A History of the Akkadian Lexicon
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Not unlike historical phonology and morphology, the history of the vocabulary has two dimensions: **external** and **internal**. The present survey aims at covering both, with various degrees of completeness.

When applied to Akkadian, the **external dimension** amounts to the description of the Akkadian vocabulary from its Proto-Semitic ancestor up to the earliest substantial text corpora (Sargonic, OA and OB). Also important is to outline the specificity of the Akkadian vocabulary with respect to its Semitic sister tongues. One has to deal, finally, with lexical loans from Semitic and non-Semitic idioms of the Ancient Near East.

The **internal dimension** is conceived as an outline of the lexical specificity of the individual genealogical and chronological strata of Akkadian proper, from its earliest sizeable documents onwards.

1. From Akkadian to Proto-Semitic

1.1. The basic vocabulary of the Swadesh wordlist

Applying the methodology developed in Kogan 2015a, one can distinguish the following strata in the basic vocabulary of Akkadian:

- Trivial retentions from PS[2]
- Non-trivial retentions from PS
- Semantic and formal innovations
- Loanwords
- Etymologically obscure terms.

The comprehensive diachronic analysis of the 100 concepts[3] included into Swadesh's wordlist can be used as a model for further research which would ecompass the whole of the Akkadian basic vocabulary[4].

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[2] A trivial retention from PS is expected to preserve its basic status in each of the four major subdivisions of PS: Akkadian, Central Semitic, Ethiopian Semitic, Modern South Arabian. Exceptions to this principle are rare.

[3] The total number of terms dealt with under this heading is slightly less than 100 due to the fact that the basic exponents of some concepts cannot be established with enough certainty. **(1)** "to come": unlike other Semitic languages, Akkadian has no special lexical exponent of the meaning "to come", which is expressed by *alāku* 'to go' + the ventive ending. **(2)** "feather": there are at least four terms which may correspond to this concept, viz. *abru* (CAD A$_1$ 64, AHw. 7), *kappu* (CAD K 185, AHw. 444), *nāṣu* (CAD N$_2$ 53, AHw. 758) and *nuballu* (CAD N$_2$ 306, AHw. 799). Furthermore, the relatively few attestations (particularly the OB ones) do not allow to properly distinguish between "feather" and "wing", so we found it better to omit this position from our analysis. **(3)** "leaf": this concept is poorly attested in the sources, the only candidate (apparently not attested in OB) is *ḫaṣḫaltu* (CAD Ḫ 125, AHw. 330,

I. The amount of **trivial retentions** in the Swadesh list of Old Babylonian Akkadian is high (**44**)[5]: *kalu* 'all' (CAD K 87, AHw. 427) < PS **kal-/*kull-* (CDG 381); *ḳuliptu* 'bark' (CAD Q 296, AHw. 926) < PS **ḳVlp-at-* (LSyr. 670, LS 376); *karšu* 'belly' (CAD K 223, AHw. 450) < PS **kariŝ-* (SED I No. 151); *našāku* 'to bite' (CAD N₂ 53, AHw. 758) < PS **nṯk* (CDG 402); *damu* 'blood' (CAD D 75, AHw. 158) < PS **dam-* (SED I No. 50); *eṣemtu* 'bone' (CAD E 341, AHw. 251) < PS **ʕaṯm-* (SED I No. 25); *ṣupru* 'claw' (CAD Ṣ 250, AHw. 1113) < PS **ṭipr-* (SED I No. 285); *mâtu* 'to die' (CAD M₁ 421, AHw. 634) < **mwt* (SED I No. 43ᵥ); *kalbu* 'dog' (CAD K 68, AHw. 424) < PS **kalb-* (SED II No. 115); *šatû* 'to drink' (CAD Š₂ 207, AHw. 1202) < PS **šty* (CDG 518); *uznu* 'ear' (CAD U 362, AHw. 1447) < PS **ʔuḏn-* (SED I No. 4); *erṣetu* 'earth' (CAD E 309, AHw. 245) < **ʔarṣ-* (HALOT 90); *akālu* 'to eat' (CAD A₁ 245, AHw. 246) < PS **ʔkl* (HALOT 46); *īnu* 'eye' (CAD I 153, AHw. 383) < PS **ʕayn-* (SED I No. 28); *išātu* 'fire' (CAD I 227, AHw. 392) < PS **ʔiš(-āt)-* (CDG 44); *malû* (**maliʔ-*) 'full' (CAD M₁ 173, AHw. 596) < PS **mlʔ* (CDG 342); *warḳu* 'green' (CAD A₂ 300, AHw. 1471) < PS **wrḳ* (HALOT 441); *šārtu* 'hair' (CAD Š₂ 125, AHw. 1191) < PS **ŝaʕr-* (SED I No. 260); *šemû* 'to hear' (CAD Š₂ 277, AHw. 1211) < PS **šmʕ* (CDG 501); *libbu* 'heart' (CAD L 164, AHw. 549) < PS **libb-* (SED I No. 174); *ḳarnu* 'horn' (CAD Q 134, AHw. 904) < **ḳarn-* (SED I No. 168); *anāku* 'I' (CAD A₂ 106, AHw. 49) < **ʔanā(ku)* (CDG 26); *birku* 'knee' (CAD B 255, AHw. 129) < PS **birk-* (SED I No. 39); *idû* 'to know' (CAD I 20, AHw. 187) < PS **wdʕ/*ydʕ* (HALOT 390); *warḫu* 'moon' (CAD A₂ 259, AHw. 1466) < PS **warḫ-* (CDG 617); *pû* 'mouth' (CAD P 453, AHw. 872) < **pay-ʔ* (SED I No. 223); *šumu* 'name' (CAD Š₃ 284, AHw. 1274) < PS **šim-* (CDG 504); *eššu* 'new' (CAD E 374, AHw. 258) < PS **ḥdṯ* (CDG 225); *appu* 'nose' (CAD A₂ 194, AHw. 60) < PS **ʔanp-* (SED I No. 8); *ul/lā* 'not' (CAD U 65, AHw. 1406) < PS **lā* (HALOT 511)[6]; *šuršu* 'root' (CAD Š₃ 363, AHw. 1286) < **ŝVrš-* (HALOT 1659); *zēru* 'seed' (CAD Z 89, AHw. 1521) < PS **ḏarʕ-* (CDG 642); *kakkabu* 'star' (CAD K 45, AHw. 421) < PS **kabkab-* (CDG 280); *abnu* 'stone' (CAD A₁ 54, AHw. 6) < PS **ʔabn-* (CDG 4); *šamšu* 'sun' (CAD Š₁ 335, AHw. 1158) < PS **ŝamš-* (HALOT 1589); *zibbatu* 'tail' (CAD Z 100, AHw. 1523) < PS **ḏanab-* (SED I No. 64); *atta* 'thou' (CAD A₂ 502, AHw. 87) < PS **ʔantă* (CDG 32); *lišānu* 'tongue' (CAD L 209, AHw. 556) < PS **lišān-* (SED I No. 181); *šinnu* 'tooth' (CAD Š₃ 48, AHw. 1243) < PS **šinn-* (SED I No. 249); *iṣu* 'tree' (CAD I 214, AHw. 390) < PS **ʕiṣ-* (CDG 57); *šinā*

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presumably a reduplicated formation **ḫas-ḫas-t-*), of uncertain etymology. **(4)** "round": while no exponent of the adjectival meaning "round" seems to be attested in the sources, the general notion of being circular was likely expressed by *kapāpu* (CAD K 175, AHw. 442) and its derivatives, whose WS cognates are discussed in Kogan 2015a:443 in connection with Gez. *kǝbub* 'round' (CDG 273). **(5)** "to swim": "The cuneiform texts do not provide direct evidence for s[wimming] in Mesopotamia. No Sum[erian] or Akk[adian] word for 'to swim' is attested" (Streck 2009–2011:339) – a somewhat perplexing fact for a land located between two greatest rivers of the Near East. **(6)** "yellow": as in many other Semitic languages, the concepts "green" and "yellow" were apparently not distinguished in Akkadian (both designated as *warḳu*).

[4] For the sake of uniformity, all Akkadian lexemes in this artile will be conventionally addued without mimation, even for the periods when it would normally be preserved.

[5] The concepts of the Swadesh list are adduced in the English alphabetic order.

[6] According to a growing consensus (Sjörs 2015:85–87), the standard OB main clause negation *ul* goes back to an earlier *ulā* (< **wa-lā*) and is thus directly comparable to PS **lā* (rather than PWS **ʔal*).

'two' (CAD Š₃ 32, AHw. 1241) < PS *ṯin-ā (HALOT 1605); *mû* (CAD M₂ 149, AHw. 664) < PS *mǎy-/*mǎw- (CDG 376); *nīnu* (CAD N₂ 239, AHw. 791) 'we' < PS *niḥnu (CDG 395); *mannu* 'who' (CAD M₁ 213, AHw. 603) < PS *mann- (CDG 348).

II. Non-trivial retentions from PS include **29** terms. This is by far the most varied and hard-to-define segment in our stratification, which, in the case of Akkadian, can be further subdivided into the following elements.

a. Akkadian lexemes with several WS cognates functioning as the basic exponents of the respective concepts (**2**): Akk. *ṭābu* 'good' (CAD Ṭ 19, AHw. 1377) — Hbr. *ṭōb* (HALOT 370), Syr. *ṭāb* (LSyr. 269), Arb. *ṭayyib-* (Lane 1902), Min. *ṯyb* (LM 100); *wašābu* 'to sit' (CAD A₂ 386, AHw. 1480) — Hbr. *yšb* (HALOT 444), Syr. *yiteb* (LSyr. 311), Sab. *wṯb* (SD 165), Min. *wṯb* (LM 106)[7].

b. Exclusive isoglosses with basic status between Akkadian and several North-West Semitic languages (**6**): Akk. *rabû* 'big' (CAD R 26, AHw. 936) — Ugr. *rb* (DUL 727), Syr. *rabbā* (LSyr. 706)[8]; Akk. *šarāpu* 'to burn' (CAD Š₂ 50, AHw. 1185) — Ugr. *šrp* (DUL 844), Hbr. *śrp* (HALOT 1358)[9]; Akk. *nadānu* 'to give' (CAD N₁ 42, AHw. 701) — Ugr. *ytn* (DUL 990), Hbr. *ntn* (HALOT 733), Syr. *nettel* (LSyr. 298); Akk. *emmu* 'hot' (CAD E 150, AHw. 214) — Hbr. *ḥām* (HALOT 325), Syr. *ḥammimā* (LSyr. 239)[10]; Akk. *arku* 'long' (CAD A₂ 283, AHw. 69) — Ugr. *ʕrk* (DUL 102), Hbr. *ʔārōk* (HALOT 88), Syr. *ʕarrik* (LSyr. 49)[11]; Akk. *alāku* 'to walk' (CAD A₁ 300, AHw. 31) — Ugr. *hlk* (DUL 337), Hbr. *hlk* (HALOT 246), Syr. *hlk* (pa.) (LSyr. 177)[12].

By their diachronic status, the lexemes from the groups **a** and **b** (particularly the former) one come rather close to the trivial retentions from PS discussed in the preceding section.

c. Exclusive isoglosses with basic status between Akkadian and Ugaritic (**6**). This

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[7] Presumably preserved also in Gez. *ʔawsaba* 'to take a wife, to marry' (CDG 619) and Arb. *wṯb* 'to jump' (Lane 2919–2920), v. Kogan 2015a:264.

[8] Both variant roots *rby and *rbb are widely attested throughout Central Semitic (but, remarkably, practically missing from Ethiopian Semitic and MSA), but have not produced basic adjectives with the meaning "big" (see further Kogan 2015a:196–197.

[9] Clearly related are Mhr. *śərūf* 'to build up sticks for a fire' (ML 383), Jib. *śérɔf* 'to build a fire to heat milk-heating stones; to put milk-heating stones on the fire' (JL 254), Soq. *śerof* 'to boil on a strong fire' (CSOL II forthcoming).

[10] Following the recommendations of Kassian et al. 2010:83, we have opted for "hot" as a much more fundamental and straightforward concept than Swadesh's rather imprecise "(luke)warm". The root *ḥmm is widely attested elsewhere in CS and Ethiopian Semitic, even if not always with the basic status (Kogan 2015a:454). The specific meaning "warm" still taken as basic, it would produce an isogloss between Akk. *šaḫānu* (CAD Š₁ 78, AHw. 1128; the adjective *šaḫnu* is practically unattested) and Arb. *sḫn* (Lane 1326; regrettably, not in the Koranic corpus, which is the primary source of reference in the framework of the present investigation). Further cognates include Ugr. *šḫn* 'to have a fever, to be hot' (DUL 813), Hbr. *šəḥīn* 'ulcer, inflamed spot' (HALOT 1460), Syr. *šḥen* 'se calefecit' (LSyr. 769), Gez. *səḫna* 'to warm oneself, to become warm' (CDG 495), Jib. *šḫanún* 'warm; warmed' (JL 264). The functional status of the Jibbali adjective remains to be clarified, but all in all there are good reasons to reconstruct PS *šḫn with the prescise meaning "to be warm".

[11] Cf. further Arb. *ʕrk* 'to keep in a place, to remain, to continue' (Lane 50), Sab. *ʕrk* 'duration of time?' (SD 7).

[12] Clearly related is Arb. *hlk* 'to perish' (Lane 3044).

rather remarkable group falls in two categories.

On the one hand, there are Akkadian-Ugaritic cognate pairs which have no reliable parallels anywhere else in Semitic (**4**): Akk. *iṣṣūru* 'bird' (CAD I 210, AHw. 390) — Ugr. *ʕṣr* (DUL 187)[13]; Akk. *irtu* 'breast' (CAD I 183, AHw. 386)[14] — Ugr. *ʔirt* (DUL 110); Akk. *erpetu* 'cloud' (CAD E 302, AHw. 243)[15] — Ugr. *ʕrpt* (DUL 184); Akk. *izuzzu* 'to stand' (AHw. 408, CAD U 373) — Ugr. *n-dd* (DUL 620)[16].

On the other hand, there are common Semitic roots attested in several other languages, but not as the basic exponents of the respective concepts (**2**): Akk. *mādu* 'many' (CAD M₁ 20, AHw. 573) — Ugr. *mʔad, mʔud* (DUL 511–512)[17]; Akk. *ḳutru* 'smoke' (CAD Q 326, AHw. 931) — Ugr. *ḳṭr* (DUL 720)[18].

d. Exclusive isoglosses between Akkadian and other WS languages and subgroups.

- Akkadian-Aramaic (**3**): Akk. *nūnu* 'fish' (CAD N₂ 336, AHw. 803) — Syr. *nunā* (LSyr. 421), no further parallels whatsoever; Akk. *urḫu* 'road' (CAD U 218, AHw. 1429) — Syr. *ʔurḥā* (LSyr. 47)[19]; Akk. *mašku* 'skin' (CAD M₁ 376, AHw. 627) — Syr. *meškā* (LSyr. 407)[20].

- Akkadian-Arabic (**1**): Akk. *ṣeḫru* 'small' (CAD Ṣ 179, AHw. 1088) — Arb. *ṣaɣīr-* (Lane 1691)[21].

- Akkadian-Ethiopian (**3**): Akk. *kišādu* 'neck' (CAD K 446, AHw. 490) — Gez. *kəsād*

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[13] Further etymology unknown, v. SED II Nos. 43 and 212, particularly about the hypothetic relationship with Arb. *ʕuṣfūr-* and Hbr. *ṣippōr*.

[14] May be metathetically related to PWS *riʔ-at-* 'lung' (cf. SED I No. 10 and 224).

[15] Probably related, with metathesis, to *ʕapar-* 'cloud' in continental MSA: Mhr. *ʕāfōr* (ML 15), Jib. *ʕáfɔ́r* (JL 8).

[16] Possible – but sparse – cognates in Hebrew include Post-Biblical *zwz* 'to move, to go away, to depart' (Jastrow 385) and Biblical *məzūzā* 'door-post' (HALOT 565).

[17] Clearly related to Hbr. *məʔōd* 'very' (HALOT 538). Cf. further Arb. *mʔd* 'to become flourishing and fresh' (Lane 2688) and Min. *mʔd* 'ajouter' (LM 59).

[18] The related verbal root *ḳṭr* 'to fumigate' is well attested: Hbr. *ḳṭr* 'to make a sacrifice, to go up in smoke' (HALOT 1094), Mnd. *gṭr* 'to fumigate' (MD 88), Arb. *qṭr* 'to exhale a scent; to smoke' (Lane 2486), *quṭr-* 'aloe-wood with which one fumigates' (ibid. 2543), Sab. *mḳṭr* 'incense-altar' (SD 109), Gez. *ḳatara* 'to fumigate' (CDG 452). The basic exponents of the meaning "smoke" derived from this root are also attested in JBA *ḳuṭrā* (DJBA 990) and Mnd. *guṭra* (MD 83), but in both cases a substratum influence of Akkadian is more than likely.

[19] Also Hbr. *ʔōraḥ* (HALOT 86), a relatively rare poetic term. Sab. *ʔrḫ* 'affair, matter, undertaking' (SD 7), Min. *ʔrḫ* 'affaire, chose' (LM 7), Qat. *ʔrḫ* 'orders, instructions; affair, matter' (LIQ 15) likely represent an extension of the non-attested meaning "road". Soq. *éraḥ* 'venir, arriver' (LS 74) may also be related.

[20] See SED I No. 190 for further cognates with no basic status: Hbr. *mäšäk* 'leather pouch' (HALOT 646) and Arb. *ʔal-masku-* = *ʔal-ǯildu* (LA 10 587).

[21] Also in Ugr. *ṣɣr* 'small, of tender years, young' (DUL 780) and Hbr. *ṣāʕīr* 'the smaller one, the younger one' (HALOT 1041). Neither the Ugaritic nor the Hebrew adjectives are the basic exponents of the meaning "small" in the respective languages, but Proto-Aramaic *zuɣayr-* 'small', clearly related to the present root with secondary voicing of *ṣ into *z, does display such a function in several daughter languages (Kogan 2015a:430), thus strengthening the functional prominence of *ṣɣr. Little can be said on the functional value of Sab. *ṣɣr* 'small' (SD 141) and Min. *ṣɣr* 'petit' (LM 93). No autochthonous reflexes of this root seem to be attested in Ethiopian or MSA.

(CDG 296)[22]; Akk. *zunnu* 'rain' (CAD Z 160) — Gez. *zənām* (CDG 641)[23]; *mīnu* 'what' (CAD M$_2$ 89, AHw. 655) — Gez. *mənt* (CDG 352)[24].

- Akkadian-MSA (1): Akk. *šēpu* 'foot' (CAD Š$_2$ 294, AHw. 1214) — Soq. *ŝab*, du. *ŝaʕfi* (LS 424)[25].

e. Varia (7): *šābulu* 'dry' (CAD Š$_1$ 19, AHw. 1120)[26]; *zikaru* 'man' (CAD Z 110, AHw. 1526)[27]; *šīru* 'meat' (CAD Š$_3$ 113, AHw. 1248)[28]; *ištēn* 'one' (CAD I 275, AHw. 400)[29]; *ḳabû* 'to say' (CAD Q 22, AHw. 889)[30]; *amāru* 'to see' (AHw. 40, CAD A$_2$ 5)[31]; *annû*

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[22] Cf. Leslau 1944:56 and SED I No. 147 where Mhr. *kənsīd* and Jib. *kənséd* '(top of) shoulder' (ML 212, JL 133) are tentatively compared in spite of the phonological irregularities (inserted -*n*- and unexpected *s* instead of *š*) and the (admittedly, feasible) shift of meaning.

[23] From PS *ḏVnVn*- with dissimilation *-*n* > -*m* in Ethiopian. The same process is observed in Sab. *ḏnm* 'rain' (SD 39). The alternative reconstruction (assimilation *ḏVnVm*- > *ḏVnVn*- is also possible). A more advanced stage of dissimilation of sonorants seems to be attested in Hbr. *zäräm* 'heavy rain' (HALOT 281).

[24] The Geez form goes back to a combination of *mīn*- with the deictic element *-*t*-. For the archaic nature of the Akkadian-Ethiopian isogloss v. Huehnergard 2005:189. It is likely that *mīn*- 'what' is further preserved in the indefinite pronoun *mn-m* in Ugaritic and Phoenician (Tropper 2012:243–244).

[25] With Leslau 1944:58, it is hard to separate between the Akkadian and Soqotri lexemes, particularly in view of the continental MSA cognates with *-*p*: Mhr. *ŝaf* 'trace, track' (ML 373), Jib. *ŝɛf* 'trace, track; foot under the ancle' (JL 246). The irregular -*b* in the Auslaut of the Soqotri word remains a problem, however (*contra* SED I 269, -*f*- of the dual form, with LS 37, must be due to a secondary shift from *b*, well attested before *i* elsewhere in Soqotri).

[26] Cognate WS lexemes (DRS 3–4) are sparse and functionally marginal: Hbr. *ʔbl* 'to dry up' (HALOT 7), perhaps Arb. *ʔubullat*- 'figues comprimées en masses' (Dozy I 3).

[27] The complex interplay between the concepts "person" (*homo*, *Mensch*) and "man" (*vir*, *Mann*), as well the more specific "male" (Buck 1949:79–84) in Akkadian (and Semitic in general) remains to be comprehensively explored. Particularly instructive would be a systematic comparison between the two-member Akkadian system (*awīlu* vs. *zikaru*) and the three-member Hebrew one (*ʔādām* vs. *ʔīš* and *zākār*). It seems that Akk. *zikaru* is indeed broader than Hbr. *zākār* and can correspond to Hbr. *ʔīš*, and thus be the only exponent of the meaning "man" in Akkadian: contrast CH § 130 (*aššat awīlim ša **zikaram** lā īdû* 'a marrried woman who had not had intercourse with a **man**') with Judges 11:39 (*wǝ-hī(ʔ) lō(ʔ) yādǝʕā **ʔīš*** 'And she knew no **man**'). PS *ḏakar*- 'male' is widely attested — Syr. *dekrā* 'mas, masculus; aries' (LSyr. 153), Arb. *ḏakar*- 'male' (Lane 969), Sab. *ḏkr* id. (SD 38), Jib. *məḏkér* 'small male kid' (JL 46), Soq. *míʕŝər* (pl. *mádkor*) 'bouc; palmier mâle' (LS 252, 128) — but its rising to the basic functional slot "man" in Akkadian is unique. To what extent *awīlu* can also be used for *Mann* remains to be investigated, but Peust's claim "*awīlum* schwebt in seiner Bedeutung zwischen 'Mann' und 'Mensch' in ähnlicher Weise wie das englische *man*" (2015:93) is probably exaggerated (at least CAD A$_2$ 54, section 2 "grown man, male" displays very few OB examples).

[28] Differently from its WS cognates — Ugr. *šʕir* (DUL 797) and Hbr. *šǝʔēr* (HALOT 1378) — the Akkadian word expresses syncretically both the basic meaning "meat" and the non-basic "flesh". In both Hebrew and Ugaritic, the former is expressed by the reflexes of PWS *baŝar*- (SED I No. 41): Ugr. *bŝr* (DUL 243), Hbr. *bāŝār* (HALOT 164).

[29] As argued in Wilson-Wright 2014, **ʕašt-ay*- is likely the most ancient PS exponent of the meaning "one", fully preserved in Akkadian but only sparsely reflected in WS: Ugr. *ʕšty* 'one', *ʕšt ʕšr(h)* 'eleven' (DUL 190, Tropper 2012:344–345), Hbr. *ʕaštē ʕāŝār/ʕäŝrē* 'eleven' (HALOT 898), Min. *ʕs$_1$t* 'onze' (LM 15), Qat. *ʕs$_1$t-n-m* 'one' (LIQ 125). PS **ʔaḥad-/*waḥad*- 'only, single' (CDG 12) was promoted to the basic slot of "one" in most of WS, but kept its original function in Akk. *wēdu* 'individual, solitary, single' (CAD E 36, AHw. 1494).

[30] The only parallel is Ugr. *ḳbʔ* 'to summon, to invoke' (DUL 690), rather sparsely attested (note that while the Ugaritic verb suggests *ʔ* in the proto-form, the evidence of Sargonic Akkadian unambiguously

'this' (CAD A₂ 136, AHw. 53)[32].

III. Formal and semantic innovations (**8**) are *ṣalmu* 'black' (CAD Ṣ 77, AHw. 1078) < PS *ṭlm* 'to be dark' (Kogan 2015a:237, 441)[33]; *ḳaḳḳadu* 'head' (CAD Q 100, AHw. 899) < PS *ḳVdḳVd-* 'skull' (SED I No. 159); *dâku* 'to kill' (CAD D 35, AHw. 152) < *dwk/*dkk* 'to crush, to pound' (DRS 234); *niālu* 'to lie down' (CAD N₁ 204, AHw. 784) < *laylay-/*layliy-* 'night'[34]; *amūtu* 'liver' (CAD A₂ 96, AHw. 46) < PS *mVʕay-* 'intestines, entrails' (SED I No. 185); *mūšu* 'night' (CAD M₂ 291, AHw. 687) < PS *mušy-* 'evening' (CDG 368); *šadû* 'mountain' (CAD Š₁ 49, AHw. 1124) < PS *šadaw-* 'open field' (Kogan 2015a:307)[35]; *peṣû* 'white' (CAD P 328, AHw. 857) < PS *pṣḥ* 'to be clear, bright' (Bulakh 2003:4–5)[36].

IV. Etymologically unclear lexemes (**13**) include *tumru* 'ashes' (CAD T 472, AHw. 1370)[37]; *kaṣû* 'cold' (CAD K 269, AHw. 459); *pelû* 'egg' (CAD P 320, AHw. 853); *lipû* 'fat' (CAD L 202, AHw. 555)[38]; *naprušu* 'to fly' (CAD N₁ 314, AHw. 740)[39]; *ḳātu* 'hand' (CAD Q 183, AHw. 908); *uplu* 'louse' (CAD P 180, AHw. 1423)[40]; *awīlu* 'person' (CAD A₂ 48, AHw. 90)[41]; *sāmu* 'red' (CAD S 126, AHw. 1019)[42]; *bāṣu* 'sand' (CAD B 134, AHw.

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points to *y, Hasselbach 2005:41). See further Hbr. *ḳbb* 'to curse, enchant' (HALOT 1060), Tgr. *ḳäbbä* 'to revile, to ignore' (WTS 249), Tna. *ḳäbäbä* 'to mock, to deride, to scorn' (TED 980).

[31] On the complex etymological background of the Akkadian verb v. Kogan 2015a:331.

[32] Going back to the widespread deictic element *hanni-* (Tropper 2001:17). The pan-WS near deictic *ḏV is not directly attested in Akkadian, but the relative pronoun *ša* may be ultimately related to it (Huehnergard 2006, Kogan 2015a:68).

[33] The same shift took place, presumably independently, in Etiopian Semitic: Gez. *ṣallim* 'black, dark' (CDG 556). The reverse semantic development ("black" > "dark") cannot be ruled out either, in which case Akkadian and Ethiopic would reflect the most archaic PS state of affairs (so Bulakh 2003:7–8).

[34] For this etymology (not universally accepted) v. Fronzaroli 1984:174, Huehnergard 2002:184, Kogan 2015a:297.

[35] The chief WS representatives of this root are Ugr. *šd* (DUL 807) and Hbr. *śādǟ* (HALOT 1307), both designating a field (wild or cultivated).

[36] Including such cognates as Hbr. *pṣḥ* 'to be cheerful, happy' (HALOT 953), Syr. *pṣīḥā* 'splendens; laetus, hilaris' (LSyr. 587), Arb. *fṣḥ* 'to be clear, distinct' (Lane 2403).

[37] Comparison with Ugr. *ʕmr* 'ashes' (DUL 165) suggested in Militarev 2004:289 and tentatively accepted in Kogan 2015a:268 must remain highly hypothetic. One cannot exclude, furthermore, that *tumru* primarily designated glowing embers rather than ashes properly said, for which *ṭikmennu* was used (CAD Ṭ 110, AHw. 169), not attested before MB.

[38] For a possible connection with Arb. *lafīʕat-* 'a piece of flesh that has been peeled off (from its bone)' (WKAS L 961) see SED I No. 180.

[39] Probably to be compared to PWS *prś* 'to spread' (> "to spread wings" > "to fly"): Hbr. *prś* (HALOT 975), Syr. *pras* (LSyr. 600), Arb. *frš* (Lane 2369), Mhr. *fərōś* (ML 101), Jib. *férŝ* (JL 61).

[40] For a possible connection with PWS *ply* 'to delouse' v. SED II No. 175.

[41] The widespread equation with Arb. *ʔawwal-* 'first' (Lane 3048) carries little conviction (cf. Kraus 1973:117), all the more since the Arabic numeral seems to go back to the root *w-ʔ-l*. Christian's suggestion (1925, revitalized without reference in Al-Jallad 2014:460) connects *awīlu* with Arb. *ʔāl-* 'a man's family or relations' (Lane 127) and ultimately, perhaps, with Arb. *ʔahl-* 'cohabitants of one dwelling' (Lane 121), Akk. *ālu* 'city' (CAD A₁ 379, AHw. 39). The weak point of this – admittedly, attractive and ingenious – comparison is that *parīs-* is not a productive means of formation of agent

110)^{43}; *ṣalālu* 'to sleep' (CAD Ṣ 67, AHw. 1075)^{44}; *ullû* 'that' (CAD U 82, AHw. 1410)^{45}; *sinništu* 'woman' (CAD S 286, AHw. 1047).

The introduction of "new" lexemes inevitably presupposes loss or marginalization of their diachronic predecessors. Thus, Akk. *aššatu* (CAD A₂ 462, AHw. 83), going back to PS *ʔanṯ-at-* 'woman', is relegated to the meaning 'wife' by the innovative *sinništu*. Akk. *idu* 'hand' (CAD I 10, AHw. 365), the reflex of *ʔyad-* (SED I No. 291), the main PS term with this meaning, is well attested in various secondary usages, but ousted from the basic slot by the innovative *ḳātu*. Quite a similar fate is that of PS *raʔš-* 'head' (SED I No. 225), preserved as non-basic *rēšu* (CAD R 277, AHw. 973), but replaced with *ḳaḳḳadu*. Akk. *līlâtu* (CAD L 184, AHw. 552) means "evening", which is presumably an innovation with respect to PS *laylay-/*layliy-* 'night' (CDG 314); and vice versa, the innovative *mūšu, mušītu* must have originally meant "evening", as all the WS reflexes of PS *mušy(-at)-* (CDG 368). Last but not least, the reflex of PS *kabid(-at)-* 'liver' (SED I No. 141), viz. *kabattu* (*kabtatu, kabittu*), has been mostly relegated to the secondary meanings "emotions", "mind", "spirit" (CAD K 11, AHw. 416).^{46}

V. The Akkadian Swadesh list is free of **borrowings**, which is particularly remarkable in view of the long-range symbiosis with Sumerian, so prominently reflected in other lexical strata of Akkadian.

The foregoing analysis prompts some preliminary conclusions about the diacrhonic nature of the Akkadian basic vocabulary.

● In Kogan 2015a, **52** positions in the Proto-Semitic Swadesh list are reconstructed with a sufficient degree of confidence. As we have seen, no less than **44**

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^{41} nouns in Akkadian; furthermore, denominal derivation of substantives is generally uncommon in Akkadian. Peust's derivation of *awīlu* from Sumerian **lú** (2015) has very little to recommend.

^{42} "No satisfactory etymology has been suggested so far" (Bulakh 2003:7–8).

^{43} Cf. perhaps Hbr. *bōṣ* 'silt' (HALOT 147).

^{44} As in a few other Semitic languages (e. g. Soqotri), the two basic meanings "to sleep" and "to lie down" are not easily distinguishable in Akkadian. For *ṣalālu* as specifically expressing the meaning "to sleep" v. CAD Ṣ 70: "The relationship between *ṣalālu* 'to be asleep, to lie asleep' and *nâlu* 'to go to bed' is illustrated by the contrast of the former with *êru* 'to be awake'". The etymology of *ṣalālu* remains uncertain. Von Soden (AHw. 1075) compares simultaneously Hbr. *ṣll* 'to sink' (HALOT 1027) and Gez. *ṣll* 'to float' (CDG 555), which carries little conviction in view of the semantic discrepancy between each of the three alleged cognates. Frolova (2003:98) identifies *ṣalālu* with Arb. *ḏll* 'to continue doing something, to spend one's day doing something' (Lane 1914), which would imply the semantic shift "to be still, motionless" > "to sleep". An eventual connection with *ḏill-* 'shadow' ("to stay in the shadow for siesta"?) is also conceivable.

^{45} The traditional equation with PWS *ʔillay-* 'these' (near deixis, plural), while not impossible, involves considerable difficulties (Kogan 2015a:68), but note Arb. *ʔulū* which, unlike its WS parallels, dispays -*u*- in the first syllable (as in Akkadian) – but, at the same time, no gemination of -*l*-!

^{46} To what extent *kabattu* may still be attested in purely anatomic contexts remains to be investigated, cf. the contrary positions of CAD *kabattu*, discussion section, vs. Stol 2007:334. One has to admit that *amūtu*, counted here as the main Akkadian representative of the basic meaning "liver", is not attested in such contexts either, but only in connection with extispicine.

among them are preserved in Akkadian. This is a high score – somewhat inferior to Hebrew (**49**), but much superior to Qoranic Arabic (**35**) and somewhere between Syriac (**46**) and Geez (**41**). The basic vocabulary of Akkadian thus preserves fairly well its Proto-Semitic character. Less trivial retentions from PS (**8**), shared with a great number of WS and CS languages and almost certainly going back to the deepest PS strata, can only strengthen this impression.

● The rather numerous lexemes with no clear etymological background (**13**) contribute in no small degree to the specificity of the basic vocabulary of Akkadian. In most cases, it is hard to say whether we are dealing with PS archaims preserving their basic status in Akkadian but fully or mostly obliterated throughout WS, or rather with an outcome of unusual, phonologically and/or semantically unexpected innovations in the history of Akkadian itself.

● Exclusive lexical features shared by Akkadian with individual WS languages are rather evenly spread over WS and hardly ever prompt any special conjectures of geographic, genealogical or cultural-historical order. The relatively high number of specific lexical features shared by Akkadian with Ugaritic (**6**) is the only remarkable exception calling for an explanation (v. below, Section 1.3.1).

● Loss of a few pan-Semitic exponents of some of the most essential features of the core vocabulary ("woman", "hand", "head", "night", "liver") contributes significantly to the specificity of the diachronic portrait of the Akkadian vocabulary.

● Total lack of Sumerian loanwords in the Akkadian Swadesh list is suggestive: it may mean that the contact between the two lexical systems, usually perceieved as so close, in fact affected less fundamental, more culture-bound layers of the vocabulary.

1.2. Lexical specificity of Akkadian outside the Swadesh list

1.2.1. What is a specifically Akkadian word? A lexicographic survey

The specificity of the basic vocabulary of Akkadian with respect to its West Semitic sister tongues can be conveniently illustrated by a list of commonly attested, semantically and functionally prominent Akkadian lexemes with no widely known etymological parallels in the extant WS languages: *abātu* (*nābutu*) 'to run away' (CAD A$_1$ 45, AHw. 700)[47], *abunnatu* 'navel' (CAD A$_1$ 89, AHw. 9), *aḫu* 'arm; side' (CAD A$_1$ 205, AHw. 21), *alālu* 'to hang, to suspend' (CAD A$_1$ 329, AHw. 34)[48], *apālu* 'to answer, to

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[47] Von Soden (AHw. 5 and 700) relates both *abātu* 'vernichten' and *nābutu* 'fliehen' to PWS *ʔbd, which he variously translates as 'zugrundegehen' and 'herumirren'. While the devoicing *-d > -t is plausible, the different behavior of *ʔ in the N-stem (-ʔʔ- in "to be destroyed" vs. -nn- in "to flee") and the semantic complexity of the WS picture invite caution. Semantically, Arb. ʔbd 'to flee, to run away at random' (Lane 4) is the closest to *nābutu*.

[48] One could tentatively compare Arb. ɣll 'to put upon the neck or the hand of someone a ring, or collar of iron' (Lane 2277), but this is clearly denominative from ɣull- 'ring, collar of iron, shackle' (ibid. 2278), in its turn cognate to Akk. (ḫ)ullu 'ring' (CAD U 81 and Ḫ 229). At the same time, *ɣ would correlate well with the "strong aleph" characteristic of this verb.

respond' (CAD A₂ 155, AHw. 56)⁴⁹, *arāḫu* 'to hasten' (CAD A₂ 221, AHw. 63), *arnu* 'guilt' (CAD A₂ 294, AHw. 70), *barāmu* 'to seal' (CAD B 101, AHw. 105), *barbaru* 'wolf' (CAD B 108, AHw. 106), *barû* A 'to look upon' (CAD B 115, AHw. 109)⁵⁰, *barû* B 'to be hungry' (CAD B 118, AHw. 123), *bašû* 'to be' (CAD B 144, AHw. 112)⁵¹, *biri* 'between' (CAD B 246, AHw. 128), *būdu* 'shoulder' (CAD B 303)⁵², *dekû* 'to remove to another location' (CAD D 123)⁵³, *ebēbu* 'to be clean' (CAD E 4, AHw. 180), *eʔēlu* 'to hang up; to bind' (CAD E 40, AHw. 189), *ekēmu* 'to take away by force' (CAD E 64, AHw. 194)⁵⁴, *elippu* 'boat' (CAD E 90, AHw. 198)⁵⁵, *emūku* 'strength' (CAD E 157, AHw. 216)⁵⁶, *erešu* 'smell' (CAD E 280, AHw. 242), *erikku* 'wagon, cart' (CAD E 296, AHw. 238), *epēšu* 'to do, to make' (CAD E 191, AHw. 223)⁵⁷, *eṭemmu* 'spirit of the dead' (CAD E 397, AHw. 263)⁵⁸, *eṭēru* 'to take away' (CAD E 401, AHw. 264)⁵⁹, *eṭlu* 'young man' (CAD E 407,

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[49] Von Soden's tentative equation (going back to an extensive exposition in Landsberger 1926:169) between *apālu* 'to answer' (allegedly, with an original meaning "später tun") and *apālu* 'to be late' has very little to recommend.

[50] An eventual link between *barû* 'to see' and *biri* 'between' is not to be ruled out ("to make a distinction between one thing and another"). It does not lead us to any further Semitic etymology, however.

[51] The Sargonic spellings with ŠV help to fix the root as *bṯy (Hasselbach 2005:266), but no comparable Semitic verb is at hand.

[52] Shall one compare PWS *baʕda 'after, behind' (Kogan 2015a:78)?

[53] Cf. perhaps Arb. *dkʔ* (III) = *mudāfaʕat-* 'to push someone' (LA I 95).

[54] Shall one compare PWS *ḥkm with "to rule, to dominate" as one of its prominent meanings (cf. Lane 616, WTS 88, ML 174, JL 107)? Note especially Arb. *ḥkm* 'to prevent, to restrain, to withhold' (Lane 616), Gez. *taḥakama* 'to restrain' (CDG 228), which come quite close to the main meaning of *ekēmu*. Soq. *ékam* compared by Leslau in LS 71 does not fit either phonetically (*k*) or semantically ('to hit, to affect', CSOL I 469). As an alternative, Arb. *ʕkm* 'to bind, to tie' (Lane 2122) could be considered.

[55] A feasible possibility is to derive *elippu* from the verbal root *ʔlp 'to bring together': Arb. *ʔlf* (II) 'to unite, to bring together' (Lane 80). As one learns from Buck 1949:731, "other [terms for "rafts"] reflect the construction of rafts of sticks or logs, as "fastening together, bundle, pile", etc." The main problem with this etymology is that the verb is attested only in Arabic.

[56] CAD (discussion section) suggests that originally *emūku* was a body part ("arm" or the like), but no etymological confirmation for this assumption has been discovered so far. Hbr. *ḥammūkē yərēkayik* in Canticle 7:2, traditionally interpreted as "the curves of your hips" (HALOT 327) is too isolated and too context-bound to be seriously considered as a cognate. Of some interest may be Tna. Of some interest may be Tna. *ʕammokä* 'to hit hard (with an elbow),' *məʕməmakʷ* 'thrashing, striking with a bent elbow' (TED 1835).

[57] The most popular etymological comparison is PWS *ḥpŝ 'to collect, to gather, to search': Ugr. *ḥpšt* 'woman gathering straw' (DUL 367), Hbr. *ḥpŝ* 'to search out' (HALOT 341), Syr. Min. *ḥfs₂* 'rassembler' (LM 47), Arb. *ʔal-ḥafŝu* = *ʔal-žamʕu* 'to collect' (TA 17 1540), Gez. *ḥafaŝa* 'to rake up, to sweep up' (CDG 227), Tgr. *ḥafsä* 'to scrape corn together' (WTS 104) and elsewhere in Modern Ethiopian, Mhr. *ḥəfūŝ* 'to collect' (ML 169), Jib. *ḥfɔŝ* id. (JL 105). This is not among "the great variety of notions" from which verbs with the meaning "to do, to make" are generalized in Indo-European according to Buck 1949:537. At the same time, it is remarkable that Arb. *ḥfŝ* is directly attested with the meaning "to work assidously, earnestly" (= *žadda*), v. TA 17 154, Fr. I 401 ('studiam, operam impendit').

[58] The nature of its relationship with Sumerian g i d i m remains uncertain (cf. Lieberman 1977:353–354, Civil 2007:24). Cf. perhaps Mhr. *āṭām* 'ghosts, spirits' (Sima 2009:150–151, Segment 5).

[59] Shall one compare Hbr. *ʔiṭṭēr yad yəmīnō* 'impeded on his right hand' = 'left-handed' (HALOT 37), Soq. *iṭéreh* 'muette' (LS 57), assuming an original meaning 'to take away, to deprive someone (of a physical facility)'? Semantically more remote is Mhr. *ʕāṭáwr* 'to twist' (ML 35), Jib. *ʕśṭɔr* id. (JL 19), perhaps also Tna. *ʕaṭärä* 'to be wrinkled (skin of the face)' (TED 1936).

AHw. 265), *ezēzu* 'to be furious, fierce' (CAD E 427, AHw. 269)[60], *gapāšu* 'to be huge, massive' (CAD G 43, AHw. 281)[61], *girru* 'road, path' (CAD G 90, AHw. 285)[62], *ḥamāṭu* A 'to hasten' (CAD Ḫ 62, AHw. 316), *ḥamāṭu* B 'to burn' (CAD Ḫ 64, AHw. 316)[63], *ḥepû* 'to smash' (CAD Ḫ 170, AHw. 340)[64], *ḥumṣīru* 'mouse' (CAD Ḫ 236, AHw. 355), *ištānu* 'north' (CAD I 268, AHw. 399), *kalūmu* 'lamb' (CAD K 106, AHw. 429), *kanāku* 'to seal', *kunukku* 'seal' (CAD K 136, AHw. 434), *kanāšu* 'to bow, to bend down' (CAD K 144, AHw. 435)[65], *kašādu* 'to reach, to arrive' (CAD K 271, AHw. 459)[66], *kibtu* 'wheat' (CAD 340, AHw. 472)[67], *kīdu* 'outside' (CAD K 345, AHw. 473), *kirbānu* 'clod of earth' (CAD K 401, AHw. 483)[68], *kiššatu* 'all, totality' (CAD K 457, AHw. 492)[69], *kulbābu* 'ant' (CAD K 501, AHw. 501)[70], *qablu* 'middle' (CAD Q 6, AHw. 887)[71], *qâlu* 'to be silent' (CAD Q 72,

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[60] The widely accepted equation with PWS *ʕzz 'to be strong' (Kogan 2015a:425–426) is far from persuasive from the semantic point of view. Admittedly, the meaning "fierce" can apparently be postulated for Hbr. *ʕaz* in some passages (so BDB 738).

[61] Probably identical with Trg. Arm. *gbš* 'to heap up' (Jastrow 209), Arb. *ǯibs- = kullu mā sudda bihi maǯrā l-wādī fī ʔayyi mawḍiʕin ḥubisa* 'everything by which a bed of a stream can be blocked in any place where it is stopped' (LA 6 54), Gez. *gabasa* 'to gather, to collect' (CDG 179), Amh. *gäbbäsä* 'to gather, to collect' (AED 1978), with devocing of *b* before a voiceless sibilant. Cf. also Ugr. *gbṯt* 'fleshy part of the back, hump' (DUL 293), with a wrong sibilant.

[62] One is tempted to derive *girru* 'road, path' from the verbal root *grr* 'to pull, to drag': Hbr. *grr* 'to drag away' (HALOT 204), Syr. *gar* 'traxit' (LSyr. 129), Arb. *ǯrr* 'to drag, to drow, to pull' (Lane 399), Mhr. *gər* 'to drag' (ML 123), Jib. *gerr* id. (JL 77), perhaps Gez. *garara* 'to submit, to be subdued' (CDG 203). For an exact semantic paralell cf. Russian *doroga < dergat'* ("something drawn out, a stretch", Buck 1949:719). In Akkadian, cf. perhaps *nagarruru* 'to turn or roll over' (CAD G 47, AHw. 902).

[63] Directly comparable to Tgr. *ḥamṭä* 'to burn' (WTS 64). Also related is Arb. *ḥamaṭa l-laḥma = šawāhu* 'to roast the meat' (LA 7 334).

[64] Cf. Arb. *ḫafaʔa r-raǯula = ṣaraʕahu ... ʔiqtalaʕahu wa-ḍaraba bihi l-ʔarḍa* 'to throw down a man ... to uproot him and throw him upon the ground' (LA 1 83) and *ʔinḫafaʕati n-naḫlatu = ʔinqalaʕat min ʔaṣlihā* 'to be uprooted (a palm tree)', *ḫafaʕahu bi-s-sayfi = ḍarabahu bihi* 'to hit someone with a sword' (TA 20 517–518).

[65] In Arabic, cf. either *kns* 'to enter one's covert, to retire into one's hiding place' (WKAS K 383) or *ʔal-kanšu = fatlu l-ʔaksiyati* 'to twist, fold a garment' (LA 6 412), none particularly convincing semantically. Hardly any connection with Common Aramaic *knš* 'to assemble, to gather' (HALOT 1899). Note Sab. *h-kms* 'to humiliate' (SD 78), with *-m-* instead of *-n-*.

[66] For a lone Ugr. *kšd* 'to search for, to reach' (DUL 467), possibly attested in the problematic context of 1.5 i 16–17, v. Kogan 2015a:336. Cf. further Arb. *kāšid-* 'one who earns, obtains much' (LA 3 466), semantically remarkably similar to some of the prominent meanings of Akk. *kašādu* ("to obtain," "to get hold," "to conquer").

[67] Steiner derives *kibtu* from Sum. g i g with the same meaning (2003:644), which is not so improbable in view of the reading of the Sumerian term as g ì b, which can be deduced from spellings with -b a.

[68] Cf. perhaps Syr. *krab* 'aravit' (LSyr. 342), Arb. *krb* 'to plough, to prepare land for sowing' (WKAS K 111).

[69] Cf. perhaps Arb. *ktt* 'to be thick' (WKAS K 55) or Jib. *kešš* 'to be fat, healthy' (JL 136). One may wonder, alternatively, whether *kiššatu*, with its original meaning "universe", "totality", could be derived from the name of the city of Kiš, with its well-known connotations of universal dominion in the early periods (cf. Westenholz 1996:121)? The verb *kašāšu* 'to exact services for a debt; to hold sway, to master' (CAD K 286) and its derivatives are then to be considered secondary denominatives.

[70] Scarcely related to *kalbu* 'dog' (an unusual reduplicated diminutive?).

[71] Can be metathetically related to Arb. *qalb-* 'heart' (SED I No. 161, Huehnergard 1991:695).

AHw. 895)[72], *ḳâpu* 'to trust' (CAD Q 93, AHw. 918), *ḳâšu* 'to grant' (CAD Q 156, AHw. 919)[73], *labāru* 'to last a long time, to be old' (CAD L 14, AHw. 522)[74], *lemēnu* 'to be bad' (CAD L 116, AHw. 542)[75], *lurmu* 'ostrich' (CAD L 255, AHw. 564)[76], *magal* 'very, much' (CAD M₁ 28, AHw. 574)[77], *magāru* 'to agree' (CAD M₁ 34, AHw. 575), *manziat* 'rainbow' (CAD M₁ 230, AHw. 605), *mātu* 'land, country' (CAD M₁ 414, AHw. 633), *naʔādu* 'to pay attention' (CAD N₁ 1, AHw. 693), *namāšu* 'to move' (CAD N₁ 220, AHw. 726)[78], *padānu* 'path, way' (CAD P 3, AHw. 807)[79], *na-plusu* 'to look' (CAD P 52, AHw. 814)[80], *pašāšu* 'to smear, to anoint' (CAD P 245, AHw. 843)[81], *patānu* 'to consume, to eat' (CAD P 273, 847), *patru* 'knife, sword' (CAD P 279, AHw. 949), *pāṭu* 'edge, border' (CAD P 305, AHw. 851), *pazāru* 'to hide' (CAD P 310, AHw. 852), *peḫû* 'to bar, to block' (CAD P 315, AHw. 853), *puḫḫu* 'to exchange', *pūḫu* 'substitute, replacement' (CAD P 482, AHw. 876), *râḫu* 'to remain, to be left', (CAD R 76, AHw. 979)[82], *ramāku* 'to bathe' (CAD R 111, AHw. 948), *ramanu* 'self' (CAD R 117, AHw. 949)[83], *rapāšu* 'to be wide, broad'

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[72] Hardly related to PWS *ḳwl 'to speak', which would involve an unusual enantiosemantic shift (Kogan 2015a:119).

[73] With von Soden (cf. Huehnergard 1991:696), may be related to Arb. *qys* 'to measure; to compare' (Lane 2577); for the semantic shift cf. Krebernik 2016:121.

[74] One is tempted to compare Gez. *ʔəber* 'old woman; old man' (CDG 5) and its cognates in Modern Ethiopian, but the presence of *l-* in Akkadian would remain difficult to explain.

[75] Shall one agree with von Soden who supposes that Akk. *lemnu* goes back to a fossilized combination *lā yamnu*, literally "not-right", taking into account the well-attested positive connotations of the right side ("right" = "good, better, friendly, pleasant, auspicious", Buck 1949:866)? Note that the thematic vowel of the respective adjectives (*imittu* vs. *lemuttu*) is not the same. Superficial similarity with Gez. *lamana* 'to beg' (CDG 315) and its Modern Ethiopic cognates is, on the contrary, accidental.

[76] For obvious phonological reasons, the Akkadian word cannot be compared to PCS *nVʕVm- 'ostrich' (SED II No. 207).

[77] *Contra* Huehnergard (1998:73), hardly any connection with Mhr. *mēkən*, Jib. *mɛ́kən* 'many' (ML 264, JL 170), which, being related to Soq. *kin* (LS 217), are to be attributed to Proto-MSA *kwn/*kyn 'to be numerous'. Lieberman (1977:14) tentatively suggests a Sumerian origin (without further details).

[78] Given the fact that *n-m-* is not a frequent combination as R₁-R₂-, one wonders whether the Akkadian root is to be analyzed as a combination of the ingressive *n-* and the biconsonantal verbal root of movement prominently attested in Arb. *mšy* 'to walk' (Lane 3020), Sab. *ms₂y* 'to go away' (SD 87), thus "to set in movement".

[79] Leslau's comparison with Jib. *fúdún* 'rock, stone' (JL 51) and Soq. *fɛ́dhon* 'montagne' (LS 333) preserves its attractivity in spite of the semantic difference (contrast Huehnergard 1991:693). Huehnergard tentatively derives *padānu* from *wfd, represented by Arb. *wfd* 'to come as an envoy' (Lane 2955), Mhr. *awōfəd* 'to look for a footprint' (ML 422), Jib. *ōfəd* 'to look for something' (JL 287).

[80] No convincing etymology at hand (cf. HALOT 935, Huehnergard 1991:693).

[81] The Ebla ŠV spellings in VE 502 (š u . ì = *pá-ša-šu-um*, *pá-ša-šúm*) help fix the etymological source of *pašāšu* as *pṯṯ, but no reliable cognates with this phonetic shape have been detected.

[82] Von Soden compares Arb. *ryḫ* = *ḏalla, lāna wa-starḫā* 'to be low, base; to be lean, relaxed' (LA 3 23), whch is semantically far-fetched. Huehnnergard (1991:700), apparently misunderstanding von Soden's "schlaff sein", thinks of PWS *rwḥ with such meanings as "to extend", "to be spacious" (v. in great detail Bulakh 2005:418). This is not unreasonable semantically, whereas Akk. *ḫ* vs. PWS *ḥ is not common elsewhere.

[83] An eventual derivation from *rʔm 'to love' (implying a somewhat egoistic concept of "self" as the principal object of love and care) remains an attractive possibility, but both the formal and semantic obstacles remain hard to overcome.

(CAD R 153, AHw. 955)[84], *rašû* 'to obtain, to acquire' (CAD R 193, AHw. 961)[85], *râšu* 'to rejoice' (CAD R 208, AHw. 979)[86], *redû* 'to drive' (CAD R 226, AHw. 965)[87], *reḫû* 'to inseminate' (CAD R 252, AHw. 969)[88], *sanāḳu* 'to approach' (CAD S 133, AHw. 1021)[89], *summatu* 'dove' (CAD S 380, 1058)[90], *sūnu* 'lap' (CAD S 386, AHw. 1059)[91], *ṣēru* 'snake' (CAD Ṣ 148, AHw. 1093), *ṣubātu* 'garment' (CAD Ṣ 221, AHw. 1107)[92], *šammu* 'plant, grass' (CAD Š₁ 315, 1156), *šapû* 'to be silent' (CAD Š₁ 491, AHw. 1777)[93], *šasû* 'to call' (CAD Š₂ 147, AHw. 1195)[94], *šerru* 'baby' (CAD Š₂ 317, AHw. 121)[95], *šētu* 'net' (CAD Š₂ 340, AHw. 1221)[96], *šizbu* 'milk' (CAD Š₃ 148, AHw. 1253)[97], *šurīpu* 'ice' (CAD Š₃ 347, AHw. 1284)[98], *tikku* 'nape of the neck' (CAD T 401, AHw. 1357)[99], *ṭeḫû* 'to approach'

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[84] May be metathetically related to PWS *prŝ* 'to spread' (Jensen *apud* LSyr. 600, Kogan 2015a:126).

[85] Perhaps related to PWS *wrṯ* 'to inherit, to come into possession' (Kogan 2015a:100).

[86] Cf. perhaps Arb. *rws/rys* = *tabaḫtara* 'to walk with an elegant, self-conceit gait' (LA 6 133–134).

[87] For the etymological interpretation of the Akkadian verb v. Huehnergard 1991:698–699. Thus, *redû* 'to drive; to advance' is well compatible, with different shades of meaning (quite similar to the well-known semantic scope of Arb. *ṣḥb*), with Syr. *rdā* 'ambulavit, cururrit, duxit, fluxit' (LSyr. 714), Arb. *rdʔ* 'to strengthen, to support; to help, to aid' (Lane 1064), Sab. *rdʔ* 'to help, to assist' (SD 114), Min. *rdʔt* 'aide, assistance' (LM 76), Qat. *rdʔ* 'aid, help' (LIQ 153), Gez. *radʔa* 'to aid, to come to rescue, to assist; to pursue' (CDG 462), Soq. *ródi* 'voleur' = 'one who drives away other's animals' (LS 394). As for the meaning "to add, to increase" of the Akkadian verb in the D-stem, cf. Arb. *rdy* 'to increase, to exceede' (Lane 1071), Sab. *rdyt* 'financial obligation' (SD 115), Qat. *rdn* 'profit' (LIQ 153), Gez. *radaya* 'to pay interest' (CDG 463), Soq. *rdy* 'augmenter' (LS 394). Huehnergard's distinction between *rdʔ* 'to drive, to follow' and *rdy* 'to add, to increase' appears thus justified.

[88] Huehneragrd (1991:699) suggests comparing Gez. *ʔarḫawa* 'to open, to unlock' (CDG 468) and Arb. *rḫw* 'to be soft, lax' (Lane 1060), but this is semantically rather weak.

[89] Provided that that main meaning of the Akadian word is "to approach", "to be near", the most suitable cognate, in spite of the sibilant irregurality, is Arb. *šnq* 'to love a thing, to be attached to it' (Lane 1607), Sab. *s₂nḳ* 'associated community' (SD 133). This can further be related to the meaning "to be bound, attached" and, eventually, "to hang", attested in Arb. *šnq* 'to bind, to hang' (Lane 1067), Sab. *s₂nḳt* 'binding, constraining document' (SD 133), Mhr. *śᵊnúḳ* 'to hang' (ML 381), Jib. *śónúḳ* id. (JL 253), Soq. *śénoḳ* id. (LS 431), as well as Syr. *šnāqā* 'phthisis' (LSyr. 791), again with a wrong sibiliant. The eventual relationship between the verb *sanāḳu* and the noun *sunḳu* 'famine' (CAD S 384) is uncertain. The latter cannot be separated from Syr. *sneḳ* 'indiguit' (LSyr. 485), but it is uncertain whether they are cognates or the the Syriac is borrowed from Akkadian (Kaufman 1974:93). Shall one also compare Gez. *śanḳa* 'to prepare provisions for a journey' (CDG 531)?

[90] Inseparable from Sum. t u m₁₂ 'dove'.

[91] In SED II, p. 334 Arb. *ṭunnat-* 'the part below the navel' (Lane 356) and Har. *šān* 'groin' (EDH 146) are suggested as cognates, but both comparisons are far-fetched.

[92] A derivation from *ṣabātu* 'to seize, to catch', tentatively suggested by von Soden, remains to be clarified in semantic terms.

[93] Shall one tentatively compare Arb. *sfh* 'to be unwise' (Lane 1376), Sab. *s₁fh* 'to be ignorant, unaware of something' (SD 124)?

[94] Cf. perhaps Gez. *śāʔśᵊʔa* 'to speak well, to speak clearly' (CDG 524), assuming that the Akkadian verb represents a simplification of a reduplicated quadriradical structure *śʔśʔ* with dissimilation of sibilants.

[95] Shall one tentatively compare PWS *šurr-/*širr-* 'umbilical cord' (SED I No. 254), otherwise conspicuously missing from Akkadian?

[96] For Held (1973), its cognate is Hbr. *šaḥat* II 'net', which he separates from the common *šaḥat* I 'pit'.

[97] The underlying consonantal prototype can be established as *šḏb* or *ṣḏb* thanks to *sa-ša-bu* = **nì-ga** (VE 82), but without convincing etymology (Kogan 2015a:572).

[98] As argued in Eilers 1986:41, an enantiosemantic shift from *ŝrp* 'to be hot, to burn?'

(CAD Ṭ 71, AHw. 1384), *warû* 'to bring, to lead' (CAD A₂ 313, AHw. 1473)[100], *wâru* 'to go, to advance' (CAD A₂ 318, AHw. 1471), *watû* 'to find' (CAD A₂ 518, AHw. 1493)[101], *wiāṣu* 'to be small' (CAD M₁ 350, AHw. 1496), *zumru* 'body' (CAD Z 157, AHw. 1537)[102].

For most of such lexemes, there is no reason to suspect non-Semtic origin: rather, we must be dealing with lexical elements faithfully inherited from the earliest PS stock, but fully or partly obliterated in WS, either at the very moment of its split from the common tree or during the millennia of its independent history. Regrettably, it is only in a few cases that this claim can be supported by cognates from non-Semitic Afroasiatic languages[103].

1.2.2. In seach of more semantic regularity: "an Akkadian-Proto-WS conversation book"

A more systematic attempt at investigating the ES/WS dichotomy in the lexicon should start from a fixed inventory of fundamental semantic concepts, in search of uniform PWS exponents strictly opposed to their Akkadian counterparts. As shown in Kogan 2015a:68–71, such lexical pairs, clear-cut conceptually and with a strict dialectal distribution, are not totally missing from the basic lexical stock of the Swadesh wordlist, but practically in each case we are dealing with straightforward innovations on the Akkadian side (*yad- > ḳātu* 'hand' and similar examples repeatedly discussed above in this article). However, other fundamental lexical strata provide more varied, less unambiguous evidence of this sort, which can be coventionally summarized in the following chart (borrowed, in an abriged and condensed form, from Kogan 2015a:101–104)[104].

Akkadian cognates	WS	meaning	Akkadian	WS cognates
—	*ʔalp-*	'thousand'	*līm(u)*	Cf. Ugr. *lʔim* 'people, clan', Hbr. *ləʔōm* 'nation', Arb. *lʔm* 'to put together', *liʔm-* 'agreement, concord'.

[99] Cf. perhaps Hbr. *tənūk hā-ʔōzän* 'ear-lobe' (HALOT 1761).

[100] Often compared to PWS *wrw* 'to throw', but, as rightly observed by Leslau in CDG 619, this is far from evident in semantic terms.

[101] For a possible, yet rather uncertain connection with PWS *ʔtw* 'to come' v. Kogan 2015a:69–70.

[102] One might tentatively compare Arb. *ḏimār-* 'whatever one is obliged to preserve and guard and defend or protect and for the loss or neglect of which one must be blamed; things that are sacred, inviolable; a man's family and property'. For the history of the root *ḏmr* in WS v. HALOT 274, DUL 287 and elsewhere.

[103] Such as Egyptian *sm.w* 'Kraut' (Wb. IV 119), a long-established direct cognate to Akk. *šammu* (Kogan 2012:231).

[104] For the sake of brevity, both Akkadian and WS forms are given without lexicographic references. The interested reader is addressed to Kogan 2015a:71–100 where each form is duly referenced and analyzed.

—	***ʔmn**	'to be true, reliable'	**takālu**	*t*-derivation from PS **wkl*, preserved in Akk. *waklu* 'a person in charge of something' and, in WS, Arb. *wkl* 'to entrust'.
ni-iṣ-bit-tú in Malku IV 217 (rather unreliable); well attested in the Ebla vocabulary (*ì-sa-ba-um*, etc.).	***ʔiṣbaʕ-**	'finger'	**ubānu**	Related to **buhān-* 'thumb' in the majority of WS.
The Akkadian and WS lexemes are perhaps distantly related to each other.	**ʕād-**	'still'	**adīni**	The Akkadian and WS lexemes are perhaps distantly related to each other.
—	***ʕtš**	'to sneeze'	**šehēku**?	—
—	***ʕwr**	'to be blind'	**huppudu**	—
—	***bi**	'in'	**ina**	—
—	***baʕda**	'after, behind'	**warki**	From PS **warik-* 'thigh'.
—	***blʕ**	'to swallow'	**ʔalātu**	—
binu (*bunu*) 'son' and *bintu* (*buntu*) 'daughter' may be due to WS influence.	***bin-**	'son'	**māru**	PS **marʔ-* 'adult male' is well attested in most of WS; the meaning "male child" in ESA is noteworthy.
Missing from Mesopotamian Akkadian, but cf. *ba-na* in VE 817.	***bayna**	'between'	**biri**	—
Attested as *da-dum* in VE 1161. OB attestations of *dādu* (Mari and beyond) may be WS loans.	***dād-**	'(paternal) uncle'	**aḫi abim**	A compound term based on ubiquitous PS kinship designations.
—	***halab-**	'milk'	**šizbu**	—
—	***ḥlm**	'to dream'	**šuttu**	Derived from PS **wšn* 'to sleep'.
Perhaps related is *ḫarimtu* 'prostitute'.	***ḥrm**	'to forbid'	**asakku** **ikkibu**	Sumerian loanwords. No comparable verbal concept is attested in Akkadian.
Likely in the theonym Ea: *ʔà-a* [ḥayya].	***ḥyy**	'to live'	**balāṭu**	Arb. *bālaṭa* 'to flee', *buluṭ-* 'those who fled from the army'. Cf. Ugr.

				and Hbr. *plṭ* 'to survive.'
—	***khl***	'to be able'	***leʔû***	Cf. Ugr. *lʔy* 'to conquer, to prevail'.
The original meaning "to be steadfast, reliable" is preserved in Akk. *kânu*.	***kwn***	'to be'	***bašû***	—
Probably *ḳablu* 'battle'.	***ḳbl***	'to face, to be in front of'[105]	***maḫāru***	PCS **maḫar-* 'tomorrow'; Arb. *mḫr* 'to face the wind (ship)', Sab. *mḫr* 'to face, to extend towards', Soq. *móḥor* 'to offer'.
Cf. *milʔu* 'salpetre' and *mallaḫtu* 'kind of plant' (both unreliable).	***milḥ-***	'salt'	***ṭābtu***	From *ṭābu* 'good' with a feasible meaning shift.
Most attestations of Akk. *malku* are best explainable by WS influence. Well attested in Ebla. An eventual etymological connection with Akk. *malāku* 'to give advice; to deliberate' is possible.	***mal(i)k-***	'king'	***šarru***	Ugr. *šr* 'prince, sovereign', Hbr. *śar* 'official, commander'.
mi-nu is common in Ebla, but not in Mesopotamian Akkadian.	***min***	'from'	***ina*** ***ištu***	—
—	***napš-***	'self'	***ramanu***	—
—	***našr-***	'eagle'	***erû***	—
—	***paraš-***	'horse'	***sīsû***	Comparable forms are attested in NWS: Hbr. *sūs*.
Unrelated to Akk. *ribītu* 'main street'.	***rḥb***	'to be broad'	***šadālu*** ***rapāšu***	Cf. PWS **prŝ* 'to spread' and Arb. *sdl* 'to let loose' respectively.
—	***rV̄ḥ-***	'wind'	***šāru***	Cf. Hbr. *śəʕārā* 'storm'.

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[105] The root **ḳdm* is also of relevance for this concept, being mostly attested in WS, but also preserved in Mesopotamian Akkadian and in Ebla (Kogan 2015a:395).

—	*rwm	'to be tall'	šakû	Cf. Arb. *šqy* 'to grow.'
Not in Mesopotamian Akkadian, but cf. *sa-ʔà-bù* (VE 73), with an irregular sibilant.	*sḥb	'to pull, to draw'	šadādu	Cf. Gez. *sadada* 'to drive out,' Hbr. *šdd* 'to deal violently.'
Cf. *šērtu*, often as an attribute of the moon-god.	*ŝahr-	'new moon, crescent'	uskāru	Borrowed from Sum. u₄-sakar whose second element may, in turn, go back to *ŝahr-.
—	*ŝḥk	'to laugh'	ṣiāhu	Cf. Ugr. *ṣḥ*, Arb. *ṣyḥ* 'to cry, to shout'.
—	*tam(a)r-	'date palm, dates'	gišimmaru	Borrowed from Sumerian.
—	*ṭall-	'dew'	nalšu	—
Cf. Akk. *rašû* 'to obtain, to possess' (*ṯ confirmed by Sargonic).	*wrṯ	'to inherit'	aplu	The verbal concept "to ihnerit" has no lexical expression in Akkadian.

1.3. Akkadian and individual WS languages: specific isoglosses in the basic vocabulary

1.3.1. Akkadian and Ugaritic

As we have seen in 1.1., Ugaritic is the only WS language with which Akkadian displays a high number of exclusive lexical coincidences in the Swadesh wordlist. The same trend is observed in less fundamental lexical strata: as shown in Kogan 2015a:331–343, there is quite a wealth of bilateral lexical coincidences between the two langauges which cannot be considered straigtforward "contemporary" borrowings from Akkadian into Ugaritic (and much less the other way round). The examples, very concisely listed below, are telling illustrations of this interesting phenomenon[106].

Akk. *ugāru* 'grassland, meadow, arable land' (CAD U 27, AHw. 1402) — Ugr. *ʔugr* 'field, soil' (DUL 27, Watson 2007:76)[107].

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[106] For rarer Ugaritic words, brief hints to the text attestations are given in footnotes. Otherwise, it is assumed that a given word is attested reliably enough.

[107] *Hapax legomenon* in 1.12 i 23–25: *kry ʔamt ʕpr ʕtm yd ʔugrm* 'Dig your elbow into the dust, the bone of your hand, into the soil'. The Akkadian lexeme cannot be separated from Sum. a-g à r (Lieberman 1977:511–512).

Akk. *amāru* 'to see' (CAD A₂ 5, AHw. 40) — Ugr. *ʔmr* 'to look at' (DUL 71)[108].

Akk. *išdu* 'base, foundation, bottom, lower extremities' (CAD I 235, AHw. 393) — *ʔišd* 'leg' (DUL 116, Watson 2007:79)[109].

Akk. *išaru, ušaru* 'penis' (CAD I 226, AHw. 392) — Ugr. *ʔušr* id. (DUL 118, Watson 2007:79)[110].

Akk. *emūku* 'strength' (CAD E 157, AHw. 216) — Ugr. *ʕmḳ* 'tough, strong' (DUL 165, Watson 2007:80).

Akk. *erēbu* 'to enter' (CAD E 259, AHw. 234) — Ugr. *ʕrb* id. (DUL 179)[111].

Akk. *aw(w)atu* 'word, utterance; matter, affair, thing' (CAD A₂ 29, AHw. 89) — Ugr. *hwt* id. (DUL 349, Haldar 1964:275).

Akk. *ḫamadīru* 'shrivelled or withered' (CAD Ḫ 57, AHw. 315) — Ugr. *ḥmdrt* 'parched field' (DUL 362, Watson 2007:85)[112].

Akk. *ipru* 'barley ration, food allowance' (CAD E 166, AHw. 385) — Ugr. *ḥpr* id. (DUL 366, Watson 2007:85).

Akk. *ḫalbu* 'forest' (CAD Ḫ 40, AHw. 311) — Ugr. *ḥlb* 'massif, promontory' (DUL 390, Watson 2007:86)[113].

Akk. *ḫarrānu* 'road; caravan; business venture; service unit' (CAD Ḫ 106, AHw. 326) — Ugr. *ḫrn* 'gang, caravan' (DUL 405, Watson 2007:87)[114].

Akk. *ḫaṭṭu* 'scepter, staff, stick, branch, twig' (AHw. 337, CAD Ḫ 153) — Ugr. *ḫṭ* id. (DUL 414).

Akk. *kamāsu* 'to squat, to kneel' (CAD K 117, AHw. 431) — Ugr. *kms* 'to buckle, to bend' (DUL 446, Watson 2007:88)[115].

Akk. *ḳabû* 'to say, to tell, to speak, to decree' (CAD Q 22, AHw. 889) — Ugr. *ḳbʔ* 'to summon, to invoke' (DUL 690, Watson 2007:101)[116].

Akk. *ḳarrādu* 'hero, warrior' (CAD Q 140, AHw. 905) — Ugr. *ḳrd* id. (DUL 709, Watson 2007:101).

Akk. *lalû* 'kid' (CAD L 51, AHw. 592) — Ugr. *llʔu* id. (DUL 498, Watson

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[108] The most reliable attestation is 1.3 i 22–24: *ytmr bʕl bnth yʕn pdry bt ʔar ʔapn ṭly bt rb* 'Bʕl looks at his daughters, he sees *Pdry*, daughter of *ʔAr*, also *Ṭly*, daughter of *Rb*'. For the complex history of this root in Semitic v. Kogan 2015a:331.

[109] Reliably attested in 1.3 iii 19–20: *ʕmy pʕnk tlsmn ʕmy twtḫ ʔišdk* 'Let your feet run to me, let your legs hasten to me'.

[110] *Hapax legomenon* in a divinatory compendium (1.103+:47).

[111] Elsewhere in WS, only derived meanings (such as "to set (sun)" or "to stand surety") are attested.

[112] Reliably attested in 1.19 ii 19–21: *yph šblt b ʔak<l>t šblt yph¹ b ḥmdrt* 'He saw an ear of grain in the desolate field, he saw an ear of grain in the parched field'.

[113] Reliably attested in 1.4 viii 5–6: *šʔa ġr ʕl ydm ḥlb l ṭr rḥtm* 'Lift up the mountain on your hands, the hill on your palms'.

[114] The most reliable attestation is 1.4 v 29–31: *ṣḥ ḫrn b bhtk ʕḏbt b ḳrb hklk* 'Call a gang to your house, a squad to your palace'.

[115] *Hapax legomenon* in 1.12 ii 53–54: *npl bʕl km ṯr w tkms hd km ʔibr* 'Bʕl fell like a bull, kneeled down like a steer'.

[116] Reliably attested in 1.161:9–10: *krʔitm rpʔi ʔarṣ ḳbʔitm ḳbṣ ddn* 'You have summoned the *Rpʔum* of the Earth, you have invoked the congregation of *Ddn*'.

2007:91)[117].

Akk. *lasāmu* 'to run fast' (CAD L 104, AHw. 538) — Ugr. *lsm* id. (DUL 504, Watson 2007:116).

Akk. *minde* 'perhaps' (CAD M₂ 83, AHw. 655) — Ugr. *mndʕ* id. (DUL 561, Watson 2007:94)[118].

Akk. *izuzzu* (stative *na-zuz*) 'to stand' (CAD U 373, AHw. 408) — Ugr. *n-dd* id. (DUL 620)[119].

Akk. *nāgiru* 'herald' (CAD N₁ 115, AHw. 711) — Ugr. *ngr* id. (DUL 623, Watson 2007:97)[120].

Akk. *nāḫiru* 'whale' (CAD N₁ 137, AHw. 714) — Ugr. *ʾanḫr* 'a marine animal' (DUL 79, Watson 2007:77)[121].

Akk. *namurratu* 'numinous splendour emanating from gods' (AHw. 730, CAD N₁ 253) — Ugr. *nmrt* id. (DUL 632, Watson 2007:98)[122].

Akk. *niš-ū* 'mankind, human beings, people' (CAD N₂ 283, AHw. 796) — Ugr. *nš-m* id. (DUL 649).

Akk. *puḫādu* 'lamb, young male sheep' (CAD P 476, AHw. 875) — Ugr. *pḫd* 'flock' (DUL 669, Watson 2007:99)[123].

Akk. *sūnu* 'a cloth trimming' (CDA 328) — Ugr. *sʾin* 'edge, hem' (DUL 751, Watson 2007:103)[124].

Akk. *tebû* 'to get up, to rise; to set out, to depart, to leave' (CAD T 306, AHw. 1342) — Ugr. *tbʕ* id. (DUL 857).

Akk. *temmennu* 'foundation' (CAD T 337, AHw. 1346) — Ugr. *tmn* 'foundation, frame' (DUL 871)[125].

Akk. *tarbāṣu* 'pen, enclosure, courtyard' (CAD T 217, AHw. 1327) — Ugr. *trbṣ*

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[117] Paralleled by *ʾimr* 'lamb, ram': *ʾal yʕdbkm k ʾimr b ph k llʾi b ṯbrn ḳnh ṯḫtʾan* 'May he not put you in his mouth as a ram, may you not be crushed in the breach of his throat' (1.4 viii 17–20).

[118] Attested in 1.16 ii 24 (*mndʕ krt mγ[y]* 'Perhaps *Krt* has already departed') and 2.34:10–13 (*w mndʕ k ʾank ʾaḫš mγy mndʕ k ʾigr w ʾu ʾig[r] ʕm špš* 'Perhaps I will hurry to come, perhaps I shall lodge here or I shall lodge with the Sun').

[119] Paralleled by (or occurs side by side with) *ḳm*, as in 1.3 i 4–8 (*ḳm yṯʕr w yšlḥmnh ... ndd yʕšr w yšḳynh* 'He arises, prepares, and gives him food ... he arises, serves and gives him drink') or 1.4 iii 12–13 (*ydd w yḳlṣn yḳm w ywpṯn* 'He stood up and scorned me, he arouse and spat on me'). Also significant is 3.9:12–14: *ʾal ydd mt mrzḥ w yrgm* 'Let no man of the association stand up and say'.

[120] As a divine epithet: *šmʕ l ngr ʾil ʾil[š] ʾilš ngr bt bʕl w ʾaṯtk ngrt ʾilht* 'Listen, o herald of *ʾIl*, *ʾIl[š]*, *ʾIl[š]*, herald of the house of *Bʕl*, and your wife, the herald of the goddesses' (1.16 iv 8–11). Sum. n i m g i r with the same meaning is probably an Akkadism.

[121] In 1.5 i 14–16: *npš npš lbʾim thw hm brlt ʾanḫr b ym* 'My appetite is the appetite of the lion in the steppe, indeed the hunger of the whale in the sea'.

[122] *Hapax legomenon* in 1.108:24–25, in a series of divine attributes (*ʕzk ḏmrk lʾank ḥtkk nmrtk* 'Your strength, your protection, your power, your sovereignty?, your splendour'). The presence of *-m-* in Ugaritic rather points to an Akkadism (but cf. Kogan 2015a:340).

[123] *Hapax legomenon* in 1.17 v 16–19: *ʕdb ʾimr b pḫd l npš kṯr w ḫss l brlt hyn d ḥrš* 'She prepared a lamb from the flock, for the throat of *Kṯr w Ḫss*, for the gullet of *Hyn d Ḥrš*'.

[124] *Hapax legomenon* in 1.6 ii 9–11: *tʾiḫd mt b sʾin lpš tššḳn[n] b ḳṣ ʾall* 'She took *Mt* by the edge of his garment, she seized him by the hem of his mantle'.

[125] *Hapax legomenon* in 1.2 iv 17–18: *l tnγṣn pnth l ydlp tmnh* 'His knuckles did not buckle, his frame did not break up'. Akk. *temmennu* must be borrowed from Sum. t e m e n (Lieberman 1977:502).

'yard, reserve' (DUL 620, Watson 2007:111)[126].

Akk. *terḫatu* 'bridewealth' (CAD T 350, AHw. 1348) — Ugr. *trḫ* 'to get married' (DUL 878, Watson 2007:116).

Such a high amount of exclusive Akkadian-Ugaritic lexical pairs calls for an explanation, and, in fact, only two main possibilities are at hand.

We may be faced with very deep PS archaisms which have been preserved in Akkadian and, among the WS languages, only in Ugaritic – perhaps because of its chronological depth coupled with the archaic pitch of most of the texts involved (usually epics and myths), whose creation may predate by decades (if not centuries) the extant clay tablets on which they have reached us.

Alternatively, we may be dealing with early loanwords from Akkadian to Ugaritic – or, better to say, from a very early form of Akkadian to a very early form of West Semitic (some would say, early Canaanite or Canaanoid) once spoken on the Syrian coast. This is suggested by the very archaic shape of many relevant lexemes as well as by the nature of their attestation: most of them are concentrated in myths and epics where *any* loanwords are at best a rarity (Kogan 2015a:352–369, *contra* Watson 2007:63–118). Furthermore, such loanwords are unlikely to be explained by a distant interaction with the Mesopotamian cuneiform culture à la Amarna: rather, a living presence of East Semitic linguistic (and lexical) type in Ancient Syria has to be surmised.

The two competitive explanations advanced above need not always contradict each other: for some lexemes, the former can be more suitable and the latter, for some other.

1.3.2. Akkadian and Aramaic

As we have seen in 1.1, the Swadesh wordlist says nothing special about the lexical proximity between Akkadian and Aramaic: there are only three exclusive lexical features shared by the two languages, and two among them – **mašk-* 'skin' and **ʔurḫ-* 'road' – go back to well-established Common Semitic roots whose rising to the basic status only in Akkadian and Aramaic may deservedly be considered accidental.

The third common lexeme – **nūn-* 'fish' – is, however, interesting enough to be discussed at some length. As is well known, there is no uniform Proto-Semitic term for "fish", as virtually every Semitic subdivision takes its own (in most cases, etymologically obscure) designation for this concept (Rundgren 1972, Kogan 2011c:211–212). Is it realistic to suppose that Akkadian and Aramaic, so prominently united by centuries of political, cultural and linguistic co-existence, are the only exceptional languages which faithfully inherited the proto-Semitic lexeme for "fish" (Fronzaroli 1968:286, 297)? Hardly so. Rather, this is an output of a long and fairly early interaction between the two languages –something quite dissimilar from the massive cultural borrowing from Akkadian into Aramaic in the first millennium as analyzed in Kaufman 1974.

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[126] *Hapax legomenon* in 1.14 iii 24–25: *mrkbt b trbṣ* 'a chariot from the courtyard'.

Careful research into bilateral Akkadian-Aramaic lexical pairs will undoubtedly reveal more examples of this nature, but here we will dwell on just two more telling cases.

The verb *mlk 'to advise', not attested in the Old Aramaic inscriptions, is prominently present in all later dialects (DNWSI 644, HALOT 1917, DJPA 310, DCPA 228, DJBA 680, LSyr. 391, MD 273). There is no other WS langugage which would display such a meaning: throughout WS, the root *mlk is associated with kingship (so in Aramaic as well) and/or possession. Now, it is precisely the meaning "to advice, to take counsel" that is characteristic of Akk. *malāku* and its widespread deverbal derivate *milku* (CAD M₁ 154, M₂ 66, AHw. 593, 652). Are we dealing with a chance coincidence, a PS root *mlk 'to advice' randomly inherited by Akkadian and Aramaic only? This is rather improbable. The possibility of an early Akkadism in Aramaic (perhaps beginning with the widespread noun *milk- 'counsel, advice, plan') lies at hand, but is not recognized (or even mentioned) either in the standard dictionaries or in Kaufman 1974.

The other remarkable case is that of *wmʔ 'to swear', attested as *ymʔ/ymy from Official Aramaic onwards (DNWSI 459, DJPA 242, DCPA 163, DJBA 536, LSyr. 303, MD 192). As will be shown in 2.4.1, the only, semantically very remote WS cognate to the Araamaic verb is Arb. *wmʔ* 'to make a sign' (Lane 2968). Conversely, the Akkadian verb *wamāʔu*, meaning exactly 'to swear', is attested as early as the Sargonic royal inscriptions. But here again, the possibility of Akkadian influence on Aramaic has hardly ever been considered in the scholarly literature.

Perhaps the most interesting problem arising in connection with this group of examples is the choronological one. When and in what conditions could this very early Akkadian-Aramaic iteraction take place?

The case of *nūn- 'fish' is, perhaps, not so difficult to explain: arriving from the Syrian steppe, where fish and fishing must have been rather insignificant, the early Arameans could easily abandon their autochthonous designation of "fish" (deemed to remain unknown to us) and to borrow the corresponding term from a language where fishing terminology was quite advanced. The cultural connotation of *mlk to advice' also make rather feasible a similar early loan hypothesis. Much more enigmatic is the case of *wmʔ 'to swear'. As will be shown in 2.4.1, already in Sargonic times *wamû* has been ousted by its *t*-offshoot *tamû*, and one can only wonder when and why did the early Arameans borrow this very archaic shape of the root – certainly not in the classical period of the Akkadian-Aramaic interaction at the turn of the first millennium BC[127].

1.3.3. Akkadian and Arabic

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[127] This case closely reminds us the thorny history of the Aramaic terms for "table" (*pāturā*) and "Assyria" (*ʔātur*) briefly discussed in Kaufman 1974:81–82: the easiest explanation for *t* in these lexemes is that they were borrowed from Akkadian when *paššūru* and *aššūr* were still pronounced with *ṯ* (which, to be sure, is by no means certain for any of the two). But as we know it now, as early as by the end of the Sargonic period the phoneme *ṯ* has disappeared from the Akkadian consonantal inventory. Needless to say, to speak of any "Akkadian-Aramaic contact" in that period is a crass anachronism.

The fact that the Swadesh wordlist displays only one exclusive bilateral isogloss between Akkadian and Arabic (*ṣγr 'to be small')[128] does not mean that similar cases are lacking in other strata of the fundamental vocabulary. Quite the opposite is true: bilateral cognate pairs uniting Akkadian and Arabic are countless, which is not surprising in view of the notorious richness of the Arabic vocabulary, its highly detailed conceptual variety and its comprehensive presentation by the traditional lexicography.

No less numerous are Akkadian-Arabic lexical isoglosses pertaining to more culture-bound semantic strata[129], but here, most typically, the cognate pairs are not bilateral: an Aramaic intermediary is usually in evidence. This is, again, not unexpected: for obvious chronological and geographic reasons, culturally determined Akkadian loanwords could best penetrate Arabic through Aramaic mediation rather than by direct contact with the (near-)extinct Akkadian[130].

In such a context, it is all the more interesting to direct our attention to the lexical pairs which, while looking as typical "Akkadian > Arabic cultural loans", thoroughly lack any Aramaic intermediary.

A prime example is *izbu* 'Mißgeburt' (AHw. 408), 'malformed newborn human or animal' (CAD E 317), whose internal etymology is differently assessed by the two dictionaries: while AHw. derives it from *ezēbu* 'to leave, to abandon' (with no hint at a possible semantic link)[131], CAD explicitly dissociates the noun from this common verb ("the word *izbu* ... and its derivative *uzzubu* ... have to be separated from *ezēbu*").

Now as early as in 1912 H. Holma (following a personal communication from K. Tallkvist) compared the Akkadian lexeme with the Arabic word ʾizb-, whose description in the traditional lexicographic tools is worth adducing in full: *ʾal-ʾizbu = ʾad-daqīqu l-mafāṣili aḏ-ḏāwiyyu yakūnu ḍaʾīlan wa-lā takūnu ziyādatuhu fī l-waǧhi wa-l-ʿiḏāmihi wa-lākin takūnu ziyādatuhu fī baṭnhihi wa-safilatihi* 'one with thin articulations, a lean and tiny one. His excess is not in his face, nor in his bones, but his excess is in his belly and his lower parts' (LA 1 252).

While the Akkadian and Arabic terms are clearly inseparable from each other (Salonen 1979:11, Krebernik 2008:250, 263), the exact nature of their diacrhonic relationship is hard to describe.

The authors of CAD call the Arabic word a "cognate" to the Akkadian one, presumably because they see no internal source of derivation for *izbu*. Such an

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[128] For the deeply innovative nature of the Arabic Swadesh wordlist, contrasting sharply with the extreme conservatism of the Arabic vocabulary as a whole, see the pioneering remarks by Rabin (1975:99) and Corriente (2006:142–143) as well as a comprehensive exposition in Kogan 2015a:220–226.

[129] For unpdated lists v. Krebernik 2008:250 and 261–267, incorporating the results of E. Salonen 1979, A. Salonen 1952 and, eventually, Zimmern's pioneering comparisons of 1917.

[130] This important circumstance is rarely recognized in the scholarly literature on the subject. Thus, E. Salonen's study of 1979, with its telling title "Loan Words of Sumerian and Akkadian Origin in Arabic", almost entirely consists of direct Akkadian-Arabic and Sumerian-Arabic lexical equations without any intermediary whatsoever. On the contrary, Krebernik (2008:248) explicitly starts his survey of the Akkadian-Arabic lexical interaction with the following statement: "Es wurde großenteils durch das Aramäische vermittelt, das seit dem Ende des 2. Jt.s v. Chr. in Mesopotamien Fuß faßte und das Akkadische im Laufe der folgenden Jahrhunderte allmählich überlagerte" (cf. also ibid. 265).

[131] For which see, however, Holma 1912:443 ("am Leben lassen"). Cf. also Stol 2000:159, Krebernik 2008:266.

approach would presuppose the reconstruction of a PS word *ʔizb- 'malformed creature, dwarf'. This reconstruction is inassailable both phonetically and semantically, but to some extent counter-intuitive in view of the high cultural significance of *izbu*-divination in the Mesopotamian tradition.

Von Soden, who derives *izbu* from *ezēbu*, does not hesitate to treat the Arabic word as an Akkadism (so also Holma 1912). However, no comparable lexeme is attested in any Aramaic dialect and it remains to be explained when, where and in which cultural circumnstances could such an extravagant direct borrowing take place.

Here follows list of similar bilateral Akkadian-Arabic lexical pairs without Aramaic intermediary, which could certainly be multiplied through a deeper research.

Akk. *ṭarpaʔu* 'tamarisk' (CAD Ṭ 62, AHw. 1382) — Arb. *ṭarfāʔ* id. (Lane 238–239, Kogan 2012:238–239)

Akk. (*ḫ*)*urnīḳu* 'crane' (CAD U 233, AHw. 1431) — Arb. *ɣirnīq-* id. (Lane 2253, SED II No. 91, Krebernik 2008:249)

Akk. *laḫlaḫḫu* 'stork' (CAD L 102, AHw. 538) — Arb. *laqlaq-* id. (WKAS L 1043, SED II No. 146, Krebernik 2008:251–252)

Akk. *qimmatu* 'hair of the head; crown, top of a tree, a plant; top of building, an architectural element' (CAD Q 252, AHw. 921) — Arb. *ʔal-qimmat-* = *ʔaʕlā r-raʔsi* 'the top of the head' (TA 33 298), 'top, summit, peak' (Wehr 923)

Akk. *ḫiṣbu* 'abundant yield, produce' (CAD Ḫ 202, AHw. 348) — Arb. *ḫiḍb-* 'abundance of herbage, and of the goods, conveniences and comfort of life' (Lane 748)

Akk. *amu* 'raft' (CAD A₂ 85, AHw. 45) = Arb. *ʕāmat-*, pl. *ʕām-* 'a kind of float upon which one embarks on the water; a thing which is made of the branckes of trees and the like, upon which one crosses a river, and which tosses about the water' (Lane 2202)

Akk. *muštu* 'comb' (CAD M₂ 290, AHw. 668) — Arb. *mušṭ-* id. (Lane 2717, Krebernik 2008:251)

Akk. *parṣu* 'rite, ritual; divine authority; authoritative decision, command, decree' (CAD P 195, AHw. 835) — Arb. *farḍ-* 'a thing made obligatory or binding by God' (Lane 2374, Kogan 2008:96, contrast Landsberger 1924–1925:68)

One particularly remarkable, largely enigmatic case comes from the verbal domain. This is Akk. *šaṭāru* 'to write' (CAD Š2 225, AHw. 1203), exactly parallelled by Arb. *sṭr* 'to write' (Lane 1357) and, in this case, also Sab. *s₁ṭr* 'to write' (SD 129), Min. *s₁ṭr* 'écrire' (LM 83), Qat. *s₁ṭr* 'to write' (LIQ 159)[132]. To account for this one-to-one coincidence, there are three theoretical possibilities.

● Independent reflexes of proto-Semitic *šṭr

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[132] No less enigmatic is the history of the Hebrew word *šōṭēr* 'civil servant, office holder, administrator' (HALOT 1441). Abundantly attested in the Classical prose, this word has virtually no internal source of derivation and could be easily considered a borrowing from Akk. *šaṭiru* – if such a word had ever existed. This is, however, not the case – there is no substantivized active particcple from *šaṭāru* (Mankowski 2000:142) and, moreover, the verb as a whole is practically devoid of any administrative or political connotations.

● Akkadian loanwords into Arabic and ESA via an Aramaic intermediary
● Direct Akkadian loanwords into Arabic and ESA

The first option, apparently endorsed by Kaufman (1974:101)[133], may look bizarre for cultural-historical reasons as such a concept as "to write" is not expected to exist in the PS language of the mid-fifth millennium BC[134]. Yet in view of what we will soon learn about *s̆ʔm 'to buy'/'to sell' (1.3.4), whose tracing back to PS is very hard to avoid, this solution is perhaps not to be discarded *a priori*.

The second possibility, overtly or tacitly accepted by most researchers (e.g. DJBA 1130), is hampered by two formidable obstacles. On the one hand, the nessary link of loan transmission, viz. the hypothetic verb *s̆ṭr 'to write', is virtually absent from Aramaic (Krebernik 2008:264): what we have is just a nominal lexeme *s̆əṭārā* 'document' (DNWSI 1124, DJPA 546, DJBA 1130, LSyr. 773), and one may seriously doubt that this noun could produce such a widespread verbal root in Arabic, all the more since the noun itself has never been borrowed (the standard Arabic nominal lexeme from *sṭr* is *saṭr-*). On the other hand, the same Aramaic intermediary must be valid for a whole bunch of Epigraphic South Arabian idioms – again, not a very attractive possibility.

The third option is perhaps the most appealing one, but here the disturbing questions repeatedly asked above fully apply: when, where and why could the speakers of North and South Arabian languages enter in such a close direct contact with the Akkadian speakers as to borrow the exponent of such a prominent concept as "to write"?

1.3.4. Akkadian and the languages of the South Semitic Area

As noticed long ago, Akkadian shares some isoglosses with the languages of the South Semitic area – Ethiopian Semitic, Epigraphic and Modern South Arabian. Needless to say (and contrary to the once widespread opinion), such isoglosses to do not suggest any special genealogical link between "East" and "South" Semitic: rather, we are faced with very old PS lexemes for some reason lost or marginalized in Central Semitic, but preserved in the Eastern and Southern periphery. The number of truly exclusive Akkadian-"South Semitic" lexical features is not very high: Leslau 1944 counts about 80 examples, but only a minority of them can withstand a critical analysis of today's comparative linguistics and philology. Here is selection of the most conspicuous and reliable cases.

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[133] "There is no reason to regard the Canaanite, Akkadian, and ESA and Arabic *sṭr* as anything but cognates".

[134] Cf. Mankowski's somewhat cavalier remark: "There was of course no PS word for writing any more than there was a PS word for floppy disk". Hoch's semantic reconstruction of the hypothetic PS picture and its development (1994:142) is both improbable and naive: he supposes that the basic meaning of the root is "to keep in order" and while in Hebrew the notion was applied to people, in "other Semitic languages" it was used about written lines. It is hard to imagine how such a specific semantic development could affect independently such geographically and genealogically remote languages as Akkadian and Sabaic.

Akk. *ašnan* 'grain, cereal' (CAD A$_2$ 450, AHw. 82) — Mhr. *məhnōy* 'farm near a town' (ML 159), Jib. *ešné* 'to have a garden, field', *məšnúʔ* 'garden on the mountain' (JL 263), Soq. *yhénə* 'semer', *šéni* 'semence' (LS 145), Har. *säňi* 'seed' (EDH 141), Sel. *säňe*, Wol. *säňňe*, Zwy. *säňi* 'seed, crop' (EDG 555).[135]

Akk. *arammu* 'wharf, embankment (of a canal); ramp, causeway' (CAD A$_2$ 227, AHw. 64) — Mhr. *wōrəm* 'road' (ML 7), Jib. *ʔɔrm* id. (JL 4), Soq. *órəm* id. (LS 75).

Akk. *ayyaṣu* 'weasel' (CAD A$_1$ 231, AHw. 25) — Gez. *ʔanṣawā* 'mouse, weasel' (CDG 32), Amh. *ayṭ* 'mouse' (AED 1296, SED II No. 26, Leslau 1944:55).

Akk. *baʕāru* 'to fish; to hunt' (CAD B 2, AHw. 108) — Mhr. *bîter* 'fischen' (Jahn 1902:250), Jib. *ebtér* 'to hunt' (JL 32), Soq. *bʕr* 'pêcher' (LS 92)[136].

Akk. *damāḳu* 'to prosper, to be pleasing' (CAD D 61, AHw. 155) — Tna. *dämäḳä* 'to be clear, lively, to brighten, to be bright' (TED 2063), Msq. Sod. *dämmäḳä* 'to be beautiful, pretty' (EDG 209), cf. CDG 135 and Leslau 1944:55 for other Ethiopian cognates.[137]

Akk. *danānu* 'to be strong' (CAD D 83, AHw. 159) — Amh. *dännänä* 'to be dense, thick; to be very fat' (AED 1801, Leslau 1944:55).

Akk. *dīmtu*[138] 'tower; fortified area; walled settlement, castle-like house' (CAD D 144–147, AHw. 170) — Mehri *dēmēt* 'warehouse (for wood); byre, cow-house, pen' (ML 75), Soq. *díme* 'sheep pen' (Naumkin et al. 2016:65)[139].

Akk. *kamāru* 'to heap up, to pile up' (CAD K 112, AHw. 430) — Gez. *kamara* 'to heap, to accumulate' (CDG 286, Leslau 1944:56)

Akk. *karmu* 'ruin heap' (CAD K 218, AHw. 229) — Mhr. *kərmáym* 'mountain' (ML 218)[140].

Akk. *kidinnu* 'divine protection' (CAD K 342, AHw. 472) — Gez. *kadana* 'to cover, to veil, to protect' (CDG 275, Leslau 1944:56)[141]

Akk. *laḥmu* 'an aquatic monster' (CAD L 41) — Mhr. *əwḥáym* 'shark' (ML 259), Jib. *əlḥím* id. (JL 167), Soq. *l'éḥim* 'shark' (LS 238, Fronzaroli 1971:615, Rubin 2014:345–347, SED II No. 145)[142]

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[135] This is, of course, a rather problematic case. The Ethiopian lexemes are likely Cushitisms, cf. Oromo *saňňi*, Somali *šuni* (Militarev 1999:394, Kogan 2012:233).

[136] Leslau 1944:55. The Soqotri word, unknown to our informants, has been recorded with ʕ in LS following several attestations in Müller's corpus. This is not compatible with the lack of ʕ in Johnstone's Jibbali form, but note that in Bittner 1918:11 the Soqotri verb is rendered with ʔ.

[137] Ugr. *dmḫ*, quoted as a cognate in AHw. 155, does not feature as an appellative in DUL.

[138] So instead of the traditional *dimtu* (with a short *i*) in view of the etymological data.

[139] Also in the Arabic dialects of Yemen: *daymah* 'cottage, small house' (Piamenta 163), 'Wächterhäuschen auf dem Feld' (Behnstedt 399–400). Cf. especially GD 899: "Ce mot prend un sens plus important ... un gros bourg, habité par les *sâdah* avec leurs *raʕîyeh*". Note, however, Sum. d i m, borrowed into Akkadian as *timmu* 'pole, stake; column' (CAD T 418).

[140] V. Müller 1985:272, Kogan 2014:257. PCS *karm-* 'vineyard' must represent a specialized narrowing of a once broader designation of mountain, hill, preserved intact in the peripheral areas.

[141] Alternatively, *kidinnu* may be considered an Elamite loanword (so Krebernik 2006:86).

[142] Comparable lexemes are attested not only in MSA, but also in the Arabic lexica (Fr. IV 95, Dozy II 539, TA 33 411–412), but their practical absence from the classical sources coupled with a strong bias towards the South Arabian area (GD 2625, Piamenta 445) makes it likely that we are dealing with MSA substratum lexemes in Yemeni Arabic (cf. Krebernik 2000:263). Rubin rightly attributes the present case

Akk. *-ma* 'und dann, und daher' (AHw. 570) — Har. *-ma* 'und, indem' (Garad–Wagner 1998:494, 327–326, Littmann 1920, Leslau 1944:56, Kogan 2014:12)

Akk. *nâdu* 'to praise, to extol' (CAD N₁ 101, AHw. 705) — Gez. *nəʔda* id. (CDG 381, Leslau 1944:57)[143]

Akk. *nay(y)alu* (*nālu*) 'roe deer' (CAD N₁ 152, AHw. 725) — Tgr. *nälät* 'she-antelope' (WTS 323), Tna. *nəyala* 'mountain antelope' (TED 1357), Amh. *niyala* id. (AED 1054, Leslau 1944:57, SED II No. 169)

Akk. *nugguru* 'to denounce' (CAD N₂ 313, AHw. 710) — Gez. *nagara* (Leslau 1944:57)[144]

Akk. *numātu* 'furnishings, household utensils' (CAD N₂ 333, AHw. 803) — Gez. *nəwāy* id. (CDG 410)[145]

Akk. *retû* 'to drive in, to set in place, to fix' (CAD R 297, AHw. 976) — Sab. *rtˤ* 'to post, to station troops, guards' (SD 118), Gez. *ratˤa* 'to be straight, well-ordered' (CDG 475), perhaps also Jib. *rétaˤ* 'to do something again and again' (JL 216), v. Leslau 1944:57, Huehnergard 1991:699.

Akk. *šâmu* 'to buy' (CAD Š₁ 350, AHw. 1159) — Sab. *s₂ʔm* 'to buy, to purchase' (SD 130), Qat. *s₂ʔm* id. (LIQ 164), Min. *s₂ʔm* 'achat, marhcandise' (LM 85)[146], Har. (a)sēma 'to sell' (EDH 140), Mhr. *ŝōm* 'to sell' (ML 369), Jib. *ŝēm* id. (JL 244), Soq. *ŝóʔom* id. (LS 429)[147]

Akk. *šēnu* 'shoe' (CAD Š₂ 289, AHw. 1213) — Gez. *ŝāʔn* id. (CDG 524)[148].

Akk. *šīpātu* (OA *šāptu*) 'wool, fleece' (CAD Š₃ 57, AHw. 1244) — Mhr. *ŝəft*, Jib. *ŝfét*, Soq. *ŝfe* 'hair' (ML 373, JL 246, LS 432, SED I No. 259)

Akk. *ṭēru* 'mud, silt' (CAD Ṭ 105, AHw. 1388) — Mhr. *ṭōr*, Jib. *ṭˤɔr*, Soq. *ṭóˤhor*

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to the category of lexemes discussed under the present heading, viz. "words attested only in East Semitic and "South" Semitic" (2014:347).

[143] Cf. perhaps also Sab. *nʔd* 'luxuriance' (SD 90).

[144] On the possibly related *nāgiru* 'herald' (from which *nugguru* may be a denominative derivate) v. under 1.3.1.

[145] As rightly observed by Huehnergard (1991:692), the formal and semantic similarity between the Akkadian and Geez term makes an eventual connection rather appealing, even if the presence of *-m-* in Akkadian presents difficulties. The Akkadian word is twice spelled with PI (TIM 4, 5:9 and 6:9) and, with Lieberman 1977:8, one is tempted to believe that this is one of the many OB forerunners of the eventual merger of (mostly intervocalic) *w* and *m* (viz. the spirantization of *m* and its shift to a *w*-like sound). In almost every case studied by Lieberman, it is an original *w* that is spelled with MV-signs, and there are good reasons to believe that the rare *nu*PI*tum* is also diachonically primary with respect to the (admittedly more common) *nu*MA*tum*. The eventual link between our **nuwāy(-at)-* and the better attested **ʔunāw(-at)-* 'vessel; ship' remains to be clarified (Kogan 2015a:282), as is their mutual relationship to PIE **naHu̯-* 'vessel; ship' (Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1984:874).

[146] The ESA verb is preserved in the medieval "Himyarite" tradition (Selwi 1987:117).

[147] The specific phonetic and semantic proximity between Akkadian, ESA, Harari and MSA coupled with a total lack of Aramaic/Arabic intermediaries forces one to reconstruct **ŝʔm* 'to buy'/'to sell' for the earliest stages of proto-Semitic whatever cultural-historical questions such a reconstruction may pose. Von Soden's equation with Arb. *swm* 'to offer the commodity of sale, to mention the price of the commodity' (Lane 1474) is much weaker both phonetically and semantically.

[148] Clearly related are Hbr. *səʔōn* (HALOT 738), Syr. *msānā* (LSyr. 454) and comparable lexemes elsewhere in Aramaic, but these are typically regarded as loanwords (Blau 1970:116; contrast Kaufman 1974:30).

'potter's clay' (ML 405, JL 273, LS 202, Kogan 2015a:573)

Akk. *ṭulīmu* 'spleen' (CAD Ṭ 124, AHw. 1394) — Mhr. *ṭelḥáym*, Jib. *ṭɛlḥím*, Soq. *ṭálḥin* or *ṭálḥim* id. (ML 410, JL 277, Simeone-Senelle–Lonnet 1991:1477, SED I No. 278)[149].

Akk. *urīṣu* 'billy goat' (CAD U 227, AHw. 1430) — Mhr. *ʔārīḏ̣-* 'male kid' (ML 27, SED II No. 39).

Akk. *taʔû* 'to eat, to graze' (CAD T 301, AHw. 1340), *tiʔītu* 'food' (CAD T 398, AHw. 1363), *tiʔûtu* 'food, sustenance' (CAD T 439, AHw. 1363) — Mhr. *tɔwū*, Jib. *té*, Soq. *tɔ* (ML 404, JL 273, LS 440, Leslau 1944:58, Kogan 2015a:539, and cf. HSED No. 2343 for the PAA background of this root).

Akk. *tulû* 'breast, teat' (CAD T 467, AHw. 276) — Gez. *tallāʕ* 'breast', Mhr. *tɔlōt* 'nipple' (CDG 574, ML 401, Leslau 1944:58, SED I No. 276).

wabru 'a type of foreigner', *wabartu* 'trading station' (CAD U/W 397–399, AHw. 1454) — Gez. *nabara* 'to sit down; to reside, to inhabit, to dwell' (CDG 384)[150].

As pointed out by Leslau (1944:54), the purpose of such a list "is not to prove the dialectal unity of both these groups, but it is meant to contribute to the study of the Semitic vocabulary". While the first part of this statement is undoubtedly correct, the second one is in need of precision. Exclusive isoglosses between Akkadian and the languages of the South do more than simply enrich the Common Semitic lexical thesaurus. They provide a unique glimpse into the earliest, most archaic stages of early Semitic vocabulary, whose key features have been fully or partly obliterated in more innovative Central Semitic languages[151]. Now that the common perception of the Proto-Semitic vocabulary is still largely dominated by the Arabic-Hebrew-Syriac facts, the value of such exclusive East-South lexical elements for a comprehensive, unbiased development of comparative Semitic lexicography is hard to overestimate.

2. The internal history of Akkadian

2.3. The Assyrian/Babylonian dichotomy in the vocabulary

A preliminary survey of the lexical specificity of the Old Assyrian text corpus can be found in Kogan 2006a, on which the ongoing analysis will be based.

In spite of its large size, the OA corpus is heavily biased towards commercial subjects, which drastically reduces is validity for comparison with the thematically much more balanced OB evidence. As a result, clear-cut basic concepts with different lexical exponents in OA and OB are not easy to find. A few promising candidates are presented in the table below.

OB	concept	OA	notes

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[149] The underlying prototype *ṭulḥīm-* is structurally opposed to PCS *ṭiḥāl-* (SED I No. 278).

[150] For the semantic shift cf. Hbr. *tōšāb* 'resident alien, sojourner' (HALOT 1712); for the alternation *n-/w-* cf. Nöldeke 1910:179–206. For this comparison see further Kogan 2015a:463.

[151] In this sense, *das Altsemitische* of Christian and Rössler still preserves much of its attractivity.

ullû (CAD U 82, AHw. 1410)	'that'	*ammiu* (CAD A₂ 76, AHw. 44)	Parpola 1988:294, Kogan 2006a:180–181. Kouwenberg (2012) challenges the direct functional equivalence between OB *ullû* and OA *ammiu*, reconstructing for both dialects a three-grade system of *n-*, *m-* and *l*-deictics. This is undoubtedly correct *per se*, yet it is a matter of fact that just a couple of *alliu*-forms in OA are opposed to much more numerous *ammiu*-ones (duly acknowledged in Kouwenberg 2012:30, 33–34). And conversely, the OB *m*-pronoun *anummû* (Kouwenberg 2012:27–28) appears to be considerably less common than *ullû* (ibid. 30–33). All in all, the opposition "OB *ullû* vs. OA *ammiu*" seems to preserve at least part of its value (Streck 2005:67).
šaḫû (CAD Š₁ 102, AHw. 1133,	'pig'	*ḫuzīru* (CAD Ḫ 266, AHw. 362)	Kogan 2006a:182. The Assyrian word goes back to PS *ḫuzīr-* (SED II No. 112). The Babylonian word is borrowed from Sumerian (Lieberman 1977:450–451).
maškanu (CAD M1 369, AHw. 626)	'threshing floor'	*adru* (CAD A₁ 129, AHw. 13)	Kogan 2006a:180, Streck 2005:67. The OA word has parallells in Aramaic (HALOT 1807, *ʾiddərā*), which may be borrowed from Assyrian.
anna (CAD A₂ 125, AHw. 52)	'yes'	*kēna* (CAD K 311, AHw. 479)	Kogan 2006a:182. OA *kēna* is hard to separate from Hbr. *kēn* in Jos. 2:4 (HALOT 482) and, curiously, Soq. *ken* (Naumkin et al. 2016:75). Does each of the three forms independently derive from **kwn* 'to be firm, certain' or are we dealing with reflexes of a common PS interjection?
isḳu (CAD I 198, AHw. 288)	'lot'	*pūru* (CAD P 528, AHw. 874)	Lewy 1939, Dercksen 2004:162–163, Kogan 2006a:184. The Assyrian lexeme has been borrowed into Hebrew and Aramaic as *pūr* (HALOT 920), its ultimate origin is uncertain: both Lewy's derivation from *parāʾu* 'to cut' (1939:123) and Kogan's equation with Tgr. *far* 'portion, destiny, lot' (WTS 655, Kogan 2006b:271) are tentative. As for *isḳu*, it is likely derived from *esēḳu* 'to incise' (CAD E 331, AHw. 249).
kibtu (CAD K	'wheat'	*aršātu* (CAD	For the meaning of the OA lexeme

340, AHw. 472)		A₂ 308, AHw. 71)	v. Dercksen 1996:137, 232, Michel 1997:99–100, Kogan 2006a:181. The etymology of Babylonian *kibtu* is uncertain (probably a borrowing from Sum. g ì b), the OA lexeme is likely derived from *erēšu* (in Assyrian, unexpectedly, *arāšu*) 'to sow, to cultivate' ("what is sown" > "wheat").
šamaškillū CAD Š₁ 298, AHw. 1155)	'onion'	*šumkū* (CAD Š₃ 274, AHw. 1242)	Kogan 2006a:186. Etymologically, both lexemes appear to be derived from a blend of PS *ṯūm-* 'garlic' (borrowed as s u m into Sumerian) and Sumerian descriptive additions, viz. s u m . s i k i l vs. s u m . g u₄ (Kogan 2012:250–251), see further 3.1.
ṣibittu (CAD Ṣ 155, AHw. 1097).	'prison'	*kišeršu* (CAD K 450, AHw. 490, 1586)	Riemschneider 1977:116–117, Larsen 1976:190, Kogan 2006a:183. For Sargonic *kišertu* v. 2.4.1.
ebūru (CAD E 16, AHw. 183)	'harvest'	*ḫarpū* (CAD Ḫ 106, AHw. 326)	Kogan 2006a:182. While *ebūru* is connected with Hbr. *ʕăbūr hā-ʔāräṣ* 'produce of the earth' (Jos 5:11, HALOT 777), *ḫarpū* is identical with Hbr. *ḥōräp* 'winter' and its WS cognates (HALOT 356). Note that *ebūru* is also attested in OA (Michel 1997:97).
mašku (CAD M₁ 376, AHw. 627)	'skin, hide'	*āru* (CAD A₂ 318)	Kogan 2006a:181. Etymologically, OA *āru* may be related to Ugr. *ʕr* and Hbr. *ʕōr* (SED I No. 106). Note that *mašku* is also attested in OA.
ayyānu (CAD A₁ 226)	'where?'	*ali* (CAD A₁ 338, AHw. 35)	Kogan 2006a:192. Locative interrogatives based on PS *ʔayy-* (Kogan 2015a:281) are also attested in OA, whereas *ali* in OB is restricted to lexical lists, literary texts (infrequent) and proper names. The etymological background of *ali* is unclear.
inanna (CAD I 142, AHw. 381)	'now, behold'	*anni* (CAD A₂ 121, AHw. 52)	Kogan 2006a:192. Outside OA, the *anni* is attested in Sargonic (Kienast–Volk 1995:251) and the archaic OB of Ešnunna (Whiting 1987:70).
sinništu (CAD S 286, AHw. 1047)	'woman'	*awīltu* (CAD A₂ 46, AHw. 90)	Kogan 2006a:193. As seen by von Soden (1959:157–158), *awīltu* "ist das normale Wort für Frau im Altassyrischen", whereas *sinništu* is used only when "der Nachdruck auf dem Geschlechtsunterschied liegt". Conversely, *awīltu* is very rare in OB and may have had a

			special meaning (such as "noble woman") there.
itti (CAD I 302, AHw. 405)	'with'	*ište* (CAD I 283, AHw. 401)	Kogan 2006a:193–194. This feature is shared by Sargonic Akkadian (2.4.1 below). A few OB attestations are exclusively literary.
ul ibašši (CAD B 147–149, AHw. 113)	'there is not'	*laššu* (CAD L 109, AHw. 539)	Parpola 1988:294, Kogan 2006a:194. While *laššu* is very rare in OB (mostly lexical lists and literary texts), *ul/lā ibašši* is not uncommon in OA (CAD B 146). For two reasons *laššu* is to be considered an archaic feature of OA: **(1)** fused formations of **lā + *y-ṯ-w* are attested in also WS (Kogan 2015a:399); **(2)** it reflects the original meaning of **y-ṯ-w* ("to be, to exist") as opposed to the innovative "to have" which is normal for *išû* throughout Akkadian (perhaps under Sumerian influence).
amšāli (CAD A₂ 79, AHw. 45)	'yesterday'	*timāli* (CAD T 416, AHw. 1359)	While well attested in OA (and later Assyrian), *timāli* is very rare in OB; conversely, *amšāli* is not attested in OA. Both **timāl-* (CDG 576) and **ʔamš(iy)-* (HALOT 68) are well attested in WS (mostly in complimentary distribution) and must have co-existed in proto-Akkadian (which is the only way to explain the secondary analogical extension *-āli* in *amšāli*).
uknû (CAD U 195, AHw. 1426)	'lapis-lazuli'	*ḫusāru* (CAD Ḫ 257, AHw. 360)	Michel 2001b, Kogan 2006a:214. The etymology of the OA word is unknown; for the etymological hypotheses pertaining to OB *uknû* v. DUL 93 (under Ugr. *ʔiḳnʔu*).
erubbātu (CAD E 327, AHw. 248) *šapartu* (CAD Š₁ 428, AHw. 1170)	'pledge'	*mazzazānu* (CAD M₁ 232, AHw. 638)	Radner 1997:369, Kogan 2006a:188, 190–191. Terms for giving pledge with the root *ʕrb* are common in WS (v. DUL 180–181 under *ʕrb*, *ʕrbn*).

A few other lexemes attested exclusively or predominantly in OA are to be mentioned[152]: *adāmu* 'to own a share in a common fund' (CAD A₁ 95, AHw. 10,

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[152] What is listed here are predominantly "new roots"; specifically OA nominal derivatives from otherwise known pan-Akkadian verbal roots are adduced only exceptionally.

Veehnhof 1987:65, Kogan 2006a:187)[153], *asīru* 'an apparatus used for carrying heavy loads on a human back' (CAD A₂ 332, Larsen 1967:53–54, Michel 2001a:115, 485, Kogan 2006a:181), *battu* 'region around a city, surroundings' (CAD B 168, AHw. 115, Kogan 2006a:181), *ebuṭṭu* 'loan of a special type' (CAD E 20, AHw. 184, Michel 2001a:65–66)[154], *ḫašlātu* 'groats and beer made of it' (CAD Ḫ 141, AHw. 334, Kogan 2006a:182), *ḫurdu* 'posthumous child' (CAD Ḫ 250, AHw. 359, Kogan 2006a:182), *ḫuršu* 'larder, storehouse' (CAD Ḫ 256, AHw. 360, Dercksen 1996:69–71, Kogan 2006a:182), *kaṣṣāru* 'donkey driver' (CAD K 267, AHw. 458, Larsen 1967:41, 79–80, 149–150, Veenhof 1972:10–11), *kaṣṣudu* 'to delay' (CAD K 596, AHw. 456, Kogan 2006a:182)[155], *katāʔu* 'to take as security' (CAD K 308, AHw. 465, von Soden 1957:131–132, Kogan 2006a:188)[156], *luāmu* 'to admonish' (CAD L 77, AHw. 560, Kogan 2006a:183)[157], *luḳūtu* 'merchandise, commercial goods in transit' (CAD L 253, AHw. 564), *maḫāʔu/maḫātu*, designations of male and female elder relatives (CAD M₁ 85, AHw. 582, Kogan 2006a:183, with many further references)[158], *makāru* 'to do business, to use silver in business transactions' (CAD M₁ 126, Oppenheim 1974, Veenhof 1992, Kogan 2006a:188)[159], *mala* 'once' (CAD M₁ 146, AHw. 592), *masāru* 'to withhold' (CAD M₁ 322, AHw. 618, Kogan 2006a:183), *massuḫu* 'to treat with contempt' (CAD M₂ 236, AHw. 618, Kogan 2006a:183), *maškānu, maškattu* 'account, deposit' (CAD M₁ 374–375, AHw. 627), *mišittu* 'fund, stock, store' (CAD M₂ 125, AHw. 648, Kogan 2006a:183), *mulāʔu* 'additional payment or balance' (CAD M₂ 188, AHw. 670), *muṭāʔu* 'underweight, deficiency' (CAD M₂ 320, AHw. 691), *nuwāʔu* 'native' (CAD N₂ 356, AHw. 799, Michel 2001a:410), *puāgu* 'to take by force, to appropriate' (CAD P 184, AHw. 874, Larsen 2002:17, Kogan 2006a:184), *purūʔu* 'harrassment, abuse' (CAD P 535, AHw. 882, Kienast 1960:38, Kogan 2006a:184), *rabāšu* 'to substantiate a claim' (CAD R 13, AHw. 934, Kogan 2006a:190)[160], *salāʔu* 'to cheat, to lie' (CAD S 97, AHw. 1015, Kogan 2006a:185), *sarādu* 'to load, to pack, to harness' (CAD S 171, AHw. 1028, Veenhof 1972:9–11, Dercksen 2004:274, Kogan 2006a:190), *šamāḫu* 'to break an agreeemnt' (CAD Š₁ 290, AHw. 1153, Kogan 2006a:186), *šamkānu* 'servant, retainer' (CAD Š₁ 313,

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[153] Cf. Arb. *ʔadama-hu* 'he mixed him, associated him, united him in company' (Lane 35), Amh. *addämä* 'to plot, to conspire; to summon, to invite; to be a member of a group in order to share in its sorrows and joys' (AED 1300). If read as *atāmu*, cf. Arb. *ʔtm* 'to assemble, to come together' (Lane 13), Sab. *ʔtm* 'to bring together, to reconcile; to acquire property by mutual agreement' (SD 8), Min. *ʔtm* 'réunir, rassembler' (LM 8), Qat. *ʔtm* 'to agree, to make an agreement' (LIQ 17), Soq. *étom* 'rassembler, réunir' (LS 78), 'to share, to do something with someone' (CSOL I 479).

[154] Clearly related to Hbr. *ʕăḇōṭ* 'deposit' (HALOT 777).

[155] Cf. perhaps Arb. *qṣd* 'not to exceed the due bounds, to act in a moderate manner, to walk in an equable, moderate pace' (Lane 2531).

[156] For a tentative etymology v. Kogan 2006b:270–271.

[157] For a nearly exact cognate in Arabic *lwm* v. Lane 3014.

[158] In Kogan 2014:95, the OA lexemes are tentatively compared to Gez. *ʔəmməḥew* 'grand-father', *ʔəmməḥewt* 'grand-mother' (CDG 23) and related lexemes in Neo-Ethiopian.

[159] The verb *mkr* 'to sell' is well attested in North-West Semitic (HALOT 581), but in OB only the derived nouns *tamkāru* and *makkūru* are widespread. See further Krebernik 2016.

[160] Of interest is Arb. *rbṯ* 'to hinder, to withhold, to keep back; to deceive, to beguile, to outwit' (Lane 1008).

AHw. 1156, Kogan 2006a:186), *takkīlu* 'slander' (CAD T 77, AHw. 1307, Kogan 2006a:186), *uṭuptu* 'household goods, belongings' (AHw. 1446, CAD U 359, Kogan 2006a:186), *wabru* 'a type of foreigner', *wabartu* 'trading station' (CAD U/W 397–399, AHw. 1454, Kogan 2006a:186)[161], *wanāʾu* 'to deceive, to cheat' (CAD U/W 402, AHw. 1459, Kogan 2006a:186)[162], *wazzunu* 'to listen, to pay attention' (CAD U 396, AHw. 1494, Kogan 2006a:187)[163].

Many pan-Akkadian lexemes display special meanings in Assyrian, which are not attested at all or very uncommon in Babylonian. In many of such cases, we are faced with technical commercial terminology which adss little to our evaluation of the basic vocabulary of Assyrian. A few others, summarized in the table below, are of more general nature and deserve a closer look.

meaning in OB	lexeme	meaning in OA	notes
'up to, as far as'	*adi* (CAD A$_1$ 120, AHw. 12)	'as to, concerning'	Kogan 2006a:196. The apparently synonymous *aššumi* (= OB *aššum*) is also attested in OA (CAD Š$_3$ 294–295, AHw. 84). OA *adi* is also used with the pan-Akkadian meaning 'up to'.
'to walk along, to pass over'	*buʾāʾu* (CAD B 178, AHw. 117)	'to come, to enter'	Kogan 2006a:196. Only in the imperative *ba-a-am* 'come!' The OA usage must be more archaic as it fits exactly the WS meaning of *bwʾ* as attested in Hbr. *bā(ʾ)* (HALOT 112) and Gez. *boʾa* (CDG 114). The innovative meaning "to walk along" is not attested in OA.
'lordship'	*etallūtu* (CAD E 383, AHw. 260)	'authority, responsibility'	Kogan 2006a:197.
'to touch'	*lapātu* (CAD L 86, AHw. 535)	'to write'	Kogan 2006a:198. In OB, *lapātu* 'to write' is attested in mathematical texts only, whereas *lapātu* 'to touch' is normal also in OA. The pan-Akkadian *šaṭāru* 'to write' (CAD Š$_2$ 225, AHw. 1203) is practically unattested in OA (for a unique exception v. Veenhof 2003:16).
'to move forward, ahead'	*panāʾu* (CAD P 99, AHw. 822)	'to turn, to appeal to somebody'	Kogan 2006a:198. The meaning 'to turn' is in agreement with Hbr. *pānā* and its WS cognates (HALOT 937).
'ruler'	*rubāʾu* (CAD R 395, AHw. 992)	'king'	Kogan 2006a:199, Larsen 1976:121–129. While it is possible that OB *rubû* was also applied to the king in some passages, the

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[161] For a possible Ethiopian etymology v. 1.3.4.
[162] Cf. Hbr. *yānā* 'to oppress' (HALOT 416), JBA *yny* 'to act fraudulently' (DJBA 538).
[163] This is a rare example of a denominative verb in Akkadian (< *uznu* 'ear').

			main exponent of this meaning was clearly *šarru* (CAD Š₂ 76, AHw. 1188), hardly ever attested in OA.
'to turn'	*saḫāru* (CAD S 46, AHw. 1005)	'to delay, to tarry'	Kogan 2006a:199.
'imperious, harsh'	*šalṭu* (CAD Š₁ 270–271, AHw. 1151)	'available'	Kogan 2006a:199.
'sun'	*šamšu* (CAD Š₁ 337, AHw. 1158)	'day'	Kogan 2006a:199. The meaning "sun" for *šamšu* is also attested in OA. With the meaning "day" it is used as part of the conjunction *ina šamši* 'on the day when'. For the semantic syncretism "sun"/ "day" in MSA v. Kogan 2015a:579–580 (with *yawm- rather than *šamš- as its diachronic source).
'curse (consequences of a broken oath attacking a person who took it)'	*māmītu* (CAD M₁ 189, AHw. 599)	'oath'	Kogan 2006a:196. The normal OB term for "oath" is *nīšu* 'life' (most typically, *nīš ili* or *nīš šarri*), which is also attested in OA (*nīš āli*).

A variety of "minor lexical features" of OA (and, eventually, Assyrian as a whole) are extensively discussed in Kogan 2006a: derived verbal stems unattested or having a different meaning in Babylonian (pp. 202–205), vocalic shapes of primary nouns (pp. 205–206), derivational patterns of derived nouns (pp. 206–208), special formations in pronouns and adverbs (pp. 208–209), thematic vocalism of verbs (p. 210), verbal and nominal idiomatic expressions (pp. 211–212).

It is hard to say to what extent the OA/OB lexical dichotomy would affect the most basic lexical strata such as Swadesh wordlist. Promising candidates include *ullû* : *ammiu* **'that'** and *awīltu* : *sinništu* **'woman'**, perhaps *mašku* : *āru* **'skin'** and *erṣetu* : *ḳaḳḳuru* **'earth'**[164]. Given the fact that these examples are taken from a very restricted body of evidence – so many positions of the Old Assyrian Swadesh list are simply blank – their importance is not to be underestimated: perhaps the lexical differences between OA and OB were greater than we are used to believe, approaching the rather profound divergencies in phonology, morphology and syntax.

2.4. Other geographical and chronological strata

2.4.1. Lexical features of Sargonic Akkadian

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[164] It has been noticed that *arṣutu* is notoriously rare in OA (Hecker 1996:20–21, Kogan 2006a:194), wheras *ḳaḳḳuru* is of common use. The matter is complicated by the extreme complexity of the concept "earth" ("land", "ground", "soil").

Due to the restricted nature of the corpus, clear-cut examples of characteristically Sargonic lexemes are not easy to find. The following examples, comprising not only lexical items proper, but also specific semantic nuances of pan-Akkadian lexemes as well as a few morpho-lexical features, are the safest ones from both the philological and linguistic points of view[165].

bariu 'bad, of bad quality', attested as *ba-ri-um* in MAD 1, 151:4 as a qualification of grain in opposition to ŠE SIG₅ 'good grain' (Kogan–Markina 2012:482–483)[166].

burāmu 'iris' in MAD 5, 8:13–14: *a-ḫu-uz₆ bu-ra-ma-ti e-ni-ki* 'I seized the iris of your eyes' (Kogan 2015b:98–99), instead of the later *burmu* (CAD B 330, AHw. 140).

duāru 'to go around' in MAD 5, 8:21–22: *du-ri-ni i-tá-az-kà-ri-ni ki* SIPA *ì-du-ru ṣa-nam* 'Go around me among the boxwoods as the shepherd goes around his flock' (AHw. 1551, Westenholz–Westenholz 1977:209, von Soden 1972:273)[167]. An alternative derivation from *târu* 'to return' is not to be ruled out, however (v. Krebernik 1996:18 and elsewhere).

ekēdu Š 'to be in a hurry' in Gir 1:3'–4' (*li-śá-ki-id li-li-ik* 'May he go quickly', hendiadys) and Gir 2:4–5 (LÚ KIN.GI₄.A*ⁿ* ⸢*śu*⸣*-ku-ud-m[a]* 'My messenger is in a hurry'), see further Kienast–Volk 1995:67 where this meaning is derived from "to be fierce, aggressive" in G and D (CAD E 62, CAD U 56, AHw. 193).

emēdu Š 'to assign, to add' in DA-*iś ì-li* MU-*śu u-śa-mi-id* 'He assigned his name to (those of) the gods' (RIME 2.1.2.18:17–20) and ŠE *śu a-na* ŠE.BA *a-śi-tu a-na* ŠE.NUMUN *li-śa-mì-id-ma li-dì-in* 'The grain which I left for the rations – may he assign it to the seed and deliver' (Ga 3:4–8). Elsewhere in Akkadian, *emēdu* is only sporadically attested in the causative stem (CAD E 145, AHw. 212).

EN-*ma* as the direct speech marker *passim* in Sargonic letters (CAD E 169, AHw. 218). While EN-*ma* is the forerunner of the later *umma* (CAD U 101, AHw. 1413)[168] and, thus, not a separate, exclusively Sargonic lexeme, it seems worthwhile to list it as a specific (morpho-)lexical feature of Sargonic Akkadian, all the more in view of the its remarkable phonological and orthographic implications[169].

[165] Based on Markina 2009:190–191 (the authors gratefully acknowledge the help of W. Sommerfeld who kindly put at their disposal his unpublished list of lexical additions to the glossary of Hasselbach 2005).

[166] Compared ibid. to ḪUL = *ba-rí-um* in VE 718.

[167] This is the only verbal reflex of PS *dwr* 'to turn' (DRS 239–241) in Akkadian, otherwise probably trapped in *dāru* and *dūru* 'eternity' (CAD D 107 and 197, AHw. 164 and 178).

[168] With assimilation *n-m > mm* and subsequent vocalic accommodation *i > u*.

[169] *Contra* Hasselbach 2005:66–67 (and with Krebernik 1985:57, Sommerfeld 2012:44), EN is a C*i*C sign /yin/ in the Sargonic (and Eblaite) syllabary. The sequence EN-*ma* is thus to be normalized as /yin-ma/, which is not directly compatible with the widespread (and, *per se*, convincing) derivation of EN-*ma*/*umma* from PS *hin-* (Hebrew *hinnē*), v. AHw. 218, Kraus 1976:98, Hasselbach 2005:67, 174. Either a Phoenician-like yotation *hi- > *yi* is to be postulated, or else /hin/ is to be acknowledged as an alternative value of the EN sign in Sargonic. The latter is not impossible: in the Ebla syllabary, *y*-signs (like I or U₉) typically combine the *h*- and *ḫ*-values (Krebernik 1985:57)

garāšu 'to come, to approach' in [*a*]-*dì la tág-ru-⌈ša⌉-am* 'before you come here' (Ad 12:14) and LUGAL.AN.NÉ [*i*]*g-ru-sa-am* 'Lugal-Ane has come here' (RIME 2.1.4.7:7), cf. AHw. 282, CAD G 49[170].

imri'u 'fodder' in ⌈20⌉ ŠE GUR *ša* UR.SA₆ *a-na im-ri-i*[*m*] *u-śu-bi-lam* '20 kors of barley which Ursa has sent here as fodder' (CUSAS 13, 170 obv. 4 – rev. 1), v. Schrakamp 2012:287, Markina 2016:247.

īnu as the temporal preposition 'in the time of' in RIME 2.1.2.4:78–79 (*ì-nu* KAS.ŠUDUL *śú-a* 'in the time of that battle') and RIME 2.1.4.3 iii 22–24 (*ì-nu Na-ra-am-*^dEN.ZU *da-nim* 'in the times of Naram-Su'en the mighty' (reading after Wilcke 1997:24), cf. AHw. 382, CAD I 152. As a temporal conjunction, *īnu* (as opposed to the normal *inūma*) is sporadically attested in later sources (notably, in the OB royal inscriptions), likely as an imitation of Sargonic literary patterns.

iškinū 'additional payment' in numerous examples from Sargonic documents (CAD I 250, AHw. 396, Hasselbach 2005:271).

kami'ū 'fetters' in RIME 2.1.4.28:29–31: *śar-rí-śi-in in kà-mi-e u-śá-rí-ib* 'He brought their kings in fetters' (CAD K 128, AHw. 434). Derived from the common verb *kamû* 'to take captive'.

muḫurrā'u 'received commodities', several times in Sargonic documents (v. references in CAD M₂ 178, AHw. 669, Hasselbach 2005:277.

nêru, which in later Akkadian normally means "to murder", "to slaughter" (CAD N2 181, AHw. 780, is used with the meaning "to conquer (a country, a city)" in Sargonic royal inscriptions (Gelb–Kienast 1990:161): ^d*Na-ra-am-*^dEN.ZU *da-núm Ar-ma-nam*^{ki} *ù Eb-la*^{ki} *en-ar* 'Narām-Su'en the mighty has conquered Armanum and Ebla' (RIME 2.1.4.26 ii 2–7)[171]. Still another specifically Sargonic meaning of *nêru*, viz. "to brand", has been suggested in Markina 2011:205–206 for *en-a-ra* and *en-a-ru* in HSS 10, 206 obv. 4' and 7' respectively.

ru'ubbā'u 'compensation', attested as *ru-ù-ba-um* in HSS 10, 175 rev. iii 9 (Markina 2011:206)[172].

ṣaw(w)āru 'neck' in MAD 5, 8:35–37: *a-dì ṣa-wa-ar-śu ù ṣa-wa-ar-ki la e-tám-da* 'So long as his neck and your neck are not entwined' (AHw. 1087). Von Soden (1972:274) is probably right to qualify *ṣawāru* as "ursprünglich ... ein akkadisches Wort, das später

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[170] Since both examples with the meaning "to come" display the ventive ending -*am*, the basic meaning of the verb may be close to "to leave, to depart", cf. a possible non-ventive attestation in RIME 2.1.4.6 v 32'–35': *iś-t*[*um*] KIŠ^{ki} DA-*i*[*ś-śu*] *ig-r*[*u-uś*]-*ma* 'He departed towards him from Kiš'. As argued in Kogan–Markina 2014:221, such a meaning brings the Sargonic verb close to Ugr. and Hbr. *grš* 'to drive away, to expel' (DUL 310, HALOT 204), with change of diathesis, and, eventually, to GA-*ra-śi-im* in Rīmuš's enigmatic formula *a-na* GA-*ra-śi-im iś-kùn*, probably 'he assigned [them] to deportation' (Westenholz 1999:41, Sommerfeld 2007:374, 2008:230). For a possible lone OB example of *garāšu* 'to come' in the literary text CT 15 5 ii 8 v. Metzler 2002:477–478 (and cf. Joannès 1988:263 for OB Mari). For OA *gārišu* 'messenger', perhaps to be derived from the same root, v. Kogan 2006a:178–179.

[171] More commonly behind the logogram SAG.GIŠ.RA, as in 2.1.4.26:1–9 (^d*Na-ra-am-*^dEN.ZU *da-núm* ... SAG.GIŠ.RA *Ar-ma-nim*^{ki} *ù Eb-la*^{ki} 'Narām-Su'en the mighty, the conqueror of Armanum and Ebla'). Later examples with the same semantic nuance must depend on the Sargonic usage.

[172] This is one of the many *purussā'*- nouns in Sargonic (Hasselbach 2005:188, Markina 2011:206). The spelling with Ù (= /'u/) is remarkable: in view of Arb. *r'b* 'to repair, to mend' (Lane 903), the original root of *riābu* 'to replace' must be **r'b*, but once in the early history of Akkadian it must have switched to the II*y* class (Kouwenberg 2010:475). Does the Sargonic noun still reflect **r'b* as its consonantal root?

durch ... *kišādum* ganz verdrängt wurde". For the WS cognates (Hebrew *ṣaww(ʔ)ār*, Syr. *ṣawrā*) v. SED I No. 230.

ṣiāḫu 'to laugh' (CAD Ṣ 64, AHw. 1096) seems to display the meaning "to be sad" or "to be angry" in 1 sg. *a-ṣe-ḫa-me/a-ṣe-ḫa-am* in Sargonic letters (Veenhof 1975–1976:107–110, Kienast–Volk 1995:153–154).

šaʔāru 'to win' *passim* as *iš₁₁-ar*, *ša-ir* etc. in Sargonic royal inscriptions (CAD Š₁ 2, AHw. 1118, Hasselbach 2005:284)[173].

šalīmu 'well-being' in *śa-lí-mi-śu* [šalīm-iš-šu] 'for his well-being' (RIME 2.1.2.4:84)[174].

širguʔu 'beautiful, adorned' in MAD 5, 8:25: *śi-ir-gu-a i-da-śu* 'his arms are beautiful' (CAD Š₃ 102, AHw. 1216)[175].

wamāʔu 'to swear', attested several times as *ù-má* or *ú-má* in Sargonic letters and royal inscriptions (CAD U/W 401, AHw. 1459) instead of the standard *tamû*, also present in the Sargonic corpus (CAD T 159, AHw. 1317)[176].

uḫḫuru 'to change, to obliterate' (CAD U 44, AHw. 18) in Sargon's curse formula *ma-na-ma* DÙL *śú-a u-a-ḫa-ru* ᵈEN.LÍL MU-*śu li-a-ḫir_x*(ḪA+ŠU) 'As for anyone who alters this statue, may Enlil alter his name' (RIME 2.1.1.6:41–47)[177].

uḫurrāʔu 'remainder' (CAD U 50) in MC 4, 72:18 (*u-ḫur-ra-um*).

ūlum 'later, afterwards' (CAD U 84, AHw. 1410) in RIME 2.1.2.4:44–48: *u-lum in tù-a-rí-śu Ka-za-lu*ᵏⁱ ⌈na⌉*-ki-ir-ma* SAG.GIŠ.RA 'Later, during his return, Kazallu rebelled, but he was victorious (over it)'[178].

zaḳānu D 'to be bearded' in *lu ṣa-aḫ-ra a zu-ḳú-na* 'May (the two slaves) be young, not bearded' (Di 4:10). Elsewhere in Akkadian, this meaning is expressed by the basic stem (CAD Z 61, AHw. 1511)[179].

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[173] This specifically Sargonic verb is controversial from the etymological point of view as none of the two widely proposed PS sources (*ṯʔr 'to take revenge' and *ṯɣr 'to break') is fully satisfactory in form and meaning (Kogan 2015a:574). Proto-MSA *ṯḫr 'to wound' (ML 416, JL 284, LS 440) may be a better alternative.

[174] While in its form *šalīmu* is reminiscent of OB *salīmu* 'peace' (CAD S 100, AHw. 1015), its semantic scope rather corresponds to OB *šulmu* 'well-being, health' (CAD Š₃ 247, AHw. 1268). The background of this peculiar discrepancy remains to be elucidated.

[175] Von Soden is probably correct to identify the Sargonic form with Gez. *sərgəw* 'adorned, decorated' (CDG 512).

[176] The Sargonic verb, particularly in its spelling with MÁ (= /maʔ/), is an exact match of Arb. *wmʔ* 'to make a sign' (Lane 2968). According to Veenhof (*apud* Dercksen 2005:112), the old variant with *w-* is sporadically attested also in Old Assyrian.

[177] It stands to reason that *uḫḫuru* in this formula is a direct functional equivalent of *nukkuru* 'to discard an object, to remove an inscription' in later texts (CAD N₁ 166–167, AHw. 719), other Sargonic equivalents being *šussuku* (CAD N₂ 19, AHw. 752) and *pašāṭu* (CAD P 249, AHw. 844). The underlying meaning of *ʔḫr* in this usage must be, therefore, "other", "another", "different" ("to make different" > "to change", "to alter", "to obliterate"), familiar from such WS adjectives as Hbr. *ʔaḫēr* and Arb. *ʔāḫar-* (HALOT 35, Lane 31), but otherwise missing from Akkadian. The standard Akkadian meaning of *uḫḫuru* is 'to delay' (both transitive and intransitive), also attested in Sargonic: *šu-ut in* TU.RA *u-ù-ḫi-ru-un* 'Those who are delayed because of an illness' (Gi 3:7–8). The two meanings may have been expressed by two different morphological types ("strong" vs. "weak"), v. Kouwenberg 2010:545.

[178] The spelling with U (= [yu]) does not favor an etymological connection with *ullû* 'that', usually thought to be related to PWS *ʔilli-* 'these'.

A few (morpho-)lexical features of Sargonic Akkadian connect it with Assyrian as opposed to Babylonian: *ište* 'with' (CAD I 283, AHw. 401, Kogan 2006a:193–194)[180] — OB *itti* (CAD I 302, AHw. 405), *šalištu* 'third; one-third'[181] — OB *šaluštu* (CAD Š₁ 263, AHw. 1150, Kogan 2006a:208), *kišertu/kišeršu* 'prison' (CAD K 450, AHw. 490, 1586, Kogan 2006a:183)[182], *barītu* 'middle'[183] — OB *birītu* (CAD B 252, AHw. 107, Kogan 2006a:205–206), *napaštu* 'soul' — OB *napištu* (CAD N₁ 297, AHw. 738, Kogan 2006a:206)[184], *urku* 'length' (CAD U 231, AHw. 1431, Kogan 2006a:207)[185], *ēnam amārum* 'to meet, to see personally' (CAD A₂ 20, Kogan 2006a:211, Michel 2010:355–356)[186]. As it has recently become clear, also *laššu* 'there is not' is shared by Sargonic with (Old) Assyrian[187]. Nevertheless, as pointed out in Kogan 2006a:213, these examples are too scarce and unsystematic for a serious subgrouping hypothesis.

2.4.2. Regional differences within OB

The lexical specificity of OB subcorpora from the core Babylonian area is as poorly studied as the grammatical one. A classical example is the *unnedukku* 'letter' (CAD U 161, AHw. 1421), thought to be used primarily in Southern Babylonia as opposed to *ṭuppu* in more Northern areas. And conversely, *ṣeʾpu* 'clay tag with a seal imression or a short inscription' (CAD Z 86), 'gesiegelter Brief' (AHw. 1091) is considered primarily a Northern lexical feature. All in all, much further study is clearly

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[179] But cf. possible D and Dt stems precedents in Ebla under VE 199, 200.

[180] Passim as *iś-te₄*. OB attestations of *išti* are rare and exclusively literary. For the etymology of this preposition (**ʕašt-*, not **wišt-*) v. Kogan–Markina 2006:563–564, against Hasselbach 2005:56 and many others.

[181] In RIME 2.1.2.6:68–69 (*in śa-an-tim śa-lí-iś-tim* 'in the third year') and Eš 7:9' (*a-na śa-li-iś-tim* 'for one-third'). Cf. Kogan 2011b:167–168.

[182] In Ga 7:5–11: PN₁ PN₂ PN₃ *in É ki-šè-er-tim [a-d]ì-ma ⌈a⌉-la-kam li-iš-bu* 'May PN₁, PN₂ and PN₃ stay in the prison until I come to you'. The OA form is *kišeršu*, with an unexplained shift *t > š* (or *vice versa?*). Still (*contra* Riemschneider 1977:116), there is no reason to separate between *kišeršu* and *kišertu*, which, in turn, relativizes Riemschneider's hypothesis according to which the OA word "is probably a loan-word from one of the languages spoken in Anatolia at that time". Note that Hasselbach (2005:54, 272) apparently derives *kišertu* from PS **ḳṯr* 'to bind' (cf. HALOT 1126, 1153 for this reconstruction instead of Hasselbach's **ḳšr*), which is in agreement with ŠÈ (= *ṯe*) in the Sargonic spelling and rather appealing semantically. This derivation would presuppose the reading *ḳišertu/ḳišeršu* (with *ḳ* instead of the accepted *k*). For a possble alternative derivation from Sumerian v. <mark>xxx</mark>.

[183] The Sargonic form is attested in the fixed expression *in ba-rí-ti A-wa-an*ki *ù Śu-śi-im*ki 'between Awan and Susa' (RIME 2.1.2.6:43–46). The OA parallel is *bari* (CAD B 246, AHw. 107).

[184] Parpola 1988:294. Within the Sargonic corpus strictly speaking, *napaštu* is attested only in personal names, such as BAD-*lí-na-pá-aś-ti* 'My-Lord-Is-My-Soul' (Gelb 1957:204). However, the remarkable attestation in the Gutian inscription RIME 2.2.1.1 ii 24–26 (*in na-pá-aś-ti-šu śa-ap-śu iś-ku-un* 'He put his foot on his throat', George 2011) certainly continues the Sargonic usage. In terms of historical morphology, the Sargonic-Assyrian *napaš-t-* appears to be more archaic than Babylonian *napiš-t-* as it better agrees with PWS **napš-* (simple *a*-copying epenthesis vs. secondary *i*-insertion, perhaps under the influence of the common adjectival pattern *paris-t-*).

[185] Attested in OAIC 11:10–11 (*a-na ur-ki-im* 3 KÙŠ 'For the length, three cubits') The OB equivalents are *māraku* (CAD M₁ 266, AHw. 608) and *mūraku* (CAD M₂ 217, AHw. 675).

[186] In Ad 12:11–12: *a-dì e-né-a la tá-mu-ru* 'Until you see me personally'.

[187] CUSAS 27, 78:7 (KÙ.BABBAR *ù* KÙ.SIG₁₇ *la-šu₄* (U)) and several other examples in this volume.

needed in this promising domain, especially if the evidence from Mari and other Western sites is also brought into discussion.

2.4.3. Lexical features of Middle Babylonian

The lexical transition from Old to Middle Babylonian has never been subject to a special study, so our remarks to this effect are of necessity brief and preliminary.

A prime example affecting the very core of the basic vocabulary – the Swadesh word-list – is the quantor *gabbu* 'all' (CAD G 4, AHw. 272), of unknown origin and unattested in OB[188], which replaces the earlier *kalu* (Streck 2005:68).

Of much importance are the pronominal nota genitivi *attu-* (CAD A$_2$ 512, AHw. 88), again of unknown origin[189], and the negation *yānu* 'there is not' (CAD I/J 323AHw. 411), replacing earlier *ul/lā ibašši* and thought to represent a specific semantic development of the interrogative adverb *ayyānu* 'where?' (CAD A$_1$ 226, AHw. 24)[190]. Also of notice is the widely attested prepositional element *tarṣu* 'before, opposite' (CAD T 242, AHw. 1331).

Among the substantives, note *ḳīpu* 'official' (CAD Q 264, AHw. 922–923), *maddattu* 'tribute' (CAD M$_1$ 13, AHw. 572), *mašīru* 'a kind of chariot' (CAD M$_1$ 367, AHw. 626).

In the verbal domain, of notice is *mašāḫu* 'to measure' (CAD M$_1$ 352, AHw. 623)[191] and *šuʾuddu* 'to appeal' (CAD Š$_3$ 417, AHw. 14, Kouwenberg 2010:327–328, 569).

2.4.4. Lexical features of Middle and Neo-Assyrian

According to Streck 2005:68, a systematic perusal of AHw. yields 365 lexemes attested exclusively in Middle and Neo-Assyrian, but in the great majority of cases (307) only Neo-Assyrian is involved. The specificity of these lexemes can mostly be described along the following lines.

● Common Assyrian lexemes attested already in Old Assyrian and faithfully preserved in later periods.

● Specifically Middle and/or Neo-Assyrian words not attested before MA. Sometimes we may be dealing with true MA and NA innovations; elsewhere, the corresponding OA word must be accidentally missing from the thematically very divergent Old Assyrian text corpus.

● "New words" shared with contemporary Babylonian dialects[192]. The emergence of such lexemes is not easy to assess. A certain deal of "lexical

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[188] Probably related to OB *nagbu* 'totality, all' (CAD N$_1$ 111, AHw. 710). Shall one compare Arb. *nǧb* 'to be generous' (Lane 2765)?

[189] *Contra* von Soden, certainly unrelated to the WS *nota accusativi* *ʾiyyāt-* (Kogan 2015a:74).

[190] Cf. Kogan 2015a:281.

[191] Clearly related to Arb. *msḥ* 'to measure land' (Lane 2713; also 'to pass one's hand over something, to wipe').

Babylonization of Assyrian" is likely, but the opposite process was to some extent operative as well.

- Aramaic loanwords in NA (to be discussed extensively under 3.2.3).

As pointed out in Kogan 2006a:212, there is a remarkable lexical continuity between Old Assyrian and later Assryian dialects, notwithstanding the changing economic, political and cultural conditions: *adru* 'threshing floor' (OA, MA, NA), *alaḫḫinnu* 'an administrative official' (OA, MA, NA), *ali* 'where?' (OA, NA), *ammiu* 'that' (OA, MA, NA), *battu* 'region around a city' (OA, MA, NA), *ḫašlātu* 'groats' (OA, MA, MA), *išti* 'with' (OA, MA, NA), *ḫurdu* 'posthumous child' (OA, MA, NA), *ḫuršu* 'larder, storehouse' (OA, MA, NA), *ḫuzīru* 'pig' (OA, NA), *laššu* 'there is not' (OA, MA, NA), *maškānu* 'deposit' (OA, MA), *mulāʔu* 'additional payment or balance' (OA, MA), *muṭāʔu* 'underweight, deficiency' (OA, MA, NA), *puāgu* 'to take by force (OA, MA, NA), *pūru* 'lot' (OA, MA, NA), *šapartu* 'pledge' (OA, MA, NA), *wabru* 'a type of foreigner' (OA, MA, NA).

A brief list of specifically MA/NA lexemes not attested in OA has been compiled in Kogan 2006a:214 : *ammar* 'as much as, whatever' (CAD A$_2$ 68, AHw. 43), *gunnu* 'elite' (CAD G 134, AHw. 298), *ḫūlu* 'road' (CAD Ḫ 231, AHw. 354), *karāru* 'to put an object in place, to set' (CAD K 207, AHw. 447)[193], *kisirtu* 'dam, embankment; paving block' (CAD K 422, AHw. 486), *ḳalītu* 'parched grain' (CAD Q 59, AHw. 894), *mataḫu* 'to carry, to transport' (CAD M$_1$ 403, AHw. 632), *pasru* 'a container' (CAD P 224, AHw. 839), *passuku* 'to remove, to clear out' (CAD P 536, AHw. 839), *ṣalāʔu* 'to cast, to set down, to throw off' (CAD Ṣ 71, AHw. 1076), *šēḫtu* 'incense burner' (CAD Š$_2$ 264, AHw. 1209), *taḫlīpu* 'covering, plaque' (CAD T 51, AHw. 1302), *taḫūmu* 'border' (CAD T 56, AHw. 1303), *takbāru* 'fattened sheep' (CAD T 70, AHw. 1306), *udē* 'alone, single' (CAD U 20, AHw. 1401), *udīni* 'yet' (CAD U 21, 1401).

Specifically NA are *aṣappu* 'an equid used as pack animal' (CAD A$_2$ 354, AHw. 77), *atā* 'why?' (CAD A$_2$ 479, AHw. 86), *bāsi* 'soon' (CAD B 133, AHw. 100), *dāt* 'after' (CAD D 122, AHw. 156), *egirtu* 'letter' (CAD E 45, AHw. 190), *ḫarādu* 'to be alert' (CAD Ḫ 88, AHw. 322), *maškaru* 'waterskin (used for floating' (CAD M$_1$ 374, AHw. 627), *nēmel* 'because' (CAD N$_2$ 157, AHw. 776), *nuk* particle of direct speech after verbs in the first person (CAD N$_2$ 322, AHw. 802), *muk* id. (CAD M2 180, AHw. 669), *nusāḫū* 'tax on agricultural produce' (CAD N$_2$ 351, AHw. 805), *parʔuṣu* 'to appropriate' (CAD P 555, AHw. 807), *rammû* 'to forsake; to set free' (CAD R 130–131)[194], *sarruru* 'to pray' (CAD 414, AHw. 1031), *šuḫ* 'as to, concerning' (CAD Š$_3$ 202, AHw. 1260), *tūra* 'again,

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[192] Cf. Streck 2005:647 in connection with NB: "Some lexical innovations are also shared by Neo-Assyrian and are thus common innovations of Akkadian in the first millennium BC rather than exclusive to the Babylonian dialect". As rightly observed by Streck, such "new words" (both NA and NB) have occasionally found their way into SB literary texts of the first millennium. As possible examples, one can mention *zaḳīpu* 'stake' (CAD Z 58, AHw. 1514) and *zūku* 'infantry' (CAD Z 153, AHw. 1536), often attested in NA royal inscriptions where they have likely penetrated from the colloquial NA speech.

[193] Partly replacing *šakānu* (Streck 2005:68).
[194] Replacing *ezēbu* (Deller 1961, Edzard 1977:47).

furthermore' (CAD T 483, AHw. 1372), *zakkû* 'a member of a class of feudatories' (CAD Z 22, AHw. 1505), *zarāpu* 'to buy, to acquire' (CAD Ṣ 105, AHw. 1514).

As far as the Assyrian/Babylonian lexical convergence is concerned, one telling example is *raḫāṣu* 'to trust' (CAD R 74), well attested in both NA and NB, but with different thematic vowels (*i/i* and *u/u* respectively). Both dialects share the "new" verb *ḫamû* 'to become confident, to rely' (CAD Ḫ 72, AHw. 319, Streck 2010:651). Prepositional phrases with *ṭuppi* 'some time, appropriate time, proper notice' (CAD Ṭ 126), are much more common in NB, but attested also in NA. Sometimes the NA and NB meanings of one and the same "new" word do not coincide. Thus, *uʾiltu* (CAD U 51, AHw. 1405) means 'a type of tablet about twice as wide as long, inscribed parallel to the longer axis, containing a scholar's report' in NA, but 'obligation, debt, promissory note' in NB (Streck 2010:654).

In the Swadesh wordlist, the replacement of *kalu* by *gabbu* **'all'** affects Assyrian as much as Babylonian. Furthermore, as pointed out by Streck (2005:68), the opposition **"big"** : **"small"**, once expressed by *rabû* : *ṣeḫru*, in Neo-Assyrian is rendered by *dannu* (CAD D 96) : *ḳallu* (CAD Q 63).

2.4.4. Lexical features of Neo-Babylonian

When discussing the typology of the emergence of "new words" in NB, Streck (2010:648–649) counts with four possible sources.

● New morphological derivates from the already existing Babylonian lexemes.
● Semantic evolution of the "old" Babylonian words (narrowing, widening, metonymy, metaphor, semantic degeneration, etc.).
● Secondary employment of Sumerian lexical bases (a rather marginal phenomenon).
● Loanwords from contemporary languages to some extent current in Babylonia: Aramaic, Persian, Greek[195].

Specifically NB lexemes[196] include *babbanû* 'of good quality' (CAD B 7, AHw. 94), *ēpišānu* 'confectioner' (CAD E 240, AHw. 229), *ginnu* 'mark on silver indicating its quality' (CAD G 79, AHw. 290), *ḫadru* 'an association of feudal tenants' (CAD Ḫ 24, AHw. 337), *imittu* 'estimated yield of a field' (CAD I 123, AHw. 377), *kušru* 'ingot' (CAD K 600, AHw. 517), *ḳallu* 'slave' (CAD Q 64, AHw. 894, Streck 2010:653[197]), *lamutānu* 'a type of slave' (CAD L 77, AHw. 534)[198], *makkasu* 'a choice quality of dates' (CAD M₁ 131, AHw. 589), *mār banî* 'free person, citizen' (CAD M₁ 256, AHw. 615, Streck 2010:652,

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[195] In our description, we will generally refrain from analyzing non-autochthonous "new words" of NB, see rather the respective sections of Part 3 of this article. Note that Streck's estimate of Aramaic loanwords in NB as more than 250 (2010:648) must be exaggerated in view of the new findings of Abraham–Sokoloff 2011.
[196] Our list incorporates some of Streck's 64 lexical features (2010) and adds a few other entries gleaned from the dictionaries (not unlike Streck, without aiming completeness).
[197] "*qallu* steht Neu-/Spätbabylonisch … für älteres 'Sklave'".
[198] According to Streck 2010:651, 657, an Aramaism, but contrast Abraham – Sokoloff 2011:39.

657), *murruḳu* 'to clear from claims (a property sold)' (CAD M$_2$ 222, AHw. 608)[199], *mašīḫu* 'measure, container of standartized size' (CAD M$_1$ 366, AHw. 626), *mušannītu* 'a dam to regulate the flow of water' (CAD M$_2$ 258, AHw. 681), *paīṣu* 'an adjective specifying the administrative status of real estate' (CAD P 34, AHw. 840), *paḳdu* 'deputy, bailiff; deposit, deposited goods' (CAD P 137, AHw. 826–827), *penû* 'to have prior claim' (CAD P 326, AHw. 822), *pūṣaya* 'launderer' (CAD P 538, AHw. 883), *rašûtu* 'creditor's claim' (CAD R 213, AHw. 963), *šiḫtu* 'hide' (CAD Š$_2$ 417, AHw. 1209), *širku* 'oblate' (CAD Š$_3$ 106, AHw. 1217, Streck 2010:654, 659), *tābalānu* 'thief' (CAD T 10, AHw. 1296), *talammu* 'a container of standard capacity' (CAD T 92, AHw. 1309), *taptû* 'land newly prepared for cultivation' (CAD T 196, AHw. 1323), *tapṭīru* 'gelded, castrated bull' (CAD T 196, AHw. 1323), *uḳu* 'people, army' (CAD U 203, AHw. 1427)[200].

In the Swadesh wordlist, note the replacement of *ṣeḫru* **'small'** by *ḳallu* (CAD Q 63, Streck 2005:68) and *damḳu/ṭābu* **'good'** by *babbanû*, as well as the ousting of *sinništu* **'woman'** by *amīltu* (CAD A2 48), a process which previously had taken place in Old Assyrian (2.3).

As examples of secondary adaptation of Sumerian bases, Streck (2010:648, 651, 656) adduces *giṭṭu* 'one-column tablet with literary content; tablet containing a receipt or a certificate; document or deed written on parchment' (CAD G 112, AHw. 294) < Sum. g í d . d a 'long' and *guḳḳû* 'monthly offering' (CAD G 135, AHw. 298) < Sum. g u g 'cake; offering'.

As a specific lexical trait of the latesest stages of Babylonian (Seleucid and Arsacid) one can mention the use of *ṭarādu* N 'to name, to call' (CAD Ṭ 60).

3. Lexical borrowing in Akkadian

3.1. Sumerian loanwords

Sumerian is the first language recognizable in cuneiform sources (since about 3000 BC), and it was probably already the language of the creators of cuneiform around 3300 BC. During the historical periods documented by cuneiform sources, it was spoken in the Southern part of Babylonia. Among the languages with which Akkadian was in mutal contact, it plays a major role. After the cuneiform script was adapted for the Akkadian language (ca. 2500–2300 BC), Sumerian remained an integral part of the writing system and of scribal lore. Along with the cuneiform culture, passive knowledge of Sumerian spread far beyond Mesopotamia. Sumerian became extinct as a spoken language shortly after 2000 BC, but continued to be in use for special purposes: legal documents, official inscriptions, magic and cultic texts. During this long after-life, the Sumerian lexicon still served as a source for loanwords, comparable to Latin and Greek in the medieval and modern ages.

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[199] Perhaps an Aramaism (Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:41).
[200] Shall one venture a learned derivation from Sum. ù ĝ 'people'?

According to Edzard 2003:178, the total number of Sumerisms in the CAD volumes (except for P, T, Ṭ and U/W, by that moment unpublished) amounts to 980 items, that is, around 7 per cent of the Akkadian vocabulary as a whole[201]. The practical relevance of these statistics is, however, relative, as they apply to an immense body of the Akkadian vocabulary of more than two millennia of attestation. Somewhat more telling is Lieberman's count of 1977:2: in his study, he was able to accumulate 529 Sumerisms syllabically attested in Old Babylonian texts (102 among them, in lexical lists only). Once the total amount of the OB vocabulary becomes known, a rather reliable percentage of the Sumerian element in the OB lexis can be achieved.

A detailed study of mutual borrowings between Sumerian and Akkadian faces two principal difficulties:

First, Sumerian was written in a more archaic way than Akkadian: the Sumerian "normal orthography" was to a large extent based on logograms. For Sumerian, a standardized phonetic (i. e. syllabic) orthography comparable to the Akkadian one (of different periods and regions) has not been developed, syllabic spelling was mainly used for indications of grammatical morphemes (prefiexes and suffixes) and for the rendering of a limited number of words and names (often of foreign origin). As a result, Sumerian is usually "transliterated", directly reflecting the actual cuneiform spelling, and not "transcribed" in the same way as Akkadian, i. e. using reconstructed and standardized "bound forms". Such forms have been introduced only sometimes for lexical purposes, e. g. in PSD and EPSD. P. Attinger in his text editions tries to establish a transliteration system uniformly based on the Old Babylonian glosses of the lexical series Proto-Ea, reflecting thus a homogeneous synchronic state of Sumerian (for a synopsis of his and the conventional values see Attinger 2016). In the following, we will give Sumerian lexemes in Attinger's transliteration (s p a c e d); if necessary, the conventional value and/or a reconstructed bound form (in *italics*) may be added. In order to make the relationship between Sum. and Akk. words as clear as possible, the "long" sign values (dug_4 instead of du_{11} etc.) will be used as consistently as possible; alternatively, the final consonant alone is attached with a hyphen (ka_9-ř).

Second, in contrast to Akkadian as a member of a well established language family, Sumerian is an isolated language; up to now all attempts to link it genetically with other languages failed to produce scientifically acceptable results. The absence of comparative evidence from cognate, and in particular living, languages not only complicates the reconstruction of Sumerian lexemes on the phonemic level, but also their attribution to the inherited vocabulary and their identification as loanwords. Regarding the last-mentioned difficulty, Lieberman (1977:17) states: "Such comparisons are complicated by two additional difficulties: the possibility that the direction of borrowing may have been the opposite and the possibility that the Old-Babylonian Akkadian word we presume to be Sumerian in origin is really from another (non-Semitic) language. Loanwords going back to Sumerian etyma which have more than one Sumerian morpheme can be fairly safely presumed to go back to Sumerian". This criterium for identifying words of true Sumerian origin is certainly one of the strongest, but one should not forget that our analysis often depends on the

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[201] Edzard's earlier statistics reported in Streck 2005:69 were higher – around 10 per cent of the Akkadian vocabulary.

analysis of the ancient scribes, and that they may have used logograms based on folk-etymology. Thus, b u r - g u l 'seal-cutter, stone-worker' was obviously analysed as "one who hollows out (g u l) the bowl (b u r)". But this etymology is by no means certain on semantical grounds, and the form of the corresponding loanword in Akkadian, *parkullu*, also raises doubts.

Concerning lexical borrowings, several linguistic factors have to be taken into account.

- The two languages were synchronically not uniform, dialectal variations have been noted for both of them.
- Both languages were subject to diachronic changes.
- The phonemic systems, and in all likelihood also the phonotactis (i. e. syllable and word structures) of the two languages differed.
- Sumerian and Akkadian belong to different morphological types (agglutinating versus inflectional).
- The semantics of words and the cultural history of language communities play a complex role in the borrowing processes.

Dialectal variation in Sumerian is reflected by the loanword *šabsūtu* 'midwife'. The underlying etymon means "knowing the heart/interiror" and is normally transliterated as š à - z u or š a g₄ - z u, but the loanword shows that the first element was pronounced **šab* and thus belonged to the Emesal "dialect" or better "sociolect" which was linked to the female sphere.

Diachronic change is visible, in particular, in loanwords which reflect an earlier stage of the Sumerian etymon than that attested in OB or later sources. A feature represented in several borrowings of this kind is the assimilation of the first vowel to the second one in bisyllabic lexemes: Akk. *kitû* < Sum. **gida* > g a d a 'linen (cloth)', Akk. *pilakku* < Sum. **bilag* > Sum. b a l a - g.[202] Sumerian vowel assimilation applied also to borrowings from Akkadian: Sum. n a - g a d a < Akk. *nāqidu* 'shepherd', Sum. r a / ř á - g a b a < Akk. *rākibu* 'rider', Sum. u g u l a < **ugila* < Akk. **wakilu* 'overseer'. The opposite case, i. e. loanwords reflecting a later stage of the Sumerian etymon, was also common, see below[203].

The reconstruction of Sumerian[204] on the phonetic/phonemic level can be based on several categories of evidence.

(1) Complete or partial syllabic renderings of Sumerian words, which occur in a variety of forms and contexts, such as Sumerian texts in non-standard orthography, scattered pronounciation glosses, systematic syllabic renderings of Sumerian logograms in lexical lists or sign names based on Sumerian lexems.

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[202] In both cases, however, borrowing from a third language cannot completely ruled out.

[203] Such would be also the case with Akk. *kalû* < Sum. g a l a < **gula*, but Proto-Ea 518c quoted as evidence in Lieberman 1977:275 reads *ga-la* and not *gu-la* according to MSL 15, 52.

[204] The following sketch of Sumerian phonology in its relation to Akkadian and to mutual loanwords follows, with minor differences, Jagersma 2010:31–67 (with previous literature).

(2) Sumerian loanwords in Akkadian (and other languages), which in rare cases survive in modern languages as well[205].

(3) Akkadian loanwords in Sumerian.

(4) Words of uncertain origin present in Sumerian and Akkadian (and other languages) which may have entered Sumerian and Akkadian separately or via each other. Note that for some lexemes it is hard to decide if they should by ascribed to type (2) or (4).

Loanwords clearly reflect differences and diachronic changes in the phonemic systems of the two languages. Thus, Sumerian lexemes as they are glossed in Old Babylonian lexical texts and the respective borrowings in Akkadian do not show uniform sound correspondences. We find Akkadian *k* in place of both Sumerian *k* and *g*: Sum. *kar* (logographic spelling k a r, syllabically rendered *ka-ar* in Proto-Ea 390) = Akk. *kāru* 'quai', and Sum. *gur* (logographic spelling g u r, syllabically rendered *gu-ur* in Proto-Ea 345) = Akk. *kurru* 'kor (a measure)'. If we assume that we are dealing with two early borrowings from roughly the same time, a plausible interpretation of these observations is that Sumerian had two different velar stops which were both close to Akkadian *k* when the borrowings occurred, and that one of the two (present in Sumerian g u r) later developped into a consonant closer to Akkadian *g*. This is confirmed by inconsistent correspondences like *kabaraḫḫu/gabaraḫḫu*[206] < Sumerian g a b a - r a - a ḫ and/or by cases in which the same Sumerian term was borrowed twice, presumably in different periods, cf. g a l a > *kalû* and g a l a - m a ḫ > *kal(a)māḫu/gal(a)māḫu*. Correspondences of the type Sumerian *g* > Akkadian *k* are the normal ones, whereas Sumerian *g* > Akkadian *g* are limited to later (and "learned") borrowings. The picture becomes somewhat more complicated when later borrowings are taken into account, where Sumerian *g* can be rendered with Akkadian *ḳ* as in t u $_6$ - d u g $_4$ - g a > *tūdukkû* SB 'magic spell' (CAD T 449, AHw. 1366). Examples like this have in common that Sum. *g* is in contact with other consonants of the "voiced" series or in syllable-final position. Similar observations can be made concerning the labials *p*, *b* and the dentals *t*, *d* of Sumerian lexemes, which in earlier borrowings are represented by Akkadian *p* and *t*, respectively.

On the other hand, early borrowings from Akkadian into Sumerian do not distinguish voiceless, voiced and "emphatic" stops of the Akkadian etyma, which appear uniformly as "voiced" Sumerian stops: Sumerian b e $_6$ - l u $_5$ - d a 'rites' < Akkadian *bēlūtu*, Sumerian d a m - g à r a 'merchant' < Akk. *tamkāru*. Sumerian *z* and Akkadian *s*, *z*, and *ṣ* behave in an analogous way. Based on comparative Semitic evidence, the latter can be reconstructed as affricates, and the same articulation can be claimed for Sumerian *z*.

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[205] French *marre* < Latin *marra* < Aramaic *marrā* < Akkadian *marru* < Sum. m a r 'spade' (WH II 43); Arabic *haykal-* < Hebrew/Aramaic **haykal-* < archaic Akkadian **haykal(l)um* < Sum. é - g a l 'palace' (literally, "big house"), for which see further below, fn. xxx.

[206] Examples dealt with below (semantic classification of borrowings) are usually adduced without translation in the introductory part of this section.

The following chart briefly summarizes the main types of correspondences of stops and sibilants in the Sumero-Akkadian borrowing process.

Sumerian	Sumerian > Akkadian (earlier)	Sumerian > Akkadian (later)	Sumerian < Akkadian (early)	Akkadian
p	p	p	b	p
b		p, b		b
t	t	t	d	t
d		ṭ, d		d
				ṭ
k	k	k	g	k
g		ḳ, g		g
				ḳ
z	s [tˢ]	s	z	s
ʔ		z, ṣ		z
				ṣ
s	š [s]	š	s	š
š	ṭ		š	ṭ

Taken together, the evidence means that the distinctive features of homorganic stops and affricates differed in the two languages, and that they changed diachronically. Sumerian had only two homorganic stops, conventionally transliterated *k* and *g*, as opposed to three in Akkadian (*k*, *g*, *ḳ*). At an early stage, speakers of Sumerian perceived the closest affinity of the Akkadian phonemes to their "voiced" series, while speakers of Akkadian perceived the closest affinity of the Sumerian phonemes to their own voiceless series. Later, the Sumerian "voiced" series ceased to be rendered by Akkadian voiceless series and was renderd by *b*, *d*, *g/q* and so on.

Jagersma 2010, partially based on earlier literature, explains this picture by the following assumption: the Sumerian "unvoiced" and "voiced" consonants were originally both unvoiced and the distinctive feature was the aspiration of the "voiceless" series; later, the "voiceless" consonants became indeed voiced (as glossed in OB lexical texts). On the Akkadian side, the feature of aspiration was originally lacking, and therefore each of the three Akkadian series could be perceived as similar to the "voiced" Sumerian consonants. Later the Akkadian voiceless consonants became aspirated and since then corresponded exactly to the Sumerian "voiceless" consonants.

To make it clearer, glottalization (marked by ʾ) has been introduced as the counterpart of aspiration (marked by ʰ) in the following table:

Sumerian		Akkadian				Distinctive feature
k	[kʰ]		[kʰ] ↑			aspirated
g	[kʾ] → [g]	*k* [k]	*g*	*ḳ* [kʾ]		not aspirated

For systemic reasons, one would expect that Sumerian had also two affricates with the same distinctive feature as with the stops. Jagersma (2010) suggested that the so-called "*dr*-phoneme" *ř* filled the gap of the "voiceless" (aspirate) affricate. This sound is represented in older orthographies by the sign DU = řá, ře₆, and later by syllabograms with final *d* and initial *r* or *d*. In place of Sumerian *ř*, some Akkadian loanwords show (*s*)*s*, which was pronounced *tˢ*: *šukūsu* < š u k u - ř, *nikkassu* < n í ĝ - k a ₉ - ř, *lammassu* < lamma-ř. Other clear or possible correspondences include *d* (*aldû* < a l - ř

ú 'store of barley'), *t* (*pakuttu* 'trimmed tree trunk' < pa-ku₅-ř), *r* (*narû* < n a - ř ú - a 'stele')[207], *št* (*kuruštu* < guruš₅ 'fodder', *ř* uncertain), and *rt/rš* (*kišertu/kišeršu* 'prison' if < k é š (e) - ř 'to bind'). A late "school pronounciation" of *ř* as *tr* is documented in Ξισουθρος, the Greek transcription of Zi-u-suřa, the name of the Sumerian flood hero[208]. The affinities of *ř* with *r*, *t/d* and *tˢ* make it likely that the starting point was a retroflex post-alveolar affricate. If *z* and *ř* are indeed a homorganic pair, a retroflex articulation should be postulated also for *z*.

According to the traditional transliteration system, Sumerian had two "sibilants" *s* and *š*. Their phonetic reconstruction raises problems because comparable Akkadian phonemes and their graphic representations changed between the Sargonic and Old Babylonian periods, but also because the conventional tranliteration and transcription are partially misleading. In Sargonic Akkadian, we have the following situation:

Phonemes	Spelling	Pronounciation	Later spelling
s *z* (< *z, *d̠) *ṣ* (< *ṣ, *ṣ̂, *ṭ)	za, zi, zu	affricates [tˢ], [dᶻ], [tˢʾ]	za, zi, zu sa, si, su ṣi, ṣu
š (< *š, *ŝ),	sa, si, su	[s], [λ] or similar	ša, ši, šu
ṯ	ša, ši, šu	interdental or patalized	merged with *š* and written accordingly

If one takes the changes in the writing system into account, it results that in loanwords from Sumerian, *s* was mostly rendered by Akkadian *š* (conventional transliteration, early pronounciation [s]). On the other hand, Sumerian lexemes with *š* were used in Sargonic Akkadian as syllabograms for proto-Semitic *ṯ*, which in later

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[207] Interestingly, a syllabogram of the *ř*-series was also used in a loanword from Akkadian: řá-gaba (beside r a - g a b a) < *rākibu*. This means, apparently, that the original pronounciation had changed.

[208] George 2003:152–155. The name is mostly understood as "life of far days", but the expected genitive ending is not attested. In cuneiform, it is written Z i - u ₄ - s u d - ř á. The word usually transliterated as s u d or s ù 'far' ended in *ř* (instead of *d*); in order to add the suffix -a, the syllabogram řá was used according to standard Sumerian spelling rules. The sign combination s u d - ř á expressing originally simply *suřa* was subsequently interpreted as representing *sutra*.

Akkadian merged with š. The two most transparent syllabograms of this series are šu, derived from Sumerian š u 'hand', and šúm, derived from Sum. š ú m 'to give'. The sign with which the verb is written depicts a pair of plants and stands also for š ú m 'garlic' which etymologically corresponds to Akkadian šūmu 'garlic' and its Semitic cognates like Arabic ṯūm-. It is debated whether the word was borrowed from early Akkadian into Sumerian or *vice versa* (cf. Sommerfeld 2006:64, Kogan 2012:248–251 for the opposite points of view). There are good reasons to prefer the latter possibility: the concrete meaning of the cuneiform sign is apparently the primary one, and according to lexical and administrative texts, garlic was grown in Sumer since at least the Uruk III period. In any case, it seems that Sumerian š in late Early Dynastic period, when the Sargonic syllabary was created, resembled the Akkadian reflex of PS *ṯ. Akkadian words with ṯ borrowed into Sumerian also show the same spellings for ṯ: ša-na-bi < *ṯinā-pī[209] 'two thirds', ŠÚ-ša-na < *ṯulṯān[210] 'one third' and possibly also b u r - š u - m a < *purṯumu 'old man' (*ṯ uncertain).

As for the Akkadian loanwords with š (early pronunciation [s]), they, not unexpectedly, usually appear with s in Sumerian, as in s i l i m 'well-being' < šalim 'he is is well'.

The consonantal phonemes l, m, n, r and ḫ existed in both languages and regularly correspond to each other in loanwords.

The phoneme usually transliterated as ĝ (or g̃) was obviously perceived as typical of Sumerian by Old Babylonian scribes. Elementary syllabaries ("tu-ta-ti-lists") reserve for it a series which partially overlaps with the *m*-series: ĝu₁₀ (= MU) – ĝá – ĝi₆ (= MI). The sign with the value ĝá has also a value ba₄, used in early Sumerian in place of ba as a verbal prefix. In the Emesal dialect, ĝ is substituted by m. Loanwords in Akkadian render the ĝ by k/g (mostly in syllable-inital position), by (n)g between vowels, and by n (more rarely ng, qq) in syllable-final position: *keškittû/keškattû* < ĝ e š - k í ĝ - t i 'craftsman', *šangû* < s a n g a (covential trasliteration for *saĝa*) 'temple administrator', *uršānu* < u r - s a ĝ 'hero', *palaggû/balaggû, balangû* < b a l a ĝ 'musical instrument', *uqqu* < ù ĝ 'people'. The phoneme is commonly reconstructed as a velar nasal [ŋ], but the Emesal equivalent m and the sign value ba₄ beside ĝá point to an additional labial component: [ŋʷ] or [ŋᵇ]. This is supported by the occurrence of ĝ in Sumerian loanwords from Akkadian, where it replaces p and m: ĝ a r z a < *parṣu* 'rite' and ĝ a l g a < *ĝilga < milku* (Old Assyrian *malku*) 'advice'. There must have been also a labialized variety of g which can be deduced from correspondences like Emesal z é - e b for d ù g 'sweet' or Emesal š à - b for š a g₄ 'heart'.

Sumerian had at also some "weak" phonemes which were not expressed by explicit syllabograms. Similar phonemes existed in Semitic and in Akkadian, where most of them merged and/or disappeared already towards the end of the Sargonic period (ca. 2300–2100 BC).

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[209] The later Akkadian forms are assembled in the dictionaries s.v. *šinipu*. The word must be an old univerbation of *ṯinā* 'two' and *pī* 'mouth' in the absolute state in the sense of "fraction" (von Soden compares Hebrew *pī šənayim* 'two thirds', BDB 805).

[210] The later Akkadian form is *šuššān* (CAD Š₃ 384, where a single variant *šulšān* is noted). The first part of the Sumerian spelling is not a syllabogram, but the rest of an old number-sign (1/3), to which *ša-na* is added as a phonetic complement. The word may be analyzed as *ṯulṯ-ān-*, based on *ṯulṯ-* 'one third' (admittedly, not attested in Akkadian, but only in Arabic).

A phoneme identical with or similar to *h* can be inferred from the earliest Akkadian syllabaries, where the Sumerian logogram for "house", conventionally transliterated as é (based on later sources), regularly stands for *ha* and *ḫa*. The Sumerian term occurs also as part of the compound term é-g a l 'big house' = 'palace'. This was borrowed into Akkadian, where it appears as *ēkallu*. In Ugaritic, Hebrew, Aramaic and, finally, Arabic, however, we find corresponding forms with initial *h* which were most probably transmitted through an early dialect of Akkadian.[211] The same seems to be the case with the Hebrew name of the Tigris, *Ḥiddäḳäl*, corresponding to Sumerian *Idigla*.

A similar case is that of the Sumerian logogram for "ship", transliterated m á: in early Akkadian texts it is regularly used to express the second syllable of *yišmaʕ* 'he heard', which points to a final "weak" phoneme resembling Semitic ʔ or ʕ in the Sumerian word. According to Jagersma 2010:40, the Sumerian suffix -a (in its different functions) also started with ʔ, and this could be assimilated to a preceding consonant and thus became responsible for the geminated consonants appearing in this position not only in Sumerian orthography, but also in loanwords like *tūduḳḳû* 'magic spell' < t u₆ - d u g₄ - g a < *tū-dug-ʔa*. The genitive suffix -a k was apparently treated differently, in loanwords it is usually not preceded by geminated consonants, and the *a* may disappear, cf. *ayakku* < *hay-an-ak* (é - a n - n a - k) 'house of Heaven' (sanctuary of Inanna in Uruk), *anukkū* (besides *anunakkū*) < *a-nun-ak* (a - n u n - n a - k) 'a group of gods'.

The semi-vowel *y* in Sumerian was most probably of a secondary nature, either as part of a genuine diphthong (uncertain) or as a reduced form of *i*, or as a hiatus-replacement. The semi-vowel *w* seems to have been absent from the phonemic inventory of Sumerian. In the loanword u g u l a 'overseer' from Akkadian *wakilu*, inital *wa* became *u* (like in later Assyrian).

Sumerian loanwords in Akkadian contain the same long and short vowels as as in autochthonous Akkadian words (*a*, *ā*, *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*). Most probably, they reflect the existence of distinctive vowel quantities also for Sumerian. The vowel *o*, for which no standard cuneiform orthography was developed, is likely to have existed in both languages[212]. It is, however, unlikely that the Sumerian and Akkadian vocalic systems matched completely.

Sumerian loanwords in Akkadian are always stressed on the last syllable of the stem. The final consonant is geminated when the preceding vowel is short (according to Akkadian rules, the stress would otherwise shift to the preceding syllable, and the short vowel would drop). This treatment of the Sumerian etyma demonstrates that they were stressed on the last syllable: *kurru* < g u r 'kor' vs. *pūru* < b u r 'bowl'; *ēkallu*

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[211] The Akkadian term is conventionally transcribed with a short *e*, but Hebrew/Aramaic *haykal* and Arabic *haykal-* speak in favor of a long vowel. The diphthong *ay* may be a hypercorrection of *ē* or go back to the Sum. etymon. This was either *hay-gal* or *hā-gal*, which both could become (*h*)*ēkallum* in Akkadian. The form *ayyakku*, borrowed from from Sumerian é - a n - n a - k 'house of Heaven' (for which see Beaulieu 2002) speaks on favor of *hay.

[212] Lieberman 1977 distinguishes *u* and *o* according to certain syllabograms, e. g. ú [u] versus ù, u₄ [o], often used in plene-spellings. See further Lieberman 1979 and, for the same distinction in Akkadian, Westenholz 1991.

< é - g a l (*hay-gal) 'palace' vs. pursītu < b u r - z i - d (*būr-zīd) 'kind of bowl'. As far as morphology is concerned, the big differences in verbal morphology may be responsible for the fact that there are no secure examples of Akkadian verbs borrowed from Sumerian, and only a handful of Sumerian verbs which are likely to be borrowed from Akkadian: Sum. s a$_{12}$-r i g$_7$ < šarāku 'to present as a gift' (stative šarik), ḫ a - z a < aḫāzu 'to hold', (a) b/(í) b - b a r - r a - š < naprušu (present ipparraš) 'to fly'.

As can be seen from the preceding examples, the morphological forms of the etyma vary. Sumerian borrowings form Akkadian exhibit, however, certain regularities concerning their ending. Early borrowings (before Ur III) have no ending or end in -a. During the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, numerous Akkadian nouns with the Akkadian ending -um of the nominative singular occur in Sumerian administrative and, to a lesser extent, literary texts. The origin of the ending -a is disputed, it may represent the Semitic accusative in an archaic function (as a predicative or quotation form), or it may be a homophonous Sumerian suffix[213]. Examples with zero-ending include Sum. l i b i r 'old' < Akk. labir 'he is old', s i l i m 'well-being' < šalim) 'he is well', and possibly s á m < *ša'mu 'price'[214]. Akk. kēnu/kīnu 'firm, stable, true' has two correspondences: gin (written g i - i n, g i - n) and g i - n a '(to be/make) firm'; the latter was probably derived from the former already within Sumerian. Some examples of early loanwords ending in -a: d a m - g à r a < tamkāru 'merchant', d a m - ḫ a - r a < tamḫāru 'battle' and most probably also m a - n a < manû 'mina' (the underlying pattern is unclear).

What follows is a semantically classified list of Sumerian loanwords with reliable syllabic spellings in OB sources[215].

Anatomy and physiology: kutallu 'nape of the head, backside; rear part' < g ú - t á l (CAD K 603, AHw. 517, Lieberman 1977:285), šagbānu < s a ĝ - b a - n ú 'a desease' (CAD S 22, AHw. 1127, cf. Lieberman 1977:16)[216], šassūru 'womb; mother goddess' < š à - t ù r (CAD Š$_2$ 145, AHw. 1194, Lieberman 1977:473–474)[217], šašallu < s a - s a l 'tendon of the hoof' (CAD Š$_2$ 168, AHw. 1197, Lieberman 1977:457–458), šittu 'excrement' < š e d$_6$ (CAD Š$_3$ 142, not in AHw. or Lieberman 1977)

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[213] In Sumerian, -a has three main functions: **(1)** affixed to simple verbal bases, it creates verbal nouns expressing completed action (often, but misleadingly called "ḫamṭu participles"); **(2)** it is found with many adjectives, sometimes involving a contrastive meaning; **(3)** it nominalizes clauses containing a finite verb.

[214] The direction of the borrowing is disputed. The existence of the Akkadian verb ša'āmu 'to buy' together with its Semitic cognates speak in favor of a Semitic origin. This view is further supported by the existence of Akkadian loanwords for "merchant", viz. d a m - g à r a and g a ' e š (for which see Krebernik 2016). However, the source of Sumerian s á m cannot be identical with Akk. šīmu 'purchase, price'; it was either the Infinitive ša'āmu or an archaic verbal noun of the pattern PaRS which became obsolete in Akkadian in pre-written times.

[215] Based on a preliminary list in Kogan–Loesov 2009:173–174.

[216] The Sumerian spelling could be based on folk-etymology, and the term, which may also be read šakbānu, could be of Semitic origin. Sum. n ú corresponds semantically to Akk. sakāpu 'to lie down' and its cognates with the root škb (CDG 496).

[217] For a possible connection with the name of Nin-tur, see Cavigneaux–Krebernik 1998–2001.

Plants and animals: *giršānu* 'a large variety of leek' < g a - r a š - s a ĝ (CAD G 96, AHw. 266, Lieberman 1977:251), *gišimmaru* 'date palm' < ĝ i š i m m a r (CAD G 102, AHw. 292 Lieberman 1977:297–298)[218], *kukkallu* 'a breed of sheep' (CAD G 126, AHw. 500) < k u ĝ g a l[219] (Lieberman 1977:360), *ḫe(n)gallu* 'abundant yield of fauna and flora' < ḫ é - ĝ á l (CAD Ḫ 167, AHw. 339, Lieberman 1977:311–312), *saḫlû* 'cress' < z à - ḫ i - l i - a (CAD S 62, AHw. 1009, Lieberman 1977:524–525), *pappar̬û*, *papparḫītu* 'purslane' < b a b b a r - ḫ i (CAD P 109, AHw. 824, Lieberman 1977:174), *suḫuššu* < z ú - ḫ u š 'young date palm' (CAD S 352, AHw. 1055, Lieberman 1977:542), *suluppū* 'dates' < z ú - l u m (CAD S 373, AHw. 1057, Lieberman 1977:542), *šamaškillu* 'an alliaceous plant' < š ú m - s i k i l (CAD Š₁ 298, AHw. 1155, Lieberman 1977:494), *pakuttu* 'trimmed tree trunk' < p a - k u d (CAD P 37, AHw. 812, Lieberman 1977:434–435), *sû/zû* 'date palm fibers' < z ú (CAD S 338, AHw. 1535, Lieberman 1977:539–540), *šaḫû* 'pig' < saḫa/šaḫa (CAD Š₁ 102, AHw. 1133, Lieberman 1977:450–451), *tarlugallu* 'rooster' < d a r - l u g a l (CAD T 237, AHw. 1330, Lieberman 1977:199), *šuttinnu* 'bat' < s u - t i n (CAD S 419, AHw. 1292, Lieberman 1977:466), *asu* 'bear' < a z (CAD A₂ 344, AHw. 76, Lieberman 1977:163).

Landscape, natural phenomena, minerals: *agû* 'flow of water' < a - ĝ e₆ - a (CAD A₁ 157, AHw. 17, Lieberman 1977:219–220), *appāru* 'reed marsh' < a b b a r (CAD A₂ 179, AHw. 59, Lieberman 1977:150–151), *apsû* 'cosmic subterranean water' < a b z u (CAD A₂ 194, AHw. 61, Lieberman 1977:135–136), *aškāru* 'crescent' < u₄ - s a k a r (CAD U 278, AHw. 1438, Lieberman 1977:423), *imḫullu* 'a destructive wind' < i m - ḫ u l (CAD I 116, AHw. 376, Lieberman 1977:327–328), *ušallu* 'lowland' < ú - š a l (CAD U 296, AHw. 1440, Lieberman 1977:519), *ušû/ešû* 'diorite' < e s i (CAD U 326, AHw. 1442, Lieberman 1977:233)[220], *zagid(du)rû* 'a kind of lapis-lazuli' < z a - g ì n - d u r u₅ (AHw. 1502, Lieberman 1977:526, cf. CAD Z 11).

Agriculture and food preparation: *aldû* 'store of barley' < a l - d ù (CAD A₁ 337, AHw. 35, Lieberman 1977:146), *epinnu* 'seeder plow' (CAD E 235, AHw. 229) < a p i n (Lieberman 1977:153), *(i)simmanû* 'a malt preparation as the basic ingredient for beer; travel provisions' < z ì - m u n u₃/₄ (CAD I 193, Lieberman 1977:334–335)[221], *karû* 'pile of barley' < k u r u₁₃[222] (CAD K 226, AHw. 452, Lieberman 1977:363), *kirû* 'garden' < k i r i₆ (CAD K 411, AHw. 485, Lieberman 1977:342–343), *ugāru* 'meadow, arable land' < a - g à r (CAD U 27, AHw. 1402, Lieberman 1977:511–512)[223].

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[218] The history of the word is problematic. According to Attinger 2016, the OB reading of the Sumerian logogram conventionally read ĝ i š i m m a r was ĝ e š n i m / n b a r and seems to contain the element ĝ e š 'tree'. If so, the second element could be related to PWS *tam(a)r- (cf. Kogan 2012:255).

[219] The traditional reading of the logogram is g u k k a l. The word has been analyzed as a bahuvrihi *kuĝ-gal '(having) a big tail'. Attinger 2016 suggests the reading k u ĝ g a l a, but the Akk. loanword does not support a final *a*.

[220] The older Akkadian form is *ešû*, while *ušû* seems to be due to an internal Akk. sound shift. Note that the term in both languages also designates a tree and its (presumably hard) wood (ebony?). The logogram stand also for k a l a g 'strong'.

[221] The etymology suggested by the logographic spelling of the Sumerian term (z ì 'flour', m u n u ₃/₄ 'malt') is hardly correct and does not account four the initial *i*- of the Akkadian equivalent.

[222] Traditional reading g u r (u)₇.

[223] The Akkadian term presupposes an older Sumerian form *ugar (> a - g à r).

Household objects, garments, weapons: *agasilakku/agasalakku* 'an ax' < a g a - s i l i g (CAD A$_1$ 148, AHw. 16, Lieberman 1977:143), *as(s)ammu* 'a large drinking vessel' < a n - z a - a m (CAD A$_2$ 340, AHw. 75, Lieberman 1977:152), *aškuttu* 'wedge (as a device to bar a door)' < á - s ú k u d (CAD A$_2$ 444, AHw. 81, Lieberman 1977:160), *gisallû* 'reed fence or screen' < g i - s a l (CAD G 97, AHw. 291, Lieberman 1977:258), *gisappu* 'a basket with a wooden handle' < g i - s a b (CAD G 98, AHw. 291, Lieberman 1977:255), *gištalû* 'rung of a potstand' (CAD G 109, AHw. 293) < g i š - d a l (Lieberman 1977:294), *gištû* 'furniture ring' (CAD G 109, AHw. 293) < g i š - d e $_5$ (Lieberman 1977:298), *kakku* 'weapon' < g a g (CAD K 50, AHw. 422, Lieberman 1977:241–243), *kangiškarakku, kannaškarakku/kanniškarakku* 'a table' (CAD K 194) < k a : ĝ e š - k a r a $_4$ (CAD K 149, AHw. 437, Lieberman 1977:337), *laḫtānu* 'beer vat' < l a ḫ t a n (CAD L 44, AHw. 528, Lieberman 1977:369–370), *paršīgu* 'a sash often used as a headdress' < bar-si/sig/síg (CAD P 203, AHw. 836, Lieberman 1977:175–176), *pišannu* 'chest, box' < b e š e ĝ [224] (CAD P 420, AHw. 867, Lieberman 1977:180–181), *rappû* 'neck stock' < r a b (CAD R 160, AHw. 956, Lieberman 1977:439), *sagrikku* 'net for carrying straw' < s a - g i r i $_{11}$ (CAD S 26, AHw. 1003, Lieberman 1977:444), *saparru* 'net' < s a - p à r (AHw. 1026, CAD S 162, Lieberman 1977:443), *šug(a)rû* 'basket' < š u - g u ru $_5$ (CAD Š$_3$ 202, AHw. 1260, Lieberman 1977:490), *šuḫuppatu* 'boot' < s u ḫ ú b (CAD Š$_3$ 210, AHw. 1262, Lieberman 1977:541), *šušippu/šusippu* 'towel' < š u - s u - u b (CAD Š$_3$ 376, AHw. 1289, Lieberman 1977:496), *šuškallu/šaškallu* 'net' < ^{sa} š ú - u š - g a l (CAD Š$_3$ 382, AHw. 1289, Lieberman 1977:787–788), *tarkullu/terkullu* 'mooring post' < TARGUL[225] (CAD T 236, AHw. 1330, Lieberman 1977:198), *timmu* 'pole, stake' < d i m (CAD T 418, AHw. 1360, not in Lieberman 1977), *tukkannu* 'leather bag' < d ù g - g a n (CAD T 456, AHw. 1367, Lieberman 1977:209–210)[226].

Building and architercture: *asurrû* 'foundation structure, lower course of a wall' (CAD A$_2$ 350, AHw. 77) < a - s u r (Lieberman 1977:238), *edakku* 'wing of a building' < é - d a (CAD E 21, AHw. 184, Lieberman 1977:213–214), *gušūru* 'log, beam' < ĝ e š - ù r (CAD G 144, AHw. 300, Lieberman 1977:298–299), *igāru* 'wall (of a building)' < é - g a r$_8$ (CAD I 34, AHw. 366, Lieberman 1977:322–323)[227], *kisallu* 'courtyard' < k i s a l (CAD K 416, AHw. 485, Lieberman 1977:355–356), *kisalbarakku* 'outer courtyard' < k i s a l - b a r - r a (CAD K 416, AHw. 1568, Lieberman 1977:356), *kisû* 'supporting wall along a building' < k i - s á (CAD K 429, AHw. 487, Lieberman 1977:354–355), *šulḫû* 'outer city wall' < s u l - ḫ i (CAD Š$_1$ 243, AHw. 1147, Lieberman 1977:468–469), *temmen(n)u* < t e m e n (CAD T 337, AHw. 1346, Lieberman 1977:502–503), *ūru* 'roof' < ^{giš}ù r (CAD U 261, AHw. 1434, Lieberman 1977:516–518).

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[224] The traditional reading of the logogram is p i s a n.

[225] The logogram looks like MÁ+DÙ or MÁ+ZADIM, it has different glosses/readings like d u r g u l, d e r g u l and d i m g u l. The earliest form of the Akkadian equivalent seems to be *terkullu/tergullu*.

[226] The Sumerian term is represented by a kind of rebus-spelling (d ù g 'sweet' + g a n 'potstand'); the direction of the borrowing is uncertain, the word probably comes from a third language.

[227] For a possible Ethiopian Semitic etymology of *igāru*/é . g a r$_8$ v. Kogan 2006b:270.

Professions: *atkuppu* 'a craftsman making objects of reeds' < a d g u b [228] (CAD A₂ 494, AHw. 87, Lieberman 1977:137), *gugallu* 'inspector of canals' (CAD G 121, AHw. 295) < g ú - g a l (Lieberman 1977:359–360)[229], *ḫuppû* 'acrobat' < ḫ ú b - b é (CAD Ḫ 240, AHw. 356, Lieberman 1977:314), *išparu* 'weaver' < u š - b a r (CAD I 255, AHw. 397, Lieberman 1977:292), *itinnu* 'house builder' < ŠIDIM (CAD I 296, AHw. 404, Lieberman 1977:484)[230], *kisalluḫḫu* 'courtyard sweeper' < k i s a l - l u ḫ (CAD K 419, AHw. 485, Lieberman 1977:356), *kuttimmu* 'gold- or silversmith' < k ù - d í m (CAD K 608, AHw. 518, Lieberman 1977:358–359), *malāḫu* 'sailor, boatman' < m á - l a ḫ₄ (CAD M₁ 149, AHw. 592, Lieberman 1977:384), *mudasû* 'list of persons to whom fields are distributed' < m u - d a - s á / s a₄ (CAD M₂ 160, AHw. 666, Lieberman 1977:395), *nuḫ(a)timmu* 'cook' < m u ḫ a l d i m (CAD N₂ 313, AHw. 801, Lieberman 1977:395–396), *parkullu* 'carver' < b u r - g u l (CAD P 519, AHw. 834, Lieberman 1977:176)[231], *šabsūtu* 'midwife' < š à - z u (CAD Š₁ 16, AHw. 1120, Lieberman 1977:472–473)[232], *šamallû* 'assistant of a merchant; junior scribe' < s a m a n₄ - l á (CAD Š₁ 291, AHw. 1153, Lieberman 1977:455), *šušikku/šusikku* 'fellmonger' < s u - s i - i g (CAD Š₃ 374, AHw. 1064, Lieberman 1977:469–470), *taḫḫu, taḫḫû* 'substitute worker' < t a ḫ (CAD T 49, AHw. 1302, Lieberman 1977:196), *tappû* 'partner' < t a b - b a (CAD T 184, AHw. 1321, Lieberman 1977:498–500), *ummiānu* 'investor, financier; craftsman, expert, scholar' < u m - m i - a (CAD U 108, AHw. 1415, Lieberman 1977:514–515)[233], *usandû* 'fowler' < m u š e n - d ù (CAD U 274, AHw. 1437, Lieberman 1977:399), *atû, utû* 'doorkeeper' < ì - d u₈ (CAD A₂ 516, AHw. 1445, Lieberman 1977:408–409), *asû* 'physician' < a - z u / z u₅ (CAD A₂ 344, AHw. 76, Lieberman 1977:237–238).

Business and trade: *ganīnu* 'storage room' < ĝ á - n u n, ĝ a n u n (CAD G 42, AHw. 280, Lieberman 1977:288–289), *ibbû* 'loss, deficit' < i m - b a (CAD I 109, AHw. 363, Lieberman 1977:327), *ibissû* id. < i - b í - z a (CAD I 3, AHw. 363, Lieberman 1977:130), *ibrû* 'sealed receipt' < í b - r a (CAD I 7, AHw. 364, Lieberman 1977:319), *igisû* 'annual task' < i g i - s á (CAD I 41, AHw. 367, Lieberman 1977:352), *eškaru/iškaru* < é š - g à r 'work assigned to be performed' (CAD I 244, AHw. 395, Lieberman 1977:235–236), *kāru* 'mooring place; trading station' < k a r (CAD K 231, AHw. 451, Lieberman 1977:339), *nikkassu* 'account' < n í g - k a s₇ (CAD N₂ 223, AHw. 789, Lieberman 1977:414–415)[234].

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[228] The logogram consists of KID 'reed mat' and the phonetic indicator a d placed in front of it, an alternative transliteration is ᵃ ᵈ a d g u b ₓ.

[229] In Sumerian, the term is written with different rebus spellings, apart from g ú - g a l, we find also k u g - ĝ á l and k u₆ - ĝ á l. Instead of g ú - g a l, one should perhaps better read g ú n - g a l. The word had probably a ĝ in the middle.

[230] The relationship between Akkadian *itinnu* and the normal Sumerian reading of the logogram, š i d i m, is highly problematic. š i d i m looks like a compound of the same type as k ù - d í m 'gold/silver-smith' and z a - d í m 'sculptor'. Maybe *itinnu* comes from a parallel formation with another first element, in this case *i* could reflect é 'house'.

[231] See above, xxx.

[232] See above, xxx.

[233] The exact relationship between the two lexemes is somewhat problematic. Structurally, the Sumerian term looks like an Akkadian loanword with the typical *a*-ending. Perhaps we are dealing with a *Rückentlehnung*, and the final etymon was Sum. u m u m 'craftsman, master'.

[234] The final consonant of the Sumerian term was ř, see above, xxx.

Politics and administration: *adû* 'work assignment' (CAD A₁ 135, AHw. 14) < á - d ù (Lieberman 1977:135), *agû* 'crown' < a g a (CAD A₁ 153, AHw. 16, Lieberman 1977:139–140), *ekallu* 'palace' < é . g a l (CAD E 52, AHw. 191, Lieberman 1977:216–217), *iššiakku* 'territorial ruler' < é n s i (CAD I 262, AHw. 398, Lieberman 1977:228–229), *kabaraḫḫu/gabaraḫḫu* < g a b a - r a - a ḫ, g a b a - r a ḫ 'rebellion' (CAD G 1, AHw. 271, Lieberman 1977:240–241), *laputtû* 'lieutenant' < n u - b à n d a (CAD L 97, AHw. 537, Lieberman 1977:420), *massû* 'leader; expert' < m a š - s ù (CAD M₁ 327, AHw. 619, Lieberman 1977:388–389), *meʾanu, mēnu* 'crown, royal headgear' < m e n (CAD M₂ 19, AHw. 639, Lieberman 1977:390–391), *palû* 'reign, dynasty' < b a l a (CAD P 70, AHw. 817, Lieberman 1977:167), *sukkallu/šukkallu* 'a court official' < s u k k a l (CAD S 354, AHw. 1263, Lieberman 1977:467), *šusummû/šušummû* < š u - š ú m - m a 'gift, delivery' (CAD Š₃ 375, AHw. 1288, not in Lieberman 1977), *šatammu* 'accountant, clerk' < š à - t a m (CAD Š₂ 185, AHw. 1199, Lieberman 1977:471–472), *šukūs(s)u* 'allotment of land' < š ú k u ř (CAD Š₃ 235, AHw. 1266, Lieberman 1977:491–492), *zabardabbu* 'an official' < z a b a r - d a b (CAD Z 5, AHw. 1501, Lieberman 1977:522–523), *altaru* 'assigned work' < a l - t a r (CAD A₁ 373, AHw. 39, Lieberman 1977:146–147)[235].

Religion and cult: *abarakku* 'steward of the temple' < a g r i g (CAD A₁ 32, AHw. 3, Lieberman 1977:141–142), *asakku* 'taboo' < a z a g (CAD A₂ 326, AHw. 73, Lieberman 1977:163–164), *ikkibu* id. < n í ĝ - g ì b (CAD I 55, AHw. 368, Lieberman 1977:412–413), *edamû* 'a priest' (CAD E 22, AHw. 184) < é - d a - m ú - a (Lieberman 1977:215), *gagû* 'cloister' < ĝ á - g e ₄ - a (CAD G 10, AHw. 273, Lieberman 1977:287), *gizinakku* 'the place of making offering to the moon good' (CAD G 115, AHw. 294) < k i -ᵈEN.ZU-n a (Lieberman 1977:354), *guduttû* 'offering table' (CAD G 120, AHw. 295) < d u g u d (metathesis) (Lieberman 1977:210–211), *kikunnû* (*kukunnû, gigunnû*) 'a sacred building erected in terraces' < g e - g ù / g u n ₄ - n a (CAD G 67, AHw. 284, Lieberman 1977:255), *kalû* 'lamentation-priest' < g a l a (CAD K 91, AHw. 427, Lieberman 1977:275), *lamassu* 'protective spirit' < l a m m a (CAD L 60, AHw. 532, Lieberman 1977:372–373)[236], *melemmū* 'supernaural awe-inspiring sheen inherent in things divine and royal' < m e - lim₄ (CAD M₂ 9, AHw. 643, Lieberman 1977:390), *mû* 'cult rites' < m e (CAD M₂ 156, AHw. 664, Lieberman 1977:389), *parakku* < p a r a g (AHw. 827, Lieberman 1977:437–438), *ša(g)gû/šangû* < š a n g a (AHw. 1163, Lieberman 1977:446), *šurinnu* < š u - n i r (AHw. 1283, Lieberman 1977:495), *šuginû* 'daily offering' < š u - g e - n a (AHw. 1260, CAD Š₃ 199, Lieberman 1977:489), *tû* < t u₆ 'incantation' (CAD T 441, AHw. 1364, Lieberman 1977:506), *utukku* 'demon, ghost' < u d u g (AHw. 1445, Lieberman 1977:424).

Measures, time and mathematics: *buru* 'a surface measure' < b ù r (CAD B 339, AHw. 141, Lieberman 1977:186), *mušaru* id. < m ú - s a r (CAD M₂ 261, AHw. 681, Lieberman 1977:397–398), *paršiktu/parsiktu* 'a measure of capacity' < b a - r í - g a (CAD P 192, AHw. 835, Lieberman 1977:177), *santakku* 'triangle' < s a g . d ù (CAD S 149, AHw. 1024, Lieberman 1977:449–450), *šār* '3.600' < š á r (CAD Š₂ 35, AHw. 1182, Lieberman 1977:478), *dirigû* 'intercalary month' < d i r i g - g a (CAD D 159, AHw. 173, Lieberman 1977:205), *basû* 'square or cube root' < b a - s i₈ (CAD B 133, AHw. 110,

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[235] For the meaning see Farber 1989.
[236] The Sum. word ended in ř, see above xxx.

Lieberman 1977:177)[237], *apsamikku* 'a square with concave sides' < á b - z a - m ì (CAD A₂ 192, AHw. 61, Lieberman 1977:135), *apšītû* 'agreed proportion' < a b - š i d (CAD A₂ 197, AHw. 61, Lieberman 1977:133), *arû* 'product (in multiplication)' < a - r á (CAD A₂ 312, AHw. 72, Lieberman 1977:154–155).

Varia: *ašilalû* 'something fancy' < a s i l a l (ŠÌR×A) (CAD A₂ 430, AHw. 1545, Lieberman 1977:159), *egirrû* 'reputation' < e n i m - ĝ a r (CAD E 43, AHw. 189, Lieberman 1977:226–227), *ikkillu* 'clamor, din' < a k k i l (CAD I 57, AHw. 369, Lieberman 1977:138), *isinnu* 'festival' < e z e n (CAD I 195, AHw. 388, Lieberman 1977:332–333), *kalakku* 'excavation; storehouse, silo' < k i - l á (CAD K 62, AHw. 423, Lieberman 1977:348), *kimāḫu* 'grave, tomb' < k i - m a ḫ (CAD K 370, AHw. 478, Lieberman 1977:350), *kinsiku* 'late afternoon' < k i ĝ - s i g (CAD K 388, AHw. 481, Lieberman 1977:346, 347), *māšu* 'twin' < m a š (CAD M₂ 401, AHw. 631, Lieberman 1977:387), *narû* 'inscribed stone monument' < n a - ř ú - a (CAD N₁ 364, AHw. 749, Lieberman 1977:407), *sammû* 'lyre' < z à - m í (CAD S 118, AHw. 1018, Lieberman 1977:526–527)[238], *šulû* 'street' < s i l a (CAD S 370, AHw. 1260, not in Lieberman 1977), *unnedukku* 'letter' < ù - n e - d u g₄ (CAD U 161, AHw. 1421, Lieberman 1977:427–428), *uršānu* 'warrior, champion' < u r - s a ĝ (CAD U 250, AHw. 1434, Lieberman 1977:518–519).

It is a well-known fact that not a single verb has been borrowed from Sumerian into Akkadian, undoubtedly because of the drastically different systems of verbal root and inlflection in the two languages. As a possible exception, Falkenstein (1960:310) has suggested an etymological link between Sum. š u - b a l a and Akk. *šupêlu* 'to exchange' (CAD Š₃ 320, AHw. 1279). This proposal has been generally neglected or rejected (so, most recently, Kouwenberg 2010:350), but in view of the full semantic equivalence between the two verbs on the one hand and the total lack of convincing Semitic etymology for *šupêlu* on the other, Falkenstein's guess may still be worth considering.

In the adverbial domain, cf. *uddakam* 'all day long, always' (CAD U 18, AHw. 1400) < Sum. u₄ - d a - k a m, *uddam* 'today' < Sum. u₄ - d a m (CAD U 19) and *gana* 'come! now then!' < Sum. g a - n a (CAD G 39, AHw. 280).

Of interest are a few retrograde borrowings (*Rückentlehnungen*), which have been first borrowed by Sumerian from early Akkadian and then re-borrowed by Akkadian in (pre-)OB times. As the most reliable examples, one can quote *rakbû* 'messenger, envoy' (CAD R 105, AHw. 947) < r a / r á - g a b a[239] < *rākibu* 'rider' (not directly attested with this meaning)[240]; *šabrû* 'high-ranking administrative official, chief administrator' (CAD Š₁ 11, AHw. 1120) < š a b r a (Lieberman 1977:470) < *šāpiru* 'overseer, provincial governor, prefect' (CAD Š₁ 453, AHw. 1172); *pilludû* 'ritual' (CAD P 377, AHw. 853) < b e l u d a (PA.AN, b e₆ - l u₅ - d a, etc.) (Lieberman 1977:177–178) <

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[237] Attinger 2008.

[238] The derivation is problematic since Sum. z à - m í 'praise' ended in *m* or *n*.

[239] Missing from Lieberman 1977, probably because no syllabic attestations of the Akkadian word were known by that time. They are now well attested in the more recently published lexical lists, v. CAD s. v., bilingual section.

[240] For *rakbu* 'Meldereiter' compare the contradictory positions of AHw. 947 and CAD *rakbû*, discussion section.

bēlūtu 'rule, dominion' (CAD B 202, AHw. 121)[241]; *ginû* 'normality, correctness; regular offering' (CAD G 80, AHw. 290) < g i - n a (Lieberman 1977:256) < *kīnu*, *kēnu* 'normal, correct, regular' (CAD K 389, AHw. 481); *šakirû* 'henbane' (CAD Š₁ 167, AHw. 1140) < š a k i r a (Lieberman 1977:475–476) < *šak(i)ru* 'embriagating plant'[242]; *ubāru* 'stranger, foreign guest' (CAD U 10, AHw. 1399) < u - b a r < *wabru* 'a type of foreigner' (CAD U/W 12, AHw. 1554)[243]. Somewhat more problematic are *šakkanakku* 'military governor' (CAD Š₁ 170, AHw. 1140) < *š a g i n a (GÌR.NÍTA) (Lieberman 1977:447) < *šaknu* 'governor' (CAD Š₁ 180, AHw. 1141)[244] and *išippu* 'purification priest' (CAD I 242, AHw. 395) < i š i b < *wāšipu* 'exorcist' (CAD A2 431, AHw. 1487)[245].

Constraints of space and time prevent us from treating scores of learned Sumerisms attested in Standard Babylonian and often written with the respective Sumerian logograms rather than syllabically[246]. A comprehensive inquiry into such loanwords remains an important desideratum.

3.2. West Semitic loanwords in Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian

3.2.1. Old Babylonian

The standard research tool for the West Semitic loanwords in Old Babylonian is Streck 2000:82–130, with valuable additions in Charpin 2005–2006:285–287 (cf. also Zadok 1993, Sasson 1998:105–108, Durand 2012:177–179). Streck's list comprises ca. 200 entries, around a half of them are sufficiently convincing. The following illustrations are limited to the most reliable examples[247].

abiyānu 'poor' (AHw. 1541, von Soden 1969, Durand 1998:450, Streck 2000:83–84) — Ugr. *ʔabyn*, Hbr. *ʔäbyōn* (DUL 14, HALOT 5).

āḫarātu 'western bank' (CAD A₁ 170, AHw. 18, Streck 2000:84)[248] and *aḳdamātu* 'eastern bank', *aḳdamū* 'former times' (CAD A₂ 207, AHw. 62 and 1544, Streck 2000:84) — while both *ʔḫr* and *ḳdm* are attested in Akkadian, the pattern *ʔaC₁C₂aC₃-* clearly suggests WS loanwords, cf. Sab. *ʔḫr* 'another time' (SD 4), *ḳdm* 'front part; previous

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[241] The semantic shift from "rule, dominion" to "ritual" remains to be clarified.

[242] Cf. from the same root (but with a different pattern) the designations of henbane in Syr. *šakrōnā* (LSyr. 777) and Arb. *saykurān-* (Lane 1302, probably an Aramaism).

[243] Note that *wabru* is an exclusively Assyrian word so it is not quite clear where and why could it be borrowed into Sumerian.

[244] Doubts about the Akkadian origin of the hypothetic Sumerian pronunciation of GÌR.NÍTA are expressed in CAD s. v., discussion section. For an attempt at explaining the apparently superfluous ending *-akk-* v. Edzard 1962:94–95 ("fälschlich als Genitivverbindung verstanden").

[245] For a skeptical, to some extent hypercritical attitude towards this comparison v. Sommerfeld 2006:62–63.

[246] "Als Sonderfälle sumerischer Lehnwörter könnte man "gelehrte" Neubildungen in akkadischen Milieu betrachten (vergleichbar griechischen und lateinischen Fachausdrücken moderner europäischer Sprachen")" (Krebernik 2008:262).

[247] Since no WS language is attested at this early period, only later material (chiefly Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew) can be provided for comparison.

[248] Both AHw. and CAD transcribe this word as *aḫarātu*, but *ā-* is preferable in view of the parallel formation in *aḳdamātu* (*āḫar-* < **ʔaʔḫar-*), cf. Sab. *ʔḫr* and Arb. *ʔāḫar-*.

occurrence' (ibid. 104).

buḫāru 'large cattle' (CAD B 323, AHw. 139, Streck 2000:87, SED II No. 59) — Ugr. *bḳr* (DUL 235), Hbr. *bāḳār* (HALOT 151), Arb. *baqar-* (Lane 234)[249].

gabʔu [-ʕ-] 'hill' (AHw. 1555, Durand 1997:550, Streck 2000:88, Charpin 2005–2006:285) — Ugr. *gbʕ* (DUL 292), Hbr. *gibʕā* (HALOT 174).

gāyu 'clan' (CAD G 59, AHw. 284, 1556, Streck 2000:89) — Hbr. *gōy* (HALOT 182).

ḫammu [ʕ-] 'grand-father' (CAD Ḫ 69, AHw. 317, Streck 2000:92) — semantically the most fitting cognates for this now fully ascertained meaning (Charpin 2005–2006:285–286, Kogan 2014:95–99) are Mhr. *ʕōm* 'grandfather, ancestor' (ML 36), Jib. *ʕom* id. (JL 19) and Nab. *ʕm* 'great-grandfather' (DNWSI 866). Ugr. *ʕm* (DUL 163) and Hbr. *ʕam* (HALOT 837) seem to display a more general meaning "forefather", "ancestor", whereas Arb. *ʕamm-* (Lane 2149) underwent a secondary semantic shift to "paternal uncle".[250]

ḫamḳu [ʕ-] 'valley' (AHw. 318, CAD Ḫ 70, Durand 1998:514–515, Streck 2000:93) — Ugr. *ʕmḳ* (DUL 165), Hbr. *ʕēmäḳ* (HALOT 847).

ḫaṣāru[251] [ḫ-] 'pen, enclosure' (AHw. 331, CAD Ḫ 130, Streck 2000:94–95) — Ugr. *ḫṭr* (DUL 382), Hbr. *ḫāṣēr* (HALOT 345), Arb. *ḫaḏīrat-* (Lane 596).

ḫayru [ʕ-] 'donkey' (AHw. 328, CAD Ḫ 118, Streck 2000:94, Charpin 2005–2006:94, SED II No. 50) — Ugr. *ʕr* (DUL 178), Hbr. *ʕayir* (HALOT 822), Arb. *ʕayr-* (Lane 2208).

ḫayyatu [ḫ-] '(household) animal' (Streck 2000:96) — Hbr. *ḫayyā* (HALOT 310).

ḫazzu, (ḫ)azzatu [ʕ-] 'she-goat' (AHw. 339, CAD A₂ 531, Durand 1997:443–444, Streck 2000:96, Charpin 2005–2006:286, SED II No. 35) — Ugr. *ʕz* (DUL 196), Hbr. *ʕēz* (HALOT 804).

ḫimru 'wine' (AHw. 1561, Streck 2000:98) — Ugr. *ḫmr* (DUL 395), Hbr. *ḫämär* (HALOT 330), Syr. *ḫamrā* (LSyr. 241)[252].

ḫūgu [ʕ-] 'a bread or cake' (AHw. 1562, Streck 2000:99) — Hbr. *ʕūgā* (HALOT 784), Arb. *ʕuǧǧat-* (Lane 1955).

ḳaṣû (ḳaṣû) 'steppe' (CAD K 268, AHw. 459, Streck 2000:100, Charpin 2005–2006:286) — Ugr. *ḳṣ* 'end, border' (DUL 715), Hbr. *ḳāṣā* 'edge, end, extremity' (HALOT 1120)[253].

līmu 'clan' (Marello 1992:119, Streck 2000:102) — Ugr. *lʔim* (DUL 487), Hbr. *ləʔōm* (HALOT 513).

madbaru 'steppe, desert' (Durand 1988:114, Streck 2000:103) — Ugr. *mdbr* (DUL

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[249] The *u*-vocalism, with no direct precedent in the attested WS languages, must be accounted for by the influence of the labial *b-*.

[250] For the clearly related *ammu* 'people, clan' v. CAD A₂ 77, AHw. 44, Streck 2000:92, Kogan 2014:99. The WS cognates include Hbr. *ʕam* (HALOT 837), Syr. *ʕammā* (LSyr. 529), Arb. *ʕamm-* (Lane 2149).

[251] Also *ḫiṣāru* and *ḫaṣīru*, likely corresponding to various by-forms attested in WS, contrast *ḫiḏār-* and *ḫaḏīrat-* in Arabic (Lane 596), *ḫāṣēr < *ḫaṣir-* in Hebrew (HALOT 345).

[252] The *i*-vocalism contrasts with *a* throughout the attested WS forms.

[253] The geographic meaning "steppe" does not seem to be directly attested in WS.

525), Hbr. *midbār* (HALOT 547).

    malāku (or *mālaku*) 'messenger' (CAD M₁ 159, AHw. 1573, Streck 2000:104) — Ugr. *mlʾak* (DUL 546), Hbr. *malʾāk* (HALOT 585)[254].

    merḫû [-ˤ-] 'supervisor of the royal pasturage' (CAD M₂ 36, AHw. 646, Streck 2000:105) — Hbr. *marˤā* 'pasturage' (HALOT 637)[255].

    nabû 'prophet' (Durand 1988:377–378, Charpin 2005–2006:287) — Hbr. *nābī(ʾ)* (HALOT 661).

    naḥmu [-ˤ-] 'well-being' (Durand 2000:218, Streck 2000:107, Charpin 2005–2006:287) — Ugr. *nˤm* (DUL 613), Hbr. *nˤm* (HALOT 705), Arb. *nˤm* (Lane 3035).

    nawû 'pasture land on the fringes of cultivated areas' (CAD N₁ 249, AHw. 771, Streck 2000:108) — Hbr. *nawā* (HALOT 678).

    niḳmu 'revenge' (CAD N₂ 251, Durand 2000:234, Streck 2000:108) — Hbr. *nḳm* (HALOT 721), OArm. *nḳm* (DNWSI 758), Arb. *nqm* (Lane 3037), Sab. *nḳm* (SD 97).

    rabbatu 'ten thousand, myriad' (CAD R 14, AHw. 1585, Streck 2000:111, Krebernik 2003:310–311) — Ugr. *rbt* (DUL 730), Hbr. *rəbābā* (HALOT 1175).

    raʾsu 'part, division' (CAD R 183, AHw. 959, Durand 1998:466, Streck 2000:111) — Ugr. *riʾš* (DUL 725), Hbr. *rō(ʾ)š* (HALOT 1164).

    sawû 'desert, wasteland' (CAD S 202, AHw. 1033, Streck 2000:115) — Hbr. *šāwē* 'level plain' (BDB 1001), from the widespread WS root **šwy* 'to be even, smooth': Hbr. *šwy* (HALOT 1435), Syr. *šwy* (LSyr. 760), Arb. *swy* (Lane 1476).

    taʾtāmu 'assembly' (CAD T 299, Durand 2000:47–48, Streck 2000:119, Krebernik 2001:13, 57) — Arb. *ʾtm* 'to assemble, to come together', *maʾtam-* 'assembly' (Lane 14), Sab. *ʾtm* 'to bring together', *t-ʾtm* 'to be mustered' (SD 8), Soq. *étom* 'to share, to do together' (LS 78).

    yabamu 'brother-in-law' (AHw. 1565, Streck 2000:120) — Ugr. *ybm* (DUL 950), Hbr. *yābām* (HALOT 383).

    yābiltu 'a canal' (AHw. 1565, Durand 1998:607, Streck 2000:121) — Ugr. *yblt* (DUL 950), Hbr. *yābāl* (HALOT 383).

    zubūltu 'princess' (AHw. 1536, Streck 2000:122) — Ugr. *zbl* (DUL 998).

    Most of the WS loanwords in OB are nouns, reliable examples of borrowed verbs are not many (Streck 2000:126). One prominent case is *naḥālu* 'to hand over property' with its nominal derivative *niḫlatu* (Streck 2000:106–108), reflecting an early precursor of Ugr. *nḥl* 'heir,' *nḥlt* 'property, inheritance' (DUL 627–628), Hbr. *nḥl* 'to maintain as a possession,' *naḥālā* 'inalienable, hereditary property' (HALOT 686–687), Arb. *nḥl* 'to give,' *niḥlat-* 'a grant' (LA 11 775), Sab. *nḥl* 'to grant lease,' *nḥlt* 'grant, lease, concession, bail' (SD 95). Also remarkable are *sadādu* 'to make a raid, to pursue' and its nominal derivatives *saddu* and *sādidu* (Streck 2000:112–113), representing an

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[254] Both CAD and AHw. transcribe this word as *mālaku*, but the derivation from **lʾk*, explicitly accepted by von Soden, does not favor such a rendering.

[255] As rightly observed by Streck, the widespread parsing of *merḫû* as a participle of a WS *h*-causative stem (most recently Durand 2012:184) is faced with considerable difficulties and is probably to be abandoned.

antecedent of Hbr. *šdd* 'to devastate, to despoil' (HALOT 1418) and Gez. *sadada* 'to drive out, to banish' (CDG 485), and *sakānu* 'to settle' (Streck 2000:114, Charpin 2005–2006:286, with references to several nominal derivatives), showing the typically WS intransitive diathesis known from Hbr. *škn* (HALOT 1496) and Arb. *skn* (Lane 1392) as opposed to the transitive *šakānu* 'to place, to establish' in Akkadian (CAD Š₁ 116, AHw. 1134). Also noteworthy are *ḳaḫālu* 'to gather, assemble' (Streck 2000:110) — Hbr. *ḳhl*, *ḳāhāl* (HALOT 1078–1079), *ḫakû* 'to wait' (CAD Ḫ 33, AHw. 309, Streck 2000:91) — Hbr. *ḥikkā* (HALOT 313) and *ḫarāšu* 'to be silent' (AHw. 1559, Streck 2000:94) — Hbr. *ḥrš* (HALOT 357, SED I No. 32ᵥ, cf. SED II, p. 346). Note, finally, *bâʾu* 'to come' (CAD B 181, AHw. 117, Streck 2000:85) — Ugr. *bʾ* (DUL 203), Hbr. *bwʾ* (HALOT 112), different from the normal Babylonian usage in both its form (*li-bu(-a)-am*, *ta-bu-am*, CAD B 181, meaning 2b and AHw. 1547) and meaning ("to come" rather than "to pass by").

The verb *ḳatālu* 'to kill' is many times attested in the fixed WS expression *ḫayram* [-ʿ-] *ḳatālum* 'to kill an ass' (Streck 2000:94, 110, with a valuable discussion in Charpin 2005–2006:285, including various strategies of (partial) Akkadisation).

Of considerable interest is *salāmu* 'to make peace, to be of a friendly disposition' (CAD S 89, AHw. 1013, Edzard 1985:115, Streck 2000:115–116) and its numerous derivatives such as *salīmu* and *sulummû* 'piece, reconciliation'. In Akkadian, *šalāmu* is mostly preserved with its basic meaning "to be intact, complete, healthy", and the noun *šulmu*, while it does mean "peace" in opposition to "war, hostility", has not developed, at least in OB, the political nuance of "peaceful relationship, political peace", which is rather prominent in WS (see especially BDB 1023, meaning 6 for Hbr. *šālōm* in such expressions as *šālōm bēn* X *wū-bēn* Y 'X and Y are in friendly, peaceful terms'). A closer acquaintance with this concept during the OB period brought about a distinction on the lexical level ("etymological doublets"): the genuine *šalāmu* 'to be healthy, complete' now coexists with the borrowed *salāmu* 'to be in peaceful, friendly terms'[256].

Inter-Semitic loanwords are often notoriously difficult to detect (Kogan 2011c:182–189), and early WS borrowings in OB Akkadian are no exception to this principle. Thus, D. Charpin (2005–2006:287) does not hesitate to add *dādu* 'paternal uncle' and *ḫālu* 'maternal uncle' to Streck's list of 2000:83–123, but there is hardly any phonological, structural or distributional argument compelling for such an attribution (Kogan 2014:91–95). Similarly, there is no consensus about the etymological status of the roots *ḫkm* 'to be wise, well informed' (CAD Ḫ 32, AHw. 309, Streck 2000:91, Charpin 2005–2006:285, Kogan 2011a:111) and *špṭ* 'to issue orders' (CAD Š₁ 450, AHw. 1172, Edzard 1964:147, Streck 2000:118, Charpin 2005–2006:286), which have been variously interpreted as cognate to WS *ḥkm* (DUL 358, HALOT 313) and *ṭpṭ* (DUL 926, HALOT 1622) or borrowed from (or at least influenced by) them.

In a few cases, a WS loanword is *a priori* likely for both linguistic and cultural-historical reasons, yet no suitable WS etymology suggests itself. A case in point is the widely attested *sugāgu* 'an official in charge of tribal affairs' (CAD S 343, AHw. 1053),

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[256] The WS origin of *salāmu* admirably explains the unexpected *s* (Goetze 1958:140–141, Kogan 2011a:83–84), which corresponds to the WS pronunciation of the "main sibilant" in that epoch ([s]), as against Babylonian [š].

whose derivation from Hebrew and Aramaic *śgʔ* 'to grow' (Streck 2000:116) has nothing to recommend either formally or semantically. The same applies to the common word *bazaḫātu* '*sections d'assault*' (CAD B 184, AHw. 117, Durand 1998:381, Streck 2000:85–86), for which no convincing WS etymology could be find in spite of numerous attempts. Notwithstanding its manifestly WS appearance, no WS source has been indentified for *yāšibu* 'battering ram' (CAD A$_2$ 428, AHw. 412, Streck 2000:122)[257]. But also a few other, superficially more convincing cases are, in reality, beset with phonological and structural difficulties. Thus, one is naturally tempted to connect *saḫatu* 'pit for snaring animals' (Streck 2000:114, CAD S 54, AHw. 1008) with Hbr. *šaḥat* (HALOT 1473), but the phonetic shape of the Hebrew word must be very late: what we would expect for such an early period would be **šūḫ(a)t-*, still regularly reflected in the Biblical by-form *šūḥā*[258].

WS loanwords are predominantly attested in texts from outside the core Babylonian area: Mari, Tuttul, Qatna, Tell ar-Rimāḫ (Streck 2000:125). Reliable examples from Babylonia proper are surprisingly few in spite of the overall presence of Amorites in this period, and it is all the more interesting that some of them are attested in texts other than everyday documents, including the high-style literary compositions: *šannāʔu* 'one who hates' in YOS 10, 31 i 23, divination (CAD Š$_1$ 388, Streck 2000:117) — Ugr. *šnʔu* (DUL 1338), Hbr. *śnʔ* (HALOT 1338); *ḫammu* 'grand-father, ancestor' in *RA* 22, 171:36 (hymn) and YOS 11, 12:8 (incantation); *ammu* 'people, clan' in CH iv 53; *ṣūru* 'rock' in George 2003, 248:1, Gilgamesh (AHw. 1115, Streck 2000:117) — Ugr. *γr* (DUL 324), Hbr. *ṣūr* (HALOT 1016). Elsewhere, cf. *malāku* 'messenger' (AbB 2, 152:19), *sawû* 'open country, steppe' (*Bag. Mit.* 2, 56 i 16), *sugāgu* 'an official' (CT 2, 39:9, Sippar), *nawû* 'pasture-land' (passim).

Most of the WS borrowings in OB are assignable to a small circle of semantic domains (Streck 2000:123–125): nature and landscape; animal husbandry; political, administrative and social institutions. Most of them are rare words, and some may well be occasionalisms characteristic of the written style of individual authors. At the same time, more than one lexeme is of frequent attestation and well integrated into the written norm of the Mari texts (Streck 2000:126).

The number of WS loanwords attested in OB texts and continuing into later periods is small (Streck 2000:125)[259].

3.2.2. Old Assyrian

The possibility of WS lexical influence on Old Assyrian has rarely been

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[257] Probably already in Ebla: ZÚ.RU = *a-šu-bù-um* or *ʔà-šu-bù-um* (VE 228), v. Steinkeller 1987:14 (*ʔà* is unexpected and does not match later **ya-*).

[258] And, *mutatis mutandis*, in the autochthonous Akkadian cognate *šuttu < *šūμ-t-* (CAD Š3 407, AHw. 1292). The more common variant *šuttatu* seems to contain an additional feminine marker *-at-* secondarily appended to an already feminine (but misunderstood) base.

[259] Probable examples are *nawû* 'steppe, pasture-land' and *salāmu* 'to be in friendly terms'. As rightly observed by Streck, a few WS loanwords, once forgotten, could have been borrowed anew in later periods from more recent WS idioms such as early Aramaic: *madbaru* 'steppe', *ḫaṣāru* 'pen', *gabʔu* 'hill, height'. Cf. also Durand 2012:178.

considered. In the wake of Lewy 1929:243–249, this question has been re-opened in Kogan 2006a:212–213, where it is pointed out that many specifically OA features distinguishing it from OA are shared with several or most WS languages. A few such terms have been extensively discussed under 2.3 and should be just briefly repeated here: *adru* 'threshing floor', *āru* 'skin', *ḫarpu* 'harvest', *ḫuzīru* 'pig', *kēna* 'yes', *erbubbātu* 'pledge', *makāru* 'to trade', *panāʾu* 'to turn', *buʾāʾu* 'to come'. To these one may add such lexemes as *etūdu* 'sheep' (CAD A$_2$ 521, AHw. 88, Kogan 2006a:193)[260], *perdu* 'an equid' (CAD P 394, AHw. 855, Kogan 2006a:195)[261], *alaḫḫinnu* 'an administrative official' (CAD A$_1$ 294, AHw. 31)[262], *epattu* 'a costly garment' (CAD E 183, AHw. 222)[263], *kumru* 'a priest' (CAD K 535, AHw. 534)[264], *kutānu* 'a fabric' (CAD K 607, AHw. 930)[265], *zurzu* 'double pack sack made of goat hair'[266]. While some of such terms may well be shared PS archaisms and a few others, borrowed from OA into early

WS, in some cases one can legitimately wonder whether a lexical infiltration from the contemporary WS idioms could take place.

3.2.3. Aramaic loanwords

Until recently, the standard treatment of the Aramaic loanwords in first millennium Akkadian was the series of articles by W. von Soden (1966, 1968, 1977). These pioneering studies are now largely obsolete thanks to a detailed 2011 survey by K. Abraham and M. Sokoloff, which made a superb job of sifting out the (comparatively few) reliable examples from a mass of epigraphically, philologically and/or etymologically doubtful cases or mere ghost-words.

The total amount of relatively reliable Aramaic loanwords in Akkadian has been evaluated as 85 items in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:58 (only 43 of them "certain"), as opposed to 282 entries discussed in von Soden's articles[267]. This drastic reduction is a telling witness of the complexity of the extant picture, and in most cases the authors' caution appears more than justified. At times, however, their rejection of von Soden's proposals appears hypercritical, particularly in view of the following methodological remarks.

• An Akkadian word with numerous reliable attestations in NA and NB but no trace whatsoever in the earlier periods is *a priori* likely to be a borrowing, and if convincing Aramaic parallels are at hand, the possibility of an Aramaic loanword is

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[260] Hbr. *ʿattūd* 'male goat or sheep' and other WS cognates in SED II No. 44. The word is attested (as *atūdu*) also in early Mari and in Tuttul.

[261] Hbr. *päräd* 'mule' and other WS cognates in SED II No. 177.

[262] Cf. Bib. Arm. *ləḥēnā* 'maidservant' (HALOT 1908–1909). The ultimate origin of this lexeme has been much disputed (v. Richter 2012:14–15 where the Hurrian origin is rejected).

[263] Cf. Ugr. *ʾipd* (DUL 89), Hbr. *ʾēpōd* (HALOT 77).

[264] For Hbr. *kōmär* and other WS cognates v. HALOT 482.

[265] Hbr. *kuttōnät* (HALOT 505).

[266] JBA *zirzā* 'bundle, bunch' (DJBA 412).

[267] In fn. 31 of their article, Abraham and Sokoloff adduce and briefly analyze 24 additional examples from newer (post-von Soden) sources, and find many of them acceptable.

quite high[268].

• Aramaic loanwords need not be restricted to everyday documents: there is no reason why a borrowing from Aramaic could not occasionally penetrate the "Standard Babylonian" corpus, including lexical lists, royal inscriptions and literary texts.

• In view of the broad chronological gap between the pertinent Akkadian sources and the lexically informative Aramaic idioms, not each and every hypothetic Aramaism is expected to find an exact match on the pages of the standard Aramaic dictionaries[269].

• Aramaic is the only WS language known to be in close contact with Akkadian during the first millennium BC, so it is very difficult to demonstrate that a certain loanword in NA or NB was borrowed from a WS language other than Aramaic — a possibility several times raised but never exploited in any detail throughout Abraham–Sokoloff 2011[270].

• The presence of cognate lexemes in other WS languages is certainly no argument against a borrowing from Aramaic[271].

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[268] For example, earlier Akkadian has several well attested lexemes designating male or female goat-kids, such as *lalû* (CAD L 51, AHw. 529) or *unīqu* (CAD U 158, AHw. 1420), and it is hard to see why *gadû*, if indeed an autochthonous Akkadian cognate to PCS **gady-* (Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:30) and not a borrowing from Aramaic *gadyā* (as traditionally assumed), should have been so stubbornly kept in secrecy during the whole of the second millennium to suddenly emerge, in numerous attestations, in various NB documents.

[269] Throughout their article, Abraham and Sokoloff righty warn against an uncritical application of this criterion (v. especially pp. 22–23), yet their own policy to constantly downplay its importance is also difficult to share.

[270] P. 23 ("if the root is also found in other West Semitic languages, then there is not always a compelling reason to assume that the word was borrowed into Akkadian from Aramaic and not from another West Semitic language"), p. 59 ("borrowings from some undetermined West Semitic language into Akkadian") and elsewhere. A case in point is *nasīku* 'tribal chieftain' (CAD N$_2$ 27, AHw. 754), well attested in NA and NB documents as well as in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings. Since no comparable lexeme is attested in Aramaic (but cf. DNWSI 1261 for a possible Demotic example), Abraham and Sokoloff (2011:43) conclude: "While the word is certainly foreign in Akkadian and is probably of West Semitic origin, it is certainly not from Aramaic". In fact, since Hbr. *nāsīk* (HALOT 702) is clearly not an option as a source-word for geographic reasons, it seems rather likely that we are dealing with an early Aramaic lexeme which went out of use by the time when sufficiently large text corpora registered in our dictionaries began to appear. No less conspicuous is the case of *raʔsu* 'Chaldean tribal chief' NA, NB (CAD R 182, AHw. 952). Abraham and Sokoloff (2011:48) rightly observe that the common Aramaic form of the word for "head" is **riʔš-*, not **raʔš-*, which would militate against an Aramaic loanword in this case. An early North Arabian lexical infiltration is perhaps conceivable as an alternative, but one may also wonder how old is the diachronically secondary by-form **riʔš-* in Aramaic (the early epigraphic *rʔš* is indifferent at this point). Note, finally, that a rarer by-form *reʔsu* also seems to be attested (*Iraq* 17, 32 No. 5:5). A similar, even if less remarkable, case is *ḳarḫu* 'ice' NA (CAD Q 131, AHw. 903), *ḳarāḫu* 'to become iced up' (CAD Q 126, AHw. 902): as rightly observed in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:46, the only WS cognate to this lexeme is Hbr. *ḳäraḥ* (HALOT 1140), while Aramaic parallels are practically lacking (Syr. *ḳärḫā* means 'tempest', LSyr. 694). Yet the exicence of comparable lexemes in earlier Aramaic idioms can scarcely be discarded.

[271] Thus, the already mentioned CS **gady-* 'kid' is also reflected in Hbr. *gəḏī* and Arb. *ǯady-* (SED II No. 76), but, *contra* Abraham and Sokoloff, this fact in no way militates against a possible Aramaic loanword in Akkadian.

The earliest Aramaism in Akkadian is usually thought to be *mudbaru*[272] 'steppe, desert' in RIMA 0.87.1 v 44–45 (Tiglath-pileser I), where a connection with Arameans is directly supplied by the text: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ù ku-ra-di-ia*.MEŠ *lu-ú al-ke mu-ud-ba-ra aṣ-bat a-na* ŠÀ *aḫ-la-mì-i* KUR *ar-ma-ia*.MEŠ 'I took my chariots and warriors (and) set off for the desert. I marched against the *aḫlamû*-Arameans'. As rightly observed in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:39, comparable lexemes are attested not only in Aramaic[273], but also elsewhere in NWS[274], yet the possibility of borrowing "from another WS language" and not "specifically from Aramaic" raised by them is in this case purely theoretic[275]. Other Aramaisms are scattered throughout the first millennium text corpora down to the Seleucid and Arsacid times.

The following representative selection comprises ca. 30 nominal lexemes which, in our view, can be considered relatively safe[276].

adû 'vassal treaty' NA, NB (CAD A$_1$ 131, AHw. 14, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:25) — OArm. ʿ*dy* (DNWSI 824, Fitzmyer 1995:57–59).

arballu 'sieve' NB (CAD A$_2$ 239, AHw. 1544, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:27) — Syr. ʿ*arbālā* (LSyr. 547).

durāʾu 'foreleg, forearm' NA (CAD D 190, AHw. 177, 1551, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:29) — Syr. *drāʿā* (LSyr. 168, DNWSI 342, HALOT 1867, SED I No. 65).

gadû 'young goat' NB (CAD G 9, AHw. 273, rejected in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:30[277]) — Syr. *gadyā* (LSyr. 104, SED II No. 76).

galālu 'stone, gravel' NB (CAD G 11, AHw. 273, rejected in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:30[278]) — Mnd. *glala* (MD 93, DNWSI 224, HALOT 1845).

gannu or *gannatu* 'garden' NB (CAD G 41, AHw. 280, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:30) — Syr. *gantā* (LSyr. 122), Off. Arm. *gn* (DNWSI 227).

gubbu 'water cistern' NA (CAD G 117, AHw. 295, cf. Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:31) — Syr. *gubbā* (LSyr. 100, DNWSI 207, HALOT 1841).

gubnatu 'cheese' NB (CAD G 31, AHw. 295, rejected in Abraham–Sokoloff

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[272] In numerous later attestations (CAD M$_1$ 11, AHw. 572), the more expected form *madbaru* is also common, side by side with *mud(a)baru*. The *mu*-prefix has no parallel in the known NWS languages.

[273] Off. Arm. *mdbr* (DNWSI 595), Syr. *madbrā* (LSyr. 140).

[274] Ugr. *mdbr* (DUL 525), Hbr. *midbār* (HALOT 546). For the earlier borrowing of the same lexeme in OB Mari v. 3.2.1.

[275] According to them, "the occurrence of the word in MA should also preclude a loanword from Aramaic", but this is hard to accept: the only MA attestation mentioned above is quite late and the context is directly connected with Arameans.

[276] Classical Syriac forms will usually be adduced as a conventional point of reference insofar as contemporary Old Aramaic evidence is scanty and unvocalized. References to basic tools of early Aramaic lexicography (DNWSI, the Aramaic portion of HALOT) are adduced side by side with the Syriac form.

[277] "Its distribution throughout nearly all of the Semitic languages shows that it is more likely to be a cognate". In fact, **gady-* is a thoroughly Central Semitic lexeme restricted to Aramaic's nearest parents Hebrew and Arabic. The Aramaic origin is clearly supported by the spelling *ga-di-ia* in Nbn. 884:10. Cf. also Streck 2011:419.

[278] The presence of *ga-la-lu* in Uruanna is no obstacle for a loan hypothesis.

2011:31[279]) — Syr. *gəbettā* (LSyr. 102, DNWSI 210).

gildu 'animal hide, skin' NB (CAD G 222, AHw. 288, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:31) — Syr. *geldā* (LSyr. 117, DNWSI 222, SED I No. 78).

ḫadīru 'pen for small cattle' NB (CAD Ḫ 23, AHw. 307, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:33) — Htr. *ḫṭr* (DNWSI 400), JBA *ḫṭrʾ*, *ḫwṭrʾ* (DJBA 450)[280].

ḫallu 'vinegar' NA, NB (AHw. 312 Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:34) — Syr. *ḫallā* (LSyr. 231, DNWSI 372).

ḫanūtu 'a shop' NB (AHw. 1559, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:34) — Syr. *ḫānūtā* (LSyr. 243, DNWSI 388).

kerku 'roll' NA, NB (AHw. 468, CAD K 408 Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:37) — Syr. *kerkā* (LSyr. 345).

qarābu 'battle, fight' NA (CAD Q 125, AHw. 901, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:46) — Syr. *qrābā* (LSyr. 691, DNWSI 1030, HALOT 1972).

qāṭû, *qettāʾu* 'woodcutter, canecutter' NB, NA (CAD Q 201, 243, AHw. 912, 918, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:47) — JPA *qṭwʿ* 'hewer' (DJPA 485)[281].

magallatu 'parchment scroll' NB (CAD M₁ 31, AHw. 574, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:40) — Syr. *mgaltā* (LSyr. 115, DNWSI 593, HALOT 1911).

mandētu 'information' NB (CAD M₁ 208, AHw. 602, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:40) — Syr. *madʿā* (LSyr. 297), Off. Arm. *mndʿ* (DNWSI 656), BArm. *mindaʿ* (HALOT 1919)[282].

sapīnatu 'boat' NA, NB (CAD S 164, AHw. 1027, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:49) — Syr. *spittā* (LSyr. 490), Off. Arm. *spynh* (DNWSI 797).

sēpiru 'scribe writing alphabetic script' NB (CAD S 225, AHw. 1036, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:50, Streck 2011:419) — Syr. *sāprā* (LSyr. 493, DNWSI 798, HALOT 1939).

ṣallu 'skin, leather' NA, NB (CAD Ṣ 74, AHw. 1077, rejected in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:51) — JBA *ṣallā* (DJBA 963), Syr. *ṣālā* (LSyr. 628).

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[279] With the only argument that "since the word also occurs in Herbew and Arabic, it may simply be cognate in Akkadian". That "the singular form *gwbnh*" is only attested in JPA is irrelevant: both the plural *gubn-e* in Syriac and Arb. *ǯubn-at-* (Lane 376) make it clear that *gubn-at-* is a well-established Central Semitic shape of this lexeme, as opposed to Hbr. *gəbīnā* (HALOT 173), whose structural background is still enigmatic to us.

[280] This is a difficult case. Abraham and Sokoloff may be right to identify this lexeme with PWS *ḫaṭir-, whose Aramaic reflex by 500 B.C. would be *ḫaṭir*. The Akkadian word would then be read as *ḫaṭiru* (so explicitly Sokoloff in DJBA 450), not *ḫadīru*. The relatively sparse attestation of *ḫaṭir- in Aramaic is the only obstacle against this identification. Abraham and Sokoloff are right to blame CAD Ḫ 23 for identifying our word with a certain "Aram. *adrā* 'pen, fold'" (the Aramaic word means, in reality, "threshing floor"). They disregard, however, von Soden's (AHw. 307, von Soden 1966:9) identification with JPA *ʿădar* 'flock' (DJPA 397), JBA *ʿadrā* id. (DJBA 845), at least theoretically more appealing (Streck 2011:419). The matter is further complicated by NB *ḫaṣāru* 'an enclosed area for delivery of dates' (CAD Ḫ 130, AHw. 331), unmentioned in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011, but traditionally identified with the same PWS term *ḫaṭir- (an enclosure for drying dates could indeed be quite similar to a goat pen). For a WS borrowing from the same source in OB v. 3.2.1.

[281] The root *qṭʿ, from which the corresponding formations must be derived, is pan-Aramaic (LSyr. 660, DJBA 1007).

[282] No feminine by-form with *-t-* in the attested Aramaic sources (Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:40–41).

ṣipparātu 'morning' NA (CAD Ṣ 202, AHw. 1104, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:51) — Syr. *ṣaprā* (LSyr. 634, DNWSI 973).

ṣurāru 'money pouch' NB (CAD Ṣ 256, AHw. 1113, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:51) — Syr. *ṣrārā* (LSyr. 636).

šamakātu 'onions' NB (CAD Š₁ 291, AHw. 1153, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:52) — Syr. *šemke* (LSyr. 786), JBA *šamkā* (DJBA 1158).

tamīmu 'complete, perfect' NB (CAD T 119, AHw. 1314, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:54) — Syr. *tammimā* (LSyr. 826, DNWSI 1220).

teʾiktu 'injury, damage' 'worry, grief, trouble' NB (CAD T 325, AHw. 1344, rejected in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:54[283]) — Syr. *ʿyk* (LSyr. 517).

tuttu 'mulberry tree' NB (CAD T 498, AHw. 1374, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:55) — Syr. *tutā* (LSyr. 820).

ṭullumāʾu 'cheater, wrongdoer' NA, NB (CAD Ṭ 125, AHw. 1394, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:56) — Syr. *ṭalomā*, *ṭlumāya* (LSyr. 277), JPA *ṭlwm* (DJPA 224), JBA *ṭəlūmā* (DJBA 504), Mnd. *ṭulma* (MD 177).

yāritu 'heir', *yāritūtu* 'inheritance' NB (CAD I/J 325, AHw. 412, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:56) — Syr. *yārtā*, *yārtutā* (LSyr. 310, DNWSI 472).

zikku 'wineskin' NA (CAD Z AHw. 1531, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:57) — Syr. *zekkā* (LSyr. 203, DNWSI 339).

Verbal lexemes borrowed from Aramaic are less numerous, yet good reliable examples are not lacking.

beḫēru 'to select, to levy troops' NB (CAD B 186, AHw. 117, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:28) — Syr. *bḥar* (LSyr. 65, DJPA 90).

galû 'to be deported', *šuglû* 'to deport' NA, NB (AHw. 275, CAD Š₃ 201, rejected in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:30)[284] — Syr. *glā* (LSyr. 115), BArm. *haglī* (HALOT 1845), Off. Arm. *gly* (DNWSI 223).

ḫalābu 'to milk' NA (CAD Ḫ 36, AHw. 309, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:33)[285] — Syr. *ḫlab* (LSyr. 232).

kannušu 'to gather' NA (CAD K 116, AHw. 436, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:36)[286]

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[283] "While the root *ʿwq* is attested in Aramaic in various stems, there is no such noun in any Aramaic dialect making a loan unlikely here"; however, a *t*-derivative from either the intensive or the causative stem in early Aramaic would be unproblematic. Furthermore, according to Abraham and Sokoloff, "this root is nowhere attested in Aramaic in this stem" (i. e., *paʿʿel*), but cf. Syr. *ʿayyeḳ* 'pressit; dolore affecit' (LSyr. 517; also in JBA, DJBA 848). Cf. also Streck 2011:420.

[284] With a purely extralinguistic argument: "Since the use of exile as a political weapon was invented by the Assyrians, it is hard to understand why they would have had to borrow a word for this act from the Arameans". As pointed out above, a genuine Akkadian verb is *a priori* unlikely to suddenly emerge, in such a huge amount of attestations, during the first millennium, being virtually unattested before. For *nasāḫu* with the meaning "to deport" from OB onwards v. CAD N₂ 3–4.

[285] Apparently filling a semantic lacuna, as no autochthonous Akkadian verb with the meaning "to milk" seems to be attested (curiously, the same is true of the OT Hebrew).

[286] With the nominal derivates *kanšu* 'conscribed working team' NB (Jursa 1999:100, cf. CAD K 158, AHw. 438) and *kiništu* 'an assembly of temple personnel' NB (CAD K 386, AHw. 480).

— Syr. *knaš* (LSyr. 335, DNWSI 520, HALOT 1899).

      ḳubbulu 'to accept' NB (CAD Q 292, AHw. 925, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:47) — Syr. *ḳabbel* (LSyr. 641, DNWSI 979, HALOT 1965).

      paḫāzu 'to be arrogant' NA, NB (CAD P 32, AHw. 811, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:44) — Syr. *paḫzā* (LSyr. 562, DJPA 427).

      radāpu 'to pursue' NA, NB (CAD R 59, AHw. 941, rejected in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:47[287]) — Syr. *rdap* (LSyr. 715, DNWSI 1061).

      sêdu 'to support, to assist' NB (CAD S 206, AHw. 1034, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:49, Streck 2011:) — JPA *sʿd* (DJPA 384, DNWSI 795–796, HALOT 1939)[288].

      segû 'to roam, to move about' NB (CAD S 206, AHw. 1034, rejected in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:50[289]) — JBA *sgy* (DJBA 787), Mnd. *sga* (MD 317).

      subbusu 'to assemble' NB (CAD S 341, AHw. rejected in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:50[290]) — Syr. *sbas* (LSyr. 455).

      šelû 'to be neglectful' NB (CAD Š₂ 274, AHw. 1211, rejected in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:53[291]) — Syr. *šli* (LSyr. 778, DNWSI 1142, HALOT 1994).

      ṭerû 'to beat' NB (CAD Ṭ 103, AHw. 1389, rejected in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:55–56[292]) — Syr. *ṭrā* (LSyr. 287, DJBA 517, MD 182).

      The imperative (*i*)*binna* 'give' (NB and a few SB literary texts) has been analyzed as a blend of the genuine Akkadian *inna* < *idnam* and Aramaic *hib* < *y-h-b* (AHw. 126, CAD B 216, von Soden 1968:269 and 1977:197, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:36)[293].

      Reliable examples outside the nominal and verbal domains are few.

      kimaʾ 'how much?'[294] NB (CAD K 367, AHw. 477, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:37) — Syr. *kmā* (LSyr. 330, DJPA 261).

      ša-lā 'without' NA, NB (CAD Š₁ 230, AHw. 521, Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:37) — a

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[287] "Since this root also occurs in Hebrew and Arabic, it is likely that the Akkadian and Aramaic roots are simply cognate" (cf. Streck 2011:419 against this reasoning).

[288] It is remarkable that none of the attestations of *sêdu* attempts at preserving/rendering the ʿ of the Aramaic source-verb.

[289] "Since this root occurs only in the Eastern Aramaic dialects … a loanword from Akkadian into Aramaic is just as likely as vice versa". For a possible Off. Arm. attestation v. DNWSI 776 and cf. Streck 2011:419–420.

[290] "The sparse documentation of this root in Aramaic does not support a loan". For possible attestations in JPA and Mandaic v. DJPA 365 and MD 316.

[291] With no explicit argument, cf. Streck 2011:420.

[292] "There is no reason to assume that the direction of the borrowing was from Aramaic to Akkadian, and the two roots may simply be cognate".

[293] According to von Soden's ingenious suggestion, a similar Akkadian-WS blend may underlie the NA presentative particle *annūrig* 'now then' (CAD A2 142, AHw. 54), which he derives from a combination of Akk. *annû* and a WS form similar to Hbr. *rägaʿ* 'a short while' (HALOT 1189). The weak point of this etymology (not discussed in Abraham–Sokoloff 2011) is that the corresponding forms are not very prominent in Aramaic, but cf. JPA *rygʿh* 'moment' (DJPA 516), JBA *rigʿā* id. (DJBA 1074, a Hebraism according to Sokoloff).

[294] The genuine Babylonian expression for "how much?" appears to be *kīya*, quite sparsely attested (CAD K 328).

calque from Aramaic *di-lā* (DJPA 150, LSyr. 354)[295].

A tricky case is that of *la* 'from, out of', well attested in NA and NB (CAD L 5, AHw. 520)[296]. As rightly observed in Oppenheim 1942 and Abraham–Sokoloff 2011:38, the ablative meaning of the common WS preposition *lV* is unattested in Aramaic, which should, at first glance, prevent one from treating *la* as an Aramaism. That the two are totally independent from each other is, nevertheless, equally hard to conceive, and in view of the fact that *l* 'from' is common in Ugaritic (DUL 477, meaning 1b)[297], one cannot exclude that a similar semantic nuance did exist also in early (pre-written) Aramaic[298].

On pp. 60–61 of their study, Abraham and Sokoloff provide an excellent summary of the directions for further research in the present domain.

• Semantic distribution of Aramaisms: at the first glance, there is no clear-cut semantic field showing a marked trend to absorb Aramaic loans.
• Chronological distribution of Aramaisms over the broad time-span occupied by various Akkadian dialects and text corpora of the first millennium B.C.
• Geographic distribution of Aramaisms, notably, potential differences between their reception in Babylonian and Assyrian.
• Phonological and morphological shape of Aramaic loanwords, their integration into the structure of the recipient Akkadian dialects.

3.2.4. Arabic

Early North Arabian lexical infiltrations in NA and NB sources almost entirely belong to the sphere of the camel-breeding terminology (Krebernik 2008:259).

ibilu 'dromedary' LL (CAD I 2, AHw. 363) — Arb. *ʔibil-* 'camels' (Lane 8), also in Syr. *ʔebbāltā* 'grex camelorum' (LSyr. 2), Sab. *ʔbl(t)* 'male/female camel' (SD 1), Mhr. *həybīt* (ML 2). See further Sima 2000:17–18 and SED II No. 2.

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[295] This purely prepositional usage is best to separate from the well-known genuine Akkadian examples like *mannum-ma ša lā Ea amatu ibanni* 'Who, if not Ea, can accomplish such things?' (Gilgamesh XI 179, translation from George 2003:714). Conversely, the famous proverb *eḳlīya aššata ša lā muta mašil* 'My field resembles a wife without husband' (EA 74:17–18 and elsewhere) may well reflect an early WS antecedent similar to the above-mentioned Aramaic *di-lā* (such as Ugaritic *d-bl*, DUL 222).

[296] Inseparable from the well-known combination *la-pan* (CAD L 80, AHw. 534), with scores of attestations both in NB documents and in SB literary texts, especially the royal inscriptions. The exact scope of meanings of *la-pan* is still to be investigated: in some cases the separative *la* is likely to be involved, whereas in a few others the locative meaning "in front of", "before" would work well. In the latter usage, *la-pan* comes very close to Hebrew *li-pnē*, but Abraham and Sokoloff (2011:39) rightly observe that "a borrowing from this language into Akkadian is unlikely". The matter is complicated by the fact that PS **pan-* 'face' was completely ousted by the reflexes of **ʔanp-āni* 'nose$_{du.}$' from the earliest Aramaic text corpora onwards (Kogan 2005:518).

[297] A remarkable fact completely disregarded in both aforementioned studies.

[298] For a few hypothetic examples in Biblical Hebrew v. HALOT 508, meaning 5. Note, finally, Sabaic *l-n* 'from, since', as opposed to the terminative *l* (Stein 2003:210–212).

(*a*)*naḳātu* 'she-camels' NA, NB (CAD A₂ 112, AHw. 50) — Arb. *nāqat-* 'she-camel' (Lane 3039), also in JPA *ʾnḳh* (DJPA 66), JBA *nā(ʾ)ḳətā* (DJBA 725), Sab. *nḳt* (SD 101). See further Sima 2000:126–127 and SED II No. 161.

gammalu[299] 'camel' NA (CAD G 35, AHw. 279) — Arb. *ǧamal-* 'camel' (Lane 460), also in Hbr. *gāmāl* (HALOT 197), JPA *gamlā* (DJPA 131), Syr. *gamlā* (LSyr. 120), Sab. *gml* (SD 49). See further Sima 2000:92–93 and SED II No. 79.

bakru 'young of a camel or a donkey' SB (CAD B 35, AHw. 97) — Arb. *bakr-* (Lane 240), also in Hbr. *bēkär, bikrā* (HALOT 131), Syr. *bkure* (LSyr. 74), Sab. *bkrt* (SD 28). See further Sima 2000:43–44 and SED II No. 56.

It is hard to say whether these lexemes were borrowed into Akkadian directly from North Arabian idioms or rather via an Aramaic intermediary, as practically all of them are attested also in Aramaic (partly also in Hebrew).

Outside this narrow semantic group, cf. perhaps *aʾlu* 'confederation, amphictyony' (CAD A₁ 374), 'Beduinen(-stamm)' (AHw. 39), attested several times in NA royal inscriptions in connection with early Arab tribes and in all likelihood rendering Arb. *ʾahl-* 'people of a house or dwelling, a town or village, a country' (Lane 121).[300] One cannot exclude, furthermore, that *raʾsu* 'Chaldean tribal chief' discussed above in fn. <mark>xxx</mark> was borrowed from an early North Arabian language rather than from Aramaic.

Krebernik (2008:259–260) tentatively surmises that *sāḫiru* and *sāḫirtu*, designating "sorcerer" and "sorceress" in SB literary texts (CAD S 60, AHw. 1009) may be borrowed from Arb. *sāḥir-* 'sorcerer' (Lane 1317) rather than derived from *saḥāru* 'to turn' which does not seem to provide any suitable semantic aspect from which such a noun could be derived.

In Boson 1916–1918:417 and Kogan 2017 it is argued that the second element of the combination *aban baḫrê* (CAD B 29, AHw. 96, Thompson 1936:172–174) goes back to Arb. *baḥriyy-* '(mother of the) pearl', not attested in the standard lexicographic sources, but present in l. 43 of Labīd's *Muʿallaqa*.

3.3. Hurrian loanwords

A detailed description of the Akkadian vocabulary with Hurrian background presents formidable difficulties to the researcher, first and foremost because of the reduced and poorly understood nature of the Hurrian text corpus (and, consequently, the lexical corpus of the Hurrian language). As a result, for not so many of the lexemes listed below as "Hurrian" can one provide real Hurrian etymons in the strict sense of

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[299] The standard rendering is deduced exclusively from the sequence GAM-MA-, which may be purely orthographic and need not be taken as a sign of geminated pronunciation. Other spelling variants (*ga-mal*, *gám-lu*) rather suggest a non-geminated base **gam(a)l-*, more consonant with the evidence of the attested CS languages.

[300] Reservations against the Arabic etymology in CAD A₁ 374 are largely unwarranted. See further Krebernik 2008:259.

comparative linguistics[301]. Quite often, the Hurrian origin is established, *faute de mieux*, by inference – that is, by phonological, structural, distributional and cultural-historical criteria[302].

With the above liminations in mind, one can state that the three groups of Akkadian-written sources where most of the Hurrian loanwords are concentrated are the following:

- texts from Nuzi
- MB texts from Alalaḫ
- lists of Tušrtatta's gifts from el-Amarna (EA 22, 25).

By far the greatest accumulation of Hurrian loanwords are found in the Nuzi corpus. A provisional subdivision into semantic groups yields the following results.

Agriculture and alimentation: *awiru* 'field' (CAD A$_2$ 523, AHw. 91)[303], *ḫawalḫu* 'a kind of field' (CAD Ḫ 162, AHw. 338, Richter 2012:120–121), *kalburḫu* 'a qualification of barley' (CAD G 14, AHw. 427, Richter 2012:181), *kaldeniwa* 'a preparation of cereals' (CAD G 20, AHw. 427, Richter 2012:182), *kušupḫa* 'a cereal preparation' (CAD K 602, AHw. 602, Richter 2012:231)[304], *paiḫu* 'a type of field' (CAD P 34, AHw. 812)[305], *upuraʾena* 'a variety of emmer' (CAD U 193, AHw. 193, Richter 2012:495), *zaraʾe* 'a type of barley' (CAD S 175, Richter 2012:335).

Topography: *papaḫḫu* 'east' (CAD P 100, AHw. 823)[306], *šerammuḫḫe* 'north' (CAD Š$_2$ 308, AHw. 1215, Richter 2012:393), *turišḫe* 'west' (CAD T 486)[307], *wuruḫli* 'south' (CAD U/W 410, AHw. 1497, Richter 2012:330–331), *zataruššu* 'a topographical indication' (CAD S 198, AHw. 1033, Richter 2012:363).

Construction and buildings: *amumunna* 'city gate' (CAD A$_2$ 90, AHw. 90, Richter 2012:26), *ḫuppalla* 'fence, enclosure' (CAD Ḫ 213, AHw. 213, Richter 2012:165–166), *wiradušḫu* 'guest house' (CAD U/W 408, AHw. 1496)[308].

Garments and textiles: *ḫarbiwu* 'an article of apparel' (CAD Ḫ 97, AHw. 329, Richter 2012:134), *ḫaštaru* 'part of woman's apparel' (CAD Ḫ 143, AHw. 334)[309], *iškušḫu* 'a blanket or cover' (CAD I 252, AHw. 396, Richter 2012:106), *mišuḫḫe* 'a colored wool'

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[301] For such explicit etymons, references to GLH, Wegner 2007 or Richter 2012 will be provided. Throughout the survey, the transcription of Hurrian words and their Akkadian derivates is primarily oriented towards Richter 2012.

[302] According to D. O. Edzard (*apud* Streck 2005:71), the amount of Hurrian loanwords in the Akkadian dictionaries may reach 500 lexemes, but even this is probably an underestimation: the latest volumes of the CAD could not be counted, whereas in the early volumes much of the relevant material is missing, and it is by no means always that our dictionaries acknowledge possible Hurritisms as such.

[303] Hur. *awari* 'field' (GLH 65, Richter 2012:33–35).

[304] GLH 157 connects with Hur. *kušuḫ* 'moon' ("croissant" pastry).

[305] In Richter 2012:285, connected with Hur. *pa-* 'to build' ('building lot', etc.).

[306] Hur. *paba(ni)* 'mountain' and the related adjective *paban-ḫi* (GLH 190–191, Richter 2012:295–297). The semantic connection between "mountain" and "east" is the same as in Akkadian *šadû*.

[307] Cf. Hur. *turi* 'lower' (GLH 273, Richter 2012:477).

[308] Richter (2012:313) connects with Hur. *wiradi* 'nobleman' ('auf die Nobilität bezüglich(es) Haus').

[309] Hur. *ḫaštari* (GLH 97–98, Richter 2012:142).

(CAD M₂ 130, AHw. 661, Richter 2012:252), *paḫussu* 'a headgear' (CAD P 34, AHw. 812)[310], *tamkarḫu* 'a dye and the wool dyed with it' (CAD T 125, AHw. 1314, Richter 2012:436), *uritannu* 'edge of a textile' (CAD U 230, AHw. 1431, Richter 2012:497).

Artifacts: *alkanniwe* 'part of a chariot' (CAD A₁ 350, AHw. 36, Richter 2012:17), *ampannu* 'a wooden implement' (CAD A₂ 77, AHw. 44)[311], *aripše* 'a tool' (CAD A₂ 268, AHw. 68, Richter 2012:46), *ašḫauššuḫu* 'a container' (CAD A₂ 428, AHw. 86)[312], *ḫarwaraḫḫu* 'pitchfork' (CAD Ḫ 121, AHw. 329)[313], *ḫiwaru* 'a metal container' (CAD Ḫ 212, AHw. 350, Richter 2012:153), *kannulatḫu* 'a wooden household utensil' (CAD K 157, AHw. 438, Richter 2012:186), *kawalzuru* 'a household utensil' (CAD K 309, AHw. 466, Richter 2012:187), *kazzapuršuḫu* 'a metal object' (CAD K 311, AHw. 467, Richter 2012:192), *periprušḫu* 'a utensil' (CAD P 327, AHw. 855, Richter 2012:315), *šešimtu* 'a leather object' (CAD Š₂ 337, AHw. 1220, Richter 2012:398), *šumnašušḫu* 'a container' (CAD Š₃ 282, AHw. 1274, Richter 2012:413), *takulatḫu* 'a household utensil' (CAD T 89, AHw. 1309)[314], *tallamšukru* 'part of a wagon' (CAD T 99, AHw. 1311, Richter 2012:431), *taruallinu* 'a household utensil' (CAD T 279, AHw. 1336, Richter 2012:449), *wazuḫru* 'a description of wagon wheels' (CAD U/W 407, Richter 2012:306).

Officials, professions, social categories: *amumiḫḫuru* 'a profession or office' (CAD A₂ 90, AHw. 45)[315], *arariḫuru* 'an official' (CAD A₂ 233)[316], *atuḫlu* 'a class of persons' (CAD A₂ 521, AHw. 88)[317], *elamiḫuru* 'a profession, class or title' (CAD E 75, AHw. 196, Richter 2012:81), *eruḫlu* 'an official' (CAD E 327, AHw. 327, Richter 2012:101), *kelduḫlu* 'an official or craftsman' (CAD G 60, AHw. 284, Richter 2012:206), *kiziḫḫuru* 'a profession' (CAD K 477, AHw. 496, Richter 2012:215), *kutatupuḫlu* 'a profession' (CAD K 603, AHw. 518, Richter 2012:232), *manzaduḫlu* 'bailiff' (CAD M₁ 232, AHw. 605, Richter 2012:242)[318], *našwe* 'a class of persons' (CAD N₂ 115, AHw. 765, Richter 2012:268), *peniḫuru* 'a legal or administrative title' (CAD P 324, AHw. 854)[319], *sanamuḫlu* 'a profession or function' (CAD S 133, AHw. 1020, Richter 2012:337), *šuanatḫu* 'a profession or occupation' (CAD Š₃ 162, AHw. 1255, Richter 2012:401), *taluḫlu* 'a subordinate class of persons' (CAD T 105, AHw. 1312, Richter 2012:435), *urparinnu* 'butcher' (CAD U 236, AHw. 1432)[320], *uruḫlu* 'an official' (CAD U 270, AHw. 1436, Richter 2012:500).

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[310] Cf. Hur. *paḫi* 'head' (GLH 192–193, Richter 2012:287–288).

[311] Richter (2012:19 – 20) tends to connect with Hur. *am-* 'to burn' and translates as 'Brenn-, Feuerholz'.

[312] Richter (2012:54–55) derives from Hur. *ašḫ-* 'to make a sacrifice, a libation' ('a libation vessel').

[313] Richter (2012:124) connects with Hur. *ḫarba* 'straw'.

[314] Richter (2012:428–429) connects with Hur. *tag-* 'pure, bright, shining', with a possible translation 'lampstand'.

[315] Richter (2012:21–22) connects with Hur. *amum(m)i* 'Herrr der Verwaltung' and, ultimately, *am-* 'to observe'.

[316] Richter (2012:41–43) connects with Hur. *ar-* 'to give (out)' ('Beamter, der (widerrechtlich zurückgehaltene Gegenstände) herausgehen läßt').

[317] Richter (2012:64–66) connects with Hur. *ad-* 'to preserve, to protect' ('Aufseher').

[318] See ibid. for the Akkadian-like abstract noun *manzaduḫlūtu*.

[319] Richter (2012:310) connects with Hur. *pen-* 'to measure' ('Feldmesser').

[320] Hur. *urb-* 'to slaughter, to flay' (Richter 2012:499).

Administrative and legal terminology: *attaššiḫu* 'pertaining to the paternal estate' (CAD A$_2$ 511, AHw. 87)[321], *ewuru* 'heir' (CAD E 415, AHw. 267)[322], *ḫaššaḫušennu* 'a form of silver normally used only for payments involved in marriage transactions and in "loans" or sales of slave girls' (CAD Ḫ 136, AHw. 333, Richter 2012:139), *ḫiššumaki* 'compensation payment' (CAD Ḫ 205, AHw. 349, Richter 2012:159), *ḫušaurūtu* 'prison' (CAD Ḫ 261, AHw. 361)[323], *irwiššu* 'tax obligation' (CAD I 188, AHw. 248)[324], *kašku* 'a right to a part of a field in a feudal tenure' (CAD K 290, AHw. 462, Richter 2012:193), *kazzaurnu* 'replacement, damages, fine' (CAD K 311, AHw. 467, Richter 2012:192), *kirenzi* 'proclamation (of a document)' (CAD K 404)[325], *pirianna* 'freedom' (CAD P 395)[326], *puramšu* 'slavery' (CAD P 517)[327], *šuḫḫarambašḫu* 'wet nurse's compensation' (CAD Š$_3$ 206, AHw. 1261)[328], *šurampašḫu* 'a compensation' (CAD Š$_3$ 339, AHw. 1282, Richter 2012:418), *tarwišša* 'deposit, safekeeping' (CAD T 279, AHw. 1336, Richter 2012:447), *tidennu* 'person or field serving as the object of usufruct' (CAD T 393, AHw. 1362)[329], *uriḫullu* 'compensation' (CAD U 225, AHw. 1430, Richter 2012:497), *zillikuḫli* 'witness' (CAD S 265, AHw. 1044)[330].

Numerical expressions, measures: *awiḫaru* 'an area measure' (CAD A$_2$ 523, AHw. 90)[331], *emanti* 'a military unit of ten men', *emantuḫlu* 'officer commanding a groupd of ten soldiers (CAD E 137, AHw. 211)[332], *ḫararnu* 'a surface measure' (CAD Ḫ 91, AHw. 323, Richter 2012:132), *kikarpe* 'three-year old' (CAD K 351, AHw. 474), *kukumnu* 'three-year-old' (CAD K 501, AHw. 501)[333], *nariyarpu* 'five-year-old' (CAD N$_1$ 352)[334], *nubi* 'ten thousand' (CAD N$_2$ 309, AHw. 800, Richter 2012:283)[335], *šeḫetnu* 'a fraction' (CAD Š$_2$ 263, AHw. 1209)[336], *šinamuna* 'twice, twofold' (CAD Š$_3$ 38), *šinamunu* 'substitute' (CAD Š$_3$ 38, AHw. 1241), *šinarpu* 'two-year-old' (CAD Š$_3$ 38, AHw. 1241)[337], *šintarpu* 'seven-year-old' (CAD Š$_3$ 54, AHw. 1243), *šintunnu* 'seventh' (CAD Š$_3$ 55, AHw. 1243)[338], *tumnarpe* 'four-year old' (CAD T 471, AHw. 1370), *tumnatu* 'four-spoked' (CAD T 471, AHw. 1370)[339].

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[321] Hur. *attai* 'father', *attašši* 'paternal estate' (GLH 63–64, Richter 2012:66–67).

[322] See ibid. for the Akkadian-like abstract noun *ewurūtu*. See further Richter 2012:95.

[323] Presumably, with the Akkadian abstract suffix *-ūtu*. According to Richter 2012:173, from Hur. *ḫuš-* 'to bind, to put in fetters'.

[324] Richter (2012:92 – 95) connects with Hur. *ewri* 'king' ('Königsdienst').

[325] Richter (2012:210–211) derives from Hur. *ker-*, *kir-* 'to release' and translates 'Entlassung, Freilassung'.

[326] Richter (2012:312–314) connects with *pir-/wir-* 'to release'.

[327] Hur. *purame* 'slave' (GLH 205, Richter 2012:327–328).

[328] Richter (2012:403–404) connects with Hur. *šuḫḫ-* 'to suckle'.

[329] See ibid. for a widely attested Akkadian-like abstract noun *tidennūtu* 'transaction with antichresis'.

[330] Richter (2012:375) connects with Hur. *zill-* 'to be old'.

[331] Richter (2012:33–34) connects with Hur. *awari* 'field'.

[332] Hur. *eman* 'ten' (GLH 79, Richter 2012:83–85).

[333] Hur. *kig* 'three' (GLH 146, Richter 2012:201–202).

[334] Hur. *nari(ya)* (Wegner 2007:269, Richter 2012:267).

[335] Hur. *nubi* 'ten thousand' (Wegner 2007:270).

[336] Richter (2012:342) connects with Hur. *šaḫt-*, *šeḫt-* 'half'.

[337] Hur. *šini* 'two' (GLH 234, Richter 2012:380–383).

[338] Hur. *šindi* 'seven' (GLH 235, Richter 2012:387–388).

[339] Hur. *tumni* 'four' (GLH 271, Richter 2012:468–469).

Varia: *kalwašše* 'a type of gift or payment' (CAD K 108, Richter 2012:181), *nirarnitḫu* 'kind of wood' (CAD N₂ 259, AHw. 793, Richter 2012:277), *šeḫali* 'a festival' (CAD Š₂ 262, AHw. 1209)[340], *šimikapšu* 'a mark on sheep' (CAD Š₃ 6, AHw. 1237)[341], *tarapḫu* 'a material' (CAD T 207, AHw. 1325)[342].

A smaller amount of Hurrian lexemes come from the Akkadian texts from MB Alalaḫ: *eḫelli* 'a feudal term referring to fields' and *eḫelena* 'a social class holding *eḫelli*-fiefs' (CAD E 51, AHw. 191)[343], *ḫiaruḫḫe* 'gold' (CAD Ḫ 179, AHw. 343)[344], *ḳawali* 'a container' (CAD Q 201, AHw. 912, Richter 2012:187), *tagabarušḫe* 'a piece of furniture' (CAD T 38, AHw. 1300, Richter 2012:430), *tumnatala* 'four-legged (chair)' (CAD T 471, AHw. 1370, Richter 2012:468), *wismawirru* 'a garment' (CAD U/W 408, Richter 2012:317), *wizzaʾena* 'a bed' (CAD U/W 409, AHw. 1496, Richter 2012:317). From OB Alalaḫ, cf. *kašmušḫe* 'a metal object' (CAD K 291, AHw. 462)[345] and a few examples below in this section.

The lists of Tushratta's gifts to the Pharaoh (EA 22, 25) display the third important group of Hurrian words: *agarḫu* 'a piece of jewelry' (CAD A₂ 205, AHw. 62, Richter 2012:7), *altapipu* 'a box or chest' (CAD A₁ 373, AHw. 39, Richter 2012:18), *abisamuš* 'a type of bow' (CAD A₂ 170, AHw. 58, Richter 2012:39), *assaštaranni* 'cloth steamers (of a fly whisk)' (CAD A₂ 341, AHw. 75, Richter 2012:50), *awadamulušḫe* 'a household uteinsil' (CAD A₂ 523, AHw. 89, Richter 2012:35), *erattiyanni* 'part of a weapon' (CAD E 255, AHw. 232, Richter 2012:98), *ḫerizzi* 'a precious stone' (CAD Ḫ 174, AHw. 341, Richter 2012:155), *kabizzuḫḫu* 'a piece of jewelry' (CAD K 184, AHw. 444, Richter 2012:188), *tumunsallu* 'one quarter of a shekel' (CAD T 473, AHw. 1370, Richter 2012:469).

Of interest are a few lexemes which are attested in more than one of the three groups: *aškirušḫu* 'an item of feminine finery' EA, MB Alalaḫ (CAD A₂ 444, AHw. 81, Richter 2012:57), *aššiyanni* 'a decoration sewn on garments' EA, Nuzi (CAD A₂ 465, AHw. 84, Richter 2012:54), *ḫubrušḫu* 'a container' MB Alalaḫ, Nuzi (CAD Ḫ 241, AHw. 357)[346], *taḫpušḫu* (Nuzi) and *tapḫušḫu* (OB Alalaḫ) 'an object' (CAD T 52, AHw. 1302, cf. Richter 2012:427, 441), *peruzzu* 'a textile' MB Alalaḫ, Nuzi (CAD P 327, AHw. 856, Richter 2012:316), *sallewe* 'a dagger' EA, Nuzi (CAD S 104, AHw. 1507, Richter 2012:345). Such words, some of which come from two extreme points of the Hurro-Akkadian world, are telling witnesses of a certain lexical continuity in this linguistic and cultural space.

Rather widespread in Nuzi are quasi-verbal combinations with the Akkadian verb *epēšu* 'to do, to make' as the carrier of verbal relations and a Hurrian infinitive in -*umma* conveying the main lexical meaning of the whole expression (Wilhelm 1970:8,

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[340] Hur. *šeḫali* 'pure, sacred' (GLH 221, Richter 2012:367–369).
[341] Richter (2012:379) connects with Hur. *šimigi* 'sun'.
[342] Richter (2012:444) connects with Hur. *tari* 'fire'.
[343] Both GLH 75 and Richter 2012:75–76 derive from Hur. *eḫ(e)l-* 'to save, to deliver'.
[344] Hur. *ḫiyari* 'gold', *ḫiyaruḫḫe* 'golden; a golden object' (GLH 105, Richter 2012:145–146).
[345] Hurrian origin uncertain according to Richter 2012:194.
[346] Hur. *ḫubrušḫi* (GLH 109), apparently 'incense-burner' (Richter 2012:167).

Wegner 2007:113, Streck 2005:70): *agugarumma epēšu* 'to redeem' (CAD A₁ 284, AHw. 30)[347], *emanamumma epēšu* 'to forfeit' (CAD E 137, AHw. 211, Richter 2012:84), *ewurumma epēšu* 'to inherit' (CAD E 415, AHw. 267, Richter 2012:95), *ḫalwumma epēšu* 'to surround a field with a wall (against sheep)' (CAD Ḫ 57, AHw. 314, Richter 2012:120), *ḫewadumma epēšu* 'to travel' (CAD Ḫ 178, AHw. 342, Richter 2012:153), *ḫušumma epēšu* 'to remove' (CAD Ḫ 262, AHw. 362)[348], *kawadumma epēšu* 'to confiscate' (CAD K 309, AHw. 466, Richter 2012:186–187), *pirangumma epēšu* 'to run away' (CAD P 394, AHw. 865)[349], *šinamumma epēšu* 'to pay back, double' (CAD Š₃ 37, AHw. 1241, Richter 2012:380), *šalaššumma epēšu* 'to accord a certain status' (CAD Š₁ 236, AHw. 1446)[350], *urpumma epēšu* 'to butcher' (CAD U 238, AHw. 1432, Richter 2012:499). A structurally similar expression with *dabābu* 'to say' is found in *attamugarumma dabābu* 'to join into conspiracy' (CAD A₂ 509, AHw. 87, Richter 2012:66).

Of interest are hybrid words which combine an Akkadian base lexeme and a Hurrian derivative suffix: *mardaduḫlu* 'craftsman producing *mardatu*-fabrics' MB Alalaḫ, Nuzi (CAD M₁ 278, AHw. 611, Richter 2012:246; *mardatu* 'fabric woven with several colors'), *pilakkuḫuli* 'spinner' OB Alalaḫ (CAD P 373, AHw. 863, Richter 2012:309; *pilakku* 'spindle'), *puḫizzaru/puḫugaru* 'equivalent, item given in exchange or as replacement' RS, Nuzi (CAD P 483, AHw. 876, Richter 2012:321–322; *pūḫu* 'equivalent, exchange'), *purkulluḫuli/parkulluḫuli* MB Alalaḫ 'stone-cutter' (CAD P 521, AHw. 834, Richter 2012:301; *purkullu* 'stone-cutter'), *šimumaku* 'testamentary dispositions' (CAD Š₃ 31, AHw. 1240, Richter 2012:379; *šīmtu* 'last will').

Each of the three groups of texts outlined above comes from an outspoken Hurrian millieu and the Hurrian words more or less abundantly attested there are by no means characteristic of the mainstream Akkadian dialects of any period or area. However, there is a certain amount of Hurrian words which did penetrate other geographic and choronological strata of Akkadian at least from OA/OB onwards[351]. As possible examples, one could mention *ḫuppataru* 'a kind of ewer' OB Qatna, Nuzi (CAD Ḫ 238, AHw. 356, Richter 2012:166), *kumānu* 'a surface measure' MB Alalaḫ, Nuzi, MA (CAD K 532, AHw. 505, Richter 2012:222), *paḫandar(r)u* 'blanket' RS, Emar, MB Alalaḫ, Nuzi (CAD P 20, AHw. 810)[352], *paššitḫe* 'messenger' OB Rimah (CAD P 259)[353], *penušḫu* 'a utensil' Nuzi, MA (CAD P 326, AHw. 854)[354], *sillunnu* 'old' Nuzi, MA (CAD S 265, AHw. 1044)[355], *sartennu* 'chief judge' Nuzi, NA, NB (CAD S 185, AHw. 1031, Richter 2012:337–338), *šinaḫilu* 'second-in-command' OA, Nuzi, Emar (CAD Š₃ 36, AHw. 1241)[356], *šuratḫu* 'a tree' Nuzi, SB (CAD Š₃ 340, AHw. 1283, Richter 2012:419),

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[347] Richter (2012:4–5) derives from Hur. *ag-* 'to lead'.

[348] According to Richter 2012:173 and the references quoted there, rather 'to tie up'.

[349] Richter (2012:312) derives from Hur. *pir-/wir-* 'to loosen, to undo'.

[350] Richter (2012:344) connects with Hur. *šala* 'daughter' and translates 'to adopt as daughter'.

[351] More often in Middle Assyrian (Streck 2005:70), but certainly not only there.

[352] GLH 192, Richter 2012:287.

[353] Hur. *paššitḫi* (GLH 198). According to Richter 2012:303–304, from Hur. *pašš-/wašš-* 'to send'.

[354] Richter (2012:310) derives from Hur. *pen-, pin-* 'to measure' ('small measuring vessel').

[355] Hurr. *zill-* 'to be old' (Richter 2012:375).

[356] Hur. *šinaḫila* 'second' (GLH 233, Richter 2012:380–381). With an Akkadian abstract noun in *-ūtu* (*šinaḫilūtu*) attested in OA.

tabarru 'a red-dyed wool' Mari, MB, RS, Alalaḫ, EA, Nuzi, MA, SB, NB (CAD T 21, AHw. 1298, Richter 2012:440–441), *taḫapšu* 'a woolen or linen blanket' MB, MB Alalaḫ, Nuzi, MA, SB, NA, NB (CAD T 40, AHw. 1301, Richter 2012:425–426), *talmu* 'large' Nuzi, MA (CAD T 103, AHw. 1312)[357], *umzarḫu* 'native, houseborn (slave)' Mari, MA, NA, NB (CAD U 156, AHw. 1420, Richter 2012:491), *undu* 'when, as soon as' Boğazköy, EA, Nuzi, MA, SB (CAD U 157, AHw. 1420)[358], *unuššu* 'service obligation' OA, RS (CAD U 171, AHw. 1422, Richter 2012:491), *urunzannu* 'a household item' OA, Mari, Nuzi (CAD U 271, AHw. 1436, Richter 2012:501), *uruṯḫu* 'a utensil' RS, MB Alalaḫ, MA, SB (CAD U 272, AHw. 1437, Richter 2012:502).

Hurrian words are attested in the "standard" Mesopotamian lexical lists (such as Malku), often with the remark "in the language of Subartu" (that is, in Hurrian)[359]:

sa-ar-me = MIN (that is, *qīštu* 'forest, woods') SU^{ki} (Explicit Malku III 287, CAD S 178, AHw. 1030, Hrůša 2010:186–187, 294, 455, Richter 2012:337)

aš-⌈tu⌉ = MIN (that is, *umām(a)tu* 'female animal') BIR$_4$ (Explicit Malku I 75, CAD A$_2$ 475, AHw. 85, Hrůša 2010:152–153, 281, 433)[360]

3.4. Borrowings from other languages

3.4.1. Anatolian

Words of Anatolian origin (ca. 5–10 examples according to Streck 2005:71) are attested in two groups of texts: Old Assyrian on the one hand and the Akkadian texts from Boğazköy and Ras Šamra, on the other.

The following examples of possible Anatolian borrowings in the OA corpus can be adduced: *išḫiuli* 'contract' (CAD I 241, AHw. 394, Bilgiç 1954:65, cf. critically Dercksen 2007:36) < Hit. *išḫiul-* 'binding, obligation, statute, treaty' (HED I–II 400–401), *išpatalu* 'lodging' (CAD I 257, AHw. 397, Bilgiç 1954:65) < Hit. *išpant-* 'night' (HED I–II 431 and, critically about *išpatalu*, ibid. 435 and Dercksen 2007:36), *išpuruzzinnu* 'roof beams' (CAD I 259, AHw. 379) < Hit. *išparuzzi-* 'rafter' (HED I–II 444, Dercksen 2007:29), *kuburšinnu* 'a quality of gold' (CAD K 489, Bilgiç 1954:65) < Hit. *kurupšini-* (HED IV 279–280, Dercksen 2007:36), *ubadinnu* 'land and tenants granted by the king of Kaniš to high officials, acting as a legal corporate body' (CAD U 3, AHw. 1423) — Hit. *upati-* (Dercksen 2007:35, Richter 2012:493–494), *tabalātu* 'a foodstuff' (CAD T 10, AHw. 1296) — Hittite *tawal-* 'im Kultus verwendetes Getänk' (HW^1 219, Dercksen 2007:37), *padallu* 'ring, coil' (CAD P 2) — Hittite *patalli(ya)-* 'fetter, tether' (CHD P 240, Dercksen 2007:37). For further possible examples and a general discussion v. Dercksen 2007.

Some examples of words of Hittite origin in the Akkadian texts from Boğazköy and Ras Šamra: *antubšalli* 'an official' (CAD A$_2$ 146, AHw. 55) < Hit. *antuwašalli-* (HED I–II 84–85), *uriyannu* 'an official' (CAD U 226, AHw. 1430) — Hit. *uriyanni-* (HW^1 235).

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[357] Hur. *talmi* 'big' (GLH 253, Richter 2012:432–434).

[358] Hur. *undu* 'as, when' (GLH 283, Richter 2012:492).

[359] See Hrůša 2010:546–547 for a comprehensive list of (hypothetic) Hurrian words in Malku.

[360] Hur. *ašte* 'woman' (GLH 62, Richter 2012:59).

It has often been suggested that *targumannu* 'interpreter' (CAD T 229, AHw. 1329) is borrowed from an Anatolian source (Starke 1993, Dercksen 2007:37 and most of the refererences in Richter 2012:445), but several reliable attestations in OA and OB (including Mari) make such an assumption somewhat problematic[361].

3.4.2. Kassite

Most of the Kassite words attested within Akkadian texts (estimated as ca. 50 lexemes in Streck 2005:70) fall into a small number of semantic groups.

Horse breeding, racing and related terminology (Streck 2005:70): *taḫarbe* (or *taḫarbat*) 'running board of a wagon' (CAD T 42, AHw. 1301, Balkan 1954:141), *pirmaḫ* 'a color of equids' (CAD P 408, AHw. 867, Balkan 1954:27), *sirpi* 'a color of horses' (CAD S 315, AHw. 1050, Balkan 1954:26), *ḫulalam* 'a color or marking of horses' (CAD Ḫ 226, AHw. 353, Balkan 1954:27–28), *massiš* 'a textile used for harnessing' (CAD M₁ 327, AHw. 619), *minzir* (*minzaḫar*) 'designation of a horse' (CAD M₂ 100, AHw. 657, Balkan 1954:26–27), *lagaštakkaš* 'speckled (said of horses)' (CAD L 37, AHw. 527, Balkan 1954:27), *burzaraš* 'a color and designation of horses' (CAD B 345, AHw. 142, Balkan 1954:28, 124), *ḫabad* 'part of a chariot' (CAD 3, AHw. 301, Balkan 1954:132), *akkandaš* 'spoke of a wheel' (CAD A₁ 274, 29, Balkan 1954:127–130), *allak* 'felly, rim (of a wheel)' (CAD A₁ 352, AHw. 37, Balkan 1954:130–131), *alzibadar* 'a color of horses' (CAD A₁ 392, AHw. 40, Balkan 1954:27).

Plants: *tarizaḫ* 'a plant' (CAD T 233, AHw. 1330, Balkan 1954:136, 142), *šagabigalzu* id. (CAD Š₁ 61, AHw. 1125, Balkan 1954:140), *pirḫu* id. (CAD P 395, AHw. 865, Balkan 1954:135), *pirizaḫ* id. (CAD P 403, AHw. 866, Balkan 1954:136), *kuruš* id. (CAD K 582, AHw. 514, Balkan 1954:135), *ḫašimbur* 'a plant' (CAD H 141, AHw. 334, Balkan 1954:141).

Varia: *tanzilam* 'a feeder canal' (CAD T 176, AHw. 1320, Balkan 1954:142), *šaḫumaš* 'a bronze fitting' (CAD Š₁ 107, Balkan 1954:140–141, cf. AHw. 1133), *sakrumaš* 'a military title' (CAD S 82, AHw. 1013, Balkan 1954:137), *sirnaḫ* 'a garment' (CAD S 315, AHw. 1037, Balkan 1954:315), *sumaktar* 'fatherless, of unknown lineage' (CAD S 377, AHw. 1057, Balkan 1954:138–140), *karimgaldu* 'quiver' (CAD K 217, AHw. 449, Balkan 1954:134–135), *dardaraḫ* 'a small ornament of metal' (CAD D 112, AHw. 163, Balkan 1954:131), *bukāšu* 'prince, ruler' (CAD B 309, AHw. 136, Balkan 1954:103–104)[362].

A few Kassite words have penetrated Mesopotamian lexical lists (such as Uruanna or Malku) where they are explained with their Akkadian or Sumerian equivalents. A few examples:

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[361] One has to admit that a Semitic etymology, even if departing from the neutral meaning "to say", "to speak" for *r-g-m* (as in Ugaritic) is faced with serious derivational difficulties as the supposed noun pattern *ta*-$C_1C_2uC_3$-*ann-* is highly unusual, particularly for a professional designation.

[362] In the late OB letter VAS 16, 24:22, thus apparently the earliest attested Kassite appellative (Landsberger 1954:62–63).

as-kup-pu = ta-ḫar-*ᵇᵃ*BAD (variant *ta-ḫa*-BAD) 'running board of a wagon' (Malku II 212, Hrůša 2010:69)

zi-ik-šu⌉ = ḫa-BAD 'part of a chariot' (Malku II 204B, Hrůša 2010:66)

kišād (variant *sikkat*) *magarri* 'rim of a wheel' = *al-lak* (variant *al-la-ak*) (Malku II 228, Hrůša 2010:68, 222)

naḫbatu 'a cover, a case' = *ka-rim-gal-du* (Malku II 205, Hrůša 2010:66)

Ú *ta-ri-za-aḫ* (variant *ta-ri*⌉(ḪU)-*za-aḫ*) = Ú *kurkānû* 'a plant' (Uruanna II 229)

e m e d u . a 'servant' = *su-ma-ak-tar* (Antagal B 90 and elsewhere, surrounded by designations of house-born slaves or adoptees: *ilitti bīti, tarbû, lillidu*, etc.)

In some of such cases, an exlicit remark *ina kaššê* 'in Kassite' is provided:

Ú *pi-ir-ḫa* = Ú MIN (= *kurkānû*) (Uruanna II 254)
Ú *pi-ri-za-a*[ḫ] = Ú MIN (= *kurkānû*) (Uruanna II 253)
Ú *ku-ru-uš* = Ú MIN (= *kurkānû*) (Uruanna II 255)
ma-áš-ḫu = MIN (= *ilu* 'god') (CT 25 19 ii 14, Balkan 1954:165)

Outside lexical lists, Kassite words have rarely outlived the Middle Babylonian period. Exceptions: *sakrumaš* 'military title' (also in early NB, Boghazkoy, SB), *sumaktar* 'fatherless' (also in NB, perhaps NA).

Some of the hypothetically Kassite words remain semantically obscure: *talgab* (CAD T 93, AHw. 1310, Balkan 1954:141–141, apparently related to irrigation), *kutkim* (CAD K 610, probably a kind of hide), *girridir* (CAD G 89, AHw. 89, an object of leather).

The Akkadian-Kassite vocabulary edited in Balkan 1954:3–4 is by far the most valuable source on the Kassite lexicon, but one may doubt that the lexemes attested here – such as *ḫašmar* 'falcon' (CAD Ḫ 142, AHw. 454, Balkan 1954:151), *ḫameru* 'foot' (CAD Ḫ 66, Balkan 1954:4), or *yanzi* 'king' (CAD I/J 325, AHw. 414, Balkan 1954:155) – can be properly labeled "Kassite loanwords" in Akkadian.

3.4.3. Indo-Aryan

Streck (2005:70) refers to ca. 10 loanwords from early Indo-Aryan. By far the best known are the color designations of horses in Nuzi[363]:

pinkarannu 'a color of horses' (CAD P 383, AHw. 864) — Vedic *piṅgaláḥ* 'red-brown' (KEWA 268–269, Oguibenine 2013:210, Kronasser 1957:186, Richter 2012:311)

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[363] No fully reliable Indo-Aryan etymologies have been suggested for *amkamannu* 'a color of horses' (CAD A₂ 65, AHw. 43) and *silukannu* 'a color of horses' (CAD S 268, AHw. 1528), cf. Richter 2012:378, Kronasser 1957:188–189.

babrunnu 'brown (a color of horses)' (CAD B 9, AHw. 94) — Vedic *babhrúḥ* 'reddish-brown' (KEWA 409–410, Oguibenine 2013:204, 210, Kronasser 1957:186, Richter 2012:297)

barittannu 'a color of horses' (CAD B 112, AHw. 107) — Vedic *palitá* 'grey, hoary; aged' (KEWA 234–235, Oguibenine 2012:210, Kronasser 1957:186–187, Richter 2012:299).

Somewhat more controversial is the etymology of *magannu* 'gift, present' Boğazköy, Nuzi, NA, NB (CAD M₁ 31, AHw. 574), which has been convincingly derived from Vedic *maghám* (KEWA 545–546, von Soden 1964), although many scholars still maintain a Hurrian origin or at least a Hurrian transmission (v. numerous references in Richter 2012:239)[364].

In spite of the hot discussion (Richter 2012:244–245, DUL 580), there is little doubt that *mariannu* 'chariot driver' Boğazköy, RS, MB Alalaḫ, Nuzi, MA (CAD M₁ 281, AHw. 611) ultimately goes back to Vedic *máryaḥ* 'young man, lad' (KEWA 596–597, Oguibenine 2012:215).

Reliable Indo-Aryan etymologies have been suggested for *maninnu* 'a necklace' EA, Qatna, Alalaḫ (CAD M₁ 211, AHw. 603) < Vedic *maṇíḥ* (KEWA 556–557, Kronasser 1957:184–185, Richter 2012:242) and *mištannu* 'reward, pay' MB Alalaḫ (CAD M₂ 130) < Vedic *mīḍhá-*, Avestan *mīžda-* (KEWA 642–643, Richter 2012:251–252, Oguibenine 2012:215).

The MA, NA, NB term *šušānu* 'horse trainer' (CAD Š₃ 378, AHw. 1288) cannot be separated from Hurrian *aššuššanni* with the same meaning, which most probably contain the Vedic element *áśvaḥ* 'horse' (KEWA 62, Richter 2012:63 and, somewhat critically, HED I–II 222–223)[365].

As convincingly argued by A. Salonen (1952:2), the botanical term *(a)murdinnu* 'bramble' (CAD A₂ 90, AHw. 45) is hard to separate from the European terms for "rose" (Greek (β)ρόδον) and is likely to be derived from an early (Indo-)Iranian prototype **wr̥da-* (Neo-Persian *gul*), v. EGW 660–661.

3.4.4. Iranian

Most of the Iranian loanwords in Akkadian are various titles and designations of the Achemenid empire:

parastamu 'an official' (CAD P 165) < **parastama-* 'foremost, first-ranked' (Hinz 1975:179, Tavernier 2007:428)

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[364] The word has entered several WS languages as well: Ugr. *mgn* 'gift, present' (DUL 531), Pho. *mgn* 'gift' (DNWSI 593), Hbr. *mgn* 'to hand over, to surrender' (HALOT 545), Syr. *maggān* 'gratis' (LSyr. 373). It survives up to this day in the well-known Arabic expression *maǯǯānan* 'gratis, for free' (Lane 3018). O'Connor's attempt (1989) to dismiss von Soden's Indo-Aryan derivation and to reconstruct an autochthonous Semitic root **mgn* cannot be considered successful.

[365] Puhvel's attempt to derive *šušānu* (and, ultimately, *aššuššanni*) from a WS source like Hbr. *sūs* carries little conviction.

uštayammu 'title of a Persian official' (CAD U 325, AHw. 442) < **uštayama-* 'scribe', literally "holding at will" (Hinz 1975:247, Tavernier 2007:433)

uppadētu 'overseer' (CAD U 182, AHw. 1424) < **upadaiti-* 'supervisor, inspector' (Hinz 1975:243, Tavernier 2007:432)

umasupitrû 'crown prince' (CAD U 97, AHw. 1447) < **vāsapuθrava-* (Tavernier 2007:434, cf. Hinz 1975:132)

ustarbar 'bailiff, chamberlain' (CAD U 281, AHw. 1438) < **vastrabara* 'garment-bearer' (Hinz 1975:258, Tavernier 2007:434–435)

uštabari 'a Persian functionary' (CAD U 325, AHw. 1442) < **uštabāra* 'driver of oxen' (Tavernier 2007:433, cf. Hinz 1975:247)

uwarzanapāta 'city governor' (CAD U 359, AHw. 1447) < **vr̥zanapati-* 'chief of the city' (Tavernier 2007:436)

pitipabaga 'an official' (CAD P 436, AHw. 869) < **piθfabaga-* 'distributor of provisions' (Hinz 1975:193, Tavernier 2007:429)

mit(i)p(a)rāsu[366] 'a judicial or administrative official' (CAD P 277) < **vīda-frāsa-* 'court interrogator' (Tavernier 2007:435)

iprasakku 'an official' (CAD I 165, AHw. 385) < **frasaka-* 'investigator' (Hinz 1975:97, Tavernier 2007:420–421)

ḫamarakara 'book-keeper' (CAD Ḫ 59) < **hamārakara* (Hinz 1975:121, Tavernier 2007:424)

ḫutebānu 'an official' (CAD Ḫ 263, AHw. 362) < **hūti-bānu-š* 'lustre of the craftsment' (Tavernier 2007:426, cf. Hinz 1975:129)

ganzabaru 'treasurer' (CAD G 43, AHw. 281) < **ganzabara-* (Hinz 1975:102, Tavernier 2007:422)

gardupatu 'an official' (CAD G 50, AHw. 282) < **gr̥dapatiš* 'majordomus, steward, house-holder' (Hinz 1975:107, Tavernier 2007:424)

gitepatu 'a Persian official' (CAD G 110, AHw. 294) < **gaiθapatiš* 'overseer of livestock' (Hinz 1975:102, Tavernier 2007:422)

dātabara 'a high judicial official' (CAD D 122, AHw. 165) < **dātabara-* 'he who carries the law, judge' (Hinz 1975:85, Tavernier 2007:418–419)

didakku 'an official' (CAD D 135, AHw. 168) < **did(i)yaka-* 'supervisor' (Hinz 1975:88, Tavernier 2007:419)

aḫšadrapanu 'satrap' (CAD A₁ 195, AHw. 21) < **xšaθrapāna-*, literally "protector of the state" (Hinz 1975:136, Tavernier 2007:436–437)

aspastūa 'a functionary having to do with the feeding of horses' (CAD A₂ 339, AHw. 75) < **aspaθtva-* 'horse-feeder' (Hinz 1975:45, Tavernier 2007:416)[367]

aštabaru 'lance-bearer' (CAD A₂ 472, AHw. 85) < **r̥štibara-* (Hinz 1975:207, Tavernier 2007:430–431)

Other Achaemenid *realia* include the following lexemes:

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[366] So instead of the earlier reading *patiprāsu*.

[367] For a similarly sounding plant name *aspastu*, likely borrowed from early Iranian **aspa-sti* 'horse-fodder', v. Tavernier 2007:458–459 and the literature quoted there. It is attested as early as 721–710 (Merodachbaladan, *as-pa-as-ti* SAR in CT 14, 50:62, list of plants in a royal garden) and is thus among the most ancient appellatives of Iranian origin in Akkadian sources.

uzbarra 'crown land' (CAD U 360, AHw. 1447) < **uzbara-* 'producing' (Hinz 1975:248, Tavernier 2007:447)

uppayātu 'a type of crown revenue in Achemenid administration' (CAD U 182, AHw. 1424) < **upayāta-* 'bye-portion' (Hinz 1975:245–246, Tavernier 2007:444)

pardēsu 'garden, park' (CAD P 182, AHw. 833) < **pardēsa-* 'estate, enclosure' (Hinz 1975:179, Tavernier 2007:446–447)

pasaʾdu 'military equipment' (CAD P 216, AHw. 838) < **passāda-* (Tavernier 2007:451)

gardu 'a military class or profession' (CAD G 50, AHw. 292) < **gr̥da-* 'domestic staff, workman' (Hinz 1975:107, Tavernier 2007:423)

girisuakarānu 'a class or profession' (CAD G 89, AHw. 291) < **girisuakara-* 'maker of grits, groats' (Tavernier 2007:472)[368]

magallatakarānu (AHw. 574) < **magallatakara-* 'maker of leather scrolls' (Tavernier 2007:473)[369]

dašari 'a type of palace' (CAD D 119) < *tačara-* (Tavernier 2007:36, cf. Hinz 1975:231)

dātu 'decree, royal command' (CAD D 122, AHw. 165) < **dāta-* 'law, decree' (Tavernier 2007:80–81)

andēsu 'muster' (CAD A_2 113, AHw. 50) < **handēsa-* 'muster, mobilization' (Hinz 1975:115, Tavernier 2007:451)

appādan 'a colonnaded audience hall' (CAD A_2 178, AHw. 59) < OP *apadāna-* (Tavernier 2007:35, Kent 1953:168)

Somewhat apart stand the priestly designation *magušu* 'magus' (CAD M_1 48, AHw. 577), borrowed from OP *magu-* (Tavernier 2007:34, 79, Kent 1953:201), and the religious concept of *artāwa* 'state of bliss after death' (CAD A_2 310) < OP *r̥tāvā* 'righteous, truthful' (Tavernier 2007:38, Kent 1953:171).

The animal name *udru*, the designation of the Bactrian camel first attested by the second half of the 11th century (CAD U 22, AHw. 1401), is borrowed from an early Iranian form **uštra-* (Tavernier 2007:566).

According to Jursa 1995, *padašūtu* 'service obligation' NB (CAD P 5), goes back to and Old Iranian prototype which he reconstructs as **pāda-š(y)ut-* 'durch den Fuß bewegt, Fußgänger'.

It has been argued that *kurangu* 'a cereal' (CAD K 556, AHw. 509) designates rice and the word has been borrowed from an Iranian source (cf. early Neo-Persian *guranǯ*, Neo-Persian *kurunǯ*)[370], v. Stol 2006–2008:300–301, Rabin 1966, Thomson 1939:180–183.

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[368] The first element of this composite term represents the WS root **grŝ* 'to grind, to crush grain' (HALOT 200).

[369] The first element of this composite term is the Aramaic word *magallatu* 'leather scroll', for which cf. above under 3.2.3.

[370] An investigation into the deeper background of the Persian word would be desirable, see provisionally Ciancaglini 2008:132, 168 and the numerous references there.

An Iranian origin has been suggested for *kūrapānu* 'leather hauberk' LB (CAD K 556, AHw. 510), cf. Neo-Persian *girībān* (Eilers 1957:222).

3.4.5. Egyptian

Streck (2005:71) counts with ca. 30–40 Egyptian loanwords in Akkadian, mostly in the Amarna corpus.

A great majority of these Egyptisms is concentrated in EA 14, a list of gifts sent by the Pharaoh to the Kassite king (Lambdin 1953a): *adaḫa* 'a garment' (CAD A$_1$ 94) < Eg. *ỉtḥ* 'to draw' (Wb. I 148), Copt. ⲱⲧϩ 'to weave' (Vycichl 1983:251, Lambdin 1953a:363, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:95), *akūnu* 'an amphora' (CAD A$_1$ 286, AHw. 30) < Eg. *ỉkn* (Wb. I 140, Lambdin 1953a:363, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:95–99), *asša* 'a container'[371] < Eg. *ꜥš* (Wb. I 228, Lambdin 1953a:364, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:96–97), *buati* 'a bracelet' (CAD B 298, etymologically uncertain, cf. Lambdin 1953a:364, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:97), *daši* 'a container' (CAD D 119) < Eg. *dś* (Wb. V 485, Lambdin 1953a:364, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:97), *ḫina* 'a measuring vessel'[372] < Eg. *hnw* (Wb. II 493), Coptic ϩⲓⲛ (Vycichl 1983:304, Lambdin 1953a:365, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:98), *kūbu* 'a container for liquids' (CAD K 488, AHw. 498) < Eg. *kb* (Wb. V 117, Lambdin 1953a:366, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:99), *kuiḫku* 'a vessel for oil' (CAD K 497) < Eg. *k3-ḥr-k3* (Wb. V 93, Lambdin 1953a:366, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:98), *maḫan* 'a type of wooden chest' (CAD M$_1$ 50, AHw. 577) < Eg. *mhn* (Wb. II 115, Lambdin 1953a:366, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:99–100), *namša* 'water jar' (Lambdin 1953a:367, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:101)[373] < Eg. *nmś.t* (Wb. II 269), *našša* 'a vessel' (CAD N$_2$ 79) < Eg. *nš.w* (Wb. II 338, Lambdin 1953a:367, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:101), *raḫta* 'a vessel' (CAD R 76, AHw. 943) < Eg. *rhd.t* (Wb. II 441), Copt. ⲣⲟϩⲧⲉ (Vycichl 1983:180, Lambdin 1953a:367, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:101), *upta* 'chest' (CAD U 191) < Eg. *ꜥfḏ.t* (Wb. I 183, Lambdin 1953a:368, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:102), *urušša* 'head-rest' (CAD U 272, AHw. 1437) < Eg. *wrś* (Wb. I 335, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:102), *watḫā* 'an oil container of Egyptian manufacture' (CAD U/W 407) < Eg. *wdḥ* 'to pour out' (Wb. I 393, Lambdin 1953a:368, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:103), *wizza* 'a type of jewelry' (CAD U/W 409) < Eg. *wḏ* 'a small container of metal' (Wb. I 399, Lambdin 1953a:368, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:103), *zabnaku* 'a container' (CAD Z 9, AHw. 1501) < Eg. *ṯ3b n k3* (Wb. V 354, Vycichl 1983:330, Lambdin 1953a:369, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:102).

Elsewhere in EA, note *miši* 'army, troops' (CAD M$_2$ 122) < Eg. *mšꜥ* (Wb. II 155), Copt. ⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ (Vycichl 1993:128, Lambdin 1953d, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:107), *pamaḫâ* 'a soldier' (CAD P 76, AHw. 817) < Eg. *p3 mhr* (Wb. II 116)[374], *pasitu* 'vizier' (CAD P 221) < Eg. *p3 ṯ3.ty* (Wb. V 343, Cochavi-Rainey 1997:104), *piṭātu* 'archery corps' (CAD P 448, AHw. 871) < Eg. *pḏt* 'arch' (Wb. I 569), *weꜣu* 'a military officer' (CAD U/W 408) < Eg.

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[371] Hardly 'a designation of an alabastron' as in CAD A$_2$ 460.
[372] Rather than 'a stone' as in CAD H 194, AHw. 347.
[373] Rather than 'an alabastron of Egyptian manufacture' as in CAD N$_1$ 246.
[374] *mhr* is the famous *ma=ha=–r* 'military offcier commanding troops and handling logistics' (Hoch 1994:147–149), one of the commonest WS borrowing in the New Kingdom Egyptian.

wˤw (Wb. I 280), *tiban* 'an Egyptian measure' (CAD T 378, AHw. 1354) < Eg. *dbn* (Wb. V 438).

Outside EA, Egyptisms are mostly attested in various Western peripheral corpora of the Amarna age: *miku* 'a quality of textiles' Boğazköy (CAD M₂ 66, no reliable etymology, v. Edel 1974:144–146), *ni-ib ta-a-wi* 'lord of the two lands' Boğazköy (CAD T 301, AHw. 1340) < Eg. *nb tȝwy* (Wb. II 227), *uruššu* 'head-rest' Boğazköy (CAD U 272, AHw. 1437), *piṭātu* 'archery corps' RS (CAD P 448, AHw. 871)[375].

The Egyptian name of the acacia *šnḏ.t* (Wb. IV 520–521) has penetrated the botanical list Uruanna (I 182) as *šamṭu*, with the remark *ina Meluḫḫi* 'in Egyptian' (CAD Š₁ 339).

The Egyptian word for crocodile *nȝ mzḥ.w* (Wb. II 136, Egyptian plural) is attested as *namsuḫu* 'crocodile' (CAD N₁ 245, AHw. 729) among Egyptian gifts in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions (Vycichl 1983:123)[376].

The Egyptian term *ḥr(y)-tp* 'the chief' (Wb. III 140), best known from its Hebrew rendering *ḥarṭōm* 'soothsayer-priest' (HALOT 352, Muchiki 1999:245[377]), reappears as *ḥarṭibi* 'interpreter of dreams' (CAD Ḫ 116, AHw. 328) in NA sources.

3.4.6. Elamite

Streck (2005) evaluates as ca. 40 the number of Elamite words in Akkadian texts. As pointed out by Krebernik (2006:83), there are three groups of sources where such words can be found: texts from Elam proper; lexical lists; texts of Mesopotamian origin related to Elam.

Among the terms attested in documents from Susa, one can mention *amma* 'mother' (CAD A₂ 66, WE 51, Krebernik 2006:84), *gūšu* 'a sacrifice' OB (CAD G 144, AHw. 300, WE 543, Krebernik 2006:84), *ḥamdagar* 'title of a high official' OB (CAD Ḫ 66, AHw. 317, EW 576, Krebernik 2006:84), *ḥašduk* beloved' (CAD Ḫ 139, AHw. 333, EW 580–581, Krebernik 2006:85), *ḥašša* 'an official' (CAD Ḫ 142, AHw. 334, EW 581, Krebernik 2006:85), *ḥawir* 'later' (CAD Ḫ 162, AHw. 338, Krebernik 2006:85)[378], *ḥudliš* 'a profession' (CAD Ḫ 223, EW 727, Krebernik 2006:85), *ḥuḫpu* 'a container of bronze' OB (CAD Ḫ 225, AHw. 353, EW 686, Krebernik 2006:85), *ḥupirririša* 'a profession' OB (CAD Ḫ 238, AHw. 356, Krebernik 2006:85), *kiparu* 'a high judicial official' OB, NB (CAD K 396, AHw. 482, EW 479, Krebernik 2006:86), *kumdilḥi* 'an official' (CAD K 532, EW 562, Krebernik 2006:86), *liktirik* 'a garment' OB (CAD L 184, AHw. 1571, Krebernik 2006:87), *liriša* 'a profession' OB (CAD L 208, EW 833, Krebernik 2006:87), *meru* 'hundred' OB (CAD M₂ 27, Krebernik 2006:87), *parkuttu* (*parputtu*) 'an object representing ownership' OB (CAD P 188, AHw. 834, Krebernik 2006:88) *puḫutepi*

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[375] For the last two terms, see above.

[376] Perhaps also as *nimšaḫu* as a name of a jewel in Qatna (CAD N₂ 235, AHw. 729, Lambdin 1953c).

[377] Note the rather skeptical evaluation of this compariosn in Lambdin 1953b:150–151 (who also deals with the somewhat problematic semantic development from "chief" > *"chief of the magicians" > "magician, soothsayer").

[378] The translation of the CAD derives from *arkû* in the parallel Akkadian text, but possible Elamite parallels adduced in WE 613 rather suggest the translation 'then, by that time' ('da, damals').

'apprentice scribe' OB (CAD P 502, AHw. 878, EW 230, Krebernik 2006:88), *siyānu* 'temple' OB, MB (CAD S 243, EW 1095, Krebernik 2006:88), *sukkir* 'king' OB (CAD S 361, EW 1106, Krebernik 2006:89), *sukkisukki* 'a class of persons' OB (CAD S 361, AHw. 1055, EW 1313, Krebernik 2006:89), *sumītu* 'part of a temple or an installation within a temple' early OB (CAD S 378, AHw. 1057, EW 1099, Krebernik 2006:89), *teppir* 'scribe, cancellor (title of a juridical or administrative official in Elam' OB (CAD T 345, AHw. 1347, EW 312, Krebernik 2006:90)[379].

Examples of Elamite words in non-lexical Mesopotamian sources are not many: *buḫlalû* 'an Elamite designation of a priest' NA (CAD B 307, AHw. 136, EW 238, Krebernik 2006:84), *nābu* 'god' NA[380] (CAD N_1 40, AHw. 699, EW 970–971, Krebernik 2006:87), *šarnuppu* 'persons receiving rations' NB (CAD $Š_2$ 65, AHw. 1187, EW 1116, Krebernik 2006:89, Stolper 1978),perhaps *simmagir* 'a high official' NB (CAD S 272, AHw. 1045, EW 1073, Krebernik 2006:88)

A few examples of Elamite words in Mesopotamian lexical lists (often with the remark NIM 'in Elamite'):

ḫu-uk = MIN (i. e. *iṣu*) NIM 'tree; wood' (Explicit Malku III 247, CAD Ḫ 226, AHw. 353, WE 714, Krebernik 2006:85, Hrůša 2010:226)

mu-úḫ-te-er-ku-un = MIN (i. e. ^{MUNUS}*umām(a)tu*) NIM 'female animal' (Explicit Malku I 74, CAD M_2 177, AHw. 669, EW 962, 948, Krebernik 2006:87, Hrůša 2010:152, 281)

ú-li-ir-ku-un = MIN (i. e. *zikaru*) NIM 'male (animal)' (Explicit Malku I 58, CAD U 73, AHw. 1408, EW 1218, Hrůša 2010:152–153, 281)

pa-ḫa-nu = *ru-bu-[u]* NIM 'prince' (Explicit Malku I 36, CAD P 21, AHw. 810, EW 120, Krebernik 2006:87, Hrůša 2010:150–151).

pa-la-ú = ERIM NIM 'army' (Explicit Malku I 88, CAD P 62, AHw. 915, EW 131, Krebernik 2006:87, Hrůša 2010:154, 282)

a-ri = *rug-bu* NIM.MA^{KI} 'upper story' (Malku I 277, CAD A_2 264, AHw. 68, EW 83, Krebernik 2006:84, Hrůša 2010:50–51)

pa-a-ar = MIN (i. e. *zēru*) 'seed, progeny' (Explicit Malku I 325, CAD P 210, AHw. 836), identified in EW 109 with Elamite *pa-ar* 'Nachkommenschaft; Same' (Krebernik 2006:88)

ša-nun-ka-tum = MIN (i. e. *šarratu*) 'queen' (Malku I 12, CAD $Š_1$ 410, AHw. 1167, Hrůša 2010:30), comparable to Elamite *su-un-k-* 'king' (EW 1106, Krebernik 2006:89)[381]

[ši-i]l-ḫa-ak = MIN (i. e. *dannu*) NIM.MA^{KI} 'strong' (Malku I 48, CAD $Š_2$ 443, AHw. 1235, EW 1161, Hrůša 2010:32–33, 199, Krebernik 2006:89)

ul-ḫi = KIMIN (i. e. *bītu*) 'house' (Explicit Malku II 112, CAD U 72, AHw. 1408, Hrůša 2010:172–173), identified in Krebernik 2006:90) with Elamite *ulḫi* 'Wohnstatt, Haus, Palast' (EW 1216–1217).

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[379] Once in NB.

[380] In personal names, also in Ur III and OB.

[381] Also in NA royal inscriptions.

Krebernik (2006:83) adduces *kidinnu* 'protection'[382] and *kudurru*[383] 'boundary stone' as two exceptional examples of deeply integrated Elamite loanwords, but this is not universaly accepted.

3.4.7. Greek

A few Greek loanwords are attested in the latest (Seleucid and Arsacid) texts: *pardeksu* 'allotment' (CAD P 182) < παράδειξις 'proof, establishment, demonstration' (GEL 1308), *puliṭū* 'citizenry' (CAD P 504) < πολίτης 'citizen' (GEL 1434), *puppē* 'procession' (CAD P 511) < πομπή 'escort, solemn procession' (GEL 1446), *purusutattēsu* 'president, presider' (CAD P 535) < προστάτης 'leader, chief, president' (GEL 1526), *istatirru* 'stater' (CAD I 204, AHw. 389) < στατήρ (GEL 1634).

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[382] The hypothetic Elamite etymon *ki-tin* 'magischer Schutzbann, Numen' is attested only in Neo-Elamite (EW 490, Krebernik 2006:86), but it is remarkable that all OB Akkadian attestations of *kidinnu* come from Susa. For an alternative Semitic (Ethiopian) etymology of *kidinnu* see 1.3.4.

[383] CAD K 495–497 postulates four homonymous lexemes *kudurru* (A 'boundary stone'; B 'basket to carry earth'; C 'son'; D 'an ornament or neckpiece'), and for none there is a convincing Semitic etymology. At least for the meaning "boundary stone", Elam. *ku-ti-ir*, *ku-tur* 'Schützer, Heger' might be a suitable source.

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Abbreviations of lexicographic tools

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