AKKADIAN LOANWORDS AND PARALLELS
IN MISHNAIC HEBREW

By
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A Dissertation
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for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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APPROVAL

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IN MISHNAIC HEBREW

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

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

I wish to express my appreciation to certain individuals and institutions which have assisted me greatly in the preparation of this work. May I first thank Dr. Moshe Held, who, as friend and teacher, introduced me to this area and brilliantly pointed out its possibilities. Long after his formal association with Dropsie University he has been most gracious with his personal assistance. I wish to thank my advisor, Dr. Jay Falk, who meticulously read and corrected the manuscript, suggesting literature, sources, and approaches. His vast erudition and personal concern have been most valuable. Dr. William Chomsky has been most helpful with his suggestions, criticisms, and assistance. Of course, not they, but I bear full responsibility for the methodology and conclusions embodied in this study.

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

See: Bergmann, E. Codex Hammurabi;
Driver, G. R., and Miles, J. C.
"Code of Hammurabi, pars. 117-119;"
Wessely, A. R., and Deimel, A.
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Donner, H., and Rollig, W. Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften.

Brockelmann, Carl. Lexicon Syriacum. 2nd ed.

literally

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MISHNAIC ABBREVIATIONS

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

Ab  A.  Kilayyim  Kil.
Carakin  Car.  MaCaser  MaCas.
Baba Batra  B. B.  Makkot  Mak.
Baba Mezia  B. M.  Makśirin  Makš.
Baba Qamma  B. Q.  Menahot  Men.
Bekhot  Bek.  Megilla  Meg.
Berakhot  Ber.  Middot  Mid.
Bikkurim  Bik.  Miqvatot  Miq.
Demai  Dem.  Mocad Qatan  M. Q.
Edut  Ed.  Nazir  Naz.
Erubin  Er.  Nedariim  Ned.
Gittin  Git.  Negaim  Neg.
Hagiga  Hag.  Oholot  Oh.
Horayot  Hor.  Pesahim  Pes.
Hullin  Hul.  Qiddusin  Qid.
Qinnim  Qin.
Rôs Hasâna  R. H.
Sabbât  Sab.
Sanhedrin  Sanh.
Sebît  Seb.
Sebûôt  Sebu.
Seqâlim  Seq.
Sukkâ  Suk.
Tacânît  Ta'can.
Tebu Yôm  Teb. Yôm
Temurâ  Tem.
Terûmot  Ter.
Tohorot  Toh.
Yâdayyim  Yad.
Yebâmôt  Yeb.
Zeḇâhim  Zeb.


3This is the term the Israelites themselves used to distinguish their language from "Torah, "the language of the Torah," TS Jul. 1978. The language is distinguished from lešen ha-gezer, "the speech of the common people," by being purely Hebrew, while the latter is mixed with Aramaic, A. Bandel, Biblici Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew (Tel Aviv, 1967), pp. 175-176 (prefixes abbreviated as BHMH). This language was not entirely restricted to the
INTRODUCTION

1. PURPOSE AND SCOPE

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

It has also been recognized that the later stratum of the Hebrew language, lešon ḥakəšim, rabbinic Hebrew, has also received loanwords from Akkadian, and that Akkadian influence has also been exerted upon native Hebrew elements, that is, its translation.

Some of this transfer of lexical elements may have taken place directly 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 the Neo-Babylonian empire, Akkadian had ceased to be a spoken language, certainly by the Maccabean period, there is no question of the language being a living language from which loans are borrowed into the Torah.


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

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

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

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

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

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


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

The negative contribution of this study has been to apply linguistic and philological criteria critically to words which have been proposed as Akkadian loans by Zimmern and others. A number of these have been rejected or called into question. The significance of this critical evaluation of previous suggestions is that it emphasizes more strongly the linguistic autonomy and influence of Aramaic. The words which were questioned as not being borrowed from Akkadian were either cognates in Akkadian and Aramaic, or, having entered Akkadian at a late stage, may have been borrowed from Aramaic. The role of Aramaic was
not fully considered in Zimmern's study, Akkadische Fremdwörter, except as a passive recipient. The words rejected were placed in a chapter together with loanword suggestions proposed here where the linguistic evidence was not decisive. It became clear during the process of this study that in many cases of loanwords, and even more so in the area of loan translations and extensions, it is not always possible to establish conclusively an Akkadian influence. It seems better to speak of degrees of probability. In the case of the loan translations and extensions, the words were similarly divided according to degree of probability. A number of original suggestions were made here, but the possibility of an earlier Akkadian influence on Biblical Hebrew, with the Mishnaic Hebrew dependent upon the Biblical, not upon the Akkadian, had to be considered. In addition, the probability that the word or expression in Hebrew was an independent coinage rather than a reflection of Akkadian influence ruled out a decisive acceptance of the latter. In these cases, where Akkadian influence could not be definitively established, the value of considering the word or expression was as a parallel to Akkadian.

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

7 Siegmund Fraenkel, Die arāmaīschen 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 le\textsuperscript{a}on hak\textsuperscript{a}m, 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.,\textsuperscript{1} wedistamas \textsuperscript{b}ez\textsuperscript{a}g\textsuperscript{a} b\textsuperscript{a}lap, "who uses the crown perishes," (\textsuperscript{1}Ab. 4:5), possibly from ag\textsuperscript{a}, "crown." The Akkadian examples have been drawn from the Old Akkadian or Old
Babylonian periods down to the Neo-Babylonian period, wherever applicable, or from the corresponding Assyrian periods. The main source is the material in the CAD and the Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.8

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

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

8CAD, vols. A, Pt. 1; A, Pt. 2; B, D, E, G, H, I/J, S, and Z; and AHw. Fascicles have appeared covering letters A to F.
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 Ṿekammēr.

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 šuqi šūrubu, "take in from the street, adopt," kol šene espresso mīn hāssūq, "anyone taken in from the street," and kalab me, kalab tanti Ṿe kalāb hamma yim, "sea-dog." These have been

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

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

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

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


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 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 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 form in which they entered.\textsuperscript{17}

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

\textsuperscript{13}G. Beer, Faksimile-Ausgabe des Mischnacodex Kaufmann A 50 (1928; rpt. Jerusalem, 1968) (hereafter abbreviated as MK).

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

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

\textsuperscript{16}A. I. Katsh, 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 ʾjemʾēmatay, "when," with a doubling of the mem, Beer, MK, Ber. 1:1, has been cited as confirmation of a borrowing from ʾinmati < inamati, E. Y. Kutscher, Hanoch Yalon Festschrift (Jerusalem, 1963), p. 269. Also, the presence of a dagesh in the p of ʾappār, "swamp, meadow," M. Berg 5:7, Kaufmann Manuscript, ibid., has been cited as confirmation of a borrowing of ʾappār from āpparu, Sumerian AMBAR, Kutscher, LeSonênu, 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. baʾappār and meʾjemʾēmatay, ibid., loc. cit.
2. HISTORY OF RESEARCH INTO AKKADIAN LOANS

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

Oppert, in 1886, related maskānu and Hebrew maskōn, "pledge."\(^{19}\) D. Feuchtwang identified kēri, "heap," šōbār, "receipt," and hegger, "ownerless property," with their Assyrian sources.\(^{20}\) A significant study by Meissner in 1891 identified a number of botanical loanwords in Hebrew.\(^{21}\)

Identifications by Barth included bēl dabābi > balal dēhabā, "opponent," dašu > dlḥ, "disturb," taqānu > tgl, "set in order," and sakāpu, "strike down," skp/sgp, "afflict."\(^{22}\)

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

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

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

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

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

A number of Late Hebrew words which were related to Assyrian in the dictionary itself are simānu > simānim, "windpipe," zi'ipu, "form, mold," > zayyēp, "forge," and qalāpu > qēlipa, "husk." Jastrow's Dictionary, in 1903, relying upon Schrader and Delitzsch, recognized the Assyrian origins of šläq < šalāqu, "dissect," bīrīt < bīritu, "chain," and susēbin < susapīnu, "attendant of the bride or groom." His identifications, however, were hampered by a tendency to derive the Assyrian from supposed Hebrew roots by etymology. Delitzsch's dictionary was largely the basis upon which Pick, in 1903, was able to point out a number of significant relationships between Assyrian and the Talmud. He discussed place and personal names, Talmudic legends originating in Babylonian myths, and several lexical identifications. What is significant in his work is his recognition that legal formulae used in the Talmud and in texts of the Middle Ages are derived from Neo-Babylonian models.

An important landmark in this area was the


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 šamaššammu, and then his attempt to derive it from šemeš, "sun," p. 1537.

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

26Ibid., pp. 23ff.
appearance of Zimmern's Akkadische Fremdwörter in 1915. The purpose of this study was to demonstrate the cultural influence of Babylonian through the diffusion of loanwords. Of the approximately four hundred words in Hebrew that he discusses, about fifty appear to have entered Mishnaic Hebrew from Akkadian with the mediation of Aramaic.

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

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

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

and taḫūmu > ṭeḥūma, "boundary."

27AFw.

development took place as a parallel development upon a common Semitic root, ḫṣr.29

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

Other suggestions of Tur-Sinai which deserve consideration are his identification of ṣeṭṭir, "sac of the foetus," with sapāru, "net,"32 and his relating ḥavin hāraḥ, "evil eye," with Akkadian ezzī likkilmūsu, "(may the gods) look upon him with anger."33 Kutscher has sought to relate Akkadian kimāḥpu (Sumerian KI-MAḪ), "grave," to Mishnaic ḫok, "sepulchral chamber." It has been recognized that Palmyrene ḥmḥ and Nabatean ḫwḥ, with the same meaning, are loanwords from


30N. Torczyner, Legonenu, VII (1935), 130.


the Akkadian. Mishnaic $\text{kōk}$, plural $\text{kukki̇̃m}$, 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 $\text{gmb}/\text{gwh}$ to $\text{kōk}$. This was facilitated by the fact that the $k$, following a vowel, was aspirated.\(^{34}\)

Following Barth and Schulthess, Kutscher accepts the loanword AMBAR $\gg \text{appāru} \gg \text{Jappār}$, "water-covered grazing place, swamp." What is important is that he finds a vocalization in the Kaufmann Manuscript of the Mishnah, $\text{Jappār}$, as against the $\text{Jāpar}$ of the Albeck edition. This form, with a $\text{dagesh}$ following an initial $\text{'aleph}$, is unusual unless it is explained as a borrowing.\(^{35}\) Other relationships to Mishnaic Hebrew which he notes are $\text{purgidam} \gg \text{pēraqdān}$, "lying flat on the back,"\(^{36}\) and $\text{gamsūq}$, "a corpse lying doubled up," and $\text{kamāṣu}$, "crouch, bend."\(^{37}\)

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


\(^{35}\)Kutscher, Lešonênu, XXXI (1967), 107-17.

\(^{36}\)Ibid., p. 114; cf. GAG, 120j; and M. Held, JCS, XV (1951), 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. 38 Landsberger's study of the fauna of Mesopotamia is of great importance both for Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew. 39 Many useful identifications of loanwords have been made in the CAD and in von Soden's Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.

Recent suggestions in the area of loanwords have been made in a study by Weisberg. He has suggested that mizru, "wool material," is the source of Mishnaic mizrān, "girth of material spread under or over bedding;" that ritta šaṭaru ana, "to inscribe the hand to," is the source of the expression mukṭāb lēmalēqūt, "marked with the royal mark;" that šeḥāre hārōṣ goes back to Akkadian qalmat qaqqadī, "black-headed ones;" and that Mishnaic pāṭîn, "cross beam," be derived from Neo-Babylonian pît(i)nu, "strong." 40

Some of these identifications are less than certain, however. It is not clear whether mizrān is derived directly as a loan from mizru, or whether there are cognate

38 R. C. Thompson, DAB.
39 B. Landsberger, Die Fauna des Alten Mesopotamien (Leipzig, 1934) (hereafter abbreviated as Fauna).
40 David B. Weisberg, "Some Observations on Late Babylonian Texts and Rabbinic Literature," HUCA, XXXIX (1968), 71-80. The identification mizru > mizrān was first made in 1899 by J. Krengel, Das Hausgerät in der Mishna (Frankfurt a. M.), cited in Weisberg, ibid., p. 73, n. 22.
verbs from which a parallel development may have occurred, cf. Mishnaic רבד, "spin wool." The expression ריתת שלטורו ана certainly clarifies Biblical ויקתא יד, but the expression מכתב לעמאלקית, "levied for royal service," can also be compared with Mishnaic מכתב בֶּיסֶּרֶת יי סֶל מֶּלֶךְ, "levied for the king's army," which may be a reflection of Latin conscribere and Greek ρέφω, "enrol." Moreover, Weisberg does not relate פיתִּנו with Biblical מִיסְתַּן, 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 ישָׁבָר, "receipt," נָדָנָי, "dowry," and הָנֹוד, "ownerless property," were made by Feuchtwang and Pick. Driver and Miles, in their studies of Babylonian and Assyrian law, discuss the relationship of סֶרֶת, "surety," and עֶרֶב, "enter," סִילוֹנָה, "gifts from the groom," and סְבֶּלְטָו, from וָבָּלוּ, "bring," and that of

41 M. סְפִּי 6:1. 42 Isa. 44:5.
43TB Ket. 58a.
Kutscher's study of Akkadian and Aramaic legal terms and their relationship to the Mishnah and Talmud is most significant. He proposes that certain military terms were transferred to the legal area by a natural extension of language. Examples are qablu, "battle," > qbl, "complain, sue," and grh mlāmh, "incite war," > grh dyn, "sue in court." Another extension is the use of zāru, "hate," used in the sense of "divorce," in Akkadian, and translated by šir 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. Akkadianubbubu, "clear, free of obligation," is reproduced as zukū ṭ in Nuzi and Alalakh, as nqv in Biblical Hebrew, Neo-Babylonian murruq, Aramaic mrq, Mishnaic zky, Demotic wdb, and Greek katharopoio. Levine's study of the relationship of mulūgu to mēlog, inalienable property of the wife brought into a marriage, is also of importance. Something of the original meaning survives in Mishnaic

46 R. Driver and J. C. Miles, The Assyrian Laws (Oxford, 1935); cēnən, p. 144, n. 1; siblōnt, pp. 186 and 472, where a connection with zabālu is rejected, and nārī, p. 505.


48 Ibid.

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

Muffs has contributed an in-depth study of Aramaic documents from Elephantine recording the transfer of property or the confirmation of rights thereto.51 Drawing upon the work of Cuq, Peiser, Koschaker and Speiser, as well as that of Kutscher, Muffs traces the relationship between formulae of conveyance in documents in Aramaic, Neo-Assyrian, and peripheral Akkadian. He notes that the operative sections of Old Babylonian sale documents are impersonal and objective, while the legal tradition from Susa, Kultepe, Assyria, Nuzi, and Ugarit has a more subjective quality. The seller indicates his renunciation of ownership by the formula libbasu ṭab, "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 docketts. 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: mêŝl̂ š̂etar < wašû, "produce a document," 55 tûn, "litigate," tâqûn š̂elûʕâ, "requires an oath," < emēdu, "impose," and slq yd, "remove, pay off" < etēru, "remove, pay off," and qâsusâʕûtir "(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

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

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

55 Muffs, Studies, p. 183

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

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

More closely related to specific terms are Falk’s suggestions of parallels between Mishnaic גֵּיָנָנ barzel, property brought into a marriage by the wife for which the husband accepts responsibility, and Akkadian akkešu litti, "(lit.) bulls and cows that do not die,"60 and his contention that legal terms for "decree," הַרְגָּר and גּזֶר, are to be traced to the influence of paraša.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

59 Z. W. Falk, TARBIZ, XXXVII (1967), 47.


62 TB Qid. 2b; TB A. Z. 58b; TB Hul. 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 loan-words, 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.

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63 A. Geiger, Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mischna (Breslau, 1845), pp. 1f., cited by Kutscher in the Hanok Yalon Festschrift, p. 246.
64 C. Levias, "Hebrew Language," Jewish Encyclopedia, VI, 308.
65 Segal, GMH, p. 11.
least a section of the Jewish people living in Palestine. As that Jewish life in Palestine gradually decayed and ultimately suffered total extinction, so was Mishnaic Hebrew banished step by step from everyday life, and eventually, toward the end of the Mishnaic period, became confined to the learned in the schools and academies.  

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

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

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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. This influence becomes apparent through the unique vocalization of Mishnaic Hebrew which is attested in the Parma and Kaufmann manuscripts, and in oral Yemenite traditions. Kutscher emphasizes that much of this tradition was lost through the scribal correction of this vocalization in an attempt to make it conform to Massoretic Biblical vocalization.

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

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

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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 Mish-
naic 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
coa lcsed, complicating the explanation of a loan process.
He also notes Akkadian influence upon Babylonian documents,
where hên, "yes," is closer to Akkadian anna than is Palest­
inian 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 in-
fluence 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. 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.
80 J. Klausner, "Origin of Mishnaic Hebrew," SH
(Jerusalem, 1923), Orientalia atque Judaica I, Art. IX,
cited in Segal, GMH, p. 14, n. 2.
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: ἐν τῷ ἐπιφωσκούμενῷ εἰς μίαν ὥραν τοῦ βαπτισμοῦ

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 לֶיָּוהָם, not referring to "dawn" but to the "night before," equivalent to Aramaic נַגְּחָ , נַגְּחָה. 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: שָׁמְתּוּפֶּי כָּמֶק מְנַחְיַר שְׁבֻרֹה יָנָּה

in which מַנַּחְיַר bn מְנַנְיָמ prnsw כָּמֶק bn קָשְׁבֵּכ nֶּבֶי ysr ָּל,

"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 סָרָה differs from Hebrew סָרָה in that it denotes the night after the day, while סָרָה is the night before, as is נַגְּחָה, נַגְּחָה, cf. ibid., and Albeck, IM, p. 173, n. 31; cf. also, M. Pes. 1:1: סָרָה לְאַרְבָּא-כָּשָׁר, "the night before the fourteenth."
and I, from Jonathan son of ḪNMY, the administrator of Simeon ben Kosiba, Prince of Israel." The words ḫkr, "rent," and prns, "administrator," also occur in another document. In yet another document, there occurs the phrase wdl htwbh wthd ṣbkpr, "the 'fine date' and the ḥṣād in the village." This phrase is identical with that in M. A. Z. 1:5, ḫn degel ṭb wthṣāḏ, verifying the reading of the Kaufmann Manuscript and the Yerushalmi against the ḥṣāḏ of the Babli. There are also differences between the language of the Mishnah and that of the Bar Kochba documents, as noted by Bendavid. 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. There were pockets where Hebrew was spoken after this date, even down to 300 C.E. in the south of Eretz.
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.

The first case is the loanword. When it enters a language, it is adapted to the sound and grammatical patterns of that language. The rendering of the foreign form by the nearest phonemic shape is called phonemic substitution. 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.

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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. 25, 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.


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.

97 Ibid., pp. 78f.
98 Ibid., p. 79.
99 Words such as kanānu, knn, "wind," marāsu, mrs, "stir," masāpu, Ṿp, "measure," and qalāpu, ṣlp, "peel"
Mishnaic Hebrew has instances of verbs with the šapCEL, e.g., šaklēl, "complete," šacamem, "stupefy," šahrēr, "free." Akkadian cannot, however, be regarded as the source of the limited amount of šapCEL forms that are to be found. Traces of the šapCEL 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 šapCEL in North West Semitic and has concluded that only two are traceable to Akkadian. He posits Amorite as the source of the šapCEL form in the various Semitic languages. 101 A number of Aramaic verbs have been traced directly to Akkadian, e.g., šezeb < šuzubu, "save," šaklēl < šuklulu, "complete," and šeši < šuṣ, "complete." 102

This may be, however, the borrowing of the entire form as is, rather than of the šapCEL 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.

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


šaklēl, which does occur in Mishnaic Hebrew and was borrowed from Aramaic and, ultimately, from Akkadian. In the case of the noun ṣ̌utāp, "partner," it is possible that the word was borrowed directly from ṣ̌utāpu, a later form for tappū, "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 ḫaqbac hakkāḇed, "lobe (finger) of the liver," from ubān amūtim, and ṣ̣eḥorē hārōs, "black-headed ones," from ṣalmat qaqgdi.

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

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

The process of extension can also apply to forms which are cognate in the two languages but where a special idiomatic sense of one is transferred to the other. Old English *eorl*, "brave warrior," acquired the sense of "nobleman" under the influence of the Old Norse cognate.\(^{107}\) Examples of this process in the Mishnah are: *hammos*\(\hat{\text{t}}\)*, ye\(\text{t}ar\) *hāṭu*, "one who produces a bill of indebtedness," < *wasū*, and *qēn hattannūr* < *In kīri*, "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: *pirē*.


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

\(^{107}\)Jespersen, *Growth*, p. 72.
Weinreich explores the problem of lexical integration of loanwords; that is, the consequence of a word transfer upon the "field" or semantic system of which it becomes a member. 108

The first situation is that of a loanword with entirely new content. The emergence of new one-morpheme forms adds new environments to the environment ranges of all the forms in the newly created discourses. An example is the introduction of the morpheme tea and the creation of new environments such as tea-leaves, tea-cups, and tea-time. 109

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

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

108 Weinreich, Languages in Contact, pp. 53ff.
109 Hoenigswald, Language Change, pp. 22f.
110 Ibid., p. 22.
word may be new, one cannot always be certain about the newness of the thing to which it refers. For example, the word melag 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 kūṣbār, replaces gad, "coriander," used in the Bible, and Biblical miptān "threshold," is replaced by ḥisquppā  askuppátu. 115

111 Levine, Survivals, p. 62.
112 Weinreich, Languages in Contact, p. 54.
113 Weinreich, ibid., pp. 54f.; and Hoenigswald, Language Change, pp. 28f.
114 Hoenigswald, ibid.
115 Cf. gad, Numb. 11:7, replaced by kūṣbār, M. Kil. 1:2; Afw, p. 57; miptān, I Sam. 5:5, replaced by ḥisquppā, 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, yadhaw, "together," are replaced in the Mishnah by kadehad. This is based upon Aramaic kaḥadā, itself a loan translation of Akkadian ḫēnāṣ. 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 seger, "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. 120e. This loan translation is already present in the later books of the Bible, Isa. 65:25; Ezra 2:64, 3:9; and Kohelet 11:6. A similar process from Greek is ἴδιον in place of Biblical jelel, Bendavid, BHMH, p. 116.

118 Weinreich, Languages in Contact, p. 55.

119 Bendavid, BHMH, p. 341; and cf. separ, M. Soṭa 9:2.

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

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

121M. Yad. 3:5; and M. Keli 15:6.
123Weinreich, Languages in Contact, p. 55, n. 72.
124Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 132-34.
are quotations from the Bible.  

Criteria for evaluating whether a word is a loanword 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 $g-t$, $t-g$, $q-t$ are incompatible in Hebrew.  

Thus words with these consonants are to be considered foreign, e.g., $gēt < gīṭṭu < ḡī'dā, "document," qāt, "handle," $qātu, "hand." Other occurrences of these consonant combinations are also foreign, from Greek, e.g., $tāg, "fry," < ῥάγνυνω, "frying pan," $qētēdrā < ḫαβέδρα, "chair," qētōlīqōs < καθολικός, "official."

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

125Albeck, IM, p. 129. A case of the retention of a nearly obsolete term is that of $sēper ḱēḇāṭāh, "the document of her marriage contract," M. Ed. 1:12, a reflection of the earlier legal sense of $sēper. In most Mishnaic discourse, as noted above, get and $šēṭār replace $sēper. Another case of the retention of a nearly obsolete word is $pāṭūr, "pot," M. Bēšā 1:7. This is quite rare, as Biblical $pāṭūr is replaced by $qēḍērā, Bendavid, BIMH, p. 359.

126Moscati, 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: ūmed, "estimate," < ēmittu, emēdu, "lay upon, impose," īmētay, ḫimmātay, ḫimmāti < immāti < ina mati, "when," ērīs < erēšūm, "tenant farmer," < erēšum/hrt/hrš, "plow," wadday < waddi, "certainly," < idū, "know,"uzzi < zužu < zāzu, "divide," hence, "subdivision of a larger coin," ḫiltī, "gum of asafoetida," < ḫīl tiyāti, ḫaggār < 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: gargīr, Erucha, < girgirru, to be distinguished from gargār, "berry, grain," gāsīs, "pole, frame of bed," < gāsīsu, "pole," to be distinguished from gāsīs, "grope, touch," lepet < laptu, "turnip," to be distinguished from laptu, "embrace, touch," and garāb, "vessel," < karpatu, to be distinguished from garāb, "itch."

In the case of bib, "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 bīju. In the case of a cognate, one might expect a Hebrew counterpart to bīju, as in the case of suju, sē, "lamb." The variant subu 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 sēbat, "tongs," is such a borrowing, as the cognate form sīt exists alongside of the borrowed sīt.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

127 GAG, par. 24b.
128 This is the "Geers Law," which also applies to Old Aramaic, F. Geers, JNES, IV (1945), 65-67.
129 M. JAB, 5:6; both the cognate and the borrowed form occur in Ruth 2:14, 16. Compare sīt, "adorn," and takāsīt, "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) consonantional.

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

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

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

A number of words occurring in the Mishnaic Hebrew and in the Akkadian lexicon have not been included here, as it is clear that they are originally Aramaic. These words include: egertu \(<\text{'igra} >\) jiggeret, "letter,"
gadāmu \(<\sqrt{gdm} >\) giddem, "amputee," galālu \(<\sqrt{gel} >\) gōlēl, "cover of a tomb," garīstu \(<\sqrt{gerį} >\) gērīḥin, "bread," and ḫapāpu \(<\sqrt{hpp} >\) "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," šātru, "writing," and Aramaic and Hebrew šēṭār, "legal document," and ḥāpu, "trust," qīptu, "position of trust," borrowed in the special sense of meqīr, "lends on"

133Cf. egertu, AHW, p. 190; gadāmu and galālu, p. 273; garīstu, p. 282; and ḥapāpu, p. 321.
There are semantic shifts which are not too distant, e.g., AL > allu, "hoe," > ħallā, "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., ḫāṣāṣ > ḫāṣāṣ, "lettuce," and, possibly, ḫāṣīt, "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 ḫiṣṣūs, šeḥōs, "cartilage of the ear," with ḫāṣīs, "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 ḫiṣṣūs, šeḥōs can apply to cartilage in other parts of the body.

c) Consonantal Correspondences: Akkadian script does not differentiate between י, כ, and ו. Loanwords with original כ and 유 will appear in Akkadian as if written with י (י) and should thus enter Hebrew. Examples are: יאריס, from errēsum, "tenant farmer," < ereṣu / ṣērsu, from Ugaritic ṣērsu, "tenant farmer."
Semitic brt. Possibly Assyrian ārisūtu, "tenancy," is an intermediate step. Similarly, āmed, "estimate," would derive from emēdu, imittu, "impose," "the estimate of the date harvest." There are, however, variants, āris\textsuperscript{135} and āmed\textsuperscript{136}. It must be assumed that the variation, with the presence of an ā, is attributable to variants in manuscript traditions and has not been transferred.

A contrary view, that the presence of an ā 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 ʾastē, "one," is a loan from Akkadian ʾštēn, he makes the following statement: "This may be taken as an indication that Akkadian, though graphically not representing the /št/, still possessed this phoneme at the time ʾštēn was borrowed into Hebrew and Sabean."\textsuperscript{137} This statement is not accurate. Up to the Old Babylonian period, the /št/ phoneme was pronounced, as may be concluded from the many times that adiānum, "fixed time," is written with a h.\textsuperscript{138} After this period Akkadian

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

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


\textsuperscript{138}GAG, par. 23c.
loses the $c$ in pronunciation as well as graphically. An example is a name such as $\text{Nebûzar-dân} \rightarrow \text{Nabû-zêr-iddina}$, where the element $\text{zêr}$ is cognate with $\text{zera}^c$ 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 $\kappa$, examples being: $\text{ἅρκη} > \text{arkiyot}$, $\text{ἀμβολον} > \text{ambûle}$, and $\text{ἀμολον} > \text{amîlân}$. Babylonian manuscripts transcribe these words with $\varsigma$, $\text{carkēt}$, $\text{cinbâl}$, and $\text{camîlân}$.

Conversely, Palestinian manuscripts have $\kappa$ in place of $\varsigma$, as $\text{κέmed}$ and $\text{κkl}$, "be consumed," in place of $\varsigma\text{kl}$.

The implication of this for loanwords is to bring into question certain identifications that have been suggested. Akkadian $\text{ikû}$, "ditch," is regarded as the source of the loanwords $\text{cûgyâ}$ and $\text{cûgâ}$. If the spelling with $\kappa$ is basic, it can be doubted that this is a loanword. If the variant $\text{ûgyâ}$ is correct, then a loan can be assumed, and the $\kappa$ is a variant in scribal tradition.

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

139Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 185-86.

140Segal, GMH, p. 28.
Babylonian, are absent in Biblical Hebrew, and recur in 
Mishnaic Hebrew. These are: ebētu, "bind, tie," / ḫebet
Sel sandal, "thong of a sandal," ekēku, "scratch," / ḫkk,
neru, "kill," / bešar nēḥirā, "meat killed by stabbing."\(^{141}\)

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

Other correspondences of consonants in trans-
criptions of loans from Akkadian to Aramaic and Hebrew 
will be considered. Personal names or divine names are 
helpful in establishing regularities of consonant trans-
mission, 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 to-
gether, and the order of the Hebrew alphabet will be fol-
lowed. The following correspondences are attested:

\[ b > b: \text{Nab}u-kudurri-ušur (PN) > [N]bwkdrsr,^{142} \]
\[ bîrîtu > bîrît, "chain," bîbu > bîp, "drain." \]
\[ g > g: \text{Nergal} (DN) > Nrgl,^{143} gîtu > get, 
"document." \]

\(^{141}\text{Cf. ebētu, AHW, p. 183, ḫebet, M. Miq. 10:3; }
\text{edequ, AHW, p. 186, hiddud, M. Kēlīm 3:5; ekēku, AHW, p. }
\text{193b, ḫkk, M. B. Q. 4:6; nēru, nērtum, "murder," Code of }
\text{Hammurābī, par. 1; cf. hannōber, "he who stabs," M. Hul. }
\text{6:2; cf. Arabic nabara, "wound in the throat, slaughter an animal," J. G. Hava, Arabic-English Dictionary (Beirut, }
\text{1915), p. 754.} \]

\(^{142}\text{KAI I, No. 227, Vs. 5.} \]
\(^{143}\text{Ibid., No. 222, A, 9.} \]
Sarru-ασαρεδύ (or d'Assur-ασαρεδύ) (PN) > Ssrnd, 144 dappu > dəp, "board."

w > w: wuddi > wadda'y, "certainly."

z > z: Nabu-žer-iddina > Nebūzar-adaş (PN), zuzu > zuz, monetary unit.

h > h: dSin-ahhe-eriba (PN) > Sānherib, ḥazannu > ḥazzān, "mayor, official."

t > t: Bel-etir (PN) > Blt, 145 gittu > get, "document."

k > k: Sarru-kēnu (PN) > Srk, 146 kisibirru > kūsbār, "coriander."

k > g: Mannu-kī-Assur (PN) > Mng'sr, 147 kassīsu > 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 related to the loan process. Within Akkadian it is often unclear from the writing whether k or emphatic q is intended. 148 One finds both the writing kūkkubānu and quqqubānu, "stomach." 149 Segal also notes a tendency in Mishnaic Hebrew to emphaticise certain consonants, e.g., Biblical kpl > Mishnaic qpl, "fold." 150 Thus loans such

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

h > k: This is quite rare. This change is involved in Kutscher's proposal: kimāḥu > Palmyrene kmh Nabatean gʷh > Aramaic, Hebrew kōk, kūk, "sepulchre."¹⁵¹

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

m > m: Nabū-ušallim (or Nabū-salim) (PN) > Nbwšlm,¹⁵³ mukku > mōk, "thread, rag."

m > w: Simānu > Siwān, name of a month,¹⁵⁴ kimāḥu > Palmyrene gʷh > Nabatean gʷh > Aramaic, Hebrew kōk, kūk, "sepulchre."¹⁵⁵

n > n: Ṣarru-na'id (PN) > srn'd,¹⁵⁶ nāptu > nēpt.

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

The phenomenon of the interchange of ḫanāšu/kanāšu, "submit," and tambāku/tamābu, "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.

¹⁵²KAI I, No. 222, A, 9.

¹⁵³Ibid., No. 233, 14.


¹⁵⁵Kutscher, Eretz Israel, VIII (1967), 273-79.

¹⁵⁶KAI I, No. 236, Vs. 1, 4.
naphtha."

s > š: Sin-anhe-eriba (PN) > Sanherib, kisibirru > kūsār, "coriander."

s > š: Esagilla (Temple name) > Sng'l, 157

saparu, "net," > šenIr, "sack of the foetus," susap'nu šeššin, "attendant of the bride or groom." This change may be due to the loan process, or to variants in Akkadian itself between s and š. 158 Perhaps the variant form was borrowed.

g > q: La-qīpu (PN) > Lqr, 159 gāpu > meqinu, "lend on credit."

P > b: Sēpē-š Assur > Sb'sr (PN), 160 senēpu > šnub, a measure of volume, 161 susap'nu šeššin, "attendant of the bride or groom." The inherited writing does not always distinguish clearly between b and p in Akkadian. This is true when b and p follow vowels and when they precede the u-vowel. Presumably there was a distinction in pronunciation in most dialects. This is shown in the writing, for example, before the a-vowel. In particular dialects the distinction in pronunciation also may have been lost. However, in Nuzi, the voiced and unvoiced stops were confused due to the influence of Hurrian,

157 KAI I, No. 228, A, 16.
158 GAG, par. 69b; cf. Old Assyrian šamāne, Late Babylonian samantu, "eight," ibid.
159 KAI I, No. 235, Rs. 4.
160 Ibid., Vs. 3.
compare Akkadian *baqāru*, "to vindicate (in the legal sense)," *bāqirānum*, but Nuzi *pāqirānu*, "vindicator."

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

These changes would be internal and not in the transmission of *s* > *q*: *La-gīpu* (PN) > *Lqz*, *guppu* > *guppā*, "box, basket."

*r* > *r*: *Sarru-kēnu* (PN) > *Sargōn*, *sātāru* > *šētar*, "write" "document."

*y* > *y*: *Sarru-naḫid* (PN) > *Srōnd*, *sumsammu* "sesame."

*y* > *y*: *Sarru-ašarēdu* (PN) > *Sršrd*, *Raši-ili"
This variant may be within Akkadian itself, as the form nadbaku does occur.\(^{170}\)

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

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\(^{168}\) \text{KAI I, No. 236, Vs. 2.} \\
\(^{169}\) \text{KAI I, No. 222, A, 8.} \\
\(^{170}\) \text{AHw, p. 766.} \\
\(^{171}\) \text{AFw, p. 33.} \\
\(^{172}\) B. Meissner, \textit{Studien zur Assyrischen Lexigraphie, Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XI} (Leipzig, 1937), Nos. 1-2, 79-80 (hereafter abbreviated as \text{Studien}). \\
\(^{173}\) \text{GAG, par. 29b.} \\
\(^{174}\) \text{Segal, GMH, p. 30.}
consonant correspondences but the borrowing of attested variants of Akkadian by the Aramaic and Hebrew. Mishnaic ḫāzīnā is identified with ḫaṣīnā, "axe," by Albeck, and this goes back to Akkadian ḫāṣīnu. Possibly the change š > z is internal to the Hebrew. On the other hand, there is a writing ina ha-az-zi-in-ni ša šarri, "by the axes of the king." This variant may have been borrowed. Another possibility is that indeed there is a change š > z, compare Šarpanitu (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 š > 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 š represents Semitic š as seen by the interdialectical distribution, e.g., karāšu, "leek," Hebrew kēresā and karti and Aramaic kēretā. This word was treated as a loanword by Zimmern, 179

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

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

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


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

\(^\text{183}\)Von Soden, Akk. Syll., p. XXI.

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

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

a) Stress on the Same Syllable: Examples are:

biritu > birit, "chain," tabūmu > tēbūm, "boundary, abāru > ṣapār, "lead." The last two examples follow the rule that short vowels in open unstressed syllables are reduced to ə. Compare also susapīnu > susēzin, "attendant of

186 Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.8g. The same occurs in Aramaic, cf. ibid., par. 10.10c.
the bride or groom." In the case of erresum, Old Akkadian arrasum, "tenant," > Hebrew יָרִים, the first vowel is lengthened in accordance with the rule that open pre-tonic syllables undergo lengthening, a > ā; compare also gasīsu > gāsīs. "pole." The loanword quqqubānu > qurqubān, "stomach," is a case where the unstressed second vowel is reduced to ą, and dissimilation occurs, qq > 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," > *kimtu > *kint > *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., kītāt. The regular change of u > o in short accented vowels 189 explains quddu > god, "box," and mūkku > mōk, "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., šaniu > šanū, "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., ṣerētū, "lordship," or a short vowel in a closed syllable, e.g., napīštu, "life," kūbbaru.

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., šaparu, "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: mulugu $\rightarrow$ mēlog, "type of marriage gift," where the initial vowel, losing its stress is reduced to ə, and the second short u, receiving the stress, is changed to ə.\textsuperscript{193} In the case of nādbaku $\rightarrow$ 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., a $\rightarrow$ i, as in the case of nādbaku $\rightarrow$ nīdbāk.\textsuperscript{195} The same rule is exemplified by the initial vowel of askuppatu $\rightarrow$ disqupta $\rightarrow$ disquppā, "threshhold." 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.
syllable. In Hebrew, the anaptyctic vowel is e, which assimilates to itself a and i (but not u) of the preceding syllable. Examples are mišru > *mīsr > meger, "boundary," and laptu > *lapt > lpet, "turnip."

d) Unusual Vowel Changes: In a number of cases the expected vowel changes do not occur. One example is nuḥatimmu, "cook, baker," where one might expect Hebrew *nuhtem, the second, unstressed, vowel being reduced to zero, and accented ı changing to o. Instead, the form nahtem conforms to the pattern which includes qardom and matmôn.

The word saparu, "net," which has been proposed by Tur-Sinai as a loan in špīr, "sac of the foetus," should correspond to a Hebrew *šapār, compare hātanu, Hebrew hātan, "son-in-law," or a development might be imagined: šaparu > *šapār > *šēpār. Perhaps the actual adaptation of Aramaic špīr and Hebrew šēpīr was the result of an attempt to avoid confusion with the root špr, "be beautiful." The difference between Akkadian š and Hebrew š 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 tahumu > tējumu.

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) > Šnīl, KAI I, No. 228, A, 16. Original sapārru may underlie saparu, involving no accent change (Dr. Moshe Held, in oral communication).
word was adapted to the perris form, e.g., gēzīr, gerīs, gerīd, sēnīd. 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

199Segal, GMH, pars. 105-106.
200Stephen A. Kaufman, AIA.
201Ibid., pp. 157-78.
CHAPTER I

NON-SEMITIC LOANWORDS

1) \( J^\text{\`a}b\text{`ar} \) > \( ab\text{`aru} \), "lead."

Akkadian \( ab\text{`aru} \), "lead," is used from the Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian periods on.\(^1\) The Sumerian \( A.BAR \) is not original and is a pseudo-logogram based upon the Akkadian. The sign \( A.LU \) used for \( ab\text{`aru} \) 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 \( J^\text{\`a}b\text{`ar} \) occurs in the Mishnah.\(^3\) Another relationship to the Mishnah is seen in the punishment cited in Alalakh tablets: \( a-ba-ra-am \ ina \ pi\text{`u} \ is\text{`appak\text{`u} \).}

\(^1\) AH\text{w}, p. 4; CAD I, Pt. 1, 36-38. Biblical \( \text{`opere\text{`t} \), "lead," may also derive from \( ab\text{`aru} \), B-D-B, p. 780. However, the form of Mishnaic \( J^\text{\`a}b\text{`ar} \) shows that it derives not from the Biblical borrowing but directly from \( ab\text{`aru} \). Arabic \( j\text{`abar} \) is a loan from Aramaic \( J^\text{\`a}b\text{`ar\`a} \), S. Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 152. The Aramaic is the source of the Hebrew.

\(^2\) AF\text{w}, p. 4; CAD I, Pt. 1, 38.

\(^3\) M. K\text{`
\text{`e\text{`im 14:5; AF\text{w}, p. 59.}
"they pour hot lead into his mouth." While the Mishnah, discussing the death penalty of "burning" does not mention יָבָר, this is implied by the commentary of the Talmud which refers to פֶּטְיַלָא יֶל יָבָר, "a bar of lead," which is dropped into the criminal's mouth.


5 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 *g1šAL*, and is equated with *marru*, "spade." An example is *nāšī marrī allī 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 *qesēk*, "bow," and *rōmah*, "spear."

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6 *AHw*, p. 37b; *CAD I*, Pt. 1, 356f.
8 *CAD*, ibid.
9 *M. Sab*. 6:4; *M. Kēlim* 16:8. The sense of *jallā* as "tool" is not entirely lost in Aramaic. The Talmud explains the Mishnaic word as *qūlpā* (< Akkadian *kalapp/bbu*, "axe"), TB *Sab*. 63a. Perhaps in Babylonia the meaning of the Akkadian word was maintained.
3) $\text{appār} \Rightarrow \text{appāru}, "swamp, reed growth."

Akkadian appāru is a loan from Sumerian AMBAR.\footnote{AHw, p. 59.}

Esarhaddon speaks of the Gambulean who qereb agamme $\text{gâ appārâtî sitkunu subtu}, "dwells in the marshes and the swamps."\footnote{CAD I, Pt. 1, 142, citing Borger, Esarhaddon, sec. 110.}

The walls of Babylon were surrounded by an artificial appāru, as appears from the inscriptions of Hammurabi: $\text{appāram lu uštasqiru}, "I surrounded it with an artificial swamp."\footnote{L. W. King, Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi I (London, 1898), No. 57:18-19 (hereafter abbreviated as LIH).}

Mishnaic $\text{appār}$ is to be identified with appāru as a loanword.\footnote{M. Besa 5:7; AFw, p. 43. The Targum Yeruṣalmi renders $\text{appīp}$, "reeds" in Exodus 2:3 as $\text{appārā}. As seen from Genesis 41:2, the reed growth was a grazing place.}

There is no basis for any derivation from $\text{pērî}, "fruit," hence, "fruitful meadow."\footnote{J. Levy, NCW, I, 148.}

While Albeck's edition of the Mishnah, vocalized by Yalon, presents the word as $\text{jâgîr},$ Kutscher's reading, $\text{jappār},$ is being followed here. His view is based upon the reading in the Kaufmann Manuscript, hallānōt ba-jappār. He regards the hataf-patah under the initial aleph as incorrect, and as characteristic of inconsistencies by the
scribe in matters of vocalization. It would not be associated with a syllable closed by doubling. He regards, however, the doubling of the second consonant as most significant, as it provides a reading of the Hebrew word closer to the original Akkadian. 16

A vocalization is a form shown in a Mishnah manuscript from the Geniza, a form similar to the Akkadian and to Aramaic , which is probably the intermediary between the Akkadian and the Hebrew. Kutscher also calls attention to a spelling in the Aramaic Talmud, which, if correct, is closer to the final consonant of the Akkadian. It is, however, contested in the margin in

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

The Sumerian equivalent of ḫalāku is ṮUG.BABBAR, the first element having the sense of "garment," and the second "clean." It has been suggested that the form A.ZA.LAG is really pre-Sumerian. In the Mishnah, ḫēšlāq occurs in context with other minerals used in laundering: Ṯeker, "soda," ḫōrīk, "soap," and ḫomūlyē, "cimolean earth." It has been suggested that Mishnaic ḫēšlāq is a loan from ḫalāku.

A vocalization ḫašlāq occurs in a Mishnah manuscript from the Geniza, a form closer to the Akkadian and to Aramaic ḫaṣēga, which is probably the intermediary between the Akkadian and the Hebrew. Katsh also calls attention to a spelling in the Babylonian Talmud, ḫlk, 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.
19AFw, p. 28. A derivation from Greek σταλαγμα, "vitriol," cannot be accepted, cf. S. Krauss, Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch and Targum I 2 vols. (Berlin, 1898), 126 (hereafter abbreviated as Lehnwörter).
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 מְלָגוֹט and the Aramaic מַלְגָּה. 23

This word is attested in Old and Neo-Babylonian, and in Middle and Neo-Assyrian. 24 An Assyrian example is: נָלַיְמִום, bi-ri-tu passilli addu; "I threw their ruler into iron fetters." 25

The CAD lists this word under bīlītu, "in-between terrain," 26 assuming an etymological relationship referring probably to the chain linking the manacles. Van Zoden, however, distinguishes between bīlītu I, "fortress," bīlītu II, "fetters," and bīlītu III, "in-between." 27

The Sumerian equivalents support this, as the equivalents for "middle-region" are MURU, and BALNA, (AN)-NA, and for "fetters," BAR.NAR.RE. 28

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

22E. Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, pp. 169 and 178.

23Aruk, s.v. יֶגְלָג. This is its reading for TB Sab. 90a.

24Porath, p. 129; CAD II (A), 254f.
25Porath, ibid., 253.
26Ibid., 254f.
27Aruk, p. 129.
28Ibid. On the basis of this, the word has been grouped with the non-Semitic loans.

29CAD, p. 614. It is defined as a knee garter used for holding up the stockings, while מְלָגוֹט, "chains," in the same passage, are a pair of them with a chain joining the two.

22E. Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, pp. 169 and 178.
5) \( \text{bIrIt} \sim \text{birItu}, \) Assyrian \( \text{berittu} \), "clasp, chain, fetters."

This word is attested in Old and Neo-Babylonian, and in Middle and Neo-Assyrian. An Assyrian example is:

\[ \text{maliksunu...bi-ri-tu parzilli addi.}, \] "I threw their ruler into iron fetters." 

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

The identity of this word with Mishnaic \( \text{birIt} \), "knee-band, garter," has long been recognized.

\[ \begin{align*}
24 & \text{AHw, p. 129;} \quad \text{CAD II (B), 254f.} \\
25 & \text{CAD, ibid., 255.} \\
26 & \text{Ibid., 254f.} \\
27 & \text{AHw, p. 129.} \\
28 & \text{Ibid. On the basis of this, the word has been grouped with the non-Semitic loans.} \\
29 & \text{M. Sab. 6:4. It is defined as a knee garter used for holding up the stockings, while k\text{\textbar\textbar}t\text{\textbar\textbar}m, "chains," in the same passage, are a pair of them with a chain joining the two, Albeck, Mishnah, M\text{\textbar\textbar}d, p. 31.} \\
30 & \text{Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 166b, citing E. Schrader, KAT, p. 542. AFW, p. 43, connects \text{ber\textbar\textbar}t\text{\textbar\textbar}i, "alleys," with bery\text{\textbar\textbar}ta, but does not include our word.}
\end{align*} \]
It is not absolutely certain that BAR.BAR.RE, given by von Soden as the equivalent of bi'rītu, is a Sumerian word. It could conceivably be a Sumerian borrowing of an Akkadian word. In that event, this word, bi'rītu, 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 get is a loan from gā'ītu. It is used in the Mishnah in the general sense of "document," partially replacing Biblical sē'ēr and, like sē'ēr in the Bible and in Talmudic, requiring an additional element to define its nature. When modified by the element *'āšā'ā or ḥā'īs, get denotes "divorce," although this is also evident from the context when get stands alone. Arabic gīt. 

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:

GI.LI.U5.UM.MES su-nu pūṣuṭu u giṭṭanīsunu ḫuppū, "their wax tablets are erased, their (clay) tablets broken."

It is generally recognized that Hebrew get is a loan from gītu. It is used in the Mishnah in the general sense of "document," partially replacing Biblical sēper and, like sēper in the Bible and in Elephantine, requiring an additional element to define its nature. When modified by the element ḫissā or nāsim, get denotes "divorce," although this is also evident from the context when get stands alone.

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

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32 AHW, p. 294b; cf. imgiddu, ibid., p. 376.
33 Ibid., p. 294b.
34 CAD VI (H), 171b.
35 AHW, p. 19; and AIA, pp. 62-3.
36 Cf. get pāṣūṭ, "unfolded document," and get meqūṣār, "folded document." M. B. B. 10:1. In the Mishnah, getār is more used in the wider sense; compare getār ḫob, ibid., 10:6, and getār ḫālisā, M. B. M. 1:8, and get ḫob, TB B. Q. 95a, and get ḫālisā, TB Ket. 51b.
37 M. Git. 1:4.
38 Ibid. 1:6.
"register," is regarded as a loan from Aramaic git̂a, although the consonant change g > q is unusual. 39

This word is attested in Neo- and in Late Babylonian, as in the passage: ʾsippi ʾaqul, ᵚнюю NSS. 1. "I supported by them the boards (forming) the cornice of their (the palaces') gates." 40 Although the attestation in Akkadian is late, the CAD considers this as possibly a Sumerian loanword. This is suggested by the variant writings ṣappu and dabhu, and also, by Sumerian Dil, "board of a door." 41 The use of the form ṣappu in Esaraddon may be a Neo-Assyrian hypercorrection. 42 Zimmern considered Aramaic dappū, Hebrew ḏān, as loans from Sumerian, but he did not distinguish between ṢUB ṣāppu, "clay tablet," and ṣappu, "board." 43 They are to be kept apart, according to Lewy, who distinguishes between ṣāppu, "tablet," and ṣāppu-um, "tablet." 44 In the Mishnah, ḏān is used variously, "a column of writing in the Torah scroll or a document," 45 ḏān, melkanah ḏān, "the baker's shelf," 46 and "strips from which a garment is sewn together." 47

40AIA, p. 10; CAD III (E), 616, from Lyon, Sargon, 16:74. Compare Biblical ḏān, Deut. 9:9.

41AIA, p. 106.

42J. Lewy, Or. XIX (1930), 6.

43AIA, p. 19; cf. Syrian geti, ḏān, Syr., p. 162.

44J. Lewy, Or. XIX (1930), 6.


7) 

**dabu** < **dappu**, "wooden board."

This word is attested in Neo- and Late Babylonian, as in the passage: 

\[gîš\text{d}ap-pi\; \text{kulûl\; bêbânî\text{š}in\; ū\text{mid}}, \text{"I supported by them the boards (forming) the cornice of their (the palaces') gates."}\]

Although the attestation in Akkadian is late, the CAD considers this as possibly a Sumerian loanword. This is suggested by the variant writings **dappu** and **dabbu**, and also, by Sumerian **DIB**, "board of a door." The use of the form **adappu** in Esarhaddon may be a Neo-Assyrian hypercorrection. Zimmern considered Aramaic **dappā**, Hebrew **dab**, as loans from **dappu**, but he did not distinguish between **DUB** > **tuppu**, "clay tablet," and **dappu**, "board." They are to be kept apart, according to Lewy, who distinguishes between **tu-pu-um**, "plank," and **tup-pu-um**, "tablet." In the Mishnah, **dab** is used variously, "a column of writing in the Torah scroll or a document," **dab** yelzana bōtmīn, "the baker's shelf," and "strips from which a garment is sewn together."

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

41 CAD III (D), 106.

42 Ibid.


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

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

46 M. Kēlīm 15:2.

8) ḫak, kukkim, "sepulchral chamber," < Nabatean gwh < Palmyrene gmḥ < Akkadian kimāḥu < Sumerian KI.MAḪ.

Akkadian kimāḥu, also gimāḥu, "grave," is a Sumerian loan, from KI.MAḪ, literally, "pre-eminent place."⁴⁸ Palmyrene gmḥ, gwmḥyn, has been seen to be a loan from Akkadian,⁴⁹ as well as Nabatean gwh.⁵⁰ Kutscher identifies Mishnaic ḫak, kukkim, with these loanwords, claiming that it is borrowed from Akkadian kimāḥu 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 w occurring between vowels becomes m in Middle Babylonian, e.g., awātum > amātu.⁵³ This process cannot account for a progression from kimāḥu > gmḥ > gwh. In fact, the w > m change may be merely graphic. The w may have been pronounced even though the writing in the

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

There is, however, some evidence of a change from original m to \( \ddot{\text{m}} \), which would support the claim that kimabbu, \( \text{gmb} \), became \( \text{gwh} \).\textsuperscript{55} There is also the change \( \text{Dumuzi} > \text{Du'uzu, damiq} > \text{de'iq} > \text{deg} \).\textsuperscript{56}

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

\textsuperscript{54}GAG par. 21d.

\textsuperscript{55}Ibid., par. 31a. This process sometimes occurs, but it is not always the case. An example is the name of the month, \( \text{Sim\'anu} > \text{Si\'an} \). On the other hand, Greek transcriptions reveal cases where this does not occur, e.g., \( \text{samu} > \epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\upsilon\mu\ ), \( \text{emuqu} > \eta\mu\nu\chi \), W. von Soden, Akk. Syll., pp. XXI-XXII.

\textsuperscript{56}GAG, par. 31d.
system and pronounced as a double k, e.g., kukkin.\textsuperscript{57} This loanword suggestion can be accepted on the basis of the close semantic relationship between all of these words, kimağhû > gmh > gwh > kô, and in terms of this explanation of the change in the symbols used to represent the original sound.

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

In the various occurrences of this word in the Mishnah, Yalon, in Albeck's edition, vocalizes kūk, kukkin.\textsuperscript{59} Kutscher, however, prefers to vocalize kô, kukkîm.\textsuperscript{60} There is support for this in the Kaufmann

\textsuperscript{57}Kutscher, Eretz Israel, VIII (1967), 279.

\textsuperscript{58}GAG, par. 25d. In the case of bissatum in place of kisṣatum, "totality," the k is original and the \h is secondary. A similar example is panâsu for kanâsu, "submit." On the other hand, there occurs tamâku for tamâhu, "hold," \textit{ibid.} This last example raises the speculative probability that there is an identity between Akkadian tamâhu and Aramaic, Hebrew tmk. They function in identical contexts, e.g., tamâ GIS-PA (patta), "who holds the scepter," CAD VI (\h), 154, and tômek šēbēk, "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 lifluah > lîlihâ, "moistening, soiling," GMH, p. 28.


\textsuperscript{60}E. Y. Kutscher, Eretz Israel, VIII (1967), 279.
Manuscript, where one finds kukkim. The second kān 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 kōk, kukkim, was given in the Mishnah edition of Rapp. Another occurrence of this word, following the Kaufmann Manuscript, is provided by M. Oh. 18:4, sēde kukkim, as against sēde bōgim of Albeck and other editions.
9) **kerī** < **karu**, "heap, pile."

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

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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. B. M. 9:5; M. *Oh. 15:7.*

* A distinction between **carēmā** and **kerī** is made in Tosefta Terumōk 3:17. Outside of the Mishnah, in the Midrash, the verb **kry** has the general sense of "heap up, pile up," e.g., harbe māman tikre Ḫalehā, "much money will you pile up (pay)," Midr. Gen. R. 100:5. As against the vocalization of **kērī** of Yalon, there also occurs the vocalization **kārī**, Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 104. This is not consistent, however, and the form **kērī** is also noted there.

* It is not clear why Kaufman rejects a Sumerian source for **karu**, cf. ATIA, p. 106.
10)  kéšut, "tuft, fine hairs, fibers," < kissu < Sumerian GI.SA, "bundle of reeds."

The Akkadian kissu is a loanword from Sumerian GI.SA, and has been proposed as the source of Aramaic kissa.70 The expression dalat kissî is understood as "a door made of reed-stocks joined together,"71 and, in a more general sense, there occurs the equivalence: MÂ.S.TUR.RA SAR = šip-pu = kissu sa' sam-[me (?)], "bundle of herbs."72

In Mishnaic Hebrew, kéšut yellaggisûk, refers to "the thin fibers of a certain type of cucumber,"73 and kéšut yellaggâtan is "the fine hair on the skin of a child (which later falls out)."74 In this loan there has been a semantic shift and a narrowing of application from the original Akkadian.

A variant form is the plural mukîn,82 as against

70AHW, p. 492. 71Ibid. 72CAD XVI (5), 204.
73M. Qūṣîn 2:1; Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorât, p. 495. The vocalization kéšut is adopted in this edition.
74M. Miq. 9:4; Albeck, ibid., p. 366.
11) m̱ok < m̱ukku, "thread, tow, inferior wool."

Akkadian m̱ukku is a loanword from Sumerian MUG, which is equivalent to qa, "thread, rope," and is an element in sig MUG.HUL = nuzaru, "worn garment." Another sense is expressed in subat m̱ukku, "garment made of coarse wool." In addition, m̱ukku denotes inferior wool or tow, matted wool that cannot be spun.

Mishnaic m̱ɔk corresponds to some of these meanings except the sense "rope." A passage referring to m̱ɔkin removed by the launderer requires the rendering "threads." A soft, absorptive substance is referred to when m̱ɔk is spoken of as used in the ear or sandal, while "rags" best renders the word where used of a garment torn apart and made into m̱ɔkin.

A variant form is the plural m̱ukkiṉiṉ, as against

75 Deimel, SL, p. 163; MSL III, 141 and 160.
76 Deimel, ibid.
77 CAD XVI (S), 222.
78 B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen, "An Old Babylonian Charm Against merku," JNES, XV (1955), 19. Here the meaning of m̱ukku is established by comparison with Talmudic m̱o. The suggestion that this is a loanword is not mentioned there, however. In view of the Sumerian origin of m̱ukku, the Aramaic and the Hebrew are clearly loans. For a contrary view, cf. AIA, p. 111.
79 M. B. Q. 10:10; M. Neg. 11:11.
80 M. Sab. 6:5.
81 M. Neg. 11:12.
82 Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 140; Beer, MK, M. Kelim 22:9; H. Yalon, 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: Zimmulum Ma duru nugatimmum, "as for this Zimmulum, his permanent calling is a baker." 

The earlier reading of the Sumerian MU.YAL.DIM has been rejected. The Sumerian logogram equivalent to nūkatimmum is MU, while, syllabically, the equivalent is MU.YAL.DIM. Edzard suggests that the Akkadian may still be derived from the Sumerian in one of two ways: MU.YAL.DIM > *nūkatimmu, and by dissimilation, > nūkatimmu, or the dissimilation may have taken place in Sumerian: MU.YAL.DIM > *MU.YAL.DIM > nūkatimmu. 

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

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83 Akk, p. 801.  
84 AV, par. 128b, from Old Babylonian.  
85 CR. APW, p. 39.  
86 AW, ibid.  
87 D. O. Edzard, ZA, LV (1962), 109, n. 91.  
88 ibid. Aramaic appears to be the vehicle of the loan, cf. Syriac nāqîm, Lex. Syr., p. 425.  
89 PM, 2:4, 5:11; K. Bolla 1:7, 2:7; N. CR, 7:11; N. 2:41, 7:1; and M. Karna 1:12.  
90 Katsh, GM, pp. 119-20. Kaufman suggests or al-um(a)mmukîn, Katsh, GM, Pl. 97, line 10, M. Neg. 11:12.  

nūkatimmu > nāqīm, AIA, p. 248.
12) naḥṭōm < nūḥatimmu, "baker."

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

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

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83AHw, p. 801.

84GAG, par. 128b, from Old Babylonian.

85Cf. AFW, p. 39. 86AHw, ibid.

87D. O. Edzard, ZA, LV (1962), 109, n. 91.

88Ibid. Aramaic appears to be the vehicle of the loan, cf. Syriac naḥṭūmā, Lex. Syr., p. 425.

89M. Dem. 2:4, 5:1; M. Ḫalla 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, \textit{hahebte\textsuperscript{m}m},\textsuperscript{91} but this is quite unusual, as the Kaufmann Manuscript of the Mishnah generally has the form \textit{na\textsuperscript{\hat{\imath}}tom}.\textsuperscript{92} As stated above, this form is characteristic of Hebrew. On the other hand, Talmudic Aramaic and Syriac \textit{nah\textsuperscript{\hat{\imath}}tom\textsuperscript{\hat{\imath}}} 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, \(\text{i} > \text{\breve{\imath}} > *\text{\textbar{u}} > \text{\breve{o}}\). It cannot be thought to be native but is a borrowing.\textsuperscript{93} Assyrian, in this case, is the transmitter of this word to Hebrew. There appears to be an Judeo-Aramaic equivalent of \textit{\textsuperscript{\breve{\textbar{u}}}\textbar{m}}, suggesting that this borrowing in Hebrew is independent of Aramaic and perhaps 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.\textsuperscript{94}

\textsuperscript{91}W. Bauer, ed., \textit{Die Mischna}, Damm\textit{\textipa{m}}ai (Giessen, 1931), pp. 62-3.

\textsuperscript{92}Beer, \textit{MK}, M. Dem. 5:1; M. \textit{\textipa{c}Er}. 7:11; and M. \textit{\textipa{c}Ed.} 7:7.

\textsuperscript{93}Bauer, ed., \textit{Die Mischna}, Damm\textit{\textipa{m}}ai (Giessen, 1931), pp. 62-3.
Examples of this word, which is attested in Neo-Assyrian, are: kerke niāre, "papyrus roll,"
13 elippi niāri, "a papyrus boat," and kus na-a-a-ri/ru'mes, "parchment." This word has been identified with Mishnaic neyār, "papyrus," 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 neyār, 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.

93AHw, p. 468a.
95AHw, p. 784.
96O. Schroeder, "lukus-sar = amēl kussaru, 'Pergament-schreiber,'" ZA, XXX (1915-16), 91-92; AFw, p. 19; Tur-Sinai, LB, Vol. Halásch, 337. Occurrences in the Mishnah are M. ʻAb. 4:20, and M. Kēlim 10:4. The word neyārōt, M. Kēlim 2:5, can also be understood as a place name, see commentary of Bertinoro, ad loc.
97AHw, p. 784.
98Derivations from Egyptian n-yrw are cited in E. Ben-Yehudah, Thesaurus VII, 3653-54.
9911 K. 19:37; Ezra 4:2. Independent borrowing by Hebrew and Akkadian cannot be definitely ruled out.
14) "kuddu, quddu, "box, basket."

This word is attested only in Neo-Babylonian and occurs in lexical lists where it is equated with 𒉗𒉗𒈨/𒉗𒈨𒉗𒈨. The limitation of the occurrence of this word to the late period and to lexical lists raises a question about it as a source of an Aramaic or Hebrew loanword. However, following von Soden's acceptance of kuddu as a Sumerian loanword, 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 𒉗𒉗𒉗𒉗, "the Babylonian wooden bowl." The change from k to q may be due to variant writing in the Akkadian itself, or may be due to a development within Hebrew; compare Biblical kpl > Mishnaic qpl, "fold."

100 AHw, p. 499. 101 Ibid.
102 M. KeliM 16:1; Tosefta KeliM, Baba Qamma 3:11, qrd. Compare Aramaic quda, Midr. Qonelet R. 2:11. The Aramaic may be the intermediary between Akkadian and Hebrew.
103 Cf. AHw, p. 499, where a variant qudu is cited. A similar situation is kukkubu/ququbu, "stomach," ibid., p. 500.
104 Segal, GMH, p. 30.
15) *ṣum,* "valuation, estimate," *swm,* "to estimate" <
ṣāmu, "buy," *ṣimu,* "price," *ṣaqāmanum,* "buyer."
The Sumerian *ṣaqāmanum* is equivalent to *ṣi-i-mu,* "price."\(^{105}\) An example from Old Babylonian is: *ṣaqāmanum nādin iddīnūṣum u ʾibī ša ina maqrīšunu iṣāmu itbalam,* "the purchaser having then produced the seller who made the sale to him and the witnesses in whose presence he made the purchase."\(^{106}\) Mishnaic *ṣum,* "estimate, valuation," is a loan from *ṣāmu.\(^{107}\) There has been a semantic shift from *ṣāmu,* "buy," to *swm,* "estimate." There is one occurrence of the word in the Mishnah which is somewhat closer than usual to the original: *Yīsraēl yēsām pārā mikkōhen,* "an Israelite who acquired a cow from a Kohen on the basis of its estimated value."\(^{108}\) The verb, *ṣām,* 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.\(^{109}\)

\(^{105}\) MSL III, 143; Deimel, SL, p. 194, *SAM₂ = ṣimu.*

\(^{106}\) 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. Halāšon, p. 445, sought to equate Mishnaic *swm* with Biblical *ṣim,* "lay upon, impose upon," a parallel to *emēdu.* This is not accepted here because of the semantic difference, and because of the Sumerian *ṣaqāmanum.*

\(^{108}\) M. Ter. 11:9.

\(^{109}\) Bertinoro, commentary on M. Ter., and Albeck, Mishnah, Zeraḵim, p. 212.
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16) "sūtāp < sūtāpu, tappá, "partner, associate."

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

It has long been recognized that sūtāpu is the source of the loans sūtāp, "partner," and the verb šēt, histattēr, "join in partnership." The word occurs in the Mishnah and in other Semitic languages. There are various possibilities in the vocalization of the Hebrew, sūtāp, being closer to the Akkadian, or šōtāp; compare Syriac šawtāp.

Akkadian sūtāpu and the abstract form, sūtāpūtu,


111 MSL V, 29.

112 B. Meissner, ZA, VIII (1893), 82ff.; F. Schulthess, ZA, XIX (1905), 13ff.; and APw, p. 46.

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


116 Ibid. 117 Ibid.
"partnership," appear to be later forms. Middle Babylonian examples of šutāpu are: EN-li (bēlī) ittīkunu lū šutāp, "may my lord be your partner," and šumma šutāpu lā imangurū, "when the partners are not in agreements." A Neo-Babylonian example of the abstract form is: zeru šuāti ana irrīsītu u šutāpu tu ana PN māri ša PN2 iddin, "he gave this see to PN, the son of PN2, for tenancy and partnership."

The late form šutāpu appears to be an unusual development from tāpu. Generally, nominal S forms are based upon verbs, e.g., šabluqtum, "destruction," < halāqu, "destroy," and šebultum, "transport," < wabālu, "bring." The existence of a verbal form, *šatapu, is not certain at all. Where Hebrew uses histattēn, Akkadian must use epēsu with the abstract, e.g., tappūtam ṭūpū, and šutāpu ṭūpū."}

120 GAG, pars. 561 and J.
121 The phrase šatip nisē, "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-iši-su in pu-um-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.
122 CAD IV (E), 222.
123 Cardascia, ibid., p. 178.
17) tarnēgōl < tarlugallum, "cock, rooster."

Akkadian tarlugallu is a loanword from Sumerian, DAR.LUGAL.MUSEN. The initial element in Sumerian, DAR, is equivalent to burrumu, "brightly colored," and, as suggested by Prince, DAR.LUGAL.MUSEN originally denoted a "cock-bird of brilliant plumage."

Several variant vocalizations of the Hebrew must be discussed. While Yalon, in the Albeck edition of the Mishnah, vocalizes tarnēgōl, 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(a)lā > *tarnūglā. The accent shifts forward to the last syllable, as in Syriac, or backwards.

There are variant forms of this Hebrew word. There

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125 Deimel, SL, p. 71.
126 Prince, ibid. Lexical equivalents of tarlugallu in Akkadian are: ūdrē-ti-ib-ri-MUSEN = bi-ib-ru, CAD II (B), 222. This equivalent, bibru, may be connected with barbur, I K. 5:3. Another equivalent is ku-du-ra-numusen = tar-lugal-lum/lu, AHw, p. 499b.
127 Albeck, Mishnah, Neziqīn, p. 326.
occurs in the Kaufmann Manuscript the plural form $\text{tarnaglim}$, presumably going back to a singular $^{*}\text{tarnagal}$. Another Hebrew variant transfers the long vowel to the first syllable, e.g., $\text{twrnglym}$. The most common form, $\text{tarnegol}$, 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 $\text{hamor}$, $\text{hargol}$. In the Mishnah, $\text{tarnegol}$ occurs quite frequently. A secondary development is the diphthongization of the second vowel. In the Kaufmann Manuscript there occurs the form $\text{tarnauglim}$, and this should be compared with Mandaic $\text{tarnaula}$, 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. Macas. 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; M. Toh. 3:8.
133 Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 482a.
134 There is inconsistency within the same manuscript, for example, in the continuation of the passage where $\text{tarnaaglim}$ occurs, there also occurs $\text{tarnaaglim}$, Beer, op. cit., M. Sab. 24:3. Where $\text{twrnglym}$ occurs, the continuation has $\text{trnglym}$, Lowe, op. cit., M. Hul. 12:2.
CHAPTER II

LOANWORDS OF SEMITIC ORIGIN

1) יָבּעַב, יָבּעַב, יָבּעַב, "flute."

The Sumerian equivalent of this word is GI.DI.DA, with the element GI, "reed," and with another Akkadian equivalent being malIlum, "flute."\(^1\)

Mishnaic יָבּעַב, "flute, tube,"\(^2\) is a loan from יָבּעַב.\(^3\) Examples are יָבּעַב יָבּעַב, "reed flute,"\(^4\) יָבּעַב יָבּעַב יָבּעַב, "brass flute,"\(^5\) and יָבּעַב יָבּעַב יָבּעַב, "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 ambubaia, "Syrian flute girl." The vocalization of this word in the Kaufmann Manuscript is consistently יָבּעַב, Beer, MK, ad loc. This form corresponds to the Akkadian source, יָבּעַב. The variants embubu and enbubu are the result of dissimilation and nazalization, compare inanziq < inazziq, GAG, par. 32b; Moscati, Introduction, p. 59. Arabic יָבּעַב is the result of a similar process, cf. יָבּעַב יָבּעַב יָבּעַב, Moscati, ibid. It is, therefore, incorrect to assume on the basis of יָבּעַב יָבּעַב יָבּעַב that יָבּעַב is derived from a root יָבּעַב, "be hollow," NCW, I, 5. The view of Segal that the initial יָבּעַב is a prefix, as in the case of יָבּעַב יָבּעַב יָבּעַב, "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. Keli'lm 2:3.
word also appears in `abbûb roe, "Polygonum aviculare."

This word is to be distinguished from Hebrew 2. A nominal form, < mûd, "impose upon, obligate," imittu, "estimate of future yield."

Akkadian mûd is used in many combinations designating "obligate, impose guilt, punishment, tribute, tax upon." Examples are: arna mûd, "lay guilt upon,"

burbâra mûd, "obligate one to undergo trial by ordeal,"

and dîn mûd, "place judgment upon." Another example is hiltam kayantam Tissunûtûn, "He imposed upon them permanent tribute."

In Neo-Babylonian texts, mûd 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 imposed on the basis of it. Examples are: sulûpa ta' inakîn, nubû miyûna imiddûnûa inakkîa, "He will impose upon him the estimate of the dates together with the blossoms, and the owner." This kind of estimation was based on a percentage from the area of origin in the harvest.


V. 69, pp. 211ff.

7M. Sab. 14:3.

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

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

In Neo-Babylonian texts, emēdu and the noun imittu refer to the estimate of the future harvest which experts impose upon the tenant farmer. The protection of the owner depended upon this assessment and the revenue expected on the basis of it. Examples are: suluppē ina muḫḫi mangaga immidūšuma 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,"¹¹ and imitti suluppê immidûšu, "They will impose upon him the estimate of the dates."¹²

Mishnaic ³md and c³md, "assess, estimate," and the noun forms, ³med, c³med, are a loan from this Neo-Babylonian use of emêdu. Examples are bec³med ḥâmēs se³m gehâlîm, "as much wood as would by estimate yield five seah of coal,"¹⁴ me³med ūmîšmûcâ, "from mere supposition or hearsay,"¹⁵ and al tarbe lecasēr ṣômâdôt, "do not give tithes too much by guessing."¹⁶

¹¹G. Cardascia, Archives, pp. 203f.

¹²Ibid., p. 137.

¹³Tur-Sinai, LB, Vol. Hašônô, p. 445, citing E. Y. Kutscher's suggestion in Lešonênu, X (1947), 295. An alternate suggestion is made by Bendavid, BHMH, p. 149. He suggests a possible Greek influence, ἵστημι ἑστηκεῖν, "stand, weigh, estimate," upon the corresponding verb ³³md, "stand" > "weigh, estimate." He suggests that both Greek and Aramaic influence combine here. As against this, it is to be noted that ³³md, "estimate," occurs in Babylonian manuscripts, closer to the Akkadian and Aramaic, while c³³md occurs in Palestinian manuscripts. This may be a process of assimilating the loan to an existing root, c³³md, cf. ³³Segal, GMH, p. 28. This kind of assimilation takes place at a greater distance from the area of origin of the loanword. An example in the reverse direction is Babylonian carêkît, "courts, archives," for ἁρχεῖον, Palestinian jarkâyyôt, an assimilation to a Hebrew ḫrk, Bendavid, ibid., p. 185.

¹⁴M. Tāmîd 2:5. ¹⁵M. Sanh. 4:5.

¹⁶M. jAb. 1:16. Compare c³wmôt, Katsh, GM, Pl. 51, line 14, ad loc. The variant c³wmôt in the Mishnah of the Palestinian Talmud (ed. W. H. Lowe), is also cited, ibid., p. 102, note to line 14.
The form immati, formed from an earlier ina mati, occurs regularly after the Old Babylonian period. The basic word, mati, occurring in many combinations, adi mati, "until when," ammati, "until when," ištumati adi mati, "from when to when," is a cognate of Hebrew mātay. The form immati has long been seen to be the source of Mishnaic ēmātay, "when," "whenever," and ḫad ēmātay, "until when."

The form mēēmātay occurs in the Kaufmann Manuscript of the Mishnah. 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. This form reflects a tradition going back to *ēmātay/jimmātāt < Akkadian immati < ina mati. On the basis of various traditions of vocalizing the Mishnah, Kutscher suggests that the form jimmātāt is more correct.
in Hebrew, and is closer to the original Akkadian.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{\textsuperscript{4) \textit{jusqupopū} $\leftarrow$ a\textsuperscript{kkuppatu}, "threshold."}

The Akkadian word is attested as early as Old Babylonian.\textsuperscript{25} An Assyrian variant is a\textsuperscript{kkuppu.}\textsuperscript{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: \textit{gl\textsuperscript{I}-DIS-UUR = a\textsuperscript{kkup-pu}, "part of a wagon,"}\textsuperscript{27} and a\textsuperscript{kkup-
\textsuperscript{5}pū būbā ḫabli/, "the 'threshold' of the middle 'finger' of the lung."}\textsuperscript{28}

Akkadian a\textsuperscript{kkuppatu} has been identified with Mishnaic Hebrew \textit{jusqupopū}, "threshold."\textsuperscript{29} A Yemenite variant, where the first vowel is closer to the initial vowel of the Akkadian, is \textit{jusquppū.}\textsuperscript{30} The difference between the original Akkadian and the Aramaic and Hebrew, insular as the first vowel of concerned, is that, in these latter languages, short unassembled vowels in closed syllables undergo change in quality, e.g., \textit{a} $\rightarrow \chi.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{25}\textsuperscript{ibid.}, p. 74b.

\textsuperscript{26}\textsuperscript{ibid.}

\textsuperscript{27}\textsuperscript{ibid.}

\textsuperscript{28}\textsuperscript{ibid.}

\textsuperscript{29}\textsuperscript{ibid.} Also cited is the Malula dialect, \textit{emmat. Compare also Mandaean \textit{\textsuperscript{5}mat, Drower and Macuch, Man. \textit{Dic., p. 352a. It is there derived from Akkadian \textit{immati on the basis of Jensen, \textit{ZA, IX (1894), 532. Cf. also Syriac \textit{jemmati, Lex. \textit{Syr., p. 27, citing the same reference to Jensen. A different view is expressed by Kaufman, who suggests a derivation from \textit{\textsuperscript{5}mati $\leftarrow$ \textit{\textsuperscript{5}aj mati, AIA, pp. 104 and 275.}

\textsuperscript{30}\textsuperscript{ibid.}}
4) *jisquppā* < askuppatu, "threshold."

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

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

\(^{25}\) AHw., p. 74b.  \(^{26}\) GAG, par. 36c.
\(^{27}\) AHw., ibid.  \(^{28}\) Ibid.
\(^{30}\) Yalon, IVM, p. 214. An extended meaning of *jisquppā* is "yard" or a ship," Tosefta Baba Batra 4:1.
\(^{31}\) Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.8c. Arabic *juskuffat* is regarded as a loan from Syriac *eskuptā*, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 19. It is closer in form to Syriac than to Jewish-Aramaic. The doubling of *ff* gives the word an Arabic form, Fraenkel, ibid. Cf. the discussion in AIA, pp. 49 and 224-5. Kaufman considers these words, with Hebrew *masqōp*, going back to a root *sqp*, "to support," ibid., pp. 224, 225.
5) 'arṭāh < arḥu, "half-brick."

This word is attested in Old Babylonian and in Neo-Babylonian.\(^{32}\) In lexical lists it is equated with SIG₄.MÍ and SIG₄.Â'B.\(^{33}\) This word is the source of Mishnaic 'ārṭāh, defined by the Mishnah as: ḫâṣî leḥēnâ šel šelâsâ tepāhîm, "a half-brick three handbreadths wide."\(^{34}\) Aramaic appears to be the vehicle of this loanword.\(^{35}\)

\(^{32}\)AHw, p. 67b.

\(^{33}\)Ibid. The meaning of the Sumerian elements is unclear. As AB is also the equivalent of arḥu, Ugaritic āraḥ, "cow," von Soden suggests tentatively that "cow-brick" is the name of this object. This may be some idiomatic designation of the kind of brick, AHw, ibid. Evidence for this possibility is that the Sumerian equivalent of amaru, "pile of bricks," is SIG₄.AN̄E, the last element meaning "donkey," AHw, p. 40.

\(^{34}\)M. Cer. 1:3, 4; cf. Tur-Sinaï, LB, Vol. Halašôn, pp. 147-8, where this identification is made. Tur-Sinaï's suggestion that arḥu is to be related to yārēḥā, "moon," of "half-moon" in contrast to leḥēnā, "full brick," leḥēnā, "full moon," ibid., cannot be accepted. Other meanings for 'ārṭāh, or Aramaic 'ārîhā, 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, Massekt Ṣopherîm 12:10.

6) "ārīs < erreśūm, "tenant farmer."

Examples of this word are: ḫumma awilum egelṣu ana GÚ.UN ana erreśim iddin, "if a man gives his field to a tenant farmer for rent,"36 and itti mārē PN ana erreśūtim yuṣāku, "(X land) which I rented from the sons of PN in a tenancy contract."37 The term derives from errešu, "seed, cultivate," Hebrew ḫrs.38 Closer to the Hebrew is Neo-Assyrian ērisūtu.39

Suggestions that erreśūm is the source of Mishnaic ārīs, "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 ārrēšum, AHw, p. 243. The sign 6 was used in Old Akkadian for the phoneme corresponding to Semitic t, as in bṛt. W. von Soden, Akk. Syll., p. 6. The relationship with the word for "plow" is seen in the equivalence of ana errešūtī with NAM.APIN. LA.SE, the element APIN denoting "plow," AHw, ibid.

39 AHw, p. 68.

40 M. Peṭā 5:5; M. Dem. 6:8; M. Hallā 4:7; M. B. M. 5:8; M. B. B. 3:3, 10:4; and M. Šebu. 7:8.

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

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

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

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


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

\(^{46}\) AHw, p. 2h4a.

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

\(^{48}\) Albrecht, ibid., citing P. Jensen, ZA, I (1886), 406.
Jensen's view is to be preferred. In addition, the vocalization of ʾārīṣīn occurs regularly in the Kaufmann Manuscript. A variant of the abstract form occurs in a Mishnah fragment from the Geniza, ʾaḥārūṣī. The more common ʾārīṣūt corresponds more closely to Neo-Assyrian ārisūtu.

An example is: ʾalḥa ʾaddaq ʾišmael NINNA. Y. A. ʾaḥārūṣī an ṭaʿāl uh inandina. "Since last year no one has given me food for my mouth." It has been suggested that all of these forms go back to ʾaḥārūṣī. It most closely resembles the Late Babylonian form, ʾaddaq ʾišmael, and, as is evident from Syriac ḫāt ʾišmael, 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, ʾaddaq ʾišmael was accentuated on the first syllable. Syriac and Hebrew ḫāt ʾišmael are stressed on the final syllable. The exact nature of ʾaddaq ʾišmael, par. 72c.

Beer, MK, M. Pē'ā 5:5, M. Corla 2:3.


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, AIA, pp. 60 and 231. On the basis of the Arabic, Kaufman considers erēṣū the borrowed form.
7) **jesteqad** < 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 ṣaddagda, and Late Babylonian ṣaddaqad.⁵² An example is: ultu ṣaddagis mamma NINDA·iji. A ṣa piya 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 ṣṭatta-qdim.⁵⁴

Mishnaic Hebrew **jesteqad** 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 **jesteqad**,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 **jesteqad** are stressed on the final syllable. The exact nature of

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⁵² GAG, par. 72c.
⁵³ CAD I, Pt. 1, 240b.
⁵⁴ GAG, ibid.
⁵⁵ D. O. Edzard, "Mari und Aramaier," 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 e.\(^5\)\(^8\) Possibly, with the bringing together of the first and second consonants, the voiced d was assimilated to the s, and became unvoiced t.

There is no doubt about the loanword aššāhu, Aramaic j̄ālōh,\(^6\) but it is less certain that the same word, if not the same species, necessarily, appears in Mishnaic ba'ah (aššāh).\(^6\) The Talmud defines this fruit as "white figs."\(^6\)\(^2\) Lieberman, however, explains that ba'ah is a popular name for the 'šren bābi, "Aleppo pine," and, by extension, for its fruit.\(^6\)\(^3\) It is plausible that šābah, ba'ah, could be borrowed for a species of pine which is related to the aššāhu, "fig."

8) bat ʿṣuah, "fruit of the Aleppo Pine," <ʿṣūḥu, "fir tree."

The definition of ʿṣūḥu 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 ʿṣūḥu, Aramaic ʿṣūḥā, but it is less certain that the same word, if not the same species, necessarily, appears in Mishnaic bat ʿṣuah. The Talmud defines this fruit as "white figs." Lieberman, however, explains that bat ʿṣuah is a popular name for the ʿṭren ḫalbi, "Aleppo Pine," and, by extension, for its fruit. It is plausible that ʿṣūḥā, ʿṣuah, could be borrowed for a species of pine which is related to the ʿṣūḥu, "fir."

59 AHw, p. 85 and DAB, pp. 266f.
60 AFw, p. 53.
61 M. Dem. 1:1; M. Seb. 5:1.
62 TB 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:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{RN}... & \text{bi-i-be} \\
\text{ša dūri sa bīt Assur...iškur, } & \text{"Adad-nirari has made watertight the drainage openings of the wall around the Assur temple,"}^64 \\
\text{1 bi-i-be lā gammur, } & \text{"one unfinished drainage opening."}^65 \\
\end{align*} \]

The change of the glottal stop, \( \ddot{\text{a}} \), to \( \dot{\text{a}} \), which occurred in Assyrian,\( ^66 \) did not take place in Late Babylonian:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ana bi-} & \text{\textemdash e (var. bi-\textemdash ) ša dūri tušerrebšunūti, } \\
\text{\"you slip them (the figurines) into the drainage opening of the city wall.\"}^67
\end{align*} \]

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

\[ \begin{align*}
^64 \text{CAD II (B), 297. } \\
^65 \text{Ibid. } \\
^66 \text{GAG, par. 24b; cf. also šu\textemdash u, "ewe," and Middle and Neo-Assyrian šubu, ibid. } \\
^67 \text{CAD, ibid. } \\
^68 \text{M. cEr. 8:10; M. 'A. Z. 3:4; cf. also ṣorep bhīn, "a cleaner of sewers," Midr. Exodus R. 6:1. Examples of variants in Hebrew between \textemdash w and \textemdash b are cited in Epstein, ITM, II, 1223-26. In our case, however, the \textemdash b is a borrowed feature of the Assyrian variant. } \\
^69 \text{Cf. bībā, TP TaCan. IV, 68d, cited in Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 159. Arabic bībat is considered to be a borrowing from Aramaic bīb, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 23. However, a derivation from ṣabbāb, "be hollow," which Fraenkel, ibid., believes to be the source of this word and of Aramaic ṣābūbā, "flute," is not acceptable, cf. above, ṣābūb < ebbubu, pp. 90-l. Both bī\textemdash u and bī\textemdash bu may, however, have been pronounced as [bīw], GAG, par. 24b. The loan is questioned by AIA, p. 98, but accepted by AHw, pp. 134f. }
\end{align*} \]
10) gas/gaz < kassūsu, "falcon."

The following equivalence occurs in a lexical list:
SUR.DA = su-ur/ur₅-du-u = ka-su-su.⁷⁰ An example from Old Babylonian is: ṗañi kazzūzi u sulāji... Eli bāįerūtim uštabni, "He (Sin) created axes, falcons and runs to catch game better than the hunter's craft."⁷¹ In Middle Babylonian the word occurs in the derived sense of "hero," as in the equivalence ka-as-su-su = qar-ra-du.⁷² While Yalon, in Albeck's edition of the Mishnah, reads haggaz,⁷³ there occurs the reading gz in the Mishnah of the Talmud Yerusalmi⁷⁴ and haggez in the Kaufmann Manuscript.⁷⁵ The reading gaz is elsewhere preferred by Albeck.⁷⁶

It is proposed that Mishnaic gaz is a loanword from 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 ṣarru-kin > Sargōn. The change from s > z may be due to variants within Akkadian itself, e.g.,

⁷⁰AHw, p. 454. ⁷¹CAD II (B), 89.
⁷²AHw, ibid.
⁷³M. Hul. 3:1; Albeck, Mishnah, Qodosîm, p. 123.
⁷⁴Lowe, MPT, M. Hul. 3:1.
⁷⁶Albeck, IM, p. 136.
kazzūzī, "falcons," as against kassūsu. What has apparently occurred here is a shortening of the word parallel to galālu < Aramaic gēlālā > gal, "stone," Job 8:17. 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. Miḥnaic gēs, "lime used to delineate pathways," is a loanword, having been transmitted through Aramaic. Hebrew has also borrowed Greek γάς as gippēs, 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 Miḥnaḥ fragment is

79 CAD II (B), 39; AHw, p. 454.

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

78 The parallelism of gal/bēt jebānim, 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. gas, renders Coznīyyā, 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 Miḥnaic gaz shows no dependence upon Biblical kōs. If the suggested consonant and word changes be accepted, it appears to be a borrowing from Akkadian. If kōs is also traceable to Akkadian kassūsu, it may be an earlier borrowing. On k > g, cf. ATA, p. 160 for the suggestion that post-vocalic /k/ was realized in Neo-Assyrian like West Semitic.
11) geš, "lime," < gassu, "gypsum, limewash."

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

A variant cited in a Geniza Mishnah fragment is

79CAD V (G), 54ff.; AHw, p. 282.
80CAD and AHw, ibid.
81M. Miq. 9:2; geš yewenî, "clay from the mire," is called yitešet haderakîm, "roadside pegs," when it dries, cf. Bértinoro's commentary on the Mishnah, ad loc.
82AFw, p. 31; Lex. Sir., p. 129, where the identification of geša with gassu is made, citing Jensen.
83M. Kelîm 10:2; AFw, op. cit., ibid.; Liddell and Scott, GEL, p. 147a.
84H. W. F. Saggs, The Greatness that Was Babylon, p. 463. Arabic jass/jass/jussa is regarded as a borrowing from Aramaic gipṣis, itself borrowed from Greek and Latin, gypso, Fraenkél, Aram. Fw., pp. 9-10. It is the view of this writer, however, that Hebrew and Aramaic have two separate borrowings, one from gassu 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 gassu < gassu.
This represents a lengthening of the short a-vowel of the Akkadian, presumably because of the accent. The Kaufmann Manuscript reads gês. The form of the Aramaic and Hebrew words is closer to the Akkadian than to the Ugaritic kren. The consonant change of k > g is paralleled by šarru-kīn > Sargôn, and kibrītu > ṣopīt. The vehicle of the loan is Aramaic.

85 Katsh, GM, Pl. 136, line 12, M. Mig. 9:2.
86 Moscati, Introduction, par. 10.8c.
87 Katsh, op.cit., p. 272, note to line 12, citing the Kaufmann Manuscript. The manuscript reproduced in GM is not consistent, as in line 14 it reads gēs.
12) *gārāb* < *karpatu*, "vessel, container."

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

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88 AHw, pp. 449-50.

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

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

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

In Assyrian sources, girgirru is regarded as an aphrodisiac and an eye medicine.\(^9^2\) Mishnaic gargīr has been identified as a loanword from Akkadian girgirru.\(^9^3\) Another species is gargīr sel'appar, Diplotaxis Erucoides.\(^9^4\) The form of gargīr is distinguished from its homonym, gargar, gargar, "berry." Possibly, the entrance of the homonym gargīr, "Eruca," is an argument for the probability of a borrowing.

\(^9^2\) DAB, pp. 211f.; the Talmud agrees with this view, considering gargīr as having the property of "increasing seed," TB Yōmā 18b. It also agrees that gargīr is an eye medicine, explaining jōrot of II K. 4:39 as gargīr, with the comment: "They brighten (mējōrot) the eyes...one rubs it across his eyes," TB Yōmā, ibid.

\(^9^3\) AFw, p. 56; M. Ma'as. 4:5.

\(^9^4\) M. Šeb. 9:1; Judah Felix, Marjoth Hamishnah, Zera'cIm, traditional commentaries, pointed text and botanical supplement (Jerusalem, 1967), botanical sec., p. 31. Compare also Aramaic galgīla, TB Git. 59b, with l/r change.
14) gaššu, "frame of a bed," < gaššu, "pole."

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

This word has been identified with gaššu, "sounding pole." This identification is not correct, as gaššu is to be related to the Hebrew and Aramaic root, ḡšš, "touch, grope." Akkadian gaššu should be related to gaššu, "frame of a bed." Possibly, gaššu and gaššu are related semantically in that poles make up the framework of a bed. The Sumerian equivalents of gaššu are gišBU and gišSUD, both of which can be read as Akkadian arāku, "be long." Thus, gaššu,šellamittā may be compared with arūkēt hammitā, "the long poles of the bed."

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

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{105}\) Cf. Targum Yerushalmi on Micah 2:12, where $bê\text{ê}Îôk$ $haddâbrê$ is rendered by $bê\text{ê}Îôg$ $dîrê$.

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


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

The modal participle wud(di), "certainly, indeed," is regarded by von Soden as an imperative D form from idaš, "know." It is attested only in Mari.\(^{109}\)

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

A possibility remains, however, as the only known attestation is in Mari, that wuddi is West Semitic and cognate with Hebrew rather than borrowed. However, there is a tradition of using this for designating any of the chiefs, while dīrā is used for a single cult. The loanword dīr returns through dūrum.\(^{111}\)

\(^{109}\) GAG, par. 121d. Von Soden also lists Old Babylonian widdi, and the later mindām, also formed from idaš, but with the meaning "probably," GAG, par. 121e. However, there is a context in which it appears in the sense of "certainly:"

\(^{110}\) Segal, GMH, p. 138; cf. M. Kerr, 5:2. The final "aleph which appears in the usual spelling of this word is a water lectionist. The word also occurs in manuscripts as ṣaddi, vocalized wadday(y), Katz, GM, Pl. 119, line 12, and ibid., Pl. 156, line 6. Another form is wuday(y), vocalized (w)wadday(y), ibid., p. 238, line 12, citing the Kaufmann Manuscript.
16) wadda'y, "certainly," < wuddi.

The modal participle wu(d)di, "certainly, indeed," is regarded by von Soden as an imperative D form from idum, "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.

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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 idu, 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 mahr-ri-i ah-su-sa lemuttimtim, "No doubt I plotted mischief at the time of the former sin," W. G. Lambert, "The Fifth Tablet of the Era Epic," \textit{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 wwdvy, vocalized (w)wadday(y), ibid., p. 238, line 12, citing the Kaufmann Manuscript.
17) zûz, "monetary unit," < zûzu < zàzu, "divide."

Akkadian zûzu derives from zàzu, "divide," in a manner analogous to pîras < paràsu, "cut, divide," a half of a mâné.\footnote{111} The BAR sign which is the equivalent of zàzu is also equivalent to màslu, "half," and to paràsu.\footnote{112} In the Mishnah, zûz occurs,\footnote{113} and is the equivalent of dînàr, Latin denarius.\footnote{115} 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 zûz is dominant.

In the Mishnah, the terms co-exist, although there is a convention of using zûz for designating many of the units, while dînàr is used for a single unit.\footnote{114} The loanword enters through Aramaic.\footnote{115}

\footnote{111} CAD XXI (Z), 170; for pîras, cf. M. \( ^{6} \) Ed. 3:3.

\footnote{112} Labat, Manuel, pp. 69-71.

\footnote{113} M. Pê'á 8:8; M. Ket. 1:5; as a unit of weight, M. Ter. 10:8. The zûz / dînàr 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.

\footnote{114} Bendavid, \( ^{1} \) ibid., citing M. Pê'á 8:8.

\footnote{115} Cf. Syriac zauza, derived from Akkadian zûzu following Jensen, ZA, VI (1891), 60, and AFw, p. 21, Lex. Syr., p. 191. Cf. also, AIA, p. 91.
18) ḫazzān < ḫazannu, ḫazānu, ḫaziannu, "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 bit dAG ilika 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 roṣē hakkēneset, a teacher of children, and, as ḫazzan hakkēneset, the official who flogs offenders.

AFW, pp. 6f. See also AIA, pp. 64 and 233.

CAD VI (H), 163-5.

CAD, ibid., p. 165.

M. Yômā 7:1; M. Sōṭā 7:8.

M. Ṣab. 1:3. 121M. Mak. 3:12.
19) ḫaṣṣīnā < ḫaṣînā < ḫaṣṣīnu, "axe."

Akkadian ḫaṣṣīnu 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-qi-in mi-it-[t]u u GIS, MAR, KU, BABBAR, "axe, mittu-weapon, and spade of silver (divine symbols)."

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

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122 AHw, pp. 332f.; CAD VI (H), 133f.
123 CAD, ibid., 133, from El Amarna 162:37.
124 CAD, ibid.
125 AFw, p. 12; Liddel and Scott, GEL, p. 74; Segal, GMH, p. 32. The Targum on Isa. 44:12 renders maqṣād by ḫaṣînā. A possible cognate relationship between ḫaṣṣīnu and Biblical garzen is suggested by AHw, p. 332. A ceremonial axe from Ugarit is inscribed ḫrgn, J. Fried- rich, Extinct Languages (New York, 1957), p. 85, fig. 4. A change ḫ > ḡ from Aramaic to Neo-Babylonian, at a later period, may be a parallel to a similar change earlier, von Soden, Afo, XIX (1959-60), 149.
126 M. Kelîm 14:2; Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorêt, p. 65. The identification of ḫaṣînā with ḫaṣînā 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 ḫyn, to be read, presumably, as ḫazzînâ, ḫazyânâ, or ḫazînâ, Lowe, MPT, ad loc. Cf. a different view, AIA, p. 102.
20) hiltît < hîl tiyâtìi, "gum of asafoetida."

There are several combinations with hîlî, "resin, exudation," from the verb hâlu, "flow."127 They include: hîl erî, "resin of copper," hîl balûbîî, "resin of galbanum," hîl sarbati, "sap of the willow," hîl erini, "sap of the cedar," and hîl tiyâtìi, "gum of asafoetida."128 Possibly Mishnaic tiyâ is borrowed from tiyâtìi,129 but the source of hiltît130 is clearly from hîl tiyâtìi.131 The medium of the loan was Aramaic.132

127 CAD VI (H), 54.

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

129 M. Teb. Yôm 1:5; M. cUgsîn 3:5; NCW IV, 639; Löw, Flora, III, 125; AFw, p. 58. Another rendering is "ranunculus," Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorot, p. 460.

130 M. Sab. 20:3; M. cUgsîn 3:5.

131 DAB, p. 8, n. 2.


Akkadian ḫāssū is attested from Old Babylonian on, and is associated lexically with murāru, "small, bitter lettuce."

The relationship of ḫāssū to Aramaic ḫāssā, has been noted.

It is suggested that another term in the Mishnah, ḫāṣīṭ, plural ḫāsiyyōt, a general term for leeks, arum, onion and garlic, may be borrowed from Aramaic ḫāssā, and thereby derive ultimately from Akkadian. This term may have been borrowed on the basis of a general similarity, bitterness of taste.

133 CAD VI (𝒃), 128; DAB, pp. 72f.

134 DAB, ibid.; AFW, p. 57. "Bitter Herbs," mārōr, in M. Pes. 2:6, is used in a general sense, and one of the species that fulfills the requirement is ḫāṣerēt, "lettuce," ibid., defined in the Talmud as ḫāssā, TB Pes. 39a. This is significant, as ḫāssū in Akkadian is associated lexically with murāru, CAD, ibid.

135 M. Ter. 9:7, 10:10; Bertinoro's commentary on 9:7; Albeck, Mishnah, Zerācīm, p. 206. The relationship of ḫāṣīṭ to ḫāssā, "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 ḫāsiyyōt, Beer, MK, M. Ter. 9:7, is followed by Yalon in the Albeck edition of the Mishnah. There is also another vocalization, ḫōṣīt, S. Lieberman, Tosefta Zerācīm, Terūmōk 9:3, p. 155.

Akkadian ḫāṣūtu, "thyme," has a form which corresponds well with ḫāṣīṭ 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 (𝒃), 148, where no definition is given.
22) *kāhūl* < *kaballu*, type of garment.

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

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

138 Commentary of Maimonides on the Mishnah, ibid.

23) küsbar < 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. Mishnaic küsbar has long been seen as a loan from the Akkadian, and it replaces Biblical gad. 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 küsbar, through Aramaic kusbarta. On the other hand, an attested Hebrew variant, kisbar, 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 /u occur in both the Akkadian and the Hebrew words and may be inner variants.

140 AHw, p. 486a; DAB, p. 66.
141Meissner, ZA, VI (1891), 294; AHw, p. 57; M. Kil. 1:2; M. Seb. 9:1; M. Ma'as. 3:9; and M. Dem. 1:1.
142Exodus 16:31; Numb. 11:7.
144Beer, 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.
145Variations 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 מְנַעְיָאִים/Mהִיָּאִים (Gen. 4:18), פִּינוֹן/פּוֹנּוֹן (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, מְסָֽיבִין, "reclining," is another example of the u/i variants, and is equivalent to מְסָיבִין. A parallel case would be תִּקָּד/תִּקָּאָד, "will burn," W. Chomsky, ibid. The variants קֻסְבָּר/קִסְבָּר 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) *karšīnā* < *kīšēnu*, "vetch."

This word occurs in Old Babylonian and in Neo-Babylonian and has been equated with *Lethyrus sativus*.\(^{146}\)

It is a loanword in the Mishnah, *karšīnā*, rarely used as human food.\(^{147}\) Between the forms *kīšēnu* and *karšīnā* a process of dissimilation has taken place, *šš* > *rš*, analogous to the development of Akkadian *kussū* > Aramaic *kūrsā*.\(^{148}\)

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\(^{146}\) *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 *krṣṇa*, "black," Persian *krān(k)*. If this be true, Akkadian *kīšēnu* is not originally Semitic, Löw, *Flora*, II, 485ff.
25) kat, "band, party, group," < kintu/kintu, "family."

The Akkadian word is attested from the Old Babylonian period on. An example is: ina nišiya u kintiya, "among my people and my family." There is a lexical equation of kintu 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 kintu. A possible development may be: kintu > *kimtu/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.

For the change a > i before two successive consonants, cf. above, p. 57 and Moscati, Introduction, par 10.3c. On the assimilation mt/ht > tt, cf. GAG, par. 31g. Hebrew kat cannot be derived from Akkadian kinātu, "colleague," AHw, p. 479, which appears in Aramaic as kēnāt, pl. kēnawātā, 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 kintu 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.\(^{153}\) The Sumerian equivalent, \(\text{ULU} \cdot \text{Ug} \cdot \text{ar}\),\(^{154}\) 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."\(^{155}\) Mishnaic *lepet* is frequently attested.\(^{156}\) It is probable that this word was borrowed by Hebrew from Aramaic, as Syriac *laptā* is listed by Brockelmann as an Akkadian loanword.\(^{157}\) Mishnaic *liptān*, "one with a physical peculiarity, a turnip-shaped head,"\(^{158}\) is a further development in Hebrew from *lepet*.

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\(^{153}\) AHW, p. 537, and DAB, p. 51.

\(^{154}\) AHW, *ibid.*, p. 59.

\(^{155}\) M. *Bek.*, 7:1, 2; M. *Baal* 3:18; and J. Felix, *ibid.*, p. 23.

\(^{156}\) M. *Kil.*, 1:3, 9; 3:1; M. *Ma'as* 5:2, 8; M. *Hul.* 7:4; and M. *Uqṣīn* 1:4.

\(^{157}\) Lex. Syr., p. 369b.

\(^{158}\) M. *Kil.*, 1:3, 9; 3:1; M. *Ma'as* 5:2, 8; M. *Hul.* 7:4; and M. *Uqṣīn* 1:4.
27) lūp, "arum," < luppū, "kind of bean."

Akkadian luppū is attested in Old and in Neo-Babylonian, while the variant lubbu occurs in Neo-Assyrian. Sumerian LUG.LBū appears to be a borrowing from the Akkadian. Von Soden defines this word as "bean," and suggests tentatively that it is borrowed as Arabic lub(j)â. He was preceded in this identification by Thompson.

It is suggested that Mishnaic lūp is a borrowing from luppū, although it cannot be certain that the Akkadian and the Hebrew words refer to the same species. Maimonides defines lūp 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, luppū was borrowed to designate this species. There also occurs lūp hassōṭe, "wild lūp," Arum discorides, the bud of which is edible only in emergencies.

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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. Maqāṣid. 5:8; and M. Šab. 18:1. 164Commentary of Maimonides on 5:2. The interpretation originates in TP Šeb. V:2. 165Judah Felix, Mar’oth Hamishnah, p. 80. 166M. Šeb. 7:1, 2; M. Uqṣīm 3:4; and J. Felix, ibid., p. 81.
This term and its relationship to Mishnaic melog 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 cahde melog. Levine traces a development in the Rabbinic understanding of melog 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. Despite the many references from the periphery of the Babylonian culture sphere and from Neo-Babylonian to the mishnaic material, Levine is not satisfied with his findings.

168 D. Feuchtwang, ZA, VI (1892), 441; AFW, p. 46.
169 Levine, ibid., p. 45.
170 Ibid., pp. 51ff.
171 M. Yeb. 7:1-2; cf. also siphat melog, TB Ket. 79b-80a; nikes melog, TB Ket. 101a; and behemat melog, TP Yeb. VII:1.
172 Levine, Survivals, p. 62.
the periphery of the Babylonian culture sphere and from Neo-Babylonian, as against one Ugaritic reference, Levine is not certain that the institution of *mulugu* is originally Mesopotamian. He holds open the possibility that the institution was in existence on Palestinian soil, even in pre-Biblical times.\textsuperscript{173}

It is not possible to find an adequate etymology for *mulugu*. Levine reviews the suggestions that have been offered, among them that of Ungnad who considered it a Sumerian loanword from $\text{MULUG} = \text{ša bēl}$, "that which the master of the house may dispose of."\textsuperscript{174} He does not mention the suggestion of J. Lewy who noted that *ta-ma-la-gu₅-um* is equal to *guppu*, and is "a coffer in which documents are kept."\textsuperscript{175} A development from "box, basket" to "fund" is possible, but cannot be decided here. Talmudic *meḥōqā dīṣėṭārē*, "container of documents,"\textsuperscript{176} should, however, be compared.
29) mešer < mişrum, plural mišrētu, mišru, "border."

This word occurs in a group together with bad-du (patu), išu, and āhu,\(^{177}\) and is also a synonym of kisurru.\(^{178}\) An example is: DN bel mišr išu kudurrī kudurrašu lissup, "May DN, the lord of borders and boundary stones, tear out his boundary stone."\(^{179}\)

Hebrew mešer has been borrowed from mišru, via Aramaic.\(^{180}\) It is used partially to replace Biblical geḇūl, which also is replaced by seḇār and teḇūm.\(^{181}\)

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\(^{177}\) MSL III, 85.

\(^{178}\) A Sumerian equivalent of šub/puḫu is S10.TAB.BA, the elements indicating "double row of bricks." The term na-da-ba-k₂šu is Neo-Babylonian, Meissner, 1914.

\(^{179}\) AHw, p. 499.

\(^{180}\) M. B. B. 7:3; AFw, p. 9; DISO, p. 165; and Mandaic misra, Drower and Macuch, Man. Dict., p. 269.

\(^{181}\) Bendavid, BHMH, p. 341. This loan is questioned in AIA, p. 110.
30) **nidbāk < nadbaku, "course of stone."

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

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\(^{183}\) A Sumerian equivalent of **tib/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. J. Oh. 14:1. The term **nidbāk** in M. J. Oh. 5:1, "frame," or "stretcher," is considered to be incorrect. The variant preferred by Albeck is **nár-bād, (narwād)**, Albeck, Mishnah, Tohorot, p. 141.

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

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

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

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

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

Von Soden has sought to establish that the root of this verb is ntr, natāru, with šutturu as an S form, against the view of Muss-Arnolt that the G is šātāru. 191 Examples are: uṣāhrib māhāzīsun uṣattir abūbīs, "he laid waste their cities, he tore (them) down like the deluge, 192 and šadā ina akkullāti parzilli uṣattir, "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 hrs. 195

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191 W. von Soden, Or, NS, XXVII (1958), 259f.
193 CAD, ibid., 276, from OIP II, 124:42.
194 Ezra 5:12; M. Sab. 7:2; cf. transferred senses: sōtēr ʿet sekarah, "undoes her hair," M. Sōtā 1:5; sōtēr ʿet haddin, "reverses the decision," M. Sanh. 3:8; and sōtēr šibeʾīm, "he must count seventy days again," M. Naz. 2:10.
195 Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 122 and 130.
33) ﬂb, "crucify," < ﬂalabu, "cross out, cancel," ﬂiliptu, "diagonal, hypotenuse," ﬂilbu, "(bandage or wood) arranged crosswise."

There is a range of meanings here in the Akkadian paralleling Biblical slp, "pervert, distort," and which suggests that ﬂalabu and slp are cognates. However, ﬂb, "crucify," is undoubtedly borrowed, as seen by the form of the word and by the limited semantic range. That all of the Akkadian words are related is seen by the element BAR in the various equivalents.

Mishnaic ﬂb, "crucify," ﬂalub, "crucified one," is a loan. This is seen clearly from the meaning of ﬂiliptu, "diagonal, hypotenuse," attested in Old, Middle and Late Babylonian, and ﬂilbu, "wood or bandage arranged crosswise," attested in Neo-Assyrian.

196 Cf. Prov. 19:3; Ex. 23:8; Deut. 16:19; and ﬂa libbasu ﬂalpu, "whose heart is crooked," CAD XVI (§), 86, and dayyana ﬂalpa mēsira tukallam, "You (SamaK) make the dishonest judge experience imprisonment," Lambert, BWL, 132:97.

197 Cf. ﬂalpu, CAD, ibid., 71; sullupu, "cancel," Late Babylonian, CAD, ibid.; sullupu, "false, dishonest, crossed out," Old and Late Babylonian, CAD, ibid., 240; ﬂiliptu, "diagonal," CAD, ibid., 188, and ﬂilbu, ibid., 187; cf. BAR.NUN as equivalent of ﬂiliptu, "diagonal," ibid., and LU.SA.BAR.RA = ﬂa libbasu ﬂalpu, "whose heart is crooked," CAD, ibid., 86.

198 M. Yeb. 16:3; M. Sab. 6:10; cf. also Mandaic ﬂaliba, "cross," Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 387b.

199 CAD, 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 [maslāp], "whip."

Arabic qlb is considered to be a borrowing from the Aramaic, Lex. Syr., p. 629. The verb qlb in Mishnaic Hebrew replaces Biblical tly, "hang," and ḫaqāc, "impale." Bendavid, BHMH, 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.

Examples of this word are: ṣumma tamkârum ṣamallâm iqîp, "if a merchant entrusted (something) to a trader;"**200** qîptu eli qîptu ippuṣ, "He is making loan upon loan;"**201** bēl qîptiya bāb harrāniya ṣa qatātim lā errisîma lā aba'ās, "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 kînu.....ana bēlūtim lū 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: lū šarru, lū mār šarri lū qîpu lū šaknu lū šatammu lū 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. Ṣab. 3:16, from which must be read meqîp, from вآwپ, rather than maqqîp, from вآقپ, as read by Albeck, Mishnah, Nezîqin, p. 367; the identification is made in AFw, p. 17. Compare also M. Ṣeb. 10:1, ḥaqâpat ḥebnîût, "credit given in a store."
35) quuppā < quppu, "box, basket, fund."

Examples of Akkadian quppu are: ḫṣkunanni ina quppi ša šūri, "she placed me in a basket of reeds," from the Sargon legend, and, from Sennacherib's description of his confinement of Hezekiah: kīma ʾissūr quppi, "(I confined him to Jerusalem, his royal city,) like a caged bird." 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, kēlīpā, in the sense of "box."

On the other hand, quuppā does not appear to have the sense of "cage." 206 Salonen, Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien, p. 71. In present-day Iraq, guffa (< Akkadian quppu) refers to a kind of boat, Salonen, ibid.; cf. also Mandaic qupa, "basket, round basket boat," Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 409a.

207 OIP II, 33, iii, 27.

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


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

The Mishnah has a passage in which quppā is used in a non-literal sense, related to the one above: ḥeβatān meqabbēl cālāw cāšārā dinārin lᵉ quppā lᵉ kol māne ū māne, "The bridegroom undertakes to give her ten dinars for the quppā for every mina that she brings in." The Babylonian Talmud explains quppā šel bašāmīm as "box of perfumes," e.g., personal things the wife may buy. The relationship between this and the Babylonian usage is that the money is under the sole discretion of the wife.


Levine, Survivals, p. 51.

Ibid., p. 50. 215M. Ket. 6:4.

It is also possible that the Talmud's interpretation is not the original sense of *quppa* in the Mishnah.

Another use of *quppu* in Neo-Babylonian economic documents is *quppu ša šarri*, "the basket of the king." This refers to certain taxes which are collected as the perquisite of the king. Another example is PN ša 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 *quppa* in the sense of a communal fund for dispensing sustenance to the poor every Friday. The phrase ša muḫḫi quppi is parallel to Hebrew *šēhāyā mēmūne ʾal quppā šel ʾēdāqā*, "who was in charge of the charity fund."

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221*M. Pā·ā* 8:7.

221TB B. B. 11a.
36) qurnīt < qurnu, "Origanum vulgare, thyme."

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

\[223\] DAB, pp. 78ff.; M. Seb. 8:1; M. MaCaś. 3:9; M. UqgIn 2:2; and Albeck, Mishnah, ZerAcIm, p. 159.

\[224\] DAB, p. 78; Lex. Syr., p. 697. Brockelmann compares Akkadian qurnu but does not indicate that he considers it a loanword.
37) **qurpayṭ, "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 ḫa pili or lapis lazuli, karpatušina uqnu.²²⁵

It is suggested that Mishnaic **qurpayṭ** "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 ṣosim, no doubt identical with kos.²²⁸ An alternate suggestion is that qurpayṭ is a place name signifying the origin of the vessel.²²⁹

²²⁵AHW, pp. 449f.

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

²²⁷Segal, GMH, p. 30.

²²⁸M. Kelîm 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) qurqebān, "stomach," < quqqubānu, "stomach."

There appear in Akkadian a number of similar words:
ku-ku-ba-tum/tu = pi-1 karṣi = ku-ku-ba-nu ša šatī, "stomach," = "mouth of the stomach," = "stomach of a pig,"
and qu-qu-ba-tu = qu-qu-ba-nu. This last form is considered by von Soden to be a loanword in Mishnaic Hebrew, qurqebān.
Arguments for a loan rather than a cognate relationship are as follows: if quqqubānu/qurqebān 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; and, also, the purrusu noun form and the -ānu ending are expected in Akkadian but are unusual in Aramaic and Hebrew. The change of qa > rq, quqqubānu > qurqebān, is a case of dissimilation, 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. Hebrew must have received the word through Aramaic.

230AHw, p. 500b.  
231Ibid.
233Moscati, Introduction, par. 9.12.
234qAG, 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, qes, "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

237E. Schrader, KAT, p. 580; M. Mak. 2:1.
238I. J. Gelb, A Glossary of Old Akkadian, Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary, No. 3 (Chicago, 1957), p. 223 (hereafter abbreviated as MAD III). The entry is given syllabically: ga-ti-is-su. A derivation of qatum from *qahtum < lq, "grasp," is rejected by Goetze who suggests a derivation from *qatum or *qathum, A. Goetze, JCS, II (1948), 269; QAQ, par. 55b.

241Compare M. Mak. 2:1, niyîmat habbarzel miggattê, "the iron slipped off its handle," and Deut. 19:5, wênašal habbarzel min hâqes, "the iron slipped off of the wood."
242Cf. the forms mqnêw, Lowe, MPT, and miggannêtê, Beer, MK, the Mishnah corresponding to M. Mak. 2:1.
243Moscati, Introduction, p. 75; cf. a differing view, AIA, pp. 118-9.
words with this pattern are Greek loanwords, qētīdra, kābēsrapa, "seat," and qatōlīgōs, katholikōs, "official."

Assyrian passages indicate that raggatum denotes a shallow area at the bank or mouth of a river, e.g., ana raggat pi nāri ikkudē. "(the ships of my warriors) reached the swamps at the head of the river," and raggatum la kī̄lād diclat, "the shallows on the bank of the Tigris." In an Assyrian lexical list there is an equation of raggatum with u-sal-ia, "swamp, watered plain."

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

244 XP II, 74, line 77.
245 Ibid.
246 Von Soden, 254, XII (1936), 235.
247 In 6, 11, 188a; Hebrew p'qēq occurs in 8, 2ab, 11:4.
248 Drawe and Mackuš, Man., Dlg., p. 422a.
249 Lex. Syr., p. 473.
Assyrian passages indicate that *raqqatum* denotes a shallow area at the bank or mouth of a river, e.g., *ana raqqat pî 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 *reqaq* is proposed as a loan from Assyrian *raqqatum*, with Aramaic as the intermediary. Aramaic *raqta* and Mandaic *raqata* are closest in form to the Assyrian. The difference between the form of Hebrew *reqaq* and the Assyrian can be explained on the basis of variant formations in the Aramaic upon which the Hebrew drew. There occur Syriac *reqagā* and Mandaic *reqagā*.
It is suggested that the loan process may have followed this pattern: Assyrian raqqatum > Aramaic raqtâ, raqätâ / secondary formations: rejqâqâ / raqätâ > Hebrew rejqâq. 251

It is generally accepted that Mishnaic יטăr is a borrowing from Akkadian šatûr. 253 What needs clarification, however, is the pattern of borrowing. It would be expected that the noun, יטăr, would be borrowed from Aramaic שטער, שטער. 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 šatûr, שטער, "writing." 255 The Hebrew form, יטאר, does not reproduce the Akkadian pattern. One would expect שטער > יטאר. If the Aramaic vocalization is שטער, the common vocalization, the same is true. Only if the Aramaic form is שטער, 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, ש"ק, ש"ק. There is no basis for any etymological association with any known roots, such as ש"ק, "spit," or raqâqum, ש"ק, "be thin," B-D-B, p. 956. The form of raqqatum follows the passat model; compare šaratum "queen," ssasatum, "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.
The Akkadian verb, šatāru, is widely attested. An example is [tup]pātim labīratim tāȳpia [u eš]tētim taštura, "you have broken the old tablets and written new ones."\(^{252}\)

It is generally accepted that Mishnaic ūetār is a borrowing from Akkadian šatāru.\(^{253}\) What needs clarification, however, is the pattern of borrowing. It would be expected that the noun, ūetār, would be borrowed from Aramaic šēr, šēyārā.\(^{254}\) 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 šatāru: šitru, "writing."\(^{255}\) The Hebrew form, ūetār, does not reproduce the Akkadian pattern. One would expect *šitru > *šēter. If the Aramaic vocalization is šēyārā, the common vocalization, the same is true. Only if the Aramaic be vocalized *šitru\(^{256}\) is there any

\(^{252}\)CAD VI (ד), 172.

\(^{253}\)AFw, pp. 19 and 29; B-D-B, p. 1009.

\(^{254}\)The word šitr appears widely in Imperial Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic from Elephantine, Palmyrene and Nabatean, DISO, pp. 295-6.

\(^{255}\)Delitzsch, Assyr. Hwb., p. 652.

\(^{256}\)Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1555, lists this vocalization parenthetically but does not authenticate it. He also lists šitrā, šitra, vocalized as such, with the
similarly.

It appears that the Hebrew and, possibly, the Ara­
maic, do not reproduce an Akkadian noun pattern, but form
a word according to native patterns. In addition,
Akkadian šitr does not have the very specific technical
meaning of Aramaic and Hebrew štr, šēṭār, "legal docu­
ment." The noun formed from the Akkadian verb has the
same general sense which ketāb has in Hebrew. The ex­
pression šitir šumī, "inscription of a name," is often
in apposition with μουπάκ, "inscription." For "legal
document," Akkadian uses dannatu, lē'šū, kanīku, kunukku, or tuppu. It does not use šitr in this
meaning "line, orbit of the stars." This may be derived
from šāṭāru, "write," and may also be identical with
Arabic saṭara, "to rule (paper)," J. G. Hava, Arabic–
English Dictionary, p. 320. Compare also ḫasaṭār, "row,
line, handwriting," Hava, ibid.

257 Hebrew šēṭār is formed according to the qēbār
pattern; compare ketāb, qēbār, kēlāl, šēṭār, and ŝēlāq.
Segal, GMH, p. 230. It is probable that Hebrew received
this word from Aramaic šēṭāra. Possibly the Aramaic was
modelled after ketāb, which mean "decree" and, pre­
sumably, the written document which contains it, Dan. 6:9,
10 and 11. The verbs kēb and šāṭāru are synonymous.

258 Delitzsch, ibid., p. 652.

259 Ahw., p. 160.

260 Ibid., pp. 546-7.

261 Ibid., p. 437.

262 Ibid., pp. 507-8.

263 Cf. ʾīṭūma šibtu issassu tuppašu ʾiḥi, "after
the interest has been demanded (and paid), destroy his
tablet," CAD VI (י), 172, from CT 29, 41:13, Old Baby­
lonian letter. It is also significant that in an Aramaic
docket on a Neo-Babylonian business document, štr occurs,
but in the Akkadian text itself there occurs unqū, "ring,
seal." The example is: unqū (PN) bi-is-dī-e (Akkadian),
11. Cf. a different view, CAD, pp. 260-1.
It would appear that, if a borrowing has taken place, Aramaic has borrowed the verb, ṣatāru, not the noun šitru, and has formed the noun according to its own patterns, as has Hebrew, borrowing from it. There is no evidence, however, that ṣatāru 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

"written by Bysdh," Cardascia, Archives, p. 178. The word unqu corresponds to kaniku, "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 saṭr, "write," occurs in Arabic but is regarded as a loanword from Aramaic šetārā, 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 šetārā. In a Neo-Babylonian text, there occurs the passage:

a-na la e-ni-e l en -a-an ša-ta-ri il- (te-)qu-u, "So that (the agreement) should not be altered, they took a document," Richard Haase, Einführung in das Studium keilschriftlicher Rechtsquellen (Wiesbaden, 1965), p. 14, citing J. Kohler and F. E. Peiser, Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben I, 25ff. As the parāsu 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 šetārā 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, 6:2, 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.\textsuperscript{266}

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

In the Mishnah, $\text{טאר}$ can occur alone,\textsuperscript{268} or with
a modifying elements, e.g., $\text{טאר הונ}$, "note of indebted-
ness,"\textsuperscript{269} $\text{טאר הוליגה}$, "records of drawing off the
shoe,"\textsuperscript{270} and $\text{טאר בורין}$, "deeds of arbitration."\textsuperscript{271}
The entrance of $\text{טאר}$ into Hebrew, together with
another loanword, $\text{טמר}$, displaced Biblical $\text{ספור}$\textsuperscript{272} and
removed it from the area of "legal document."

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

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

\textsuperscript{268}M. Qid. 1:1 and 2; M. B. M. 1:8.

\textsuperscript{269}M. B. B. 10:6.

\textsuperscript{270}M. B. Q. 3:3.

\textsuperscript{271}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{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 SE.GIS.1, and has been proposed as the source of the Hebrew loanword šumšum. The word is widely attested inside and outside of the Semitic sphere. It has been derived from *šaman šammim.

Recently, however, Kraus has drawn attention to the fact that the word, most often written as a logogram, also occurs syllabically, Old Babylonian  ša-ma-ša-mi, and Old Assyrian  ša-ma-[š]a-mi. This writing indicates that a derivation from *šaman šammim is not possible. In addition, *šaman šammim would presumably mean "oil of herbs," which, as Kraus notes, can hardly be the name of a plant. In addition, the Sumerian SE.GIS.1 also gives no satisfactory sense. The suggested renderings of 

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

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


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

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

278 Ibid., p. 115. 279 Ibid.
the Sumerian, "corn of the oil tree" and "oil-wood barley" are not descriptive of the seed.\textsuperscript{280} In addition, there occur in Mari letters the forms \textit{SE.I.GIS} AND \textit{SE.I.GIS}.\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{281} Kraus suggests that both Akkadian \textit{šamas}$(y)$\textit{ammu} and Sumerian \textit{šegili} are borrowings from a third language and that the original word behind both forms cannot be recovered.\textsuperscript{282} He also notes that \textit{šamas}$(y)$\textit{ammu} is a plural tantum.\textsuperscript{283}

In the Mishnah, \textit{sūmsūm} occurs regularly, being part of a list with \textit{jōrez}, \textit{dōhan}, and \textit{peṙāgin}, "rice, durra, and panic,"\textsuperscript{284} and also in conjunction with \textit{gesah} and \textit{pilpēl}, "black cummin and pepper."\textsuperscript{285}

It must be noted that there are variants to Hebrew \textit{sūmsūm} which appear closer to the Akkadian. These are \textit{šemšem},\textsuperscript{286} \textit{šamšemīn},\textsuperscript{287} and \textit{šamšēm}.\textsuperscript{288} The last form

\textsuperscript{280}Kraus, \textit{ibid.}, p. 115.
\textsuperscript{282}Kraus, \textit{ibid.}, p. 115. \textsuperscript{283}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{284}\textit{M. Šeb.} 2:7; \textit{M. Šalāb} 1:4.
\textsuperscript{285}\textit{M. Šeb.} Yām 1:5. Sesame oil is mentioned in \textit{M. Šab.} 2:2. In the Code of Hammurabi, pars. 49 and 50, sesame is listed with grain as a common commodity, and in Tosefta \textit{Sabbat} 2:3, TB \textit{Šab.} 26a, sesame oil is referred to as the only oil available to the people of Babylonia.
\textsuperscript{286}Beer, \textit{MK}, \textit{M. Šeb.} Yām 1:5.
\textsuperscript{287}\textit{Ibid.}, \textit{M. Šalāb} 1:4; \textit{M. Šab.} 2:2.
\textsuperscript{288}Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, \textit{M. Šeb.} Yām 1:6, p. 127. This manuscript is not consistent, however, as the
is closest to the Akkadian ṣamaṣṣum, 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 šumšum 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 con-
sonants, e.g., Akkadian ṣamnu > Aramaic šumnā, "fat," and Semitic *libb > Arabic lubb. Of course, this change could have taken place directly in the Hebrew without Aramaic mediation.

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

289Brockelmann, Grundriss, I, par. 75; Mos-
cati, Introduction, par. 9.6.
43) **še-pîr**, "sac of the foetus," /sparu, "net."

Examples of this word in Akkadian are: **usparirma** bēlum saparasu ushimaši, "the lord spread out his net to enfold her,"290 and **sapa** ṣaduma kamăr šuṣbū, "thrown into the net, they sat in the snare."291

This word has been identified with Mishnaic **še-pîr**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 š > s. The opposite process does occur, however, compare Akkadian **suluppû**, "date," > Aramaic **šalpûs**.294 The noun pattern of **sparu** should correspond to a Hebrew *šāpār*, compare ḫatānu, Hebrew ḫātān, "son-in-law," or an expected development might be: **sparu** > *šāpār* se-pîr.295 In fact, Aramaic **še-pîrā** and Hebrew *še-pîr* correspond to the pirîs form, compare kilīlu and ke-līl, "crown."296 The adaptation of this borrowing to the pirîs

290 Enuma elīs IV:95  
291 Ibid., IV:112.
292 M. Nidda 3:3.  
293 Tur-Sinai, Commentary on Job, p. 232. Tur-Sinai also finds this word in Psalms 56:9, ṣipratēkā, and in Job 26:13, še-pîr, which he reads as še-pîrē, ibid.
294 Cf. imitti suluppû immidūsû, "they will impose upon him the estimate of the dates," Cardascia, Archives, p. 137, and šalpûs (pl.), TB Bër. 52b. An Assyrian source is likely, as Akkadian š8 was realized by Assyrians as [š], AIA, pp. 162-163. Cf. above, pp. 51, 59.
295 GAG, par. 55e; Moscati, Introduction, par. 10c,g. An original saparrû may underlie saparu, involving no accent change (Dr. Moshe Held, in oral communication).
296 GAG, par. 55j.
pattern distinguishes it from the homonym, \( ^{\text{spr}} \), "be beautiful."\(^{297}\)

\( ^{\text{min}} \) < ausap\( ^{\text{in}} \), "attendant of the groom or bride."

It has been recognized that ausap\( ^{\text{in}} \) is a loan in Hebrew, \( ^{\text{min}} \) b\( ^{\text{in}} \), "friend of the groom, best man.\(^{298}\)

A parallel is tapp\( ^{\text{u}} \), "friend," in whose presence the bride is veiled by the groom. Driver and Miles have compared this to the role of the ausap\( ^{\text{in}} \).

Lambert brings evidence to show that the ausap\( ^{\text{in}} \)
was also associated with the bride. A Sumerian equivalent to ausap\( ^{\text{in}} \) is NINGIR.SI, who, in Sumerian religious texts, is represented as lying with Inanna.\(^{300}\)

In Lambert's view, the ausap\( ^{\text{in}} \) performed the ius primum noctis, a function which, in later times, he delegated to others. In later times, the term \( ^{\text{min}} \) b\( ^{\text{in}} \) continued in Jewish tradition in the sense of "friend of the groom."\(^{301}\)

The relationship of the ausap\( ^{\text{in}} \) to a ius primum noctis cannot be verified here. However, it will be seen that there is a relationship between the Akkadian material and the later usage.

The Mishnah uses \( ^{\text{min}} \) b\( ^{\text{in}} \) as an equivalent to

\( ^{\text{min}} \) b\( ^{\text{in}} \), "friend," a usage to be compared with tapp\( ^{\text{u}} \).

\( ^{297}\) There also occurs an Akkadian word, \( ^{\text{sur}} \) ur\( ^{\text{r}} \)\( ^{\text{a}} \)\( ^{\text{u}} \), "net," Delitzsch, Assy. Hwb., p. 684. It is not clear if this is related at all as a loanword.

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

\( ^{300}\) cf., however, a different view, AELA, pp. 127 and 303-20.
It has been recognized that susapīnu is a loan in Hebrew, *susēpīn*, "friend of the groom, best man."298 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.299 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.300 In Lambert’s view, the susapīnu performed the *ius præmæ noctis*, a function which, in later times, he delegated to others. In later times, the term *susēpīn* continued in Jewish tradition in the sense of "friend of the groom."301 The relationship of the susapīnu to a *ius præmæ 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 *susēpīn* as an equivalent to *jōnēh*, "friend," a usage to be compared with tappū.

298AFw, p. 46.
299Driver and Miles, Assyrian Laws, p. 187, and n. 8.
300Lambert, BWL, pp. 339f.
301Ibid. Cf., however, a different view, AIA, pp. 127 and 289-90.
The Mishnah regards חספה, the "status of being a friend of the groom," as a reciprocal legal obligation. The חספה 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 חספה was associated with the bride, as well. There was a custom in Judah where a חספה 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 חספה who had the הדרק, "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 חספה to the first night. This usage, however, is not found in the Mishnah.
45) taggar, "merchant," < tamkarum.

The Akkadian word is a formation from the Semitic root $\text{y}mk\text{r}$, 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 sâbîtum, "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 šamallûm to work with in business ventures.308 Mishnaic taggar, derives, through Aramaic taggarâ, from Akkadian tamkarû(m).309 The word tends to replace Biblical sôper 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 šamallûm has entered Aramaic as šewalyâ, "apprentice," a shift from the original meaning.
310 Bendavid, BHMH, p. 356; cf. šôhârê behemâ, M. Seq. 7:2. Arabic tâjîr is regarded as a borrowing from Aramaic, with the Arabic verb, tjîr, 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 taggarâ) may be answered, following Nöldeke's suggestion, by assuming that it derives from a dialectical Aramaic taggrâ, S. Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 181. See also, AIA, pp. 198 and 263.
Mishnaic tekhelem has been recognized as a loanword from Akkadian tabi'um. An example of the Akkadian is: maššarī URU birāt gabbu ša ina muḫḫi taḫūmē, "the guards of all the forts which are along the border." There also occurs a lexical equation of ta-ḫu-um-mu with kippatu, "circle, limit." In Mishnaic Hebrew, tekhelem takes the place of Biblical ḫubul which does not become obsolete, but takes on a specialized meaning in the plural ḫubulīn, "areas outside of Jerusalem."

There is no apparent derivation of this word in West-Semitic, and it replaces gbl in Aramaic documents. 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 ḫubulīn in this special sense, cf. M. Seq. 7:3. For areas outside of the Temple, including Jerusalem, medīnā is used, cf. M. R. H. 4:3; M. cEr. 10:13.
316 A relationship with ḫōma, "wall," proposed by Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1660, is not convincing, as tekhelem is a semantic parallel to ḫubul, "border, district," and does not share the semantic range of ḫōma at all.
317 The word təm occurs in Nabatean, Palmyrene and Elephantine, DISO, pp. 325-6. In the Aramaic inscriptions
Aramaic, then entered Hebrew.

"tarmusa" < starmasu < yam.TAR.MUS, "lupine,"

Lupinus termis.

Thompson discusses yam.TAR.MUS, a Sumerian writing, and notes that it has long been compared to Aramaic tarmusa, Greek ὑφήμος, Syriac āhrāsā, and to Arabic tarmūs. 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.TAR.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. Yalou, in Albeck's edition of the Mishnah, vocalizes tarmou. In the Neubauer Manuscript there occur tarmou and tarmou, the vowel change q > w, yam.TAR.MUS > āhrāsā. Hebrew tarmou, takes place under the influence of a labial such as q. The Hebrew term derives from the Aramaic.

yam.TAR. pp. 125–6; NCW IV, 671.

cf. this edition, M. Kii. 1:3; M. Job. 18:1; M. Yeb. 11:1; and M. Tg. Yeb. 11:1.

of Bar-Rekub and Bargaya gbl, not thum, is used often, indicating that thum 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 tahumat in Arabic is regarded as not native but as a loan from Aramaic, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 282; cf. also Syriac tahumā, Lex. Syr., pp. 620–1. See also AIA, pp. 128–9 and 291.
Thompson discusses sa̱mTU.R.MU.S, a Sumerian writing, and notes that it has long been compared to Aramaic tur̲̅ms̲̅a, Greek ὑμερος, Syriac tūrm̲̅eśā, and to Arabic tarm̲̅us. 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 sa̱mTU.R.MU.S 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 tur̲̅ms. In the Kaufmann Manuscript there occur t̲̅rm̲̅os̲̅ and t̲̅rm̲̅os̲̅. The vowel change a > u, *tarmu̱ > tūrm̲̅eśā, Hebrew tur̲̅ms, takes place under the influence of a labial such as m. The Hebrew form derives from the Aramaic.

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

LOAN TRANSLATIONS AND EXTENSIONS

1) māṣaḥīzin ʾet hājûr < ʾēṣāta šūḥuzu, "causing/to cause a fire to ignite."

Examples of the Akkadian idiom, using abāzu, "seize, take hold," are: ʾiṣātu tu-ša-ah-ḥa-za-šu, "you will cause it to catch fire," and, using the ʾSt form, ʾiṣāt ʾuš-ṭaḥ-ḥa-зу, "the fire I kindle."

Aramaic is the intermediary between Akkadian and Hebrew, as seen by Syriac ḫḥt nwr. The expression in the Mishnah, umāṣaḥīzin ʾet hājûr, "causing a fire to ignite," is ultimately derived from the Akkadian.

1 Ahw, p. 19b; CAD I, Pt. 1, 182-3.


3 M. Ṣab. 1:11. There is a variant, umēšēḥīzin, Katsh, GM, Pl. 15, line 24. A variant from the Kaufmann Manuscript, umēḥīdin, is cited ibid., p. 30, ad loc. This reading may reflect an Aramaic influence. The idiom also occurs in the non-causative form, kēde ʾṣeyē ḫōz hājûr, "so that the fire will take hold," M. Ṣab., ibid. This is the reading of Yalon, as against the editions' teʾṣehōz, Yalon, IVM, p. 50. Another reading is ṣevyīṣat, Katsh, ibid., line 25. The Biblical idiom, ṣēṣ mitlāqqahat, 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: mešēti tuṣabbitī tuṣabbitī bīnāti, "you (Lamaštu) seized parts of the body, you destroyed the limbs;"4 ṭābu pāmma watar bīnītam, "he (Sin) is sweet of mouth, grand in form;"5 and esēntu aḫītu bīnūt āmēlūti arḫīs 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 bunnānū, "outer appearance, figure."8 Examples are: ībukma Šaltam Šūṭuru biniannim, "he sent off Saltu, grandiose in form,"9 and ṣīkīn (!) bunnānīya ʾiserīṣ ušeklīlūma, "they (the great gods) have given me a perfect appearance in every respect."10

It is suggested that these forms have influenced the cognate bīnyān, used in the Mishnah in the sense of "human frame," e.g., ṭob bīnyānō ṭob minyānō, "the greater part of its frame or the greater number of its members."11 Albeck cites the definition by the Tosefta of bīnyān, 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. Šoh. 2:1.
is "the thighs, the legs, the ribs and the backbone."

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

However, the root ger can mean "totally burned, consumed," as in "rigā...upārsara, "the spices were completely burned." As the roots gārār, ger are cognates, it is suggested that the special development of gāmār, "be consumed" > gusāru, "charred wood," was transferred to the Aramaic cognate, forming gusārē. Mishnaic sugārē is a further development, the HofGāl verbal form being based upon the Aramaic noun, gusartê, indicating that the spices have been acted upon by the gods.

This should be compared with Aramaic binita, "small fish," TB B. Q. 19b.
3) mugmar, "spices placed upon coals," < gumartā < gumāru, "coal, charcoal."

An example of gumāru, attested in Neo-Assyrian, is: summa pi·ittu lū gumāru istu muḫḫi kanūnu ittuqut, "if charcoal or a live ember falls out of the brazier." 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. However, the root gmr can mean "totally burned, consumed," as in riqqe...ugdammerū, "the spices were completely burned." As the roots gamaru, gmr are cognates, it is suggested that the special development of gamaru, "be consumed" > gumāru, "charred wood," was transferred to the Aramaic cognate, forming gumartā. Mishnaic mugmar 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.

15CAD, V (G), 133; cf. also AHw, p. 298.
16CAD, ibid.
17AHw, p. 278; cf. also Lex. Syr., pp. 121f.
18M. Ber. 6:6; M. Berā 2:7 and M. Ėd. 3:11. It is not clear that Mandean gumarta, "consecrated wafer," is at all related, Drower and Macuch, Man. Ḥad., p. 836.

The Kaufmann Manuscript, Berākot 6:6, has hammaγmar. If this is primary, the HofCal suggested above should be ruled out, and the form is of a migdal noun formation. Nevertheless, not only the verb gmr, "consume," but gumartā must be assumed for the understanding of this word.
4) **dīnu**, "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<sup>c</sup>al dīn < bel dabābi, "litigant,"**23 **dīn udēpārīm < dīnu u dabābu, "lawsuit and complaint,"**24 and **dīnē nēpāsč < dīn napiśtim.**25

A number of others will be discussed here.

a) **hāty<sup>c</sup>en jēt hāber<sup>c</sup>."he who claims from his neighbor," literally, "he who loads upon his neighbor."26

Kutscher sought to derive the use of **t<sup>c</sup>en** in this context from the metaphor of piercing, Arabic ṭa<sup>c</sup>āna.27 Muffs, however, shows that **t<sup>c</sup>en** in this context is a loan translation of Akkadian emēdu, "load upon, obligate," and that the same verb appears in Aramaic: **wē<sup>c</sup>nwk ly mwm<sup>j</sup> h lmwm<sup>j</sup>., "And they obligated you to take an oath on my behalf."28

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

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

b) soter āt haddin, "cancels the judgment," 35 should be compared with dīna sapāvu, as in dīna lissapīpma, "let his judgment be disrupted." 36

29 Gilgames XI:180. 30 CAD, II (B), 235.
31 AHw, p. 212, Old Babylonian, Susa.
32 Enuma elis VI:26.
33 Lambert, BWL, 132:98 (Šamaš Hymn).
34 AHw, p. 70. Akkadian šēnu is cognate with țcn, but it is not used in the legal sense, CAD, XVI (§), 131f. In Mishnaic Hebrew, țcn is used in the general sense of "carry," as a replacement of Biblical ns and cms, 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 šēm, Job 23:6, and šīk, Ex. 21:22 and Numb. 12:11.
35 M. Sanh. 3:8; cf. above, p. 132, where this expression is discussed in conjunction with ṣutturu > Aramaic, Hebrew str, "destroy."
36 Maqlū III:127.
c) nigmar haddin, "when the sentence has been passed,"
should be compared with dinam gamarum, as in
the following examples: gamir dini, "(you) who decide my
case," and dinam gumra-ynusim, "complete judgment for
them." Also to be compared is DI.TIL.LA > ditilli, "ver-
dict," as the element TIL is equivalent to gamaru. The
phrase in the Mishnah, gamru vet haddapar, "when (the
judges) reached their decision," may be compared with
awatam gamaru.

d) gezerot bet din, "verdicts of the court," should be compared with Akkadian parasu, "cut," and purussu,
"verdict." An example is: summa dayyanum dinam iddin
purussam irpus, "if a judge has rendered judgment, given
a verdict."

The Sumerian equivalent of dinu is DI.KU5, and the
second element, KU5, is also read as KUD and TAR, equiva-

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 din.
This suggests that the Mishnaic expression is not depen-
dent upon it.
43M. M. Q. 3:3.
44Code of Hammurabi, par. 5; cf. Esther 2:1,
nigzar.
lents of nakāsu, batāqū, and parāsu, "cut." The influence of this loan is already present in the Bible, with the word ḫrṣ, "cut, decide a verdict," and with gzn (Job 22:28 and Esther 2:1). A similar development occurs in Latin, caedo, "cut," and decēdō, "cut off, settle." An argument for loan translations from parāsu is offered by Falk.

45 Labat, Manuel, p. 47. 46 I 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 dīn, "verdict," TB B. B. 130b; ḥotêkîn 'et hahalākā, "they decide (cut) the law," Midr. Lev. R., 4:1; and neḥēḇā cālāw gēzerā, "the decree has been decided (literally, chiselled) for him," Yalqūṭ Šim'onī, Isaiah, par. 291. As the Latin can have had no influence on the earliest instance of this loan translation, Biblical ḫrṣ, it would appear that it cannot be invoked to explain the phenomenon in Mishnaic Hebrew. Moreover, while gzn, gēzerā, in Mishnaic Hebrew might be explained as a development of the Biblical ḫrṣ, 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) **yôšêt hûṣ**, "prostitute, woman of loose morals," < **wašû**, "to be a gadabout."

In the Code of Hammurabi there occurs the expression: **šumma lā našratma wašiat**, "if she was not careful, but was a gadabout."\(^{48}\) This use of **wašû** in the participial form in the special sense of "being of loose morals" is reflected in the Aramaic **napqat bārā**, "one who goes outside, i.e., a prostitute."\(^{49}\) The Aramaic is the intermediary between the Akkadian and the Hebrew **yôšêt hûṣ**,\(^{50}\) which is a direct translation of **napqat bārā**.

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\(^{48}\) Code of Hammurabi, par. 143.

\(^{49}\) Targum Onkelos, Genesis 34:31.

6) ḥoṣi' ṣeṭār, "produce a bill of indebtedness,"<w> waṣaù, "appear (of a legal document)."

Muffs has shown that waṣaù is used in the context of the appearance or producing of a legal document. An example is: ʿumma ina šērtu ina lidiš egertu...tuṣa ša marāqu ši, "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: 1q yklwn ynpqwn ʿlyky spr ḫdt wcyq, "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., hammōṣi' ṣeṭār ḥob cal ḥāqeṭō wēhallā ḥoṣi' ṣemmākar lō jēt ḫassāde, "if a person produces a bill of indebtedness against his neighbor, and he produces a document that he sold him the field,"53 and ḥoṣi' ḫēt, "if she produced a bill of divorce."54

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

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


54Ibid., 9:9.
lobe of the liver, uban amütim, "finger (lobe) of the liver."

Akkadian amütu is equated with ka-bi-du, kabattu, a cognate of Hebrew kapêd, "liver." Various parts of the liver are designated as qabliat amütim, "middle of the liver," nār amütim, river of the liver, uban amütim, "finger of the liver," and tarbaš amütim, "courtyard of the liver." An example including ubānum, "finger," is:

In the Mishnah there occur the terms hāsar hakkābēd and esbâc hakkābēd. Both terms are considered identical by Albeck. The Targum Onkelos renders Leviticus 3:10, wejet hayyoteret cal hakkābēd by weyat hīṣrā decal kabdā. In Syriac, ḫessar, ḫesrā has the

55AHw, p. 46. A relationship of Hebrew mecâyim, bowels, to amütu is proposed by H. Holma, Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 88f. (hereafter abbreviated as Körperteile).

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

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

58M. Yoma 8:6.

59M. Tamid 4:3.

60Albeck, Mishnah, Mōcēd, p. 246; ibid, Qodosīm, p. 302.
meaning "small finger," thusジェबァ hakkāhēd and ḫāṣār hakkāhēd are identical. Zimmern related Syriac ḫēṣṣār to Akkadian ubānu šīḥirtu.62 The loan process, however, can be traced back further, to ubān amūtim.63


62AFw, p. 46. If this suggestion is correct, Mishnaic Hebrew ḫāṣār hakkāhēd is a borrowing, through Aramaic and Syriac, from ṣeḥrū, šīḥirtu. The cognate form of ṣeḥrū in Hebrew is ḥācīr.

63There does occur in Akkadian the expression tarbaš amūtim, "courtyard of the liver," AHw, p. 46. As tarbašu and Hebrew ḫāṣār are equivalents, it is tempting to relate tarbaš amūtim to ḫāṣār hakkāhēd. This, however, is not possible if, as stated above, ḫāṣār hakkāhēd andジェバ hakkāhēd 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 amūtim occurs in the Babylonian Talmud, turbaš hawwešet, "the wide part of the windpipe," TB Hul. 43b.
8) kômêrîn, mêkammôrîn, "piling up dates, fruit, for ripening," < kumurrû.

The Akkadian verb kamâru, "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 kattannûr, "fell in like a furnace," in contrast to nîpal labû, "fell outward." 

The influence of Akkadian is seen in the special use of kamâru 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," ãral, "yellow, sour," râtab, "brown," and tamar, "dry." Of direct relevance is the term kumurrû, "laying dates for ripening." 

The usage is reflected in Mishnaic Hebrew. The printed text of the Mishnah reads hammêkâmîn bâjâdâma, 

64 AHw, p. 430b. This is to be distinguished from kârâmu, "hold back," ibid., p. 446. An example of kamâru is: mukammer nûpâmîn u tûbâmîm, "who piles up wealth and abundance," Code of Hammurabi, Prologue, I:54.

65 Cf. kisseû selâkkîhês sehû kôrêm calâw jet hakkêlîm, "the chair of the launderer upon which he piles the clothes," M. Kelîm 23:4.

66 Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 647.

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

"he who hides fruit in the ground," but the variant mekam̱m̱er exists. Outside of the Mishnah, this usage is well attested. It has been suggested here that, since kam̱aru and krm appear to be cognates, only the extended sense of kumurrû 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.

M. Qid. 2:6; M. B. B. 9:5.

A derivation from siphim, "wedding gift," although there does occur hublick, "sending of provisions for a common meal," a meaning apparently unrelated. A derivation of siphim, "fruitful tree" or "fruit of the earth," cannot be rejected. See also, GAQ, par. 561, for the noun form of hubultum.

M. Maqas. 4:1.

The variant mekam̱m̱er is cited by Albeck, Mishnah, Zeracîm, p. 233. It is also found in the marginal notes of R. Ezekial Landau and in the commentary of R. Joshua ben Malkizedeq in the Wilna Talmud, ad loc.

Cf. kîmerîn cānâhîm, Tosefta Menâhîṭ, 9:10; kîmer, "mass of fruit," TB B. M. 74a; TB Yeb. 97a.
9) **siblon** ≪ zubullu, "marriage gift."

Mishnaic **siblon**, "gift sent by the groom,"\(^72\) has been considered a loanword from **vubultum**, a noun formed from *wabalu*, "bring."\(^73\) What lends some support to the suggestion is that *vubultum* occurs in a list of words relating to marriage gifts, e.g., *biblu*, "betrothal gift," *terbatum*, "bride-price," *nidintum*, "dowry," and *vubultum*, "present."\(^74\)

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 *vubultum*. This does not occur with **siblon**, "wedding gift," although there does occur *siblet*, "sending of provisions for a common meal," a meaning apparently unrelated.\(^75\) A derivation of **siblon**

\(^72\)M. Qid. 2:6; M. B. B. 9:5.

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

\(^74\)MSL V, 11-12, from Har-ra-hubullu, Tab. I.

\(^75\)Tosefta Pesahim 7:10; TB Pes. 89b. Hebrew *siblet* can be derived from *vubultu* according to the principle that Hebrew does not take two successive u-vowels in a word, and there is dissimilation of one to ı. Moscati, Introduction, par. 9:12. The development would be *vubultu* > *vibulet* > *siblet*. 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' The Mishnaic equivalent of Biblical ns', "carry," is sbl, sibln can be a development parallel to mas shek, "gift (in a general sense)."

Held, however, has pointed out that Hebrew sbl is the semantic equivalent of Akkadian zabalu, as well as a cognate, and that zubullu, from zabalu, is a term used to designate exclusively a marriage gift. An example is: abu ya zubullu ibziluni kallasu 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 sblnt a loan from zubullu. The influence of Akkadian is manifest in that both sibln and zubullu are restricted to the special sense of "marriage gift." Had sibln developed independently as a translation of mas shek (< ns'), one would expect it to have a semantic range as general as its model.

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

76In 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 sibln derives from Greek συπόλων.

77Bendavid, BHMH, p. 355.

78Gen. 43:34; II Sam. 11:8.

79M. Held, JAOS, LXXXVIII (1968), 90-1.

80Ibid., p. 90, n. 10. 81Ibid., p. 91.
zubullu, but it does appear to be a direct borrowing of Syriac seblonā. 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, siblon and its source, seblonā, should be classed with the extensions and loan translations.

Kaufman also rejects a direct borrowing zubullu > seblonā > siblon but does not consider the possibility of an extension loan, AIA, pp. 90 and 266.
10) heḇqēr, heqqēr, "property confiscated, ownerless, forfeit," < baqāru, "contest, vindicate (in legal sense)."

In some contexts, baqāru 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. Examples of the first, general sense are: āḥḥūṣu ʾul ibaqqarūṣi, "her brothers shall bring no claim against her," and āḥjum ʾaḥjām ʾlā ibaqqarū, "one will not raise claims against the other."

Mishnaic heḇqēr/heqqēr has been seen to go back to Akkadian baqārum. There is, however, a semantic development. In Hebrew, the sense of the word is "ownerless property," and the verb maI).qir 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. Pādā 6:1; for the variants between Palestinian and Babylonian manuscripts, cf. Bendavid, BHMH, p. 215, and Epstein, ITM, II, 1220f. The form hbqr is Palestinian, and hpqr is Babylonian.
87 Speiser, ibid.; Speiser also connects Biblical bigqōret, Lev. 19:20, with post-Biblical heqqēr. 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 *hpqr* still harks back to the established earlier meanings of the Akkadian terms. By then, however, the Hiphil 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. What is not absolutely clear, however, is the development of meanings from "challenge" to "declare ownerless." A possible intermediate step may be exemplified by the passage: *ina qāte PN îpqirrû*, "they challenged (the structure of the house) out of the hands of PN." 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. Speiser's view, that the Hebrew and the Akkadian are cognate, is followed here. Thus, this word is grouped with the extensions rather than with the loanwords.

88 Speiser, ibid., p. 35.
89 AHw, p. 104, Late Babylonian.
90 An alternate explanation is that *pqr*, "act anarchically, throw off authority," is a metathesis of *prq*, "break (the yoke of) authority," cf. pāqrū hamminṭm, "the heretics threw off authority," TB Sanh. 38b, and happareq mimmenû cēl Tābārā, "he who casts off the yoke of Torah," M. J. Ab. 3:5. Also possibly to be compared is Mandaic PRQ, "rave, run riot," Drower and Macuch, Man. Dict., p. 377a. In this event ḫeḡer/ḥeḡer, "ownerless property," need not be derived from Akkadian ḥagaru but from prq/pqr, "throw off authority." A possible semantic development might be to "throw off ownership." However, it has been preferred to accept the proposal of Speiser and to derive ḫeḡer/ḥeḡer from ḥagaru. This is in view of the fact that the Akkadian also appears to influence bigoret in Lev. 19:20, as indicated by Speiser, and in view of the general influence of Akkadian legal terms.
11) *pirḫē kehūnā*, "young priests," < *perḫū*, "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 *šēbru, māru*, "young person, son," and also with *perḫu*. This should be compared with Mishnaic *pirḫē kehūnā*, "young priests (in training)."

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Footnotes:

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

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

An example of ḥaššu illustrating the sense "decide, set an amount," is: ki šarru bēliya ḫaššu ultu muḫḫi l GIN adi 2 GIN, "if the king my lord has set for my use a fixed amount of one or two shekels of gold." Equivalents in the Mishnah are: ṣeyyeqqassēs lāhem mezonōt, "(that he should not) stipulate an amount for their sustenance," and happoseq mācōt leḥṭanō, "one who stipulates an amount to give to his son-in-law." It might be argued that ḳṣ and ṣsq, in their extended senses, are internal translations of Biblical ḫaš, and that outside Akkadian influence is not needed to explain this development. However, for the following considerations it is preferable to regard the extended meanings as loan translations. Both ṣsq and ṣsq are the Mishnaic Hebrew equivalents of Biblical ḫaš, in the simple

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

94CAD, ibid., 93. 95M. ḫeb. 4:1.

96M. Ket. 13:5.

97This process is discussed in Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 109-10.
senses of "cut down a tree" and "cease." 98 Except for kārat berit, krt does not have the extended meanings of qas and psq and cannot be regarded as the source of them. While Biblical ḫrṣ 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 qas which cannot be explained by ḫrṣ, and that is "subtract, deduct." This can only be explained on the basis of ḫarašu. 99 Outside influence, that is, loan translation of ḫarašu, is a more probable explanation of the special senses of qas and psq. 100 This outside influence is also operative upon Biblical ḫrṣ. 101

The probability of outside influence in the use of psq for "set an amount" is increased by evidence from Man- daic. One of the meanings given for PSQ is "arrange a marriage dowry," 102 as in the passage: kt baiit mipsaq qabin, "when thou wishest to arrange a marriage-contract." 103

98 Bendavid, ibid., p. 351.

99 Cf. umeqess miketubah, "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 parasu, "render a verdict," influences both Biblical ḫrṣ and Mishnaic psq 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.

Akkadian kapātu is cognate with Hebrew kpr, and kašaru is semantically equivalent to gār, both words meaning "tie." An extended sense is "assemble," for example, troops. Passages illustrating this usage are: gābam lukkanit, "he assembles an army," and gābam... kupur, "assemble troops." A Neo-Babylonian example is: 13.narkabiti. u ḫisēšu maṣadūtu iktaṣar, "he gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers." Akkadian kašaru is a term used for re-organizing an array. It conveys the concept that various elements are brought together into a compact and ordered array, and is used of building materials used in construction, and of army formations. Akkadian kisrū has the sense of "band, military unit," and kisir tēbēl, "battle array," appears

104AHw, p. 443.
109Id., p. 96.
110AHw, pp. 488-89.
184


Akkadian *kapātu* is cognate with Hebrew *kpt*, and *kašāru* is semantically equivalent to *qār*, both words meaning "tie." An extended sense is "assemble," for example, troops. Passages illustrating this usage are: *šābam lukappit*, "he assembles an army," and *šābam... kušur*, "assemble troops." A Neo-Babylonian example is: *išnarkābatī u sīsēsu maḍītu iktāšar*, "he gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers." 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. Akkadian *kišru* has the sense of "band, military unit," and *kišir tāḥāzi*, "battle array," appears

104 *AHw*, p. 443.
110 *AHw*, pp. 488-89.
to be reflected by the Hebrew loan translation, *qîṣrē milḥāmā*, "ranks of war."\(^{111}\) *mate, breed,* rûkkûbû, "pollinate the date palm."

Akkadian rûkkûbû, "mount," has the special sense of *mate, breed,* as in the examples: IN.BU.BA = ri-il-kur-û, "pairing of birds,"\(^{112}\) and UBB.GIL.BU.A = im-ma-ri in ana ka-bu wa-šu-ru, "sheep which is fit for breeding."\(^{113}\) The D form, rûkkûbû, 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, *marḳîbîn ḏeqqîlîm kol nayyûm,* "They (the people of Jerusalem) pollinate palm trees all day (the fourteenth of Nisan),"\(^{115}\) The term marḳîb is also used in the Mishnah in the sense of "inoculate, graft," in connection with other examples.\(^{116}\)

\(^{111}\) *Ibid.* p. 489; *M. Sotā* 8:5. This should also be compared with Biblical qēsēr, "band, conspiracy," II K. 11:14 and 12:21. Biblical qēsēr and Akkadian kigru are parallel. This may be due to an earlier loan influence, or to parallel development. The latter possibility remains open for *qîṣrē milḥāmā*, too.
14) markîp < rakâbu, "mate, breed," rukkubu, "pollinate the date palm."

Akkadian rakâbu, "mount," has the special sense of "mate, breed," as in the examples: IR.BU.RA = ri-it-ku-ubHU mes, "pairing of birds," and UDU.GISGIS.DU.A = im-me-ri ša ana ra-ka-bu uš-su-ru, "sheep which is fit for breeding." The D form, rukkubu, is associated with the pollination of the female palm tree with the pollen from the male flower. This process is also referred to in the Mishnah: markîpIn deqālim kol hayyōm, "They (the people of Jericho) pollinate palm trees all day (the fourteenth of Nisan)." The term markîp is also used in the Mishnah in the sense of "innoculate, graft," in connection with other species.

112 MSL, III, 140.
114 DAB, p. 310; AFW, p. 54.
115 M. Pes. 4:8. This is explained in the Talmud, TB Pes. 56a, manhe kūprā dikrā lenuqētā, "they put the male flower over the female tree." Cf. also, Albeck, Mishnah, Zeraāim, p. 296. The Talmudic passage is referred to in Driver and Miles, Babylonian Laws, II, 185.
15) \( \text{šal\text{m}a\text{t} q\text{a}q\text{g}a\text{d}a} \), "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 \( \text{SAG.GE}_6.GA \). 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 \( \text{šal\text{m}a\text{t} q\text{a}q\text{g}a\text{d}a} \) and Mishnaic \( \text{še\text{h}or\text{e} h\text{ar\text{o}j} y} \). 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 \( \text{še\text{h}or\text{e} h\text{ar\text{o}j} y} \) may not benefit from the bald and the grey-haired, but may benefit from women and children, because only men are called \( \text{še\text{h}or\text{e} h\text{ar\text{o}j} y} \)."
16) leṣem, leṣum, cal ṣum, cal ṣem, missum, "because of, for the sake of," \< asṣum \< ana ṣum, "because of."

Examples of Akkadian asṣum are: tamkarum asṣum ṣamallâṣu ikkuru, "the merchant...because he denied his trader,"\(^{121}\) and Enlil ai illiqa...assu lā imtalku, "let Enlil not come...because he did not consider."\(^{122}\)

A direct loan translation of asṣum < ana ṣum is Mishnaic leṣum\(^{123}\) and leṣem.\(^{124}\) The Akkadian serves as a model for other formations, cal ṣum,\(^{125}\) cal ṣem,\(^{126}\) and missum.\(^{127}\)

The form leṣem occurs in Palestinian manuscripts, while leṣum, closer to the Aramaic and the Akkadian, occurs in Babylonian manuscripts, Bendavid, BHMH, p. 197.

\(^{121}\) Code of Hammurabi, par. 107; cf. GAG, pars. 114s, 116g, and 176a.

\(^{122}\) Gilgamesh XI:167.

\(^{123}\) M. Git. 4:4.

\(^{124}\) M. A. Z. 3:7; M. JAb. 2:2 and 12, 4:11, 5:17. The form leṣum occurs in Palestinian manuscripts, while leṣum, closer to the Aramaic and the Akkadian, occurs in Babylonian manuscripts, Bendavid, BHMH, p. 197.

\(^{125}\) M. Pes. 10:5.

\(^{126}\) M. Sanh. 8:5 and 6.

\(^{127}\) M. Ter. 8:4; the relationship to the Akkadian has been noted by J. Barth, ZA, XXII (1908-9), 93f.; Segal, GMH, p. 24, n. 2; Bendavid, BHMH, p. 197. In the Bible, there occurs leṣem, but only with the Divine name, "for the sake of the Lord," Joshua 9:9, I K. 3:2. The much wider scope and occurrence of this idiom in Mishnaic Hebrew indicates a loan process, not a dependence upon the Biblical usage.
CHAPTER IV

LOANWORDS OF LESSER PROBABILITY

1) גָּגֶּשׁ / 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., ג > ג. Hebrew גָּגֶּשׁ would be a possibility on the basis of the assimilation of Akkadian ꜡ to Ꜣ. Yalon, in the Albeck edition of the Mishnah, however, vocalizes גָּגֶּשׁ. 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 גָּגֶּשׁ is accented on the last. The second a-vowel, receiving the stress, was lengthened to Ā, and the first a-vowel, losing the stress, was reduced to ŏ.

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

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

There is a Sumerian *UZ* which is equivalent to *unā*, and it has been generally assumed that Aramaic *āwāza*, Hebrew *āwāz*, 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 *aw* 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, *āwāza* is borrowed from Sumerian, via Akkadian, it is difficult to account for the presence of *aw* in all of the dialects, when it was not even present in Sumerian. The tendency is a reverse one; originally *aw* is reduced in Akkadian. Its reappearance

\[\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{ DAB, ibid., p. 307.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{7}}\text{ AHw, ibid.} \]
in cognate languages argues for a cognate rather than a loan. 2) Jawwaz / usû, "goose."

An example of usû in a passage is: binât usû qa-bi-e ɿa ina baği sunûlu...tapattan, "you eat goose eggs from the dung which have been preserved in sand."8 There is a Sumerian UZ which is equivalent to usû,9 and it has been generally assumed that Aramaic Jawwazâ, Hebrew Jawwaz, are loanwords from Sumerian.10 However, the forms of the Akkadian and the Aramaic do not correspond to each other as expected in the case of a loan. The /w/ sound was not present in Sumerian, and the writing of this sound in Akkadian required the use of Sumerian PI and, later, the Assyrian ʜ sign.11 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.12 The tendency is a reverse one; original /w/ is reduced in Akkadian.13 Its reappearance

8CAD II (B), 135. 9Deimel, ɿL, p. 105.
11GAG, par. 21.
12Cf. Syriac wazza, Arabic wazz, Jiwaz, Aramaic Jawwazâ. Arabic Jiwaz is regarded as a borrowing from Syriac wazzâ, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 117.
13Cf. *iwbil > õbil, walâdu > alâdu, GAG, ibid.
in cognate languages argues for a cognate rather than a loan. Another peculiarity is that, generally, final u in Akkadian loanwords appears as -yā in Aramaic; compare ḫubullu > ẖibūlyā, karu > karyā. Thus, one would expect a loan usu > *yūsyā. 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.  fifíkūp. There are other vocalizations of this word, e.g., ẖəkūn, and ḫəkān. Aramaic ḫuktā and Hebrew ḫuktā reproduce the Akkadian purū form, e.g., ukūn, karūn, qūraham, and it is possible that the Hebrew word is a loanword. Aramaic ḫikīr is regarded by Fraenkel as a loanword in Arabic.

CADD XXI (2), 167.


Kālīm 23:2; Albeck, Mishnah, Hebrew, p. 97.

Ahad, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 119.


AHad, Hebrew, no. 55b.

3) J ukkāp, "saddle," / ukāpu, "saddle, bag, strap."

The Akkadian term occurs in an Old Assyrian passage: 𒈗𒈵𒈵ešarTI zurzT ūkāpTI, "the price of the donkeys, the pack sacks, the straps (?)." The CAD is doubtful about the exact meaning of this word. Another suggestion is "thick net, coarse garment." Possibly, Old Assyrian ukāpu was borrowed as Aramaic J ūkāpā, and was then borrowed as Hebrew J ukkāp. There are other vocalizations of this word, e.g., J ekūp, and J ekāp. Aramaic J ūkāpā and Hebrew J ukkāp reproduce the Akkadian purās form, e.g., ukāpu, kunāsu, šušārum, and it is possible that the Hebrew word is a loanword. Arabic J ikāf is regarded by Fraenkel as a loanword in Arabic.

14 Cad XXI (Z), 167.
15A. Salonen, Hippologica Accadica (Helsinki, 1955), p. 201. Hava, 1910. In Hebrew, the k may have been doubled to preserve the original hard pronunciation. Otherwise, it was pronounced as a shewa.
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, ekāpu, ukkupu, "press upon, draw near, follow directly," Hebrew ḫkp, "press, be urgent," Syriac ḫkp, "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, ḫkp, there remains the possibility that ukāpu and ḫukāpa, ḫukkāp 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.

22AHw, p. 194.
4) **hemsēs**, "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 **hemsēs**, "first stomach of ruminants," may be related as a loanword. However, the intermediate link may be Aramaic **mēsōsā** which is closer to the Akkadian. Another factor in the uncertainty is that there is a Latin word, **omasum**, "tripes, paunch," which may, conceivably, be the source of **hemsēs**, **mēsōsā**.

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

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

28 *M. Hul. 3:1.

5) zibḇṟt, zarbūt, "spout, rim of vessel," zarbabu, "vase, vessel."

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

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

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³⁰Enūma Ėliš VI:75.

³¹M. Miq. 10:1; cf. also zar-ba-bu ʾsha KAS, "a vessel for beer," MSL VII, 111:94.

³²Midr. Lev. R. 5:3; Midr. Numb. R. 10:7; the Midrash interprets bēmīzrēqē yāyyin of Amos 6:6 as: bēmīzrēqē yēyeš lāhem zarbūt, "in bowls that have a rim."

³³TB Yoma 78a; a Semitic root zrb/zrp/zlp and zrzp does exist, cf. zlp, M. Para 6:2, and mārēq, "gutter," M. B. B. 3:6. Neo-Punic zḇrm and Syriac zabōra should also be compared, KAI, I, 26, 137:5-6; ibid., II, 137.

³⁴Segal, GMH, pp. 110-1.
6) **zarāz**, "belt wrapped around an animal," / zurzu, "pack-sack, belt."

The word *zurzu* occurs in an Old Assyrian passage: ṣim emarī zurzī ukāpī, "the price of the donkeys, the pack-sacks, the straps (?)" and in other Old Assyrian and Nuzi texts. Another possible rendering is "web, net," as *zurzu* is equated with *azamillum*. This word, however, is not present in Akkadian again until the Late Assyrian period. The CAD regards *zurzu*, "belt, part of soldier's equipment," as an Aramaic loanword from *zarāz*. The two possibilities of interpreting this phenomenon are: 1) to regard *zurzu* as borrowed by Aramaic from Old Assyrian, and then reborrowed by Late Assyrian; or, 2) to regard it as originally Aramaic, or present in an early stage of Aramaic, and borrowed by Assyrian. Its infrequency in Akkadian or Assyrian argues for the second possibility.

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35 CAD XXI (Z), 167.


37 CAD, ibid., 167; Mishnaic *zarāz*, "belt wrapped around an animal," M. Kelîm 23:2; Mishnaic *zarțez*, "diligent, ready," from Aramaic *zarāz*, *zarț*, "belt, girdle," reflects Biblical Ḥgr/zr ṭmntym.
Suggestions have been made that Hebrew ḫabīt, "jar, container," is a borrowing from Akkadian ḫabū. There is a problem, however, in accepting this identification, as Akkadian words ending in final -ā appear in Aramaic with final -aya; compare sisu, susya, "horse." The CAD considers Syriac ḥābita as a loanword from an as yet unattested Akkadian variant, *qabitu. It is difficult, however, to make a case for a loan from a conjectural link.

Attention has been called by Weisberg to a variant in the Aruk of ḫabīt, which is ḫabiyya. This form also appears in a manuscript from the Geniza, vocalized ḫabiyya. This form would fulfill the requirement that ḫabū appear in Hebrew as ḫabiyya. Weisberg's reasoning is also conjectural. He considers the development to be: Akkadian *ḫabiu > ḫabīt > Hebrew ḫābit, with a secondary link being Akkadian ḫabū > Hebrew ḫabiyya/ḫabiyya.

38 AFw, p. 33; CAD VI (H), 20; AHw, p. 306b. Occurrences in the Mishnah are: M. B. Q. 3:1; M. Keliim 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, ḫabayya, is also cited, ibid., p. 260, line 10. Both variants are of M. Miq. 2:10.

42 David Weisberg, ibid.
In view of the variants noted, ḫābiyyā and Ḫābiyyā, the second link suggested by Weisberg, ḫābu > Ḫābiyyā/ Ḫābiyyā, has more probability than the first. The derivation of Hebrew Ḫābīt from either ḫābu or a conjectured Ḫābiatu, Ḫābitu poses problems, discussed above, which reduce the probability of there being a loanword here.

There remains the possibility that Akkadian ḫābu, as well as Hebrew Ḫābīt, Ḫābiyyā, Ḫābiyyā, all derive from Aramaic. Akkadian ḫābu is attested no earlier than Standard and Neo-Babylonian and may well be an Aramaic loanword.

It is dubious to assume a relationship of ḫāṣētUr/ḫeṣētUr > Ḫaṣūrā.

The relevance of this discussion for the Mishnaic is that the variant Ḫaṣēt occurs, and is defined as "crab-apple," Fyrus Syriaca, or Sorbus aria. This variant is borrowed from Aramaic Ḫaṣūrā, but a loan from Akkadian is doubtful.

The suggestion has been made by Meissner that,

45 CAD VI (H), 170; AHw, p. 347; DAB, p. 304.

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

44 CAD VI (H), 20. Possibly Old Babylonian ḫubunnu, "bowl," CAD, ibid., 219, may be connected with Ḫābiyyonā, "small vessel," M. Kēlīm 2:2. More probably, however, Ḫābiyyonā is a diminutive form of Ḫāṭēt, cf. Segal, GMH, p. 120. For an argument against a loan Ḫābiatu > Ḫābit, or ḫābu > Ḫābiyyā, cf. AIA, pp. 101 and 274.
8) ḥazrār, "crab-apple," / ḥenzuru, ḥaṣṭuru, "apple."

Akkadian ḥenzuru is equated lexically with ḥaṣṭuru, "apple tree."45 Zimmer considered ḥaṣṭuru as a loanword in Aramaic ḥazzūrā, "apple."46 This may be doubted. Von Soden considers ḥenzuru merely a dialectical variant of ḥaṣṭuru,47 yet Aramaic ḥazzūrā is much closer to ḥenzuru than to ḥaṣṭuru. It would also appear that ḥenzuru is a loan from Aramaic, as it appears no later than Middle and Neo-Babylonian.48 It is dubious to assume a relationship of ḥaṣṭuru/(ḥenzuru) > ḥazzūrā.

The relevance of this discussion for the Mishnah is that the variant ḥazrār occurs, and is defined as "crab-apple," Pyrus Syriaca, or Sorbus aria.49 This variant is borrowed from Aramaic ḥazzūrā, but a loan from Akkadian is doubtful.

The suggestion has been made by Meissner that,

45CAD VI (H), 170; AHw, p. 347; DAB, p. 304.
46AFw, p. 54. 47AHw, p. 347.
49M. Kil. 1:4; the editions and the commentary of Albeck have ḥazrāq. Albeck, Mishnah, Zeraḥim, p. 102. Bertinoro's commentary is evidence of a variant tradition, as he defines the word as "wild apple" and cites Aramaic ḥizar. This is borne out by the variant ḥazrār in R. Rabbinovicz, Diqduq Seferim, Variae Lectiones (Munich, 1886-88), I, 15, ad loc. The pattern of doubling the final consonant in ḥazrār is discussed in Segal, GMH, p. 110, par. 244.
while ḫinzuru is the West Semitic form of ḫashuru, both words are not native to Akkadian but are loanwords, possibly from Armenian. 

Old Babylonian period, is not defined by the CAD or by von Soden. Thompson suggests that it is to be equated with *Ruphorba helioscopa*. It is suggested that *Mishnaic pazzerep*, "lettuce," used to fulfill the requirements of *maror", "bitter herbs," on Passover, 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 *pazarratu* is a poisonous plant, 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 ǧ > ġ is unusual.


51 ALAW, p. 328; CAD VI (H), 122.
52 DAB, p. 108.
9) ḥazzeret, "lettuce," / ṭasarratu.

The Akkadian botanical term, dating from the post-Old Babylonian period, is not defined by the CAD or by von Soden. Thompson suggests that it is to be equated with Euphorbia helioscopia. It is suggested that Mishnaic ḥazzeret, "lettuce," used to fulfill the requirements of mārōr, "bitter herbs," on Passover, 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 ṭasarratu is a poisonous plant, 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.

51AHw, p. 329; CAD VI (Ḥ), 122.
52DAB, p. 148.
53M. Pes. 2:6; cf. also M. Kil. 1:2, M. Pes. 10:3, M. A. Z. 3:8, and M. Ḥiqqīm 2:7.
54DAB, ibid. It is evident from the discussion in the Talmud, commenting upon the Mishnah, M. Pes. 10:3, that the juice of the ḥazzeret, "lettuce," was considered to be "poisonous," requiring the sweetening effect of the ḥarōset, TB Pes. 116a. The term used for "poison" is Aramaic qappō, Greek κῆπος, "worm," S. Lieberman, Tosefta, Zera'im, Terumot 7:11, p. 145. The semantic relation between these senses should be compared to nāṣ, "snake," used of the bitter pungent taste of an onion, TB ḤEr. 29b.
10) ẖāmitā, "type of bread or cake," / ḫāmatu, "glow, be hot."

Akkadian ḫāmatu is widely attested. An example is: Annunaki issu diпарāti ina namrīšunu uḫammattu mātum, "The Annunaki carried torches; in their fierce glow they cause the land to burn." The noun form, ḫimtu, ḫintu, denotes "scorching, fever."

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

55AHw, pp. 316f.; CAD VI (Ḥ), 64f.
56Gilgamesh XI:104. 57CAD, ibid., 193.
58M. Macaś. 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) ḫa̱mām / ḫa̱mimu, "Amomum Cardamum."

Akkadian ḫa̱mimu occurs in Neo-Assyrian as the name of an aromatic ingredient. Possibly this word was borrowed as Aramaic ḫmāmā, and Mishnaic ḫa̱mām. It is also a Kulturwort, as seen by Greek ḫa̱μωμον, but Hebrew did not borrow the word from Greek, or one would find forms such as ḫa̱mām or ca̱mām. There exist variants in Hebrew, ḫimus and ḫa̱mūm. 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.

Doubt is cast upon this identification, however, for the following reasons. Akkadian ḫa̱ṣṭau denotes "aperture of the ear," not the cartilage. Moreover, if ḫa̱ṣṭau in its physical connotation is borrowed, why is its wider sense of "widen in respect to the ear (understanding)," may be compared.

61 AHw, p. 317; CAD VI (H), 66.
62 M. cUqSIM 3:5; Löw, Flora, III, 498.
63 NCW II, 70.
64 Compare ḫμωμον > ḫmēlān and ca̱mēlān, "cook's starch, flour." Bendavid, BHMH, p. 186.
66 Beer, MK, cUqSIM 3:5.
12) ḥisūs, "cartilage," / ḫasīsu, "ear, wisdom," (?).

An attempt was made by Zimmern and Holma to relate Akkadian ḫasīsu, "ear, wisdom," from ḥasāsu, "be mindful, intelligent, to plan," to Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew ḥisūs, seḥōs. Some support for this identification comes from the fact that a primary meaning of ḫasīsu is "aperture of the ear," as in the example: kīma upāṭi ina ṣahrī u ḫasīsi, "like dirt in the nostrils and the apertures of the ears." Also, Late Babylonian ḥasīstu is a bread for ritual purposes baked in the shape of an ear. The expressions palka uzna and palka ḫasīsu, "wide in respect to the ear (understanding)," may be compared.

Doubt is cast upon this identification, however, for the following reasons. Akkadian ḫasīsu denotes "aperture of the ear," not the cartilage. Moreover, if ḫasīsu in its physical connotation is borrowed, why is its wider sense of "wisdom" much more frequently attested, not borrowed? Finally, while Mishnaic seḥōs, variant, ḥisūs, denotes "cartilage of the ear," it also denotes ṭenūk, "lobe," by ḥisūs.
cartilage of the chest and at the bottom of the spinal column.\textsuperscript{73}

\textit{tappû}, "pitcher."

Modern considered Akkadian \textit{tappû}, plural \textit{tappû}, "pitcher," as the source of the Mishnaic loanword \textit{tappû}.\textsuperscript{74} This view, however, was based upon the entry \textit{tappû} in Delitzsch's \textit{Handwörterbuch}.\textsuperscript{75} This reading, however, has been questioned by Keisener, who holds that the correct reading is \textit{tappî} or \textit{tappû}.\textsuperscript{76} This renders the status of \textit{tappî} as a loanword doubtful. Generally, Akkadian \textit{t} in loanwords as compared to \textit{r} as \textit{t}, e.g., \textit{tupparrû} > \textit{litār}, 

"scribe, office." The equivalence of Akkadian and Hebrew \textit{t} is consistent in cognates also, e.g., \textit{rāšû}, \textit{rāšû}, "fruit," \textit{ratâ}, "good, pleasing," and \textit{pābû}, \textit{pābû}, "butcher, cook." As a form \textit{stappî} could be attested in Hebrew, a suggestion might be made that the \textit{t} was emphasized to \textit{t} in Hebrew, a view of such change maintained by Segal.\textsuperscript{77} Anyway, as \textit{stappî} is not attested, and the emphasisizing of \textit{t} becoming \textit{t}, in Mishnaic Hebrew is also not certain, the loanword must be considered doubtful.

\begin{itemize}
\item 73M. Pes. 7:11; cf. Rashi, ad loc., TB Pes.
\item 84a.
\end{itemize}
13) 𐎙𐎗𐎙 / 𐎙𐎗, "pitcher."

Zimmern considered Akkadian 𐎙𐎗, plural 𐎙𐎗𐎙, "pitcher," as the source of the Mishnaic loanword 𐎙𐎗.\(^{74}\) This view, however, was based upon the entry 𐎙𐎗 in Delitzsch's Handwörterbuch.\(^{75}\) This reading, however, has been questioned by Meissner, who holds that the correct reading is 𐎙𐎗 or 𐎙𐎗.\(^{76}\) This renders the status of 𐎙𐎗 as a loanword doubtful. Generally, Akkadian 𐎙 in loanwords enters Hebrew as 𐎙, e.g., 𐎙𐎗𐎙𐎗𐎗𐎗 > 𐎙𐎗𐎗𐎗, "scribe, official." The equivalence of Akkadian and Hebrew 𐎙 is consistent in cognates also, e.g., 𐎙𐎗𐎗𐎗, 𐎙𐎗𐎗, "wet," 𐎙𐎗, 𐎙, "good, pleasing," and 𐎙𐎗, 𐎙, 𐎙, "butcher, cook." If a form 𐎙𐎗 could be attested in Hebrew, a suggestion might be made that the 𐎙 was emphasized to 𐎙, in terms of a view of such change maintained by Segal.\(^{77}\) However, as 𐎙𐎗 is not attested, and the emphaticization of 𐎙, becoming 𐎙, in Mishnaic Hebrew is also not certain, this loanword must be considered doubtful.

\(^{74}\)AFW, p. 33; M. Sab. 17:6 and 24:5.

\(^{75}\)Delitzsch, Assyr. Hwb., p. 302. The reading here is indicated as uncertain.

\(^{76}\)Meissner, Studien, pp. 79-80.

\(^{77}\)Segal, GMH, p. 30.
14) **knn** / **kanānu**, "roll, wind."

Akkadian **kanānu** is attested from Old Babylonian on. Examples are: *ilū kīma kalbi kunnum*, "the gods rolled up (cowered) like dogs," and *MUS·DI·HSUŠ = kananu sa ṣerri*, "the winding up of a serpent."  

It is suggested tentatively that Mishnaic **knn** is a loan from **kanānu**. Examples are: *hamme kanēn et haḥebel cal yād cal yād*, "he who coils the rope of a bucket little by little," and *u haḥebel šehu mekūnān cal sawwārāh*, "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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78 AHW, p. 435a.  
79 Gilgames XVI:115.  
80 AHW, ibid.  
81 M. Para 7:7.  
82 M. Maks. 4:1.  
83 Drower and Macuch, Man. Dict., p. 219b.  
84 AHW, p. 435a. The expression *nāḥās mekūnān*, "a serpent coiled," Midrash HaCadosh, Shemot, Mordecai Margulies, ed. (Jerusalem, 1956), p. 264, line 7, Besalahn 14:13, should be compared with *kananu sa ṣerri*, AHW, ibid. The Mishnah, however, regularly uses **krk**; compare *nāḥās kārug*, M. Ber. 5:1.
15) kēresā / karāsu, "leek."

Akkadian karāsu, karsu, is attested as early as Old Babylonian. The Sumerian GA.RAS is not original but is an Akkadian loanword. Zimmern counted kēresā as a loanword from Akkadian karāsu, 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 kērēṭā 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. Macaį. 5:8; M. Sab. 8:5; M. Ned. 6:9, and kēresē sade, "field leeks," M. Kil. 1:2 and M. Cūgīm 3:2.

88 Cf. Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 201a; Aramaicised Hebrew karti, 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 t, although not consistently or exclusively. This could also have been represented graphically by s. In the Old Babylonian period s and š began to coalesce. In the earlier period, however, the t-sound may have been distinguished in speech, Gelb, MAD II, 35-37; von Soden, Akk. Syll., p. XXI.
16) lagin, "bottle, vessel," / lāañnu, "drinking vessel."

Akkadian lāñnu appears to be a Sumerian loanword, dugLA.HA.AN. von Soden indicates that Aramaic lagna, Mishnaic lagin, is a loan from Akkadian. It is not clear, however, how the assumed transfer of the consonants h > g/g can be explained. Hebrew and Aramaic lagin, and Aramaic lagna, lēqūna, have been derived from Greek λεκάνη. Hebrew and Aramaic lāğin are much closer to the Greek and may have been borrowed from it. Possibly, there is a Kulturwört here, and Akkadian lāñnu 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 lēgīna. However, this definition of liginnu is not

89AHw, p. 527. 90Ibid.
91The known change of h/k, and the rare change of k/g cannot account for this, GAG, par. 25d and par. 28c.
92Krauss, Lehnwörter I, 163 and 173, lēqūna < λεκάνη; NCW II, 526, and 475, for lāgin, lēgīna < λέγυννος, 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 *migrlu*, *mazru* is equivalent to SIG.(NU).AL.ZUM, and is defined as a kind of wool.\(^96\) According to Weisberg, *Mishnaic misrân* is a loan from *mazru*.\(^97\) The Mishnaic word has been defined by Rabbi Hai Gaon as "a woolen garment important people place on their beds under the matress."\(^98\) There is another definition that says the loanword proposed by Weisberg, *mizru > misrân*, is not absolutely certain. There is a Mishnaic Hebrew root *mar*, "weave,"\(^99\) which may be cognate with Akkadian. There is a lexical entry, *mazrâtum*, "(wool) matted."\(^100\)


100. The full passage is: SIG.(NU).AL.M.T.A -(Micha 15) marrätum, "(wool which has not) been matted,"


\(^{95}\) *AHw*, p. 552. A borrowing of *laqannu > laqnâ, lâgîn*, is also rejected in *AIA*, p. 108.
17) mizrān, "mattress," / mizru, mazru, "wool material."

Akkadian mizru, mazru is equivalent to SIG.(NU).AL. ZUN, and is defined as a kind of wool. According to Weisberg, Mishnaic mizrān is a loan from mizru. The Mishnaic word has been defined by Rabbi Hai Gaon as "a woolen garment important people place on their beds under the mattress." The loanword proposed by Weisberg, mizru > mizrān, is not absolutely certain. There is a Mishnaic Hebrew root mzar, "weave," which may be cognate with Akkadian. There is a lexical entry, mazrātum, "(wool) matted."

An example of the Akkadian verb is: KI.I.NUN.NA tamarras, "you stir into ghee." The noun *mirsu* occurs in the following example: miris dišpi I.NUN ṭeṣēn, "you heap on them *mersu* made of honey and ghee." Zimmern listed *mirsu* in his *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, identifying it with Mishnaic *mrs*. There is no clear evidence that this verb is borrowed from Akkadian. It is conceivably a cognate in Aramaic and Akkadian.

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101 CAD VI (II), 190; AHw, p. 609.
102 Ibid.
103 AFw, p. 38; cf. M. Yoma 4:3 and 5:3, memāres bo, "stirring it." An extended sense appears to be: memāresin bešrez beṣeḥit, "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 *mr̄*, "crush," Lev. 21:20, and *m̄k*, "crush," Lev. 22:24.
104 Akkadian marāsu is attested in Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian. It is listed as cognate with Aramaic *mrs*, AHw, ibid.
19) \( mšh \), "measure," \( məšaḥ \), "surveyor," / \( maššu \), "measure."

Zimmern considered Akkadian \( maššu \) as borrowed by Aramaic and Hebrew \( mšh \), "measure," and \( məšaḥ \), "surveyor." There are, however, no phonetic peculiarities to distinguish this as a loanword. Von Soden considers it a cognate with Aramaic \( mšh \), 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 \( mšh \) is attested in the sense of "oil," suggesting that the homonym \( mšh \), "measure," is borrowed, although this is not conclusive. Arabic \( mšh \), "to survey land," has the correspondence of Aramaic, Akkadian \( š \) and Arabic \( š \), arguing for a cognate. On the other hand, if they were cognates, Akkadian \( š \) should not appear as Arabic \( š \). 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. Kēlim 14:3.

109There is a very doubtful entry for \( mšh \), "measure," DISO, ibid. The root exists in Syriac in this sense, Lex. Syr., pp. 406f. Mishnaic \( mēšaḥ \), "rope," M. Kēlim 9:9, M. Kēlim 21:3, is also based upon the root \( mšh \).

110Arabic \( mšh \), misähata are regarded as borrowed from Syriac misähata rather than from Jewish Aramaic \( mšh \), mešaḥa, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 282. This loan is also rejected by Kaufman who proposes an Aramaic origin, AIA, pp. 110 and 279.
20) maskon / maskānu, "security, pledge."

Examples of this word in Akkadian are: summa DAM lū maskatta ina kīdī taltakan, "if you place a woman or pledge in the field," and bissu u amēlussu maskānu šabtatū, "his house and slaves are being held in pledge."

The term makes its appearance in Middle Assyrian, Middle and Late Babylonian. Earlier terms are litūtu and nepūtu, equivalents of later maskānūtu.

Hebrew maskon has been considered a loanword from Akkadian maskānu. It is possible, however, that this is an extension of meaning in cognate roots under the influence of Akkadian. The verbs yakānu and ykn are cognates in Akkadian and Hebrew, and the maprās/maprūs formations are common to both languages.

These considerations may point to an extension, the transfer of an idiomatic sense in one language to the cognate in the other, with a parallel development of the specific form of the word in each language. There are, however, possibilities...

111 Driver and Miles, Assyrian Laws, p. 384, A, 6, 71.
112 CAD XVI (§), 10. 113 Ibid.
115 J. Barth, Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1894), p. 490 (hereafter abbreviated as Nominalbildung); AFw, p. 18; Delitzsch, Assyrische Hwb., p. 431.
116 GAG, par. 56b; Moscati, Introduction, par. 12:16. The basic meaning is derived from sakānu, "put down," AFw, p. 18; cf. ana manzasāni usziz, "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 maprās, maprūs form is rare in Hebrew. Aside from maskān, it occurs with gutterals, e.g., maḥāzōr, "lack," maḥāzōr, "cycle," with few exceptions, e.g., maṭmōn, "treasure." Otherwise, the initial vowel changes to i, e.g., mizmōr, "psalm, song," misqōlet, "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 ă > o which is presupposed in such a borrowing is hard to explain. This change occurred only in certain periods. In view of the lateness of the occurrence of maskānu, an Aramaic

119Moscati, Introduction, par. 8.83.
source may be plausibly suggested. In Nabatean, there occurs the noun form mškwny, "my pledge."\(^{120}\) It should be noted that this form, going back to mškwn, is closer to the Hebrew mškkn\(^{121}\) than is Akkadian maškănū, in view of the vowel û indicated by the transcription. There also occurs in Nabatean a verbal form, mškn, "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.

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

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

\(^{122}\) DISO, p. 171. Akkadian maškattum, "pledge," goes back to *maškantum, GAG, par. 56c. It may be the source of Aramaic maškantā, or more correctly, Aramaic maškantā would have to go back to the same source as Akkadian maškattum, that is, *maškantum. As indicated above, an Akkadian source is not conclusively established. A loan maškănū > Syriac meškānā is accepted by Kaufman, who sees no problem in the û > ū vowel change, AIA, pp. 72, 174, and 243.
21) npṣ, nps, "hatchel wool," / napāṣu, "hatchel wool."

Zimmern identified napāṣu with Mishnaic npṣ.\(^\text{123}\)

It cannot, however, be accepted that Mishnaic npṣ is a loanword. There are variants between s and ʀ in Mishnaic Hebrew.\(^\text{124}\) If the form nps is the primary one, it is possible that a loan napāṣu > nps can be considered.\(^\text{125}\) If, however, the form npṣ 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 ʀnpṣ 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 s > ʀ occurs in loans from Akkadian to Hebrew, cf. Sarru-ƙîn > Sargon.

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

The Akkadian expression occurs in lexical lists, where it is equated with būnu and bunnannu, "face."\(^{127}\)

It is probably to be connected with šabāru, which has several meanings, one of which is "squint, look askance, signal with the eyes."\(^{128}\) The CAD suggests that the basic idea underlying this and the other meanings of the word is that of a quick and repeated sideways motion, attested mainly of the eyes.\(^{129}\) An example is: ṣūqa aba'ma turrūṣa ubānāti errrub ekallīma iṣabburā ṭānāti, "When I walk the street, fingers are pointed at me. Even when I enter the palace, eyes look askance at me."\(^{130}\)

It is suggested tentatively that there may be a relationship between this expression, subur pānī, and Mishnaic sēber pānīm, "countenance, expression."\(^{131}\) While the verb šabāru appears, on slight evidence, to have a negative connotation, subur pānī, equivalent to būnu and bunnannu, is neutral, like Hebrew sēber pānīm, which needs an adjective to qualify it, e.g., sēber pānīm yāpōt, "a friendly expression."\(^{132}\) The adjective, however, may also be tautologous, or for emphasis, and sēber pānīm may have

\(^{127}\)CAD XVI (§), 228.

\(^{128}\)Ibid., 2-4. \(^{129}\)Ibid., 4.

\(^{130}\)Lambert, BWL, 34:81 (Ludlul I).

\(^{131}\)M. 'Ab. 1:15. \(^{132}\)Ibid.
a positive connotation in itself. There does not seem to be any case of šēber pānim račat, "unpleasant expression," and the verb lehasbir pānim, "to show a friendly expression," requires no qualifying adjective.

A consideration which casts doubt upon this loanword proposal is the fact that the Akkadian is only attested lexically, not in literary passages.

Another possibility is that šēber pānim is to be related to Biblical sbr, "look at, look to, hope." Thus, the Hipcil, hasbir pānim, "show a friendly expression," can be a parallel to harṣē pānim, "show a friendly expression," used in the specific sense of comforting a mourner. In this event, there is no loanword at all. There remains the possibility, however, that there is some cognate relationship between šabāru, šubur pāni, and Hebrew sbr, "look at, look to, hope," and šēber pānim, "friendly expression."

133TP Yoma 43b; cf. Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 951b.
134Pss. 145:15; Neh. 2:13 and 15.
135TP M. Q. III:82b. Other possibilities, less satisfying, are that šēber pānim is a sapcil of brr, "brighten," e. g., "show a bright (cheerful) face," Jas- strow, Dictionary, ibid.; compare yāšēr...pānaw, Numb. 6:25, or that sbr is the Aramaic for "lift up," cf. wissā...pānaw, Numb. 6:26. The problem of the change š > s is discussed above, p. 52, and below, pp. 221f.
23) spr, "cut the hair, shear," / šēpēru, "to strand, dress the hair, trim."

Akkadian šēpēru is attested in Nuzi, Late Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian. Examples are: musātiṣa teleqgi kuniṣtam ta-ṣa-pir, "you take combings from her hair, strand it into a roll of hair..." and kīma nagimtu šuṣi u-ṣa-pi-ra šu-pur-a-a, "He (Marduk) trimmed my nails as if expelling a tabooed woman."

Possibly, Mishnaic spr, "cut the hair, shear," is a loan from šēpēru. Possible evidence for this is the fact that spr appears to enter Hebrew after the Biblical period, not completely replacing the earlier terms gūp and gāz. Its entrance created a confusion of homonyms with spr, "talk, converse," and to avoid confusion, other terms for "converse" were brought into activity, sāḥ, hirṣā, tīnā, ūmar.

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

136 CAD, XVI (§), 132-3. 137 Ibid.
138M. 'A. Z. 2:2; cf. sappār, "barber," M. Sab. 1:2; and M. Qid. 4:14.
139 Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 131 and 207.
140 Ibid., p. 122
appears in Aramaic as $\text{ש}$, and $\text{ש}$ in Aramaic, if it does not reflect original $\text{s}$, reflects $\text{ם}$; compare the personal name $\text{Bel-sarru-uṣur}$, and Aramaic $\text{Blšsr}$.$^{141}$ There is some indefiniteness between $\text{s}$ and $\text{ש}$ in Assyrian and Babylonian; compare Neo-Babylonian $\text{pasānu}$ and Assyrian $\text{pašānu}$, "cover, veil."$^{142}$ If $\text{גערו}$ was borrowed as $\text{spr}$, a variant form may be involved.

Akkadian $\text{גערו}$ 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, $\text{AG}$, can also be read as $\text{ŠA₅}$, equivalent to $\text{ḫaṣāṣu}$, "cut," and an element in $\text{ŠA₅.A}$, $\text{gulibtu}$, "savings."$^{144}$ On the other hand, other equivalents are $\text{DIB}$, equal to $\text{šabatu}$, "seize," in the sense of "pinch,"$^{145}$ and $\text{KES.DA}$, equal to $\text{kašāru}$, $\text{rakāsu}$, "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 $\text{CAD}$, proposed as identification with Arabic $\text{dafara}$, "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 *šapar, "kind of knife," Lex. Syr., p. 492 and Arabic *ṣafrat, *safrat, "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 *ṣafir, "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 *šešpuru may still be related.

148 Relevant to this discussion is Syriac *šapar, "kind of knife," Lex. Syr., p. 492 and Arabic *ṣafrat, *safrat, "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 *ṣafir, "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 *šešpuru may still be related.
24) *cūga*, *cugya*, *cūgyā*, "cavity, trough, pit," / *iku*, *ekū*, "ditch, canal."

The Akkadian word *iku*, *ekū*, is attested as early as Old Akkadian, as in the examples: *i-ka-am pa-al-ga-am*, "ditch, canal,"\(^149\) and *āṣum i-ki-im biritim marī* PN *ibqurušunūtima*, "concerning the fact that the sons of PN have made a claim against them for the common border ditch."\(^150\)

Mishnaic *cūga*, "cavity, trough, pit,"\(^151\) and *cugya*, *cūgyā*, "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 *jūga*, *jūgyā*, one can assume a loan: *iku* > *jūgyā*, *jūgā*, as the original *כ* was not pronounced in Akkadian or transmitted. If, however, the Hebrew forms *cūga*, *cūgyā*, are primary, the presence of the *כ* indicates a cognate, not a loan.\(^155\)

\(^{149}\) *AHw*, p. 370.  
\(^{150}\) *Ibid.*  
\(^{151}\) M. Macaš, 1:17; M. *CEr*. 8:9; and M. *Miq*. 6:1.  
\(^{153}\) *AHw*, p. 44.  
\(^{154}\) Bendavid, *BMMH*, pp. 213–4; Segal, *GMH*, p. 28.  
\(^{155}\) Cf. idū / *yদe, "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) pilš, "open," / palāšu, "pierce, penetrate."

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

\[ \text{sum-ma bīt awīlim lū ip-pa-li-is lū im-qu-ut} \]

"If a man's house is broken into or collapses,"

\[ \text{and summa awī lum bītam iplu ina pāni pilšim ūāti idukkūšuma} \]

"If a man breaks into a house, he shall be put to death before that breach."

It might be argued that Mishnaic meqūlāš, "open," is borrowed from palašu on the ground that in Biblical Hebrew mašteret (Ex. 21:2) is the equivalent to palāšu, pilšum. However, there is no strong evidence to rule out a cognate palāšu / pilš.  

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156 Law Code of Eshnunna, par. 37.
157 Code of Hammurabi, par. 21.
158 M. Sab. 16:1; M. CEr. 9:4. This is considered a loan in AFw, p. 13. Cf. also Syriac, Lex. Syr., p. 577a.
159 This pilš should be distinguished from pilš, "roll, wallow in the ground," Micah 1:10; Jer. 6:26, 25:34; Ez. 27:30, cf. Ugaritic cpr pitt, "dust of wallowing," I* AB, vi, 15, G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends, p. 108. Compare with our word Amharic fāllāša, "dig the earth with the hands," W. Leslau, Hebrew Cognates in Amharic (Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 39. Possibly related is Hebrew bilš, e.g., bōlšin šōtā mībahētha, "they break the clods under it (a vine, prior to planting)," Midr. Lev. R. 36:2.
26) §arsûr, "pitcher with a strainer," /
§aršaru, "water container."

The noun §aršaru, "container for water storage," is attested in Late Babylonian and in Neo-Assyrian, e.g.,
māmît ina ṣaršari me šâṭû, "the oath sworn by drinking water from a ṣaršaru jar."160 It is suggested tentatively that Mishnaic ṣaršûr, "pitcher with a strainer at its mouth,"161 is a borrowing.

What raises questions about this loanword, however, is the fact that the noun, ṣaršaru, is attested quite late, although the verb, ṣararu, is attested as early as Old Babylonian.162 Moreover, there is a cognate šrr in Mandaic, e.g., šтарар bainh dimihta, "his eyes burst into tears."163 This verb must also underlie the noun šTrân, "one whose eyes discharge a briny liquid."164 If ṣararu / šrr are possibly cognates in Aramaic and Akkadian, then borrowed by Hebrew from Aramaic, the nominal formation ṣaršûr is characteristic of Mishnaic Hebrew, requiring no loan process.165

160CAD, XVI (8), 115, from Surpu II:62.
162CAD, ibid., 105f.
163Drower and Macuch, Man. Dict., p. 397b; cf. Hebrew zlg, used with ṣênayîm; cf. also Akkadian šarru, "flowing, leaking," CAD, ibid., 114, Late Babylonian.
164M. Bek. 7:3. 165Segal, GMH, p. 112.
27) qēdērā / diqāru, "cooking and drinking vessel."

Akkadian diqāru was used as a drinking vessel, as seen by the equivalence di-qa-ru = maltu rabu, "large drinking vessel,"166 or as a container for water, medicine, or food, or for cooking.167 It could have been made of various materials: clay, stone, or bronze.168

Mishnaic qedērā, "cooking vessel,"169 has been regarded as a loanword from Akkadian.170 A number of questions, however, can be raised against this identification. In all the dialects one finds a metathesized form, qidīrā, qēdērā, but none that reproduces the shape of the original. A parallel example may be the Greek loanword ἱλιον, "harbor," which, in Palestinian sources, was transcribed as lemen, while in Babylonian sources, removed from the Greek language area, was metathesized to nāmel. The loanword, however, was reproduced in Hebrew in a form similar to the

166 AHw, pp. 172f.
168 AHw, ibid.
169 M. Hul. 8:3.
170 AFw, p. 33; cf. also Arabic qidr, Hava, Arabic-English Dictionary, p. 591, Aramaic qidra, and Mandaic qidra, Drower and Macuch, Man. Dic., p. 410. Cf. Lex. Syr., p. 649, where the Syriac is considered a loan from diqāru, following Jensen and Zimmern. Fraenkel notes the identity of Arabic qidr and Aramaic qidrah, Hebrew qēderā. One would expect in Arabic a form qadīr if this were dependent upon the Hebrew with its long second vowel, Fraenkel, Aram. Fw., p. 63.
original, and the metathesis is a variant within Hebrew
dialects.\textsuperscript{173}

It is possible that a loanword enters in a metathesized form, yet the non-existence of a form closer to
the original requires explanation. It should be noted that
a form $\text{дікура}$ did exist in Aramaic. In the Commentary of
Rabbi Hai Gaon on Mishnah Kelim, a definition of $\text{питасын}$,
Greek $\pi\ell\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\varsigma$, "wine jar," is given. It is there stated that
there are $\text{дікуре}$, identical with $\text{дане}$, and that they re­
semble $\text{гананнин}$, except that $\text{гананнин}$ are long and $\text{дікуре}$
are rounded.\textsuperscript{171} Aramaic $\text{дана}$ is identical with Akkadian
dань, "vessel, container," and it is plausible to con­
sider Aramaic $\text{дікура}$ as identical with $\text{дигару}$. If $\text{дікура}$
existed in Gaonic times, it may have existed earlier and
may be a link between Akkadian $\text{дигару}$ and the metathesized
forms $\text{qidра}$, $\text{qidр}$, $\text{ qedера}$.

There is, however, a problem with the vowel pattern
in the Akkadian and the Hebrew. A change of $\text{а} > \text{о}$ is un­
usual, unless the word in Aramaic be $\text{дигора}$, where an $\text{а} > \text{о}$ change is possible.\textsuperscript{172} Another objection that may be
raised is the fact that $\text{ qedера}$ is such a basic, common ob­
ject that a borrowing appears unnecessary. The possibility
is that $\text{дигару}$ and $\text{ qedера}$ are cognates.

\textsuperscript{171}Commentary of Rabbi Hai Gaon, M. Keliím 3:6.

\textsuperscript{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 qederā replaces the almost obsolete Biblical parūr and ḏūd. An archaic survival is Mishnaic parur in M. Besā 1:7.
28) tiltān / tultu, "fenugreek," "Trigonella Foenum Graecum."

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.

174DAB, p. 65.
175Low, Flora, II, 475; M. Kil. 2:5; M. Ter. 10:5, 6; M. Macās. 4:6; M. Macās Senī 2:2, 3; and M. Niddā 2:6.
CHAPTER V

LESS PROBABLE LOAN TRANSLATIONS AND EXTENSIONS

1) Jabbu reproche, "Polygonum aviculare," / ḫattu rešā. 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., ṣē summātī, "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 ḫattu rešā and Mishnaic Jabbu reproche, defined by Albeck as "Polygonum aviculare,"⁴ is not clear. The CAD suggests that Aramaic ḫuṭrā deṟacyā is a loan from an Akkadian *ḥutar rešā, a form not actually attested.⁵ Moreover, Akkadian ḫuṭaru is not attested earlier than Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian,⁶ and may be conceivably an Aramaic loanword. Also, noting

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

Also problematic is the relationship of Hebrew აABBUB ROCE to ḫāṭṭu̇ reš and ḫū trapping. One would expect a Hebrew construction with "sebet," "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 აABBUB ROCE can be translated as "shepherd's pipe" or "shepherd's flute." The plant may have been named because of its form rather than because it was used to make the instrument. As noted by Sellers, the simple flute remains throughout the Fertile Crescent today and is played in the same manner as by the ancient Egyptians.

7CAD VI (Ę), 156.
2) *keleb hammayim* / *kalab h^, kalab t^mti*, "sea dog, dog fish (?)."

Sumerian \(\text{\textit{UR.A}}\) is equivalent to *kalab h^*. ⁹ There also occurs *kalab t^mti*. 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*, "sea-lion," *Meerschwein*, "sea-hog," and *Seehund*, "seal."

⁹AHw, p. 425a.

¹⁰Landsberger, *Fauna*, p. 85. This is also compared to Aramaic *kalbā demayyā*, ibid.

¹¹M. *Kēlim* 17:13.
3) *mīḫḫā beyād*, "thwart an action," / *retta maḥāṣu*, literally, "strike the hand."

The Akkadian expression occurs in the following passage from *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*: imḥāṣ retti māḥiṣiya usaddi kakkaṣu Marduk, "It was Marduk who struck the hand of him who beats me, so that he made him drop his weapon."\(^{12}\) The expression occurs in translation in Aramaic, *wele ḫiyay ḫi yemabbed ḫide*, "there is no one who can thwart Him."\(^{13}\) In the Mishnah, there occur the expressions *mīḫḫu beyāgām*, "they prevented them,"\(^{14}\) and *we ḫin memahin beyādo*, "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.


\(^{13}\)Daniel 4:32.

\(^{14}\)M. Pes. 4:8.

\(^{15}\)M. Sanh. 2:4. Mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic me ḫā goes back to *mehac* and *mhs*, the exact correspondent of maḥāṣu. This loan translation is discussed by Held, "*mhs/*meh 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...igallil, "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," rīṣka ukabbat, "he will respect you," and qaqassa 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, qallūt ṭōš̄ is an attitude of disrespect to something else, and lō ṭāqēl ṭōš̄ so kennege... means "let him not show disrespect to..." Similarly, ḫoped ṭōš̄ is an attitude of respect or seriousness. The idioms in Hebrew may be based upon the Akkadian but they are not direct translations.

16 GAG, par. 150J. 17 Lambert, BWL, 252:24. 18 AHw, p. 417. 19 Ibid.; cf. also p. 416, for the G construction. 20 M. JAb. 3:13. 21 M. Ber. 9:5. 22 M. Ber. 5:1. Closer to the Akkadian is the expression meyaggeret ṭōš̄ah, "making heavy (honoring) her own head (herself), i.e., being arrogant, Midr. Gen. R. 18:3.
5) kol šenešap min hasṣiq / ina šu-qi šurub,
"brought in from the street."

The Akkadian expression is used in a legal context, referring to the adoption of a child: ina šu-qi šu-ru-ub, "brought in from the street." This expression is quite similar to the Mishnaic expression and may be the source of it: kol šenešap min hasṣiq, "whoever has been taken in from the street (and does not know his father or mother)." This is the definition of an ạṣu, "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, yaṣanī, "will gather me in," appears to be the very same idea, in view of the first part of the verse, "for my father and mother have abandoned me." If this is borrowed, the Akkadian influence has been exerted upon the Hebrew at an earlier period. However, the possibility of parallel development remains open.
6) *ziqqa*, "bond, obligation," zqq, hizdaqeq, "be bound, obligated," / kašaru, rakasu, "tie, bind (in the legal sense."

Examples of riksu, riksatu, from rakasu, are:
girram u riksatim ana abisa u ummisa lā iskun, "he did not conclude a formal marriage contract with her father and mother,"25 and balum sībī u riksatim ʾistām, "has purchased...without witnesses and contract."26 The verb appears in this example: kaspum ʾiṣṣer /bi-ti-su alpisu egalTIM u mimma isu 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 qaš samne u...sipāte, "the contract for 10 qaš of oil and...wool,"28 and ʾistissu u ʾninissu assum GU.UN.ḪI.A eqālim 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

25The Laws of Eshnunna, par. 27.
26Code of Hammurabi, par. 123; cf. also par. 124.
27CAD, II (B), 283. The verb rakasu is used in the sense "make someone responsible," B. Kienast, Alt-assyrische Texte (Berlin, 1960), 37:50 and 66:34.
28AHw, p. 488b.
29CAD II (B), 234.
person,"\textsuperscript{30} and the verb $zgg$, $hizdaqqeq$, "be bound to, dependent upon, obligated to,"\textsuperscript{31} may possibly be a loan translation of the special sense of $kagaru$ and rak"asu.

Some question can be raised, however, by the fact that $zgg$ does not have the general application of "tie" in Hebrew and Aramaic that $kagaru$ and rak"asu 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 $kagaru$, "brings in," in the sense of "marries," is a loan translation of $qaru$ / $qaru$u.\textsuperscript{34} Another example is: $b^{	ext{h}}p^{	ext{h}}n$ $l$äh $b^{	ext{ll}}$ $b^{	ext{l}}$ $b^{	ext{ll}}$ $b^{	ext{ll}}$ $b^{	ext{ll}}$, "(property) is his when she enters and hers when she leaves."\textsuperscript{35} Independent coinage, however, also remains a possibility.

\textsuperscript{30}cf. M. Yeb, 3:9, ziqqa $y$ab"am, "the interdependence of the widow and her late husband's brother;" Biblical $ziqti$m, "fetters," Nahum 3:10; Isa. 45:14; Ps. 149:8; and Job 36:8, is possibly derived from Aramaic $zgq$, "bind," B-D-B, p. 397a.

\textsuperscript{31}cf. M. Yeb. 2:5, $zq^{	ext{g}}q$ $u$ $et$ $e$ $h$ $h$ $w$, "he holds his brother's wife tied to the leviratical marriage," and M. Sebu. 6:3, "movable chattel binds ($zq^{	ext{g}}q^{	ext{i}}n$) the immovable with reference to the obligation of making oath."
7) könès yyyā / assatam ana bitim sūrubu, "taking a woman into the house, marrying."

In Akkadian legal contexts, the concepts of marrying (assatam apāzum) 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 ḫussīma ana bitīsu ʿrub, "if he marries her, and she enters his house," and ana bit PN ʿeribūṣi, "he brings her into the house of PN." It is suggested that the technical use of könès, "brings in," in the sense of "marries," is a loan translation of erēbu / sūrubu. Another example is: bikēnīṣāṯāḥ sellō ubīṣiāṭān sellān, "(property) is his when she enters and hers when she leaves." Independent coinage, however,

32The Laws of Eshnunna, par. 18.
33AHw, p. 236.
34M. Yeb. 3:1, 6, and 7; könès yyyā is an equivalent of nōse jissā, cf. Bendavid, BHMH, p. 179; kns is also the equivalent of Biblical ḫsp in the general sense of "gather," ibid., p. 338; ḫsp is also used in the specific context of marriage, II Sam. 11:27. A similar expression is wayēḥēhā Yishaq hāḥelēh, "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: kēsetikkānsī 1ēboṯ tēhī ḫ 1ējintū kēdat Mōse wēyisrāʾēl, "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, Nāṣīm, p. 79.
remains a possibility in this case. 36

3) *sayin šellattannûr, sayin šellakkûrâ / in kûrî,  
"eye" or an oven, outlet for smoke."

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

Asîrî ēnu a lûl-mass-sa ḫaqîti tukherdima ina bûrît  
lûl-mass laidâti, "you put (the mixture) into a cold kiln  
that has four draft holes and place it between the holes." 37

The more usual usage occurs in the Mishnah: *le*šayin  
šellattannûr b*šayin šellakkûrâ, "(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, *šayin and *šenû  
are used metaphorically in the sense of "hole, opening,"  
e.g., naḥâqâsa...šayin. "If a man touched...the ring-  
shaped collar piece," 39 and našayin šebamašâqd. "the ring  
attached to an aûze." 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., Akkadian GIRî > kûrî > kûrâ, kirâyim, "oven." 41
8) 8ayin šellattannūr, šayin šellakkIrā / In kīri, "eye" of an oven, outlet for smoke."

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

\[\text{ana kūri 7a IGI-mes-sa kahti tušerredma ina bīrit} \]

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: bēšayin šellatannūr bēšayin šellakkIrā, "(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, šayin and šena are used metaphorically in the sense of "hole, opening," e.g., hannogeca...bāšayin, "If a man touched...the ring-shaped collar piece," 39 and hāšayin šeβamašaγā, "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 > kīrau, kirayym, "oven." 41

37CAD VII (I/J), 157; cf. also AHw, p. 383b.
41AHw, pp. 484-5. For a different view, cf. AIA, p. 108.
and Sumerian UDUN > utūnu, Aramaic jatūnā.\textsuperscript{42}

In addition, there are some very specific extensions of Cayin in Hebrew which correspond to similar usages in Akkadian, suggesting that there is a definite influence of the Akkadian. Both înu, in Old Assyrian, Old Babylonian, and Neo-Assyrian, and Cayin in Hebrew are used in the sense of "fountain."\textsuperscript{43} Akkadian ina îni lemutti, "with the evil eye," and înu lemuttu correspond to Hebrew cayin hārâc.\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.
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: ḫallā, "lance, fork," < allum < AL, ṣod < 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 יָרִיס < עֵרֶשְׁוּמ, "tenant farmer," the fractions of the crop given to the owner are almost identical in Akkadian and in the Mishnah, and the terms describing acceptance for rental are parallel, legû / mēqabbēl. In the loan ḫazzān < ḫazannu, "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 < quppu, "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 quppu is parallel to mulugu, "property under the control of the wife," and quppu ša ṣarri refers to taxes due to the king. In the case of susapīnu > ṣusēqān, 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, גֶּשֶׁיס < גָּסִיס, "pole, framework," to be separated from גֶּש, "touch," and dap < 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: חָבָת < חָבָה, "vessel, jar," ḥazrār, ḥazzūr < ḥinzu, ḥaṣḥuru, "apple," ḥiṣhūs, "cartilage," חָסיָס < חָסיָס, "ear,"
The loanwords that have been accepted can be broken down into several areas:

1) Agriculture, Landscape: Ḡappār < ḡapparu, kerī < kāru, mešer < mišru, ḍeqāq < ḍeqaqta, ṭaqā < ṭaqaqu, ṭeḥum < ṭaḥumnu.

2) Anatomy: ḡebīr < ḡaparu, ḡurqēbhān < ḡurqubānu.

3) Animals, Birds: ḡaz < ḡassūsu, ṭarnēgōl < tarlugallu.

4) Architecture, Building: ḡisquppā < ḡiskuppatu, ḡārīṭ < ḡarītu, ḡib < ḡibbu, ḡap < ḡappu, ḡiṣ < ḡisū, ḡil < ḡilu, ḡiṣū < ḡisūtu.


6) Implements, Instruments: ḡabbū < ḡabbubu, ḡallā < ḡallu, ḡāzīnā < ḡassīnu, ḡelāb < ḡilbū, ḡat < ḡatū.

7) Minerals, Plants: ḡapār < ḡabāru, ḡesālg < ḡisāku, bat šuṭ < ḡasūhā < ḡassūhu, ḡes < ḡassū, ḡiltīṭ < ḡiltīṭ, ḡisīf < ḡassū, ḡarsīnā < ḡirṣānū, lepet < ḡalptu, ḡūd < ḡalppu, keṣūt < ḡissū, nēpt < ḡapnu, qurnīt < qurnū, ḡuṣmū < ḡumāṣṣamū, ḡiṭā < ḡittītu, ḡürūmus < ḡarmūsu.
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, 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:

- aggas (angasu, "pear")
- jawwaz (usu, "goose")
- ukap (ukapu, "saddle")
- hmesas (missisam, "stomach")
- zibborit (zarbabu, "pitcher")
- zaraz (zurzu, "belt")
- hazzeret (hasarratu, "lettuce")
- hamita ("cake")
- hamatu ("be hot")
- hamam (hamimu, "Amomum")
- kanu (kananu, "wind")
- panim (subur panitu, "facial expression")
- seher (sepuru, "trim the hair (and other things)")
- cuga (cugya, "ditch")
- garsur (garsaru, "pitcher")
- 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, Jesbaḥ hakkāḥed < Syriac ḥeṣṣar kabdā < ubān amūtim, "lobe of the liver," mājānīzīn jēt hājūr < Syriac ahdt nwr < isāta šuḥuzu, "ignite a fire," and qisrē milḥāmā < kīšir tāḥāzi, "ranks of battle," extensions in cognate roots, binyān < binātu, binītu, "human frame, form, structure," mūgmār < Aramaic gumartā < gumāru, "coal, charcoal," thus, "spices placed upon coals," gāmerīn jēt haddīn < dīna gamāru, "pass sentence, decide a case," sōṭēr jēt haddīn < dīna sapaḥu, "cancel, disrupt judgment," yōṣēt ḫūṣ < Aramaic nāqqat bārā < wašiat, "woman of loose morals," and kōmerīn mekammērīn < kumurrū, "pile up dates or fruits for ripening." As noted in the discussion of this last word, the possibility remains that this should be treated as a loanword rather than an extension. This is because Hebrew Ṿkrm may be cognate with Akkadian kamāru but not semantically equivalent.

The following were treated as extensions and loan translations of lesser probability: Jabbū ḅāc < ḫattu rē'ā, "shepherd's staff," a kind of plant, Ṿzaq, "tie,
obligate," <kašaru, rakasu, "bind (in a legal sense),"
keleb hammayim < kalab me, kalab tami, "sea-dog," kones
issaa < assatam ina bitim surubu, "take in, marry a woman,"
mīha beyad < Aramaic mēhā beyad < retta mahāsu, "strike
the hand, obstruct, protest," hāqel roj < qagguo qalāu,
"be disrespectful," koped roj, "seriousness," <qagguo
kabatu, "treat with respect," ġasap min hassūq < ina suqī
ṣurubu, "gather in from the street, adopt," and ca-yin
sellattannūr < in kīri, "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 jabbu roce and haṭṭu reš, these terms may not even refer to the same plant. The
question of parallel development rather than Akkadian in­
fluence can be raised against soter jet haddin, gomerin
jet haddin, as well as against qs, psq < harasu,
"determine a price," and gezar din < purussu < parasu.
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:
The largest number of loan translations and extensions are again in the legal and economic area. This is not surprising in view of the widespread influence of Akkadian legal terminology as shown by the work of Kutscher, Yaron, and Muffs.

The loan translations are not parallel to the loan-words in number and in range. Thus, there are none in the categories of building terms, plants, minerals, clothing and professions. In the "miscellaneous" category, there are a number which have no common bond between them. One group, from assum, is grammatical, while qisre milhâma 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.  

The results of consulting the Kaufmann Manuscript, the Babylonian manuscript edited by Porath, and variants cited by Yalon, 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 asqūpā, alongside of the more common jisqūpā. In the Kaufmann Manuscript, ḫappār

1Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 135-46.
2Beer, MK.
3Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew.
4Yalon, IVM.
5Beer, MK, Sabbath 10:2; Yalon, IVM, pp. 19 and 214.
(there appearing as \text{appār}), having a doubled second consonant, is consistent with the form for a loan from \text{appāru}, Sumerian AMBAR.\textsuperscript{6} In the same manuscript, \text{ēmmēray}, "when," occurs with a doubling of the second consonant as would be expected in a loan from \text{immāti < ina mati}.\textsuperscript{7} Akkadian \text{mukku}, from Sumerian MUG, "thread, rag," appears as \text{mukkīn} in the plural as against Yalon's vocalization \text{mōkīn},\textsuperscript{8} while the variant \text{samēm}, \text{samēmīm},\textsuperscript{9} is closer to the Akkadian \text{samassammū}, "sesame," than the more common \text{sūmsūm}. Akkadian \text{tarmū}, "lupine," has several variants, \text{turmos, tōrmōs}, and \text{tarmōs}.\textsuperscript{10} However, Lieberman, in his edition of the Tosefta, prefers the reading \text{trmwsyn}, indicating that the first vowel is short, closer to the presumed Akkadian TAR.MUS > *tarmušu.\textsuperscript{11} In the case of \text{targallu}, from Sumerian DAR.LUGAL.MUSEN, the variant \text{tarnēlim} in the Kaufmann Manuscript\textsuperscript{12} is closer to the Aramaic \text{tarnuglā} and to the Akkadian than the more frequent


\textsuperscript{7}Beer, MK, Berakhot 1:1; Kutscher, Hanok Yalon Festschrift, p. 269.

\textsuperscript{8}Porath, ibid., p. 140; Yalon, IVM, pp. 19 and 214.

\textsuperscript{9}Porath, ibid., p. 127; Yalon, IVM, p. 215.

\textsuperscript{10}Cf. \text{turmos}, Albeck, Mishnah, Zera‘cīm, p. 101; \text{tōrmōs}, Beer, MK, Kiljavyīm 1:3; M. Sabbah 18:1; \text{tarmōs}, Beer, MK, Maksīrin 4:8.

\textsuperscript{11}S. Lieberman, Tosefta, Zera‘cīm, p. 130.

\textsuperscript{12}Beer, MK, Sabbath 24:3.
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 loanword was questioned in this study, it was noted that a greater probability would exist if there were a form *\textit{pabiyā}, closer to \textit{habū}. Weisberg found such a form in the Aruk. In Ginze Mishnah, however, the form \textit{pabiyā} 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 \textit{gās}, "lime," is somewhat closer to Akkadian \textit{gāsū} than the usual \textit{gēs}, while \textit{jaslāq}, "laundry alkali," is closer to Akkadian \textit{aslāku}, "launderer," and Aramaic \textit{jaslēqā}, "alkali," than the usual \textit{jaslēq}. In two of these manuscripts there occur the form \textit{wadday}, lending support to the proposal made here that the source of this word is Akkadian \textit{wuddī}, "certainly," and that the aleph in the usual form, \textit{wadda}, is a mater lectionis. A manuscript

\textsuperscript{13}Katsh, GM.
\textsuperscript{14}D. Weisberg, \textit{HUCA}, XXXIX (1968), 77f.
\textsuperscript{15}Katsh, \textit{ibid.}, Pl. 130, line 10.
\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid.}, Pl. 136, line 12.
\textsuperscript{17}\textit{Ibid.}, Pl. 146, line 4.
\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Ibid.}, Pl. 119, line 12 and Pl. 156, line 6.
in this collection vocalizes makkīn, "threads," supporting the doubled, unaspirated form of the second consonant as in the reading makkīn, noted by Porath. This brings the form closer to Akkadian mukku.

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 qāpu, "lend on credit, trust," appears in M. Jābok 3:16, and the passage there should be read waḥeḥenwanī meqīp, "the store-keeper lends on credit." This vocalization is required by a media-waw verb such as this. The Kaufmann Manuscript has, however, maqqīp, indicating that the word was understood as if it were from the root ęmq. In the case of the word kūsbar, "coriander," there is a variant kisbar. This, however, cannot be attributed with certainty to the loan process, although there is some probability of this. Akkadian kisibirru is closer to Hebrew kisbar. However, variants occur in Akkadian itself; alongside of Assyrian kisibarru there also occurs Middle and Late Babylonian ku(s)ibirru. 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, Seḥiṭit 9:1; M. Dem. 1:1; Porath, Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 140; S. Lieberman, Tosefta, Zerāṭīm, p. 203.
For example, "md, "estimate," which is considered in this study to come from Akkadian emēdu, "lay upon, impose," should properly be spelled with ḫaleph, as the cayyin would not be transferred in a loanword. One finds, however, variants where the spelling is with cayyin.22 This confusion is not due to any cayyin being transferred in the loan, but to variations between Palestinian and Babylonian traditions.23 Possibly the spelling cmd, ḫmed, ḫmad, is the result of the association of the word with a known Hebrew word, cmd, a kind of folk etymology.24

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 Yutturru > Biblical Aramaic str

22Beer, MK, Makkot 3:11, ḫmadēhû; cf. also, Katsh, GM, Pl. 51, line 14, M. J. Ab. 1:16, ḫmadot, "by estimate." There can be inconsistency within the very same manuscript, cf. Beer, MK, Makkot 1:1, ḫmedin, "they estimate." The same confusion of ḫaleph and cayyin takes place with regard to Greek loanwords; cf. beḵarkēt, "in the law courts," Beer, MK, Gitten 1:5, but ḫarkēt, Lowe, MPT, ad loc.

The Palestinian Talmud, close to the Greek speech area, does not transcribe with cayyin, as there is none in the source, but the Babylonian sources, not knowing the Greek source, assimilate it to a Semitic root ērk.

23Bendavid, BHMH, pp. 185-6.

24A proposal is made by Bendavid that cmd in the sense of "estimate" is due to Greek influence from στήθος εἶναι, "stand," > "weigh," Bendavid, BHMH, p. 149. This may be an additional factor operating in the Greek speech area, but it does not apply for the Babylonian area.
Hebrew str, "destroy," nadbāku > Biblical Aramaic nidbāḵ
Hebrew nidbāḵ, "layer of bricks," and taḥum > Elephantine
thwm > Hebrew teḥum, "boundary." In other cases, Hebrew
is a further development of and can only be explained on
the basis of the Aramaic. Examples are: ḫassīnu > Aramaic
ḥāṣīnā > Mishnaic Hebrew ḥāzīnā, "axe," raqqatu > Aramaic
raqtā, variant raqqtā > Hebrew reqāq, "marsh, shallow
water," the Hebrew having developed from a variant form in
Aramaic, and ḫassā > Aramaic ḫassā, "lettuce," from which
developed ḫasīt, ḫasīyyāt, 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-
mitt ed 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 Hebr-
rew. There appears to be no Aramaic for birītu > bīrīt,
"chain," gasīsu > gasīs, "pole," kaballu > kāḥūl, "type
of garment or cap," and niāru > nēyār, "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 milḥāmā < kiṣir tāḥāzi, "ranks of war," and șeqrē hārōʾi< šalmat qaqqadi, "the black-headed people."

Although an Aramaic counterpart has hitherto not been noted, it is not possible to state categorically that these loan translations represent a direct contact of Akkadian with Hebrew. Such a counterpart may have existed in one of the Aramaic dialects although not known to us.

Speaking both of loanwords and loan translations, while some may, indeed, have entered at an early period, without Aramaic mediation, it is difficult to establish the date and method of entry of these loans. Judeans came into contact with Assyrians, but by the time of Ezekiel's contact with the Neo-Babylonian empire, Akkadian was probably no longer the spoken language of Mesopotamia. Direct contact would apply only in a minority of cases. In general, Aramaic served as a kind of reservoir of Akkadian influence. The time of entry of an Akkadian word into Aramaic is not necessarily identical with its date of entry into Hebrew. Both time points are difficult, or impossible, to establish.

Finally, this study has been limited to the Mishnah. If the scope of the study were widened to

There are differences between the contexts of discourse in the various Late Hebrew documents, some of which are related to their degree of influence by Aramaic.


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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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