf. umēqēs miketutah, "and he may deduct from her ketuba," Sifre, Numbers 8, cited in Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1407; CAD VI (H), 93.

100 The problem is complicated by the fact that more than one word is exerting influence here. Akkadian parāsu, "render a verdict," influences both Biblical קֶסֶף and Mishnaic πσκ in that sense.

101 Falk, JSS, XIV (1969), 39-44.


103 Ibid., pp. 376 and 398.
This suggests Akkadian influence upon Aramaic, and, in turn, Aramaic influence upon Hebrew. "war," < kisir tēpēzi, "battle unit," < kapātu, kuppūtu, kāgāru, "tie, assemble."

Akkadian kapātu is cognate with Hebrew kpt, and kāgāru is semantically equivalent to gār, both words meaning "tie." An extended sense is "assemble," for example, troops. Passages illustrating this usage are: gēbam lēkupīt, "he assembles an army," and gēbam kupurr, "assemble troops." A Neo-Babylonian example is: ṣu... nāsāū maṣadūtu līktuṣar, "he gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers." Akkadian kāgāru 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. Akkadian kisir has the sense of "squad, military unit," and kisir tēpēzi, "battle array," appears...
13) qīšrē milhāmā, "ranks of war," < kīṣir täḥāzi, "battle unit," < kāpātu, kuppūtu, kašāru, "tie, assemble."

Akkadian kāpātu is cognate with Hebrew kpt,\(^{104}\) and kašāru is semantically equivalent to qīṣr, both words meaning "tie."\(^{105}\) An extended sense is "assemble," for example, troops. Passages illustrating this usage are: ʿābum lukappit, "he assembles an army,"\(^{106}\) and ʿābum... kusur, "assemble troops."\(^{107}\) A Neo-Babylonian example is: ḫanarkābātī MES u sīṣēsu majadūtu iktaṣar, "he gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers."\(^{108}\)

Akkadian kašāru 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.\(^{109}\) Akkadian kīṣru has the sense of "band, military unit,"\(^{110}\) and kīṣir täḥāzi, "battle array," appears

\(^{104}\)AHw, p. 443.
\(^{105}\)Ibid., pp. 456-7.
\(^{106}\)Ibid., p. 443, from ARM, III, 75:25.
\(^{107}\)AHw, p. 456, from ARM, I, 42:27-29.
\(^{109}\)Ibid., p. 96.
\(^{110}\)AHw, pp. 488-89.
to be reflected by the Hebrew loan translation, "gisrē milhāmā, "ranks of war."

"pollinate the date palm."

Akkadian rakkūtu, "mount," has the special sense of "mule, breed," as in the examples: IN.BU.RA = Til-ili=ru-ubū.zu meš, "pairing of birds,"112 and UBB.GII.GII.BU = il-ge-re di-su ta-ka-hu wa-šu-ru, "sheep which is fit for breeding."113 The D form, rukkūru, 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 in qūlīm kol payyōm, "They (the people of Israel) pollinate palm trees all day (the fourteenth of Nisan)." The term qīrlī is also used in the Mishnah in the sense of "inoculate, graft," in connection with other items.116

111 Ibid., p. 489; M. Sota 8:5. This should also be compared with Biblical qēṣer, "band, conspiracy," II K. 11:14 and 12:21. Biblical qēṣer and Akkadian kīgīru are parallel. This may be due to an earlier loan influence, or to parallel development. The latter possibility remains open for gisrē milhāmā, too.
14) markIb < 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-kukubU meš, "pairing of birds,"112 and UDU.GIS<üs>DU.A = im-me-na an-raka-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: markIbIn deqālim kol hayyām, "They (the people of Jericho) pollinate palm trees all day (the fourteenth of Nisan)."115 The term markIb 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 ḫurā dikrā lenüqēta, "they put the male flower over the female tree." Cf. also, Albeck, Mishnah, Zera'im, p. 296. The Talmudic passage is referred to in Driver and Miles, Babylonian Laws, II, 185.

15) םהירא הפיר תוראכ יס, "the black-headed ones,"
םלמא עגגגダイ, "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.כגס.מ.א. The reference is to mankind as a totality, created by the gods and kept in safe pastures by the kings. The expression was continued down to the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, this providing the possible link between the Babylonian שלמאת עגגגダイ and Mishnaic יםהירא הפיר תוראכ יס. 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 יםהירא הפיר תוראכ יס may not benefit from the bald and the grey-haired, but may benefit from women and children, because only men are called יםהירא הפיר תוראכ יס."

117CAD, XVI (§), 75-6. 118Ibid., 75.
119David 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. הירא יס < חור ריס, "black-headed one." W. Leslau, "Vocabulary Common to Akkadian and South-East Semitic," JAOS, LXIV (1944), 56.
16) leṣem, leṣum, cal šum, cal ṣem, missum, "because of, for the sake of," < assum < ana sum, "because of."

Examples of Akkadian assum are: tamkārum assum šamallāšu ikkiru, "the merchant...because he denied his trader,"¹²¹ and Enlil ai illika...assu lā imtalku, "let Enlil not come...because he did not consider."¹²²

A direct loan translation of assum < ana lüm is Mishnaic lešum¹²³ and lešem.¹²⁴ The Akkadian serves as a model for other formations, cal šum,¹²⁵ cal ṣem,¹²⁶ and missum.¹²⁷

¹²¹Code of Hammurabi, par. 107; cf. GAG, pars. 114s, 116g, and 176a.
¹²²Gilgamesh XI:167.
¹²³M. Git. 4:4.
¹²⁴M. A. Z. 3:7; M. JAb. 2:2 and 12, 4:11, 5:17. The form lešem occurs in Palestinian manuscripts, while lešum, closer to the Aramaic and the Akkadian, occurs in Babylonian manuscripts, Bendavid, BHMH, p. 197.
¹²⁵M. Pes. 10:5.
¹²⁶M. Sanh. 8:5 and 6.
¹²⁷M. 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 lešem, 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.
1) \( J^a \text{g} \text{as} \) / angasu, "pear" or "plum."

The exact meaning of Akkadian angasu is not clear. Both the suggestions "pear" and "plum" are offered by Thompson. The consonantal correspondences between Akkadian and Hebrew are consistent with this being a loanword, e.g., \( \bar{\text{y}} > \text{s} \). Hebrew \( J^a \text{agg} \text{as} \) would be a possibility on the basis of the assimilation of Akkadian \( ng \) to \( g \). Yalon, in the Albeck edition of the Mishnah, however, vocalizes \( J^a \text{g} \text{as} \). 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, while \( J^a \text{g} \text{as} \) is accented on the last. The second a-vowel, receiving the stress, was lengthened to \( \bar{\alpha} \), and the first a-vowel, losing the stress, was reduced to \( \bar{\alpha} \).

These factors, however, could also occur in the case of cognates, and it may be that Hebrew \( J^a \text{g} \text{as} \) is not a loan.

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1 DAB, pp. 93 and 307; AHw, p. 51.
3 M. Kil. 1:4; M. Macas, 1:3; M. Uqqim 1:6.
4 Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.6.
5 Ibid., par. 10.8.
Arabic *injas* is identical, but the final consonant, *s*, is not expected in a cognate. The entrance of *angasu* into Akkadian is late, Neo-Assyrian, and the word may possibly be borrowed from Aramaic or some other language. 

There is a Sumerian word which is equivalent to *wul*, and it has been generally assumed that Aramaic *awwa*<sup>11</sup> and Hebrew *awwā*<sup>8</sup> are loanwords from Sumerian. However, the forms of the Akkadian and the Aramaic do not correspond to each other as expected in the case of a loan. The sound was not present in Sumerian, and the writing of this sound in Akkadian required the use of Sumerian PI and, later, the Assyrian *g* sign. If, indeed, *awwa*<sup>3</sup> 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 also present in Sumerian. The tendency is a reversed one; original /w/ is reduced in Akkadian. Its reappearance

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<sup>6</sup>DAB, ibid., p. 307.
<sup>7</sup>AHw, ibid.

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<sup>13</sup>For. par. 21.

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<sup>14</sup>Syr. wašša, Arabic *wašša*, *dišša*; Aramaic *awwā*. Arabic *dišša* is regarded as a borrowing from Syriac *wašša*; cf. Reinach, Aram. Pls., p. 117.
2) **Jawwâz** / **usu**, "goose."

An example of **usu** in a passage is: **binât usî qa-bi-e ša ina bāši sunûlu...tapattan**, "you eat goose eggs from the dung which have been preserved in sand." There is a Sumerian UZ which is equivalent to **usu**, and it has been generally assumed that Aramaic **Jawwâz**, Hebrew **Jawwâz**, are loanwords from Sumerian. 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. If, indeed, **Jawwâz** 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. The tendency is a reverse one; original /w/ is reduced in Akkadian. Its reappearance

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8 **CAD II (B), 135.**
9 Deimel, **SL**, p. 105.
11 **GAG**, par. 21.
12 Cf. Syriac wazza, Arabic wazz, Jiwwaz, Aramaic **Jawwâz**. Arabic Jiwwaz is regarded as a borrowing from Syriac wazzâ, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 117.
13 Cf. **#îwbil > Übil**, walâdu > alâdu, **GAG**, ibid.
in cognate languages argues for a cognate rather than a loan. Another peculiarity is that, generally, final ū in Akkadian loanwords appears as --yā in Aramaic; compare ḥušbullū > ḥibularyā, karū > karyā. Thus, one would expect a loan usū > *jūsyā. The problem of Sumerian UZ may be explained tentatively as a Sumerian transcription of an original *wazz. Whether this was originally Semitic or not cannot be stated decisively. It appears, however, that Aramaic does not draw jawwāz, wazzā directly from Akkadian.  

There are other vocalizations of this word, e.g., ḥušūr, and ḥušū, Aramaic ḥušū and Hebrew ḥušū repent the Akkadian purā form, e.g., urīsu, ummaā, šarārum, and it is possible that the Hebrew word is a loanword. Arabic ḥuxār is regarded by Frawuel as a loanword in Arabic.

18 GAD XXI (3), 167.


Lit. 23:2; Albeck, Mishnah, p. 27; Dembo, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 139.


3) Ḡukkāp, "saddle," / ukāpu, "saddle, bag, strap."

The Akkadian term occurs in an Old Assyrian passage: 𒈪𒇦𒉗𒈬𒊏𒈬, "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 Ḡukāpā, 16 and was then borrowed as Hebrew Ḡukkāp. 17 There are other vocalizations of this word, e.g., ḡēkūp, 18 and ḡēkēw. 19 Aramaic Ḡukāpā and Hebrew Ḡukkāp reproduce the Akkadian puras form, e.g., ukāpu, kunāšu, šubārum, 20 and it is possible that the Hebrew word is a loanword. Arabic Ḡikāf is regarded by Fraenkel as a loanword in Arabic. 21

14CAD XXI (Z), 167.
17M. Kelīm 23:2; Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorot, p. 97.
18Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 139.
20GAG, par. 55k.
The possibility of a cognate, as against a loanword, exists. There is also a cognate verb, ekūpu, ukkupu, "press upon, draw near, follow directly," Hebrew ֹקַפ, "press, be urgent," Syriac ֹקַפ, "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, ֹקַפ, there remains the possibility that ukāpu and ֹקַפ, ֹקַפ are themselves cognates.

form of ukāpu, 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.
4) hemseš, "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 hemseš, "first stomach of ruminants," may be related as a loanword. However, the intermediate link may be Aramaic mēšōša, which is closer to the Akkadian. Another factor in the uncertainty is that there is a Latin word, omasum, "trip, paunch," which may, conceivably, be the source of hemseš, mēšōša.

26cr. UZUKUN.A, SA, GA = sargatum, ku-ku-dur = mes-sag-am, AHw, p. 500b.

27cf. ban-dil-lum, nam-sa-su (var. ru) = karšu, CAD II (B), 79.

5) *zibborit, zarbūhit*, "spout, rim of vessel,"

zarbabu, "vase, vessel."

An example of this word is: zarbabu *iskuṇa ina qirēti usbu*, "They set up drinking vessels, sat down to a banquet." 30

It is suggested tentatively that Mishnaic *zibborit*, "spout, rim of a vessel," is a loan from zarbabu. 31 A Hebrew form which is closer to the Akkadian than *zibborit* is *zarbūhit*, 32 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." 33 Forms such as *zibborit* and *zarbūhit* can conceivably be created from a root *zrb* which may be the source of these words. 34 Moreover, Akkadian zarbabu and Hebrew zibborit are somewhat different in meaning.

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30 *Enūma Eliš* 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 *bēmizrēqē vayyin* of Amos 6:6 as: *bēlōst šeyēš lāhem zarbūhit*, "in bowls that have a rim."

33 TB *Yoma* 78a; a Semitic root *zrb/zrp/zlp* and *zrzp* does exist, cf. *zlp*, M. Para 6:2, and *mārēb*, "gutter," M. B. B. 3:6. Neo-Punic *zbrm* and Syriac *zabīrā* 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: ṣım emārī zurṣī ṭukāpī, "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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35 CAD XXI (Z), 167.


7) הָבָית, "jar, container," / ḫabû, "vessel."

Suggestions have been made that Hebrew הָבָית is a borrowing from Akkadian ḫabû.\(^{38}\) There is a problem, however, in accepting this identification, as Akkadian words ending in final --û appear in Aramaic with final --ya; compare sīṣû, sūsyā, "horse." The CAD considers Syriac ḫabītā as a loanword from an as yet unattested Akkadian variant, *qabītu.\(^{39}\) 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 הָבָית, which is ḫābiyyā.\(^{40}\) This form also appears in a manuscript from the Geniza, vocalized ḫābiyyā.\(^{41}\) This form would fulfill the requirement that ḫabû appear in Hebrew as ḫābiyyā. Weisberg's reasoning is also conjectural. He considers the development to be: Akkadian *ḫabiatu>*ḫabītu> Hebrew ḫabît, with a secondary link being Akkadian ḫabû > Hebrew ḫābiyyā/ẖābiyyā.\(^{42}\)

\(^{38}\)AFw, p. 33; CAD VI (H), 20; AHw, p. 306b. Occurrences in the Mishnah are: M. B. Q. 3:1; M. Kelîm 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, ḫabayyyā, 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, ḫaḇiyya and ḥaḇiyya, the second link suggested by Weisberg, ḫabu > ḫaḇiyya/ ḥaḇiyya, has more probability than the first. The derivation of Hebrew Ḫabīt from either ḫabu or a conjectured ḫabiatu, ḥabitu poses problems, discussed above, which reduce the probability of there being a loanword here.

There remains the possibility that Akkadian ḫabu, as well as Hebrew Ḫabīt, ḫaḇiyya, ḥaḇiyya, all derive from Aramaic.43 Akkadian ḫabu is attested no earlier than Standard and Neo-Babylonian and may well be an Aramaic loanword.44

43 Cf. Syriac Ḫabītā, Lex. Syr., p. 209. Brockelmann follows Zimmern and Haupt in considering this word as a loan from Akkadian ḫap(b)u, ibid. Arabic ḥabiyat is considered a loan from Aramaic and Syriac Ḫabītā, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 168. Fraenkel considers Mishnaic Hebrew Ḫabīt as originally Aramaic, ibid.

44 CAD VI (H), 20. Possibly Old Babylonian ḫubunnu, "bowl," CAD, ibid., 219, may be connected with ḫaḇiyyonā, "small vessel," M. Kelīm 2:2. More probably, however, ḫaḇiyyonā is a diminutive form of Ḫabīt, cf. Segal, GMH, p. 120. For an argument against a loan ḫabiatu > Ḫabīt, or ḫabu > ḥaḇiyya, cf. AIA, pp. 101 and 274.
8) ḥazrār, "crab-apple," / ḫenzuru, ḫaṣṣuru, "apple."

Akkadian ḫenzuru is equated lexically with ḫaṣṣuru, "apple tree." Zimmern considered ḫaṣṣuru as a loanword in Aramaic ḫazzūrā, "apple." This may be doubted. Von Soden considers ḫenzuru merely a dialectical variant of ḫaṣṣuru, yet Aramaic ḫazzūrā is much closer to ḫenzuru than to ḫaṣṣuru. It would also appear that ḫenzuru is a loan from Aramaic, as it appears no later than Middle and Neo-Babylonian. It is dubious to assume a relationship of ḫaṣṣuru/(ḥenzuru) > 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. This variant is borrowed from Aramaic ḫazzūrā, but a loan from Akkadian is doubtful.

The suggestion has been made by Meissner that, 45

45CAD VI (H), 170; AHw, p. 347; DAB, p. 304.
46AFw, p. 54. 47AHw, p. 347.
49M. Kii. 1: 4; the editions and the commentary of Albeck have ḫazrād. Albeck, Mishnah, Zerācīm, 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. Rabbinowicz, Diducce Sepherim, 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 ḫinzuru is the West Semitic form of ḥashṭuru, both words are not native to Akkadian but are loanwords, possibly from Armenian.50

9) ḥazzeret, "lettuce," / ḥasarratu.

The Akkadian botanical term, dating from the post-
Old Babylonian period, is not defined by the CAD or by von
Soden.\(^\text{51}\) Thompson suggests that it is to be equated with
Euphorbia helioscopia.\(^\text{52}\)

It is suggested that Mishnaic ḥazzeret, "lettuce,"
used to fulfill the requirements of māšor, "bitter herbs,"
on Passover,\(^\text{53}\) 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 ḥasarratu is a poisonous plant,\(^\text{54}\) 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.

\(^{51}\text{AHW, p. 329; CAD VI (H), 122.}\)
\(^{52}\text{DAB, p. 148.}\)
\(^{53}\text{M. Pes. 2:6; cf. also M. Kil. 1:2, M. Pes. 10:3, M. A. Z. 3:8, and M. Ḥaggim 2:7.}\)
\(^{54}\text{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 ḥaretz,
TB Pes. 116a. The term used for "poison" is Aramaic qap̄ā,
Greek \(\kappa\gamma\mu\alpha\nu\nu, \) "worm," S. Lieberman, Tosefta, Zera Cim,
Terumot 7:11, p. 145. The semantic relation between these
senses should be compared to nāḥaṣ, "snake," used of the
bitter pungent taste of an onion, PB ḤEr. 29b.\)
10) ḫamītā, "type of bread or cake," / ḫāmatu, "glow, be hot."

Akkadian ḫāmatu is widely attested.55 An example is: Annunaki ṳṣu dipārati ina namrīšunu uḫammatu mātum, "The Annunaki carried torches; in their fierce glow they cause the land to burn."56 The noun form, ḫīntu, ḫīntu, denotes "scorching, fever."57

It is suggested tentatively that Mishnaic ḫamītā, "a type of bread or cake,"58 is borrowed from ḫāmatu on the analogy of ḫrr, "be hot," > ḫārārā, "bread baked on hot coals."59 This suggestion remains only tentative because the missing link in the process is absent. The possibilities would be 1) ḫāmatu > *an Akkadian noun > ḫamītā, or 2) ḫamītā > *Aramaic or Hebrew verb, *ḥmt > ḫamītā. These two possibilities may indicate a loan. A third possibility is that they are cognates.60

55AHw, pp. 316f.; CAD VI (ḫ), 64f.
56Gilgamesh XI:104. 57CAD, ibid., 193.
58M. Macas. 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) ḥāmām / ḥamīmu, "Amomum Cardamum."

Akkadian ḥamīmu occurs in Neo-Assyrian as the name of an aromatic ingredient. Possibly this word was borrowed as Aramaic ḥemāmā, and Mishnaic ḥamām. It is also a Kulturwort, as seen by Greek ᾽Αμώμος, but Hebrew did not borrow the word from Greek, or one would find forms such as ḥamām or ca'mām. There exist variants in Hebrew, ḥimūm and ḥamūm. Von 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 NCW II, 70.
63 NCW II, 70.
64 Compare ᾽Αμώμος ᾽Αμέλαν and ca'mēlān, "cook's starch, flour," Bendavid, BHMH, p. 186.
66 Beer, MK, CUGSIM 3:5.
An attempt was made by Zimmern and Holma to relate Akkadian ḫasīṣu, "ear, wisdom," from ḫasāṣu, "be mindful, intelligent, to plan," to Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew ḥishūs, seḥōs. Some support for this identification comes from the fact that a primary meaning of ḫasīṣu is "aperture of the ear," as in the example: kTma upāṭi ina nāhīri u ḫasīṣi, "like dirt in the nostrils and the apertures of the ears."69 Also, Late Babylonian ḥasīṣu is a bread for ritual purposes baked in the shape of an ear.70 The expressions palkaʿ uzna and palkaʿ ḫasīṣu, "wide in respect to the ear (understanding),"71 may be compared.

Doubt is cast upon this identification, however, for the following reasons. Akkadian ḫasīṣu denotes "aperture of the ear," not the cartilage. Moreover, if ḫasīṣu in its physical connotation is borrowed, why is its wider sense of "wisdom" much more frequently attested, not borrowed? Finally, while Mishnaic seḥōs, variant, ḥishūs, denotes "cartilage of the ear,"72 it also denotes

68AFw, p. 48; Holma, Körperteile, p. 30.
69CAD VI (ח), 126. 70Ibid.
71Ibid., 127; Enūma elīš I:10.
72M. Bek. 6:1; the Targum Yeruṣalmi on Lev. 8:23 renders tenūk, "lobe," by ḥishūs.
cartilage of the chest and at the bottom of the spinal column.73

The term considered Akkadian *tappu*, plural *tappitu*, "pitcher," as the source of the Mishnaic loanword *tappu*.74 This view, however, was based upon the entry *tappu* in Delitzsch's *Biblia Paena* 75. This reading, however, has been questioned by Keilser, who holds that the correct reading is *tappu* or *tappo*.76 This renders the status of *tappu* as a loanword doubtful. Generally, Akkadian *tappu* in loanwords among Jews was as *l*, e.g., *tappari* > *lippur*, "scribe, of scribes." The equivalence of Akkadian and Hebrew *l* is uncertain, as in cognates also, e.g., *tappu* > *lippu*, "wise," *tappo* > *lippo*, "wood, pleasing," and *tappo* > *lippo*, "butcher, scribe," a form *tappo* could be attested in. Hence, a supporting might be made that the *l* was emphasized to *l* because of a view of sense change maintained by Segal.77 However, as *tappu* is not attested, one can emphasize that despite being *l*, in Mishnaic Hebrew it also not certain, and this loanword must be considered doubtful.

73M. Pes. 7:11; cf. Rashi, ad loc., TB Pes. 84a.
13) țāpīah / ṭapḥu, "pitcher."

Zimmern considered Akkadian ṭapḥu, plural ṭapḥānī, "pitcher," as the source of the Mishnaic loanword țāpīah.74 This view, however, was based upon the entry ṭapḥu in Delitzsch's Handwörterbuch.75 This reading, however, has been questioned by Meissner, who holds that the correct reading is ṭabḥu or ṭapḥu.76 This renders the status of țāpīah as a loanword doubtful. Generally, Akkadian ț in loanwords enters Hebrew as t, e.g., ṭūpšarru > țipsār, "scribe, official." The equivalence of Akkadian and Hebrew t is consistent in cognates also, e.g., râṭbu, râṭb, "wet," ṭā̂bu, ṭāb, "good, pleasing," and ṭābîju, ṭabbāh, "butcher, cook." If a form *țāpīah could be attested in Hebrew, a suggestion might be made that the t was emphaticized to τ, in terms of a view of such change maintained by Segal.77 However, as *țāpīah is not attested, and the emphaticization of t, becoming τ, in Mishnaic Hebrew is also not certain, this loanword must be considered doubtful.

74AFw, p. 33; M. Sab. 17:6 and 24:5.
75Delitzsch, Assyr. Hwb., p. 302. The reading here is indicated as uncertain.
76Meissner, Studien, pp. 79-80.
77Segal, GMH, p. 30.
14) knn / kanānu, "roll, wind."

Akkadian kanānu is attested from Old Babylonian on. Examples are: *ilū kīma kalbī kunnunū*, "the gods rolled up (cowered) like dogs," and *MUŠ.DI.ḪUŠ = kananusa šerri*, "the winding up of a serpent." It is suggested tentatively that Mishnaic knn is a loan from kanānu. Examples are: *hammeš Nonen ṣēt haḥebel ṣal yād ṣal yād*, "he who coils the rope of a bucket little by little," and *uhaḥebel ṣehu mekūnān ṣal sawwjarāh*, "and by the rope that is wound around its (a pitcher's) neck." 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, von Soden treats kanānu and Hebrew knn as cognates.

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78AHw, p. 435a.
79Gilgamesh XI:115. 80AHw, ibid.
81M. Pārā 7:7. 82M. Maks. 4:1.
83Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 219b.
84AHw, p. 435a. The expression nahāsan mekūnān, "a serpent coiled," Midrash HaCaddol, Shemot, Mordecai Margulies, 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 nahāsan karūk, M. Ber. 5:1.
15) kēreṣa / karāṣu, "leek."

Akkadian karāṣu, karāṣu, is attested as early as Old Babylonian. The Sumerian GA.RAS is not original but is an Akkadian loanword. Zimmern counted kēreṣa as a loanword from Akkadian karāṣu, but the distribution of the word in the various dialects indicates that this cannot be the case. The s-consonant in Hebrew and Akkadian goes back to original t, as seen by Aramaic kērēṣu and Mandaic karatia.

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. Macâ. 5:8; M. Sab. 8:5; M. Ned. 6:9, and kēreṣe šâde, "field leeks," M. Kil. 1:2 and M. cūṣ̄im 3:2.
88 Cf. Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 201a; Aramaicised Hebrew kārī, 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 s and š were distinguished in the writing, but š could express original k, although not consistently or exclusively. This could also have been represented graphically by s. In the Old Babylonian period š and š began to coalesce. In the earlier period, however, the š-sound may have been distinguished in speech, Gelb, MAD II, 35-37; von Soden, Akk. Syll., p. XXI.
Akkadian laḥannu appears to be a Sumerian loanword, dugLA.HA.AN. Von Soden indicates that Aramaic ḥaqnā, Mishnaic ṣagìn, is a loan from Akkadian. It is not clear, however, how the assumed transfer of the consonants ḥ > q/g can be explained. Hebrew and Aramaic ṣagìn, and Aramaic ḥaqnā, ṣeqūnā, have been derived from Greek λεκάνη. Hebrew and Aramaic ṣagìn 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.

Zimmern also claimed an identification of lignu, liginnu, and ligittu, "measure of grain," with Aramaic ḥeqīn. However, this definition of liginnu is not

89AHw, p. 527. 90Ibid.
91The known change of ḥ/k, and the rare change of k/g cannot account for this, OAG, par. 25d and par. 28c.
92Krauss, Lehnhörter I, 163 and 173, ḥeqūnā < λεκάνη; NCW II, 526, and 475, for ṣagìn, ṣeqīnā < λεκάνη, Latin lagena; Liddell and Scott, GEL, p. 409, λεκάνη and λέκος; cf. also Latin lanx, "dish, platter."
94AFW, 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 *mizru*; *mizru* is equivalent to *SIL.(NU).AL.*\(^{96}\) *mizru*, 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 Habbenu-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 *mz*, "weave,"\(^{99}\) which may be cognate with Akkadian. There is a lexical entry, *mizzutum*, "(wool) matted.\(^{100}\)

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\(^{95}\) *AHw*, p. 552. A borrowing of *lāgannu* > *lāqna*, *lāgān*, is also rejected in *AIA*, p. 108.
17) *mizrán*, "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 *mizrán* 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

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97D. Weisberg, *HUCA*, XXXIX (1968), 73.


100The full passage is: SIG.(NU).AL.øy.I.A = (ṣīpātu lā) *mazratum*, "(wool which has not) been matted," Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hwb.*, *ibid*. *AHw*, *ibid*., also suggests Hebrew *mzr* as a cognate. Possibly, Syriac *mizrānā*, "belt," should be compared, *Lex. Syr.*, p. 379. However, Brockelmann considers this to be derived from the root *ṣ̄zr*, "gird," following Nöldeke. He also cites Zimmern's view that *mizrānā* is borrowed from Akkadian *mesīru*, "girdle, belt." A loan *mizru* > *mizrán* is also rejected in AIA, p. 111. It is tempting to compare Mishnaic *mizrán* to Syriac *mizrānā* whatever the origin of the latter.
18) mrs, "crush, stir," / marāsu, "stir,"
mirsu, "pap."

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 tešēn, "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, memāres
be, "stirring it." An extended sense appears to be:
memāresin berēz basēpit, "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 mhr, "crush," Lev. 21:20,

\(^{104}\) Akkadian marāsu is attested in Neo-Babylonian
and Neo-Assyrian. It is listed as cognate with Aramaic
mrs, AHw, ibid.
Zimmern considered Akkadian *masāḫu* as borrowed by Aramaic and Hebrew *msḥ*, "measure," and *māṣaḥ, "surveyor." There are, however, no phonetic peculiarities to distinguish this as a loanword. Von Soden considers it a cognate with Aramaic *mšḥ*, 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 *mšḥ* is attested in the sense of "oil," suggesting that the homonym *msḥ*, "measure," is borrowed, although this is not conclusive. Arabic *msḥ*, "to survey land," has the correspondence of Aramaic, Akkadian, and Arabic *mšḥ*, arguing for a cognate. On the other hand, if they were cognates, Akkadian *mšḥ* should not appear as Arabic *mšḥ*. The Arabic word may be borrowed from Aramaic, but there is insufficient basis for regarding the Aramaic or the Hebrew as loans from Akkadian.

105AFw, p. 22. 106M. CEr. 4:11; M. Kēlīm 14:3.
109There is a very doubtful entry for *msḥ*, "measure," DISO, ibid. The root exists in Syriac in this sense, Lex. Syr., pp. 406ff. Mishnaic *mēṣāḥ*, "rope," M. Kēl. 9:9, M. Kēlīm 21:3, is also based upon the root *msḥ*.
110Arabic *msḥ*, *mēṣāḥata* are regarded as borrowed from Syriac *mēṣāḥata* rather than from Jewish Aramaic *msḥ*, *mēṣāḥa*, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 282. This loan is also rejected by Kaufman who proposes an Aramaic origin, AIA, pp. 110 and 279.
20) **maskūn** / **maškānu**, "security, pledge."

Examples of this word in Akkadian are: **ṣumma DAM lū maskatta ina kīdi taltakan**, "if you place a woman or pledge in the field,"\(^{111}\) and **bīsu u amēlūssu maškānu šabtatū**, "his house and slaves are being held in pledge."\(^{112}\)

The term makes its appearance in Middle Assyrian, Middle and Late Babylonian. Earlier terms are **lītūtu**\(^{113}\) and **nepūtu**,\(^{114}\) equivalents of later **maškānu**tu.

Hebrew **maškūn** has been considered a loanword from Akkadian **maškānu**.\(^{115}\) It is possible, however, that this is an extension of meaning in cognate roots under the influence of Akkadian. The verbs **šakinu** and **škn** are cognates in Akkadian and Hebrew, and the **maprāš/maprūs** formations are common to both languages.\(^{116}\)

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

\(^{111}\)Driver and Miles, Assyrian Laws, p. 384, A, 6, 71.

\(^{112}\)CAD XVI (§), 10. \(^{113}\)Ibid.

\(^{114}\)Code of Hammurabi, par. 116.

\(^{115}\)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.

\(^{116}\)GAG, par. 56b; Moscati, Introduction, par. 12:16. The basic meaning is derived from **šakānu**, "put down," AFW, p. 18; cf. **ana manzašāni usžiz**, "he set it upon its place," E. A. Speiser, Kaufmann Jubilee Volume, p. 37.
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 maprāṣ, maprūṣ form is rare in Hebrew. Aside from maskān, it occurs with gutterals, e.g., maḥṣɔr, "lack," maḥāzɔr, "cycle," with few exceptions, e.g., maṭmɔn, "treasure." Otherwise, the initial vowel changes to i, e.g., mizmɔr, "psalm, song," mιsqalet, "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 miskān, "dwelling, sanctuary."

There are, however, problems with a borrowing from Akkadian to Aramaic and Hebrew. The vowel change 橄 > ɔ 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 šakānu, an Aramaic

119 Moscati, Introduction, par. 8.83.
source may be plausibly suggested. In Nabatean, there occurs the noun form ʾmškwny, "my pledge."\(^{120}\) It should be noted that this form, going back to ʾmškw, is closer to the Hebrew ʾmškɔn\(^{121}\) than is Akkadian ʾmškānu, in view of the vowel ֑ indicated by the transcription. There also occurs in Nabatean a verbal form, ʾmškn, "give as pledge."\(^{122}\) 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.

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\(^{120}\) ISO, p. 170.

\(^{121}\) Occurrences in the Mishnah are: M. B. M. 6:7, and M. Pe. 8:8.

\(^{122}\) ISO, p. 171. Akkadian ʾmšktum, "pledge," goes back to ʾmaškɔntum, GAG, par. 56c. It may be the source of Aramaic maškɔntɔ, or more correctly, Aramaic maškɔntɔ would have to go back to the same source as Akkadian ʾmšktum, that is, ʾmaškɔntum. As indicated above, an Akkadian source is not conclusively established. A loan ʾmškɔnu > Syriac meškɔn is accepted by Kaufman, who sees no problem in the ʾ > ə vowel change, AIA, pp. 72, 174, and 243.
21) **npš, nps, "hatchel wool," / napašu, "hatchel wool."**

Zimmern identified napašu with Mishnaic npš.\(^\text{123}\) It cannot, however, be accepted that Mishnaic npš is a loanword. There are variants between כ and כ in Mishnaic Hebrew.\(^\text{124}\) If the form nps is the primary one, it is possible that a loan napašu > nps can be considered.\(^\text{125}\) If, however, the form nps is the primary one in Hebrew,\(^\text{126}\) a loan cannot be assumed at all. It would be more correct to say that an original כnps was modified according to factors peculiar to Akkadian. It is unlikely that there is a loanword here but a cognate.

\(^{123}\)AFw, p. 28; M. Sab. 7:2 and 13:4.

\(^{124}\)Bendavid, BHMH, p. 186; Segal, GMH, p. 33.

\(^{125}\)The change כ > כ occurs in loans from Akkadian to Hebrew, cf. סֶּרֶּר-קִין > Sargon.

\(^{126}\)Examples of this variation in the manuscripts are: וּנָהַמֶּנֶּנֶּפֶּשֶּׁו, Beer, MK, Sabbat 7:2, and וּנָהַמֶּנֶּפֶּשֶּׁו, Lowe, MPT, ad loc. The variation between כ and כ also occur in loanwords from Greek and Latin, e.g., קָּשָּׁרָא, קאָשָּׁרָא < castra, "camp." In Arabic, the instrument for this operation is מִינְבָּד. One would expect מִינְבָּד if this were originally Arabic and cognate with Aramaic. Fraenkel suggests that the word is possibly borrowed, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 260. Akkadian nappasu, "beating stick (?)" is also rejected as the source of a loan, AIA, p. 113.
22) ṣēbēr pānim / subur pānī, "facial expression."

The Akkadian expression occurs in lexical lists, where it is equated with bēnu and bunnannu, "face." It is probably to be connected with šabāru, which has several meanings, one of which is "squint, look askance, signal with the eyes." 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. An example is: /calendar "When I walk the street, fingers are pointed at me. Even when I enter the palace, eyes look askance at me." It is suggested tentatively that there may be a relationship between this expression, subur pānī, and Mishnaic sēbēr pānim, "countenance, expression." While the verb šabāru appears, on slight evidence, to have a negative connotation, subur pānī, equivalent to bēnu and bunnannu, is neutral, like Hebrew sēbēr pānim, which needs an adjective to qualify it, e.g., sēbēr pānim yāпот, "a friendly expression." The adjective, however, may also be tautologous, or for emphasis, and sēbēr pānim 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 שֶֽׁבֶּר פָּנֶֽיְמִֽים נָסְכַּק, "unpleasant expression," and the verb הָ֑שַׁבֵּֽיר פָנֶֽיְמִֽים, "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 שֶֽׁבֶּר פָּנֶֽיְמִֽים is to be related to Biblical סָבַר, "look at, look to, hope." Thus, the HipCiL, hasבַּר פָנֶֽיְמִֽים, "show a friendly expression," can be a parallel to חַֽשָּׁר פָנֶֽיְמִֽים, "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 סָבַרְּעַ, סְבּוּר פָנֶֽיְמִֽים, and Hebrew סָבַר, "look at, look to, hope," and שֶֽׁבֶּר פָּנֶֽיְמִֽים, "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 שֶֽׁבֶּר פָּנֶֽיְמִֽים is a SapCel of מַרְר, "brighten," e.g., "show a bright (cheerful) face," Jastrow, Dictionary, ibid.; compare יָֽשַׁר...פָּנָֽיִֽו, Numb. 6:25, or that סָבַר is the Aramaic for "lift up," cf. נַסָּר...פָּנָֽיִֽו, Numb. 6:26. The problem of the change ש > ב is discussed above, p. 52, and below, pp. 221f.
23) spr, "cut the hair, shear," / šepēru, "to strand, dress the hair, trim."

Akkadian šepēru is attested in Nuzi, Late Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian. Examples are: musatīša telegqi kunīstām ta-ṣa-pir, "you take combings from her hair, strand it into a roll of hair...",136 and kūma nagimtu ṣuṣi u-ṣap-pi-ra šu-pur-a-a, "He (Marduk) trimmed my nails as if expelling a tabooed woman."137

Possibly, Mishnaic spr, "cut the hair, shear,"138 is a loan from šepēru. Possible evidence for this is the fact that spr appears to enter Hebrew after the Biblical period, not completely replacing the earlier terms gīḇ and gzz.138 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, ṭīnā, šāmar.140

The problem with this identification is both phonetic and semantic. A change of consonants in borrowing such as ṣ > s is most rare. Generally the Akkadian consonant ṣ

136CAD, XVI (§), 132-3. 137Tbid.
138M. 'A. Z. 2:2; cf. sappār, "barber," M. Šap. 1:2; and M. Qid. 4:14.
139Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 131 and 207.
140Tbid., p. 122
appears in Aramaic as ג', and ג in Aramaic, if it does not reflect original ג, reflects ג; compare the personal name ד 될-סַּרְעָ-וּשָּׁר, and Aramaic בלָשְׁרָ. 141 There is some indefiniteness between ג and ג in Assyrian and Babylonian; compare Neo-Babylonian pasānu and Assyrian pasānu, "cover, veil." 142 If seferu was borrowed as spr, a variant form may be involved.

Akkadian seferu 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. 143 One Sumerian equivalent, AG, can also be read as SA₅, equivalent to ḫaṣṣu, "cut," and an element in SA₅.A, gulibtu, "savings." 144 On the other hand, other equivalents are DIB, equal to ḡabatu, "seize," in the sense of "pinch," 145 and KES.DA, equal to kaṣṣaru, rakasu, "tie." 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 ڑافارا, "braid a woman's hair." 147 If this be so,

141 KAI, I, No. 234, Rs. 3, and No. 235, Rs. 2.
142 GAG, par. 30c. 143 CAD XVI (§), 132-3.
144 CAD, ibid., 132, lexical section. The reading AG is uncertain and is followed by a question mark. See also, Labat, Manuel, p. 83.
145 CAD, ibid.; Labat, Manuel, p. 223.
146 CAD, ibid.; Labat, Manuel, p. 105.
147 CAD, ibid., 133.
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

Relevant to this discussion is Syriac ṣapar, "kind of knife," Lex. Syr., p. 492 and Arabic ṣafarat, 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, ṣafr, "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 ūperu may still be related.
24) Cuqa, Cugya, Cugya, "cavity, trough, pit," / iku, eku, "ditch, canal."

The Akkadian word iku, eku, is attested as early as Old Akkadian, as in the examples: i-ka-am pa-al-ga-am, "ditch, canal,"149 and assum i-ki-im birītim marī PN ibqurū'unūtim, "concerning the fact that the sons of PN have made a claim against them for the common border ditch."150

Mishnaic Cuqa, "cavity, trough, pit,"151 and Cugya, Cugya, "ditch dug around the roots of a vine,"152 have been considered loanwords from Akkadian iku.153 This is not completely certain for the following considerations. There are variants in Hebrew manuscripts where words spelled with י in Palestinian manuscripts are spelled with כ in Babylonian ones.154 If the primary form of the Mishnaic word is יוֹּעָא, יֻּגְיָא, one can assume a loan: iku > יֻּגוֹּּא, יֻגְּא, as the original כ was not pronounced in Akkadian or transmitted. If, however, the Hebrew forms Cuqa, Cugya, are primary, the presence of the כ indicates a cognate, not a loan.155

149AHw, p. 370. 150Ibid.
151M. Macas, 1:7; M. CEr, 8:9; and M. Miq. 6:1.
153AHw, p. 44.
154Bendavid, DHMH, pp. 213-4; Segal, GMH, p. 28.
155cf. iku / yko, "know." For a similar view, cf. AIA, p. 235. In later Aramaic, כ lost its consonantal value and was often interchanged with י, Moscati, Introduction, par. 8.56.
25) pilā, "open," / palāṣu, "pierce, penetrate."

Examples of the Akkadian, attested from Old Babylonian on, are: 

\[ \textit{sum-ma bīt awīlim lū ip-pa-li-iš lū im-qu-ut,} \]

"If a man's house is broken into or collapses,\textsuperscript{156} and
\[ \textit{summa awīlum bītam ipluš ina pāni pilšim suāti idukkušuma,} \]

"If a man breaks into a house, he shall be put to death before that breach.\textsuperscript{157}

It might be argued that Mishnaic mepūlas, "open,"\textsuperscript{158} is borrowed from palāṣu on the ground that in Biblical Hebrew ḫter, maḥteret (Ex. 21:2) is the equivalent to palāṣu, pilšum. However, there is no strong evidence to rule out a cognate palāṣu / pilā.\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{156}Law Code of Eshnunna, par. 37.

\textsuperscript{157}Code of Hammurabi, par. 21.

\textsuperscript{158}M. Šab. 16:1; M. ČEr. 9:4. This is considered a loan in AFW, p. 13. Cf. also Syriac, Lex. Syr., p. 577a.

\textsuperscript{159}This pilā should be distinguished from pilā, "roll, wallow in the ground," Micah 1:10; Jer. 6:26, 25:34; Ez. 27:30, cf. Ugaritic ḫlitt, "dust of wallowing," I\# AB, vi, 15, G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends, p. 108. Compare with our word Amharic ḡallēgā, "dig the earth with the hands," W. Leslau, Hebrew Cognates in Amharic (Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 39. Possibly related is Hebrew bīy, e.g., ḧolešin ḥṭā miktanēhā, "they break the clods under it (a vine, prior to planting)," Midr. Lev. R. 36:2.
26) șarsûr, "pitcher with a strainer," / șarsaru, "water container."

The noun șarsaru, "container for water storage," is attested in Late Babylonian and in Neo-Assyrian, e.g., mamît ina șarsari me šatu, "the oath sworn by drinking water from a șarsaru jar." It is suggested tentatively that Mishnaic șarșûr, "pitcher with a strainer at its mouth," is a borrowing.

What raises questions about this loanword, however, is the fact that the noun, șarsaru, is attested quite late, although the verb, șararu, is attested as early as Old Babylonian. Moreover, there is a cognate šâlû in Mandaic, e.g., štarar bainh diminta, "his eyes burst into tears." This verb must also underlie the noun šâlan, "one whose eyes discharge a briny liquid." If șararu / šâlû are possibly cognates in Aramaic and Akkadian, then borrowed by Hebrew from Aramaic, the nominal formation șarsûr is characteristic of Mishnaic Hebrew, requiring no loan process.

160 CAD, XVI (S), 115, from Šurpu II:62.
162 CAD, ibid., 105f.
163 Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 397b; cf. Hebrew žlg, used with ʿênayîm; cf. also Akkadian șarrû, "flowing, leaking," CAD, ibid., 114, Late Babylonian.
164 M. Bek. 7:3.
165 Segal, GMH, p. 112.
27) qêdêrâ / diqaru, "cooking and drinking vessel."

Akkadian diqaru was used as a drinking vessel, as seen by the equivalence di-qa-ru = maltû rabû, "large drinking vessel," or as a container for water, medicine, or food, or for cooking. It could have been made of various materials: clay, stone, or bronze.

Mishnaic qedêrâ, "cooking vessel," has been regarded as a loanword from Akkadian. A number of questions, however, can be raised against this identification. In all the dialects one finds a metathesized form, qidra, qedera, 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 namel. The loanword, however, was reproduced in Hebrew in a form similar to the

166AHw, pp. 172f.
168AHw, ibid.
169M. Hul. 8:3.
170AFw, p. 33; cf. also Arabic qidr, Hava, Arabic-English Dictionary, p. 591, Aramaic qidra, and Mandaic qidra, Drower and Macuch, Man. Dict., p. 410. Cf. Lex. Syr., p. 649, where the Syriac is considered a loan from diqaru, following Jensen and Zimmern. Fraenkel notes the identity of Arabic qidr and Aramaic qidra, Hebrew qedera. One would expect in Arabic a form qadîr 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 *diqūrā* did exist in Aramaic. In the Commentary of Rabbi Hai Gaon on *Mishnah Kelim*, a definition of *pisāsin*, Greek *πίθος*, "wine jar," is given. It is there stated that there are *dīqūre, identical with dānē, and that they resemble qangannīm, except that qangannīm are long and *dīqūre* are rounded.\(^{171}\) Aramaic *dānā* is identical with Akkadian *dannu, "vessel, container," and it is plausible to consider Aramaic *dīqūrā* as identical with *diqāru*. If *dīqūrā* existed in Gaonic times, it may have existed earlier and may be a link between Akkadian *diqāru* and the metathesized forms *qidrā, qidr, qēdērā*.

There is, however, a problem with the vowel pattern in the Akkadian and the Hebrew. A change of *ā > ū* is unusual, unless the word in Aramaic be *#diqōrā, where an *ā > ū* change is possible.\(^{172}\) Another objection that may be raised is the fact that *qēdērā* is such a basic, common object that a borrowing appears unnecessary. The possibility is that *diqāru* and *qēdērā* are cognates.


\(^{172}\)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 qeder replaces the almost obsolete Biblical parur and dud. 173

This plant name, cited by Thompson, 174 is identical with Mishnaic siltam. 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.

This plant name, cited by Thompson, is identical with Mishnaic tiltān. 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.
CHAPTER V

LESS PROBABLE LOAN TRANSLATIONS AND EXTENSIONS

1) Jabūp roce, "Polygonum aviculare," / ḫatū ḫe. Neither the CAD nor von Soden give a definition of the plant name, which literally means "shepherd's staff."\(^1\) Thompson suggests "Asa foetida."\(^2\) There are other popular names for plants formed analogously, e.g., Ṿe summāti, "dove's dung," a popular name for the carob, lišān kalbi, lit. "dog's tongue," and nēš qaqqari, lit. "lion of the earth."\(^3\)

The relationship of ḫatū ḫe and Mishnaic Jabūp roce, defined by Albeck as "Polygonum aviculare,"\(^4\) is not clear. The CAD suggests that Aramaic ḫūtra deracya is a loan from an Akkadian *ḫutar ḫe, a form not actually attested.\(^5\) Moreover, Akkadian ḫutaru is not attested earlier than Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian,\(^6\) and may be conceivably an Aramaic loanword. Also, noting

\(^1\) CAD VI (H), 156; AHw, p. 337.
\(^2\) DAB, pp. 352ff.
\(^3\) M. Held, Landsberger Festschrift, p. 398.
\(^4\) M. Sab. 14:3; Albeck, Mishnah, Mācēd, p. 51.
\(^5\) CAD, ibid., 156.
\(^6\) CAD, ibid., 265.
the lateness of ḫattu ṭē, occurring only in Standard Babylonian, the language of literary texts of the Neo-Babylonian or Neo-Assyrian period,7 the possibility remains that this is an Aramaic loan in Akkadian.

Also problematic is the relationship of Hebrew ḫabbū ṭē to ḫattu ṭē and ḫitrā ḏērå’ya. One would expect a Hebrew construction with šēṭ, "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 ḫabbū ṭē 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 (.Padding), 156.
2) keleb hammayim / kalab me, kalab tamti, "sea dog, dog fish (?)."

Sumerian ÚR.A is equivalent to kalab me.⁹ There also occurs kalab tamti.¹⁰ Mishnaic keleb hammayim can be considered a loan from Akkadian, using native and cognate terms in a combination influenced by the Akkadian.¹¹ 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, "sealion," Meerschwein, "sea-hog," and Seehund, "seal."

⁹AHw, p. 425a.
ⁱ⁰Landsberger, Fauna, p. 85. This is also compared to Aramaic kalbā demayyā, ibid.
¹¹M. Kēlīm 17:13.
3) mihu baway, "thwart an action," retta mahu, literally, "strike the hand."

The Akkadian expression occurs in the following passage from Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi: imhas retti mahu usaddi kakkasu Marduk, "It was Marduk who struck the hand of him who beats me, so that he made him drop his wea-

12 The expression occurs in translation in Aramaic, wela'itay di yemabbe bide, "there is no one who can thwart Him."13 In the Mishnah, there occur the expres-
sions mihu bwayam, "they prevented them,"14 and wen memahin bwayo, "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 mema goes back to *memh and mhu, the exact correspondent of mahu. This loan translation is discussed by Held, "mhu/ *mhs in Ugaritic and Other Semitic Languages," JAOS, LXXIX (1959), 171 and n. 39.

An example, from Old Babylonian, of the first idiom is: ana šīrumma...ritaggudim...qaqqadni...iqallil, "because of the dancing about we are dishonored (literally, our head becomes light)." The opposite idea is expressed in the following examples: kabat qaqqadi, "respect," rīska ukabbat, "he will respect you," and qaqqassa tukabbit, "respect her."

It should be noted that there is a difference between the Akkadian and the Hebrew idioms. In the Akkadian, the object of the verb qalālu or kabātu is qaqqadu, "head," this part representing the whole; that is, the person who loses or gains honor. In the Hebrew, gallūt rōś 20 is an attitude of disrespect to something else, and lōḏ ṭaqēl rōś so keneqed... means "let him not show disrespect to..." 21 Similarly, ᾱḥbed rōś is an attitude of respect or seriousness. 22 The idioms in Hebrew may be based upon the Akkadian but they are not direct translations.

16GAG, par. 150j. 17Lambert, BWL, 252:24. 18AHw, p. 417. 19Ibid.; cf. also p. 416, for the G construction. 20M. JAB. 3:13. 21M. Ber. 9:5. 22M. Ber. 5:1. Closer to the Akkadian is the expression meyaggereṭ rōś ṣāḥ, "making heavy (honoring) her own head (herself)," i.e., being arrogant, Midr. Gen. R. 18:3.
The Akkadian expression is used in a legal context, referring to the adoption of a child: \( \text{ina } \text{su-qi } \text{su-ru-ub, } \) "brought in from the street." This expression is quite similar to the Mishnaic expression and may be the source of it: \( \text{kol } \text{šenešap } \text{min } \text{hashūq, } \) "whoever has been taken in from the street (and does not know his father or mother)." This is the definition of an \( \text{Yasūpē, } \) "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.


\[24\] M. Qid. 4:2. Psalm 27:10, \( \text{yəjaspeni}, \) "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," **zq**q, **hizdagéq**, "be bound, obligated," / **kašaru**, rakásu, "tie, bind (in the legal sense)."

Examples of **riksu**, riksatu, from rakásu, are:

- girram u riksatim ana abisa u ummísa la iskun, "he did not conclude a formal marriage contract with her father and mother,"\(^{25}\) and balum sibí u riksatim istām, "has purchased...without witnesses and contract."\(^{26}\) The verb appears in this example: kaspum isšēr ībi-ti-su alpisù eqlatim u mimma isù KU.BABBAR rakis, "the (debt of) silver is secured by his house, his oxen, the fields, and whatever (else) he owns."\(^{27}\)

Examples of **kišru**, kiširtu, from kašaru, are:

- kiširtu ša 10 qa šamne u...sipāte, "the contract for 10 qa of oil and...wool,"\(^{28}\) and istissu u sinissu assum GU.UN.HI.A eqlim u kišir bitim...aštanapparakkum, "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

\(^{25}\)The Laws of Eshnunna, par. 27.

\(^{26}\)Code of Hammurabi, par. 123; cf. also par. 124.

\(^{27}\)CAD, II (B), 283. The verb rakásu 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,"\textsuperscript{30} and the verb \textit{zqq}, \textit{hizdaqeq}, "be bound to, dependent upon, obligated to,"\textsuperscript{31} may possibly be a loan translation of the special sense of \textit{kazaru} and \textit{rakasu}.

Some question can be raised, however, by the fact that \textit{zqq} does not have the general application of "tie" in Hebrew and Aramaic that \textit{kazaru} and \textit{rakasu} 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 \textit{zqq} is in the sense of "chain," is a loan translation of \textit{kazaru} / \textit{srubu}.\textsuperscript{32} Another example is: \textit{hizdaqeq} \textit{leib} \textit{ab}, "property is his when she enters and hers when she leaves."\textsuperscript{33} Independent coinage, however,

\textsuperscript{30} Cf. M. Yeb. 3:9, \textit{zigqat yəḥām}, "the interdependence of the widow and her late husband's brother;" Biblical \textit{ziggīm}, "fetters," Nahum 3:10; Isa. 45:14; Ps. 149:8; and Job 36:8, is possibly derived from Aramaic \textit{zqq}, "bind," B-D-B, p. 397a.

\textsuperscript{31} Cf. M. Yeb. 2:5, \textit{zogeq u et uṣeq jānīw}, "he holds his brother's wife tied to the leviratical marriage," and M. Sebu. 6:3, "movable chattel binds (\textit{zogeqīn}) the immovable with reference to the obligation of making oath."
7)  metav jissâ / assatam ana bitim sūrubu, "taking a woman into the house, marrying."

In Akkadian legal contexts, the concepts of marrying (assatam aṣūrum) 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: summa ṭussima ana bitisu rubu, "if he marries her, and she enters his house,"32 and ana bit PN useribuši, "he brings her into the house of PN."33

It is suggested that the technical use of metav, "brings in," in the sense of "marries," is a loan translation of erēbu / sūrubu.34 Another example is: bikēnīsīṭāh sēlō ubiṣi jāṭān sēlān, "(property) is his when she enters and hers when she leaves."35 Independent coinage, however,

32The Laws of Eshnunna, par. 18.
33AHw, p. 236.
34M. Yeb, 3:1, 6, and 7; metav jissâ is an equivalent of nōše jissâ, cf. Bendavid, BHMH, p. 179; kns is also the equivalent of Biblical jasp in the general sense of "gather," ibid., p. 338; jasp is also used in the specific context of marriage, II Sam. 11:27. A similar expression is wayēnhē hā Yishaq hājōhelān, "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.
35M. Ket. 8:4; cf. the formula used by Alexandrian Jews: kquatikkānî lōbēt tēhi lī le-īntū kēdat Mōse wayīsra'āl, "when you enter my house you will become my wife according to the custom of Moses and Israel," Tosefta Ketubot 4:19, cited in Albeck, Mishnah, Nāsim, p. 79.
remains a possibility in this case. \textsuperscript{36}

3) *dayin* ṭellattannūr, *dayin* ṭellakkīrā / In kīrā.

"eye, or an oven, outlet for smoke,"

An example of this extended use of ṭeḥ, "eye," is:

One part is a 361-stone kaqātī tākhrewsim ṭen kīrā

Līmā irādā, "you put (the mixture) into a cold kiln
which has four draft holes and place it between the holes.\textsuperscript{37}

This usage occurs in the Mishnah: *dayin* ṭellattannūr ṭeḥ *dayin* ṭellakkīrā, "(if a creeping thing was
found) in the outlet of an oven or of a double stove.\textsuperscript{38}

It can be contended that there is independent
development here. In Hebrew and Aramaic, *dayin* and *ṭen* are used metaphorically in the sense of "hole, opening,"
e.g., hāmāqāta...*ṭayin*. "If a man touched...the ring-
shaped collar piece,\textsuperscript{39} and hō*ṭayin* šebamāqāta...*ṭayin*. "the ring
attached to an ass.\textsuperscript{40}

On the other hand, a possible argument for an in-
fluence from Akkadian can be made. A number of other terms
related to the area of ovens or stoves are also loanwords,
e.g., hittite *gīra* > kīrā > kīrā, kirayīru, "oven,\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{36} Cf. above, note 34.
8) ᵐcayin ʲellattannṛ', ᵑcayin ʲsellakkTrā / ᵉn kTrī, 'eye' of an oven, outlet for smoke."

An example of this extended use of ᵐnu, "eye," is:

\[
\text{ana kūri ˢa ⁴ IGI-mes-ˢa kašṭī tūsārredma ina bīrīt IGI-mes tareddī, "you put (the mixture) into a cold kiln that has four draft holes and place it between the holes."}^{37}
\]

The same usage occurs in the Mishnah: becayin ʲellatannṛ ḅcayin ʲsellakkTrā, "(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, ᵐcayin and ᵑcenā are used metaphorically in the sense of "hole, opening," e.g., hannogeca...bacayin, "If a man touched...the ring-shaped collar piece,"^{39} and ḥcayin ᵛebama caqad, "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 > kīru > kīra, kirayyim, "oven."^{41}

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^{37}_{CAD VII (I/J), 157; cf. also AHw, p. 383b.}

^{38}_{M. Ḳēlīm 8:7.}

^{39}_{M. Ḳēlīm 21:2.}

^{40}_{Tosefta Ḳēlīm, Bāḥā Bāṭrā I:7. Independent coinage may account for the figurative use of "eye," as in the English examples: "eye of a storm," "eye of a needle," and "eye of a potato."}

^{41}_{AHw, pp. 484-5. For a different view, cf. AIA, p. 108.}
and Sumerian UDUN > 𒈦𒉟, Aramaic 𒈦𒉟.\textsuperscript{42}

In addition, there are some very specific extensions of ḫayin in Hebrew which correspond to similar usages in Akkadian, suggesting that there is a definite influence of the Akkadian. Both ḫnu, in Old Assyrian, Old Babylonian, and Neo-Assyrian, and ḫayin in Hebrew are used in the sense of "fountain."\textsuperscript{43} Akkadian ina ḫni lemutti, "with the evil eye," and ḫnu lemuttu correspond to Hebrew ḫayin hāra.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{42}B-D-B, p. 1083b; Labat, Manuel, p. 191.

\textsuperscript{43}AHw, p. 383; Gen. 16:7 and 24:16, 29, 30, 42, 45; and Deut. 8:7.

\textsuperscript{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:

A) Non-Semitic: jallā, "lance, fork," < allum < AL, god < kuddu < KUD, "box," and māk < mukku < MUK, "thread, cloth."


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 üşāris < ērrēsum, "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, leqû / meqabbēl. In the loan ḥazzān < ḥazannu, "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 quppā < guppu, "box, basket," there are also non-literal connotations of quppā in Hebrew as "money at the disposal of the wife" and "charity fund." Similar non-literal uses are also found in Akkadian, where guppu is parallel to mulugu, "property under the control of the wife," and guppu ă sarri refers to taxes due to the king. In the case of susapīnu > ṣuṣēpīn, 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, ṣāṣīsu > ṣāṣīs, "pole, framework," to be separated from ṣāṣ, "touch," and dāpu < dappu, "board," to be distinguished from tuppu, "clay tablet."

A number of loanwords suggested by Zimmern have been questioned here on philological grounds. They are: ḥāhit < ḥābu, "vessel, jar," ḥazar, ḥazzūr < ḥinzuru, ḥāshuru, "apple," ḥishūs, "cartilage," < ṣāṣīsu, "ear,"

The loanwords that have been accepted can be broken down into several areas:

1) Agriculture, Landscape: jappār < appāru, kērī < karū, mešer < mišru, rēḡāq < rēqaqtā, raqā < raqqatum, teḥūm < taḥūmu.

2) Anatomy: šēhir < saparu, qurqēbān < quqqubānu.

3) Animals, Birds: gaz < kassūsu, tarnēgōl < tarlugallu.

4) Architecture, Building: jisquppă < askuppatu, jārTaḥ < arṣu, bīb < bibu, dāp < dappu, dīr < duru, kōk, kūk < gwh < gmh < kimāḥhu, nībbāk < nadbaku.

5) Clothing, Things Worn: bīriṭ < bīritu, kābul < kaballu, mōk < mukku.

6) Implements, Instruments: jabbūb < ebbubu, jallā < allu, hāzinā < ḫassīnu, šēlāb < silbu, qat < qatu.

7) Minerals, Plants: jābār < abāru, jēślāg < asiāku, bat šuāḥ < jāsūhā < asūpu, ḡēs < gasū, ḥīltīt < ḥīl tiyāti, ḥāsīt < ḫassā < ḫassū, karsīnā < kiṣēnu, lepet < laptu, lūp < luppu, kēyūt < kiṣu, nopt < napțu, qurnīt < qurnu, sūmsūm < sammāsamā, tíā < tiyātu, türmus < *tarmušu
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:

- ḫaggāṣ < angāṣu, "pear,
- ḫawwāz < usū, "goose,
- ḫukkāp < ukāpu, "saddle,
- hemsēs < missisam, "stomach,
- zibborīt < zarbabu, "pitcher,
- ḫāzzerēt < ḥasarratu, "lettuce,
- ḫāmīṭa, "cake,
- ḫāmāṭu, "be hot,
- ḫāmām < ḫamīmu, "Amomum,
- ḫnn < kanānu, "wind,
- ḫēḥer pānim < ṣubur pani, "facial expression,
- ṣpr, "cut the hair,
- ṣepēru, "trim the hair (and other things),
- cūgā, cūgyā < ikū, "ditch,
- ṣargṣur < ṣargaru "pitcher,
- ṣiltān < tultu, "Fenugreek,

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, Ješbâc hakkârêd < Syriac ḫēṣṣār kabba < ṣubān amûtîm, "lobe of the liver," maṣ̄ṣēzin Jet hājûr < Syriac aḥdt nwr < isâta ṣuḥûzu, "ignite a fire," and qirâ milhâmâ < kisîr tâhpâzi, "ranks of battle;" extensions in cognate roots, bīyān < binātu, binītu, binîtu, "human frame, form, structure," mūgmar < Aramaic gumartâ < gumaru, "coal, charcoal," thus, "spices placed upon coals," qomerin Jet naddîn < dîna gamaru, "pass sentence, decide a case," sôṭer Jet haddîn < dîna sapâhu, "cancel, disrupt judgment," yûṣrât ḥûs < Aramaic naggat bârâ < wasîat, "woman of loose morals," and komerin mekkammärîn < kumurrû, "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 kâmû may be cognate with Akkadian kamâru but not semantically equivalent.

The following were treated as extensions and loan translations of lesser probability: Jabbûp ṛâce < ṣatṭu ṛâṭî, "shepherd's staff," a kind of plant, ṣagg, "tie,
obligate," < kašaru, rakāsu, "bind (in a legal sense),"
keleb hammayim < kalab mē, kalab tāmti, "sea-dog," kōnōs
išša < aṣṣatām ina bitim šurubu, "take in, marry a woman,"
mēhā beyād < Aramaic mehā bēyād < retta mahāsu, "strike
the hand, obstruct, protest," ḥāqēl rōʾē < gaggadu qalālu,
"be disrespectful," kobed rōʾē, "seriousness," < gaggadu
kabātu, "treat with respect," jāsap min hassūq < ina suqi
šurubu, "gather in from the street, adopt," and cāvin
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 ṣabbū rōʾē and ḫattu reʾē,
these terms may not even refer to the same plant. The
question of parallel development rather than Akkadian in-
fluence can be raised against sōṭēr ḫēt haddīn, gomērin
ḫēt haddīn, as well as against ṣpsq < ḫarāṣu,
"determine a price," and ṣezar din < purussā < parāsu.
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 be-
longed 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 classifi-
cations:
1) Agriculture, Landscape: mekammêr < kumurrâ, markîb < rukkubu.

2) Anatomy, Psychology: binyân < binîtu, binâtû, ñêšbâc hakkâbed < ubân amûtim, ñêyôrê hârîô < ñêsamat gaggâdi.

3) Legal, Economic: gezar din < dîna parâsu, purussû; gomérîn jêt haddîn < dîna gamârû; sôtêr jêt haddîn < dîna sapâçu; dîn udehûràm < dînu u dabûbu; hepgêr, heppêr < baqûru; ýosët hûş < nappat bârâ < wasîlat, wasû; mösîn ñêtêr < tuppum wasû; sîblôn < Syriac seblûnâ < zubullû; ñeqû, ñpsq < ñarâsu.

4) Miscellaneous: mañalîzin jêt hâjur < jhdît nwro < isâta sîçûzu; mügmûr < gumartû < gumûrû; pirê kêhûnû < perû; cał sum, mîssûm, leqêm < așsum; and qisrê milhâmû < kîşir têhûzi.

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 loanwords 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 așsum, is grammatical, while qisrê milhâmû 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 asqupa, alongside of the more common asqupa.5 In the Kaufmann Manuscript, appar

1Bendavid, BHMM, pp. 135-46.
2Beer, MK. 3Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew.
4Yalon, IVM.
5Beer, MK, Sabbat 10:2; Yalon, IVM, pp. 19 and 214.
(there appearing as $\text{\text{Jappar}}$), having a doubled second consonant, is consistent with the form for a loan from $\text{apparu}$, Sumerian AMBAR.\footnote{Beer, MK, Bēṣā 5:7; E. Y. Kutscher, Lešonięnu, XXXI (1967), 108-9.} In the same manuscript, $\text{\text{Jēmmay}}$, "when," occurs with a doubling of the second consonant as would be expected in a loan from $\text{immati} \text{< inamati}$, Sumerian AMBAR.\footnote{Beer, MK, Bēṣā 5:7; E. Y. Kutscher, Lešonięnu, XXXI (1967), 108-9.} In the same manuscript, $\text{\text{Je mm ~ #ay}}$, "when," occurs with a doubling of the second consonant as would be expected in a loan from immati $\text{< inamati}$, Sumerian AMBAR.\footnote{Beer, MK, Bēṣā 5:7; E. Y. Kutscher, Lešonięnu, XXXI (1967), 108-9.} Akkadian mukku, from Sumerian MUG, "thread, rag," appears as $\text{mukkin}$ in the plural as against Yalon's vocalization $\text{mozi}$,\footnote{Porath, ibid., p. 140; Yalon, IVM, pp. 19 and 214.} while the variant $\text{samsám, samsámim}$,\footnote{Porath, ibid., p. 127; Yalon, IVM, p. 215.} is closer to the Akkadian $\text{samassamum}$, "sesame," than the more common $\text{sumašum}$. Akkadian tarmus, "lupine," has several variants, tarmoš, tarmoš, and tarmoš.\footnote{Cf. turmos, Albeck, Mishnah Zerācīm, p. 101; tarmoš, Beer, MK, Kiljajyin 1:3; M. Sabbat 18:1; tarmoš, Beer, MK, Maktirin 4:8.} However, Lieberman, in his edition of the Tosefta, prefers the reading tarmwsyn, indicating that the first vowel is short, closer to the presumed Akkadian TARMUS $\text{> tarmasu}$,\footnote{S. Lieberman, Tosefta, Zerācīm, p. 130.} In the case of tarlugallu, from Sumerian DAR.LUGAL.MUSEN, the variant tarnošlim in the Kaufmann Manuscript\footnote{Beer, MK, Bēṣā 24:3.} is closer to the Aramaic tarnuglaš and to the Akkadian than the more frequent...
The various Mishnah fragments from the Geniza collected in Ginze Mishnah also provide some interesting evidence relating to the possible form in which a loanword may have entered into Hebrew. While the proposed loan \( \text{כָּבָד} > \text{כָּבָדַע}, "vessel," was questioned in this study, it was noted that a greater probability would exist if there were a form \( \text{כָּבָדַע} \), closer to \( \text{כָּבָד} \). Weisberg found such a form in the Aruk. In Ginze Mishnah, however, the form \( \text{כָּבָדַע} \) is actually found in a manuscript. While this alone does not remove all doubts about the proposed loanword, it does add significant evidence to the discussion. The form \( \text{כָּסָה}, "lime," is somewhat closer to Akkadian \( \text{גָּסָה} \) than the usual \( \text{כָּס} \), while \( \text{כָּלָּק} \), "laundry alkali," is closer to Akkadian \( \text{כָּלָּק} \), "launderer," and Aramaic \( \text{כָּלָּק} \), "alkali," than the usual \( \text{כָּלָּק} \). In two of these manuscripts there occur the form \( \text{חֲדָדָּי} \), lending support to the proposal made here that the source of this word is Akkadian \( \text{חֲדָדָּי} \), "certainly," and that the aleph in the usual form, \( \text{חֲדָדָּי} \), 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 "muk'ın, "threads," supporting the doubled, unaspirated form of the second consonant as in the reading muk'ın, noted by Porath. This brings the form closer to Akkadian muk'ku.

There are cases, however, where consulting the variants does not yield results in the form of closer resemblance to the Akkadian original. For example, the loan ąaṭu, "lend on credit, trust," appears in M. J Abot 3:16, and the passage there should be read ḫaḥenwānī ṭeqṭ eq, "the store-keeper lends on credit." This vocalization is required by a media-waw verb such as this. The Kaufmann Manuscript has, however, maqqeq, indicating that the word was understood as if it were from the root ng'eq. In the case of the word kūšār, "coriander," there is a variant kūšār. This, however, cannot be attributed with certainty to the loan process, although there is some probability of this. Akkadian kisibirru is closer to Hebrew kūšār. However, variants occur in Akkadian itself; alongside of Assyrian kisibarru there also occurs Middle and Late Babylonian ku(s)hibirru. 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.

19Katsh, GM, Pl. 97, line 10.
20Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 140.
21Beer, MK, Seḥeqṭ eq 9:1; M. Dem. 1:1; Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 140; S. Lieberman, Tosefta, Zeraeq'Tim, p. 203.
For example, ḫmd, "estimate," which is considered in this study to come from Akkadian emēdu, "lay upon, impose," should properly be spelled with 薮, as the 🍯 would not be transferred in a loanword. One finds, however, variants where the spelling is with 🍯. This confusion is not due to any 🍯 being transferred in the loan, but to variations between Palestinian and Babylonian traditions. Possibly the spelling ḫmd, ṭamed, ṭamadōk, is the result of the association of the word with a known Hebrew word, ḫmd, 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 סתורז > Biblical Aramaic str.
Hebrew str, "destroy," nadbāk > Biblical Aramaic nīdāk
Hebrew nīdāk, "layer of bricks," and tāhūm > Elephantine
thwm > Hebrew tēhūm, "boundary." In other cases, Hebrew
is a further development of and can only be explained on
the basis of the Aramaic. Examples are: ḫāṣṣīnu > Aramaic
ḥāṣīnā > Mishnaic Hebrew ḥāzīnā, "axe," raqqatu > Aramaic
rqqtā, variant rqqtā > Hebrew reqāq, "marsh, shallow
water," the Hebrew having developed from a variant form in
Aramaic, and ḫassū > Aramaic ḫassē, "lettuce," from which
developed ḥāṣīt, ḥāsiyyot, a general term for onions and
leeks.

In the other cases, where this specific evidence was
not available, but where there appeared an Aramaic counter-
part to the Hebrew word and where its form was consistent
with the Hebrew, it was assumed that the loanword was trans­
mitted 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 Heb­
rew. There appears to be no Aramaic for bīrītu > bīrīt,
"chain," gasīsu > gasīs, "pole," kabbalū > kāḥul, "type
of garment or cap," and niāru > nīyār, "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: *qisrē milhāmā* ← *kīṣir tāḇāzi*, "ranks of war," and *šepōrē hārōs* ← *salmāt qaggādi*, "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
include the Hebrew of the Tosefta, the Midrashim, and the Baraitot in the Talmudim, other loanwords from Akkadian would be included. These are: Ɜibul < abullum, "gate," \g^el\l^om < \g^ul\l^{	nu}, "garment," \z^ah\l^{	nu} < \u^{	nu}lu, "alkali," \z^in < zappu, "bristle," mar < marru, "spade," naggar < nagguru, "carpenter," nipp\l^{	nu} < nappillum, "larva, caterpillar," perahl\l^{	nu} < purul\l^{	nu}nu, "white flower," pardan\l^{	nu}, "run-about woman," < pur\l^{	nu}du, "leg," \par\l^{	nu}du, "run," p\l^{	nu}raq\l^{	nu} < napargudum, "lie flat," and qa\l^{	nu}ola < qagqullu, "cardamum."

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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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.

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