

Innovations in the Neo-Babylonian Lexicon*

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Introduction

The Akkadian language, with a known history of more than 2000 years, for which two dictionaries are now almost finished, offers a unique opportunity for the study of lexical innovations and changes. New words emerge, old words change their meaning or become obsolete. Several questions can be addressed. How are new words formed? Which semantic developments are attested? What is the relationship between old and new words? This paper concentrates on innovations and changes which can be observed in the Neo-Babylonian (NB) dialect. I do not intend completeness of the documentation. Rather, I will present a selection of 64 typical and well attested words or phrases. The list of examples of lexical innovations below contains 7 columns.

Attestation

The word or phrase in the first column precedes the range of attestations in the second column. Some lexical innovations are also shared by Neo-Assyrian (NA) and thus are common innovations of Akkadian in the 1st mill. BC rather than exclusive to the Babylonian dialect: see *ak(k)ī*, *bēl piqitti*, *eṭēru* D and *unqu. wīltu* in NA designates ‘an excerpt tablet’ but in NB a contract-tablet. The lexemes *dannu*, *nikkassu*, *pirku*, *šaṭāru* and *širku* are only rarely attested in NA. Some words are also attested in Standard Babylonian (SB) texts from the 1st millennium in addition to NB. These are NB innovations which found their way into the literary language: *allā*, *ḥamū*, *kādu*, *mār banê*, *nāpu/nūptu* and *širku*. However, most of the lexical innovations analyzed in the following are attested exclusively in NB.

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Form

In the third column the form of lexical innovations is described. There are four possibilities.

First, a lexical innovation can be a loan from another language. In NB, most loanwords originate from Aramaic (Aram.),¹ like the words *agâ* (?), *gildu*, *kiništu*, *lamûtānu*, *qubbulu*, *šelû* and *teʔigtu*. *akanna(ka)* is probably a combination of Aram. *hāk* and Akkadian (Akk.) *annû*. At present, more than 250 loans from Aram. are attested in NB. Some 40 loans in texts from the Achaemenid period originate from Old Persian, and very few in texts from the Hellenistic period from Greek. Whether *nāšû* is also a loan, and if yes, from which language, is not clear.

Second, a new word can be shaped by a Sumerian base. Given that Sumerian as a spoken language already died out more than 1000 years earlier, this is remarkable. On the other hand, this possibility is very rare and, not surprisingly, seems to be restricted to the spheres of cult and writing: see *gīltu*, ‘receipt,’ lit. ‘long tablet,’ *guqqû* ‘a monthly offering’ and perhaps *riqqu* ‘oblite.’

Third, a new word or phrase is frequently derived from an older Akkadian root or roots: *adû* (?), *ak(k)ī*, *allā*, *ašša*, *bēl piqitti*, *bīt dulli*, *bīt narkabti/qašti/sisī*, *eṭēru* (?), *ḥamû*, *kādu* (?), *kap(a)d* (?), *karammu*, *ana madakti alāku*, *maḥīra epēšu*, *mār banē*, *mušiptu*, *mišḥu*, *nāpu/nūptu* (?), *nubatta bātu*, *pūta našû*, *sēhû*, *šalānu-*, *šaṭāru*, *wīltu*, *ūmussu* and *utru*. For *akanna(ka)* see above.

Fourth, some lexical innovations are restricted to new meanings imposed on older words: *amēluttu*, *amur*, *babbanû*, *beʔēšu/bīšu*, *dannu*, *ḥarāšu*, *kī*, *lēta nadû*, *manzaltu*, *maškanu*, *mukinnu*, *naḥāsu*, *nasāku*, *našpartu*, *nikkassu*, *nishu*, *pappasu*, *pirku*, *qallatu*, *qallu*, *qalû*, *rasānu*, etc., *sissinnu*, *sūtu* and *unqu*.

Semantic change

The fourth column gives the NB meaning of the word. For old words the meaning in earlier periods of Babylonian is presented in the fifth column. The sixth column tries to describe the semantic change of these words in general terms. Since in fact each word is a unique case, a description like this meets with some difficulties and can only give a first insight into the broad range of possible semantic changes. We can distinguish several semantic developments.²

¹ See von Soden 1966; 1968; 1977.

² Cf. Bussmann 1998:420 s. v. “semantic change.”

First, semantic narrowing: “restriction of the semantic scope or context in which the word may be used” (Bussmann 1998:420). Here belong: *amēluttu*, *amur*, *dannu*, *mukinnu*, *qallatu*, *qallu*, *qalû* and *unqu*.

Second, semantic widening, “characterized by generalization” (Bussmann 1998:420): *kî*, *našpartu*, *pappasu* (?).

Third, metonymy: *manzaltu*, *nikkassu*, *sûtu*.

Fourth, metaphor. This category includes mostly verbs: *beʾēšu/bīšu*, *ḥarāšu*, *nahāsu*, *nasāku*, *rasānu*; but also the verbal nouns *nishu* and *pirku*.

Fifth, semantic degeneration: *babbanû*.

Other words which can not be classified along these lines, simply designated as “shift” in the table, are *lêta nadû* and *maškanu*.

Position in the Neo-Babylonian lexicon

The last column describes the position of lexical innovations in the NB lexicon. We can distinguish three possibilities.

First, the innovation fills a semantic gap which means that it designates something for which before there was no designation at all. Normally a change in the extra-linguistic reality resulted in the need for a new word or phrase. The words for realia in particular belong to this category: *bît narkabti/qašti/sisî*, *gittu*, *guqqû*, *mušiptu*, *nāšu*, *wiltu* and *unqu*. Other words are: *amēluttu*, *amur*, *ḥarāšu*, *kiništu*, *manzaltu*, *nāpu/nūptu*, *nishu*, *pappasu*, *rasānu/rāsinu/rāsinûtu*, *sissinnu*, *sûtu* and *širku*.

Secondly, a lexical innovation replaces an older word which in turn becomes obsolete. Without detailed studies of individual lexical fields the causes for these replacements are not clear and probably in many cases will never be. To this category belong: *adû*, *agâ*, *akanna(ka)*, *ak(k)î*, *allâ*, *ašša*, *babbanû*, *beʾēšu/bīšu*, *bêl piqitti*, *dannu*, *eṭêru*, *ḥamû*, *kap(a)d*, *karammu*, *kî*, *lêta nadû*, *mâr banê*, *maškanu*, *mukinnu*, *nahāsu*, *našpartu*, *nikkassu*, *nubatta bātu*, *pirku*, *pûta našû*, *qalû*, *šaṭâru*, *šêlû*, *teʾiqtu*, *ûmussu* and *utru*.

Third, sometimes a lexical innovation coexists with an earlier word. I have put “synonym” in inverted commas because true synonyms are very rare. Since all of our information is derived from texts which are sometimes highly formalized it may often be that what we think is synonymous in reality contains finer, different nuances which escape us. However, the words in question at least have more or less the same range of meaning. To this category belong: *bît dulli*, *gildu*, *kâdu*, *lamûtânu*, *ana madakti alâku*, *maḥîra epēšu*, *nasâku ana muḥḥi*, *qallatu*, *qallu*, *qubbulu*, *sêḥû*, and *šalânû*. Sometimes these words at the same time replace an older word. See *allâ*, *eṭêru*, *karammu*, *lêta nadû*, *nikkassu* and *šêlû*.

List of examples for lexical innovations

Word	Attestation	Form	Meaning in NB	Meaning in earlier Bab.	Semantic change	Position in the NB lexicon
<i>adû</i>	NB	Akk. root? ⁴	'now'	—	—	replaces <i>anumma</i> , <i>inanna</i>
<i>agû</i>	NB	loan from Aram. ⁵	'that, this'	—	—	replaces <i>amû</i> ⁶
<i>akanna(ka)</i>	NB ⁷	loan from Aram.? + Akk. root ⁸	'here, there'	—	—	replaces <i>amûkû'am</i> , <i>ullûkû'am</i>
<i>ak(k)ÿ</i>	NA/NB	Akk. roots ⁹	'as, like'	—	—	replaces <i>kîma</i>
<i>allû</i>	(SB)/NB	Akk. roots	'over and above, beyond'	—	—	'synonym' of <i>ezûb</i> , ¹⁰ replaces <i>ullûnum</i>
<i>amêhuttu</i>	NB	old word	'slaves (as a collective term)' ¹¹	'people' ¹²	narrowing	fills semantic gap
<i>amur</i>	NB	old word	'(introduction of a new topic)' 'because'	imperative G 'look!'	narrowing	fills semantic gap
<i>aššû</i>	NB	Akk. roots ¹³	'as soon as', ¹⁴ 'good'	—	—	replaces <i>kîma</i> , <i>aššam</i> etc.
<i>babbanû</i>	NB	old word	'good'	*'very good'	degeneration ¹⁵	replaces <i>banû</i> , <i>damqu</i> , <i>lûbu</i>
<i>be'ešû/bišu</i>	(Bo.)/NB	old word ¹⁶	'to become bad'	'to smell bad'	metaphor	replaces <i>lemēnu/lemnu</i>
<i>bêl piqitti</i>	NA/NB	Akk. roots	'responsible'	—	—	replaces <i>bêl tērti</i>
<i>bû dulli</i>	NB	Akk. roots	'cultivation field'	—	—	'synonym' of <i>eqhu</i> , <i>zēru</i> . ¹⁷
<i>bû narkabûl/qašû/ssû</i>	NB	Akk. roots	'chariot/bow/horse land'	—	—	fills semantic gap
<i>dannu</i>	(NA) ¹⁸ /NB	old word ¹⁹	'vat'	'solid, strong' ²⁰	narrowing ²¹	replaces <i>lahitanu</i> etc. ²²

Word	Attestation	Form	Meaning in NB	Meaning in earlier Bab.	Semantic change	Position in the NB lexicon
<i>eṭēru</i>	NA ²³ /NB	Akk. root? ²⁴	'to pay' ²⁵	—	—	replaces <i>šaqqālu</i> , "synonym" of <i>maḥāru</i> , ²⁶ <i>nadānu</i>
<i>gildu</i>	NB	loan from Aram. ²⁷	'hide'	—	—	"synonym" of <i>mašku</i>
<i>giltu</i>	NB	Sum. base ²⁸	'receipt'	—	—	fills semantic gap
<i>guqqū</i>	NB	Sum. base ²⁹	'a monthly offering'	—	—	fills semantic gap
<i>ḥamū</i>	(SB) ³⁰ /NB	Akk. root	'to become confident'	—	—	replaces <i>lakālu</i> ³¹
<i>ḥarāšu</i> (in <i>Koppelung</i> with <i>šapāru</i>)	NB	old word	'to give clear command'	'to break off, incise'	metaphor	fills semantic gap
<i>kādu</i>	SB ³² /NB	Akk. root? ³³	'watch, guard'	—	—	"synonym" of <i>massantu</i>
<i>kap(a)d</i>	NB	Akk. root? ³⁴	'quickly' (adv.)	—	—	replaces <i>ḥantiš</i>
<i>karammu</i>	NB	Akk. root	'storage area, pile'	—	—	replaces <i>našpaku</i> , ³⁵ "synonym" of <i>karū</i> , <i>bit karē</i>
<i>kī</i>	NB	old word	'if'	'as, when, because'	widening ³⁶	replaces <i>šamma</i>
<i>kinīštu</i>	NB	loan from Aram. ³⁷	'priesthood, religious staff'	—	—	fills semantic gap
<i>lamūtānu</i>	NB	loan from Aram. ³⁸	'slave' (also as a collect. term)	—	—	"synonym" of <i>ardu</i>
<i>lēta nadū</i>	NB	old words	'to become careless'	'to pay attention to' ³⁹	"shift"	replaces <i>egū</i> , <i>alḫa nadū</i> , "synonym" of <i>šēlū</i>
<i>ana madakū</i> <i>alaku</i>	NB	Akk. roots	'to go on a military campaign'	—	—	"synonym" of <i>ana ḥarrāni alāku</i>
<i>maḥīra epēšu</i>	NB	Akk. roots	'to make a purchase, buy'	—	—	"synonym" of <i>sāmu</i>

Word	Attestation	Form	Meaning in NB	Meaning in earlier Bab.	Semantic change	Position in the NB lexicon
<i>manzaltu</i>	NB	old word	'term of office'	'office'	metonymy	fills semantic gap
<i>mār banē</i>	SB/ ⁴⁰ NB	Akk. roots	'notable, gentleman' ⁴¹	—	—	replaces <i>awūlu</i> , <i>banū</i> ⁴²
<i>maskanu</i>	NB	old word	'pledge'	'place, threshing floor'	"shift" ⁴³	replaces <i>mazzazānu</i>
<i>mūkinnu</i>	NB	old word	'witness'	participle D 'who makes firm' ⁴⁴	narrowing	replaces <i>šību</i>
<i>masšiptu</i>	NB	Akk. root	'a garment'	—	—	fills semantic gap
<i>mišbu</i>	NB	Akk. root	'area to be worked'	—	—	?
<i>nahāsu</i>	NB	old word	'to return, revert, be withdrawn; to withdraw, deduct'	'to go back, return'	meta- phor ⁴⁵	replaces <i>harāšu</i> , <i>našāru</i>
<i>nāpu</i> , <i>nūptu</i>	(SB) ⁴⁶ /NB	Akk. root? ⁴⁷	'(to make an) additional payment'	—	—	fills semantic gap
<i>nasāku</i> (<i>ana muḫū</i>)	NB	old word	'to impose'	'to throw'	metaphor	"synonym" of <i>emēdu</i>
<i>našpartu</i>	NB	old word	'instruction'	'written order, message'	widening ⁴⁸	replaces <i>lētū</i>
<i>nāšu</i>	NB	? ⁴⁹	'a type of beer'	—	—	fills semantic gap

Word	Attestation	Form	Meaning in NB	Meaning in earlier Bab.	Semantic change	Position in the NB lexicon
<i>nikkassu</i>	(NA) ⁵⁰ /NB	old word	'property, assets'	'account'	metonymy ⁵¹	"synonym" of <i>makkāru</i> , replaces <i>būšū</i> ⁵²
<i>nīšu</i>	NB	old word	'a type of expense'	'a cut of meat'	metaphor ⁵³	fills semantic gap
<i>nubatta bātu</i>	NB	Akk. root	'to stay overnight'	—	—	replaces <i>šamsū</i> , <i>nubatta šakānu</i>
<i>pappasu</i>	NB	old word	'income paid to holders of prebends'	'porridge'	widening ⁵⁴	fills semantic gap
<i>pirku</i>	(NA) ⁵⁵ /NB	old word ⁵⁶	'harm, wrong'	'transversal'	metaphor ⁵⁷	replaces <i>hibiltu</i>
<i>pūta našū</i>	NB	Akk. root	'to assume guaranty'	—	—	replaces <i>pūta mahāsu/lemēdu</i>
<i>qallātu</i> ⁵⁸	NB	old word	'slave girl'	'small'	narrowing	"synonym" of <i>amtu</i>
<i>qallu</i>	NB	old word	'slave'	'small'	narrowing	"synonym" of <i>ardu</i>
<i>qalū</i>	NB	old word	'refined (said of silver)'	'roasted, parched'	narrowing	replaces <i>šarpu</i>
<i>qabbulu</i>	NB	loan from Aram. ⁵⁹	'to accept'	—	—	"synonym" of <i>māhāru</i> ⁶⁰
<i>rasānu, rāsīnu, rāsīnātu</i>	NB	old word? ⁶¹	'to perform the service connected with a prebend'	'to soak, to steep'	metaphor?	fills semantic gap
<i>riqqū</i> [?]	NB	Sum. base (?) ⁶²	'obliterate'	—	—	fills semantic gap ⁶³
<i>šēlū</i>	NB	Akk. root	'person who brings suit unlawfully'	—	—	"synonym" of <i>pāqirānu</i>
<i>šissinnu</i>	NB	old word	'remuneration for gardener'	'date spadix'	metonymy ⁶⁴	fills semantic gap

Word	Attestation	Form	Meaning in NB	Meaning in earlier Bab.	Semantic change	Position in the NB lexicon
<i>sātu</i>	NB	old word	'rent for a field or orchard'	'a (measuring) vessel'	metonymy ⁶⁵	fills semantic gap
<i>šalānu-</i>	NB	Akk. roots ⁶⁶	'without'	—	—	"synonym" of <i>balu-</i> ⁶⁷
<i>šalāru</i>	(SB/NA) ⁶⁸ / NB	Akk. root	'copy, text, inscription'	—	—	replaces <i>šāru</i> , <i>šārtu</i> ⁶⁹
<i>šēlu</i>	NB	loan from Aram. ⁷⁰	'to be neglectful'	—	—	replaces <i>egû</i> , <i>dīta nadû</i> , "synonym" of <i>lāta nadû</i>
<i>šūru</i>	(SB/NA) ⁷¹ / NB	Akk. root	'temple serf'	—	— ⁷²	fills semantic gap ⁷³
<i>te'iqtu</i>	NB	loan from Aram. ⁷⁴	'worry, trouble'	—	—	replaces <i>niziqtu</i>
<i>wēlū</i>	NA/NB	Akk. root	'contract-tablet'	('excerpt tablet, nA)	—	fills semantic gap
<i>ūmassu</i>	NB	Akk. root	'daily'	—	—	replaces <i>ūmīšam(ma)</i>
<i>uqu</i>	NA/NB	old word	'signet-ring'	'ring'	narrowing	fills semantic gap
<i>utru</i>	NB	Akk. root	'excess'	—	—	replaces <i>uwartu</i>

Commentary

¹ According to GAG § 121a, the origin of the word is not clear. But in GAG § 113h von Soden analyses the ending as the locative *-ū*, which would yield an analysis *adi* (preposition/conjunction) + *-ū*. If the translation of some EA and Bo. attestations of *adi* by ‘here then’ in CAD A₁ 131 *adū* a is correct (but see AHw. 13 *adi* F ‘fürwahr,’ followed by Moran 1992:158, n. 7 to no. 87 ‘truly’), this could be an argument in favor of this analysis. (In ARM 13, 44:8 *adi ana* means ‘and also for,’ cf. Durand 1997:284 ‘jusque pour’; the reference belongs to CAD *adi* B ‘together with.’)

² Von Soden 1966:5f.; 1977:184. Cf. *hāk* ‘jener’ (Dalman 112); *hāk*, *hak* ‘this, that’ (Ja. 350).

³ But *annū* survives in combination with *agā* forming the demonstrative *agannū* ‘this.’

⁴ CAD A₁ 260 (*akanna* B a) has one Middle Babylonian (MB) attestation which is interpreted by AHw. 28 (*akānu*) as a different word.

⁵ See von Soden 1966:6; 1977:184 and AHw. 1542. Cf. *hk*/?*hkh* ‘here’ (DNWSI 279); *hākā* ‘hier, hierher, jetzt’ (Dalman 112f.); *hākā* ‘here, hither; in this case, now’ (Ja. 350); *haka* I ‘here’ (DM 120).

⁶ < *an(a) kī*.

⁷ AHw. 270 *ezib* d ‘m/spB selten.’

⁸ The word also sometimes refers to single slaves, see CAD A₂ 61 c 1’, 2’.

⁹ Older *awīlūtu* is both a collective term (‘people, mankind’) and an abstract term (‘status of being freeborn, behaviour of a gentleman’).

¹⁰ < *an(a) ša*.

¹¹ For *ašša* in NB see Hackl 2007:21, 99–101 and 132–133.

¹² In accordance with what is known from adjectives of the nominal pattern PaSPaSS like *dandannu* ‘very mighty’ and *kaškaššu* ‘very strong,’ the reduplication **banbanū*, although not actually attested, must have had the superlative meaning ‘very good’ in MB, which was weakened to simple ‘good’ in NB. A degeneration like this is shared by many adjectives of comparable meaning in different languages. Thus, in German, the adjectives *super* or *toll*, in colloquial language have become words for normal ‘good’ although they originally had the stronger meanings ‘excellent’ and ‘crazy.’

¹³ In spite of Aram. *bʾš* (cf. *bʾš*₁ hafʿel ‘to make miserable’ and *bʾš*₂ ‘bad, evil’ (DNWSI 142); *bʾš* ‘schlecht sein’ (HALAT 1678); *bʾeš* ‘malus fuit’ (Brock. 56); *bʾeš* ‘schlecht, mißfällig, böse, ärgerlich, krank sein’ (Dalman 47); *bʾe/iš* ‘schlecht, mißfällig sein, verdriessen, erkranken’ (WTM I 188); *bʾe/iš* ‘to be bad, displeasing, ill; to grow sick’ (Ja. 135); *biš* (DM 63)), the word is not interpreted as a loan in the dictionaries and by von Soden 1966; 1977. The reference for *awāt bišim* ‘bad news’ from Boghazköy (CAD B 271 *bīšu* 3a; AHw. 131 *bīšu* I 1), idiomatically almost identical with NB *amātu birīltu* and *dibbi bīšūtu*, virtually excludes a loan.

¹⁴ See Jursa 2005:25.

¹⁵ Only sporadically attested in NA.

¹⁶ The substantive *dannu* ‘vat’ is very probably derived from the adjective *dannu* ‘solid, strong’ as is shown by the adjectival plural *dannūtu*. Less likely, this plural is formed on the model of the adjective because of the homonymity of two

dannu's of different etymology. Whereas AHW. 161 is not sure about the derivation of *dannu* II, CAD D 99 states "derived from the adj. *dannu* describing containers." But in fact CAD D 93 *dannu* 1a has only two problematic references for *dannu* with reference to containers: DUG.KALA (*AJSL* 36, 83:109) translated as 'a thick container' but probably simply to be read *dannu* 'vat,' and [**dug.kalag**] = [*da*]n-nu-tu (Hh) X 237c, cf. MSL 7, 89) interpreted as 'NA for *dannatu*'; however, no *dannatu*-container is otherwise attested, and a form with Assyrian vowel harmony in this lexical list is most suspicious.

¹⁷ The adjective *dannu* is still attested in NB, cf., e. g., Ebeling 1953:89.

¹⁸ As a substantive *dannu* originally meant 'the strong one' in general.

¹⁹ It is almost impossible to determine similarities and differences between the various containers for liquids. Many words for beer containers are attested, cf. Kämmerer–Schwiderski 1998:59 s. v. "Bierkrug."

²⁰ Only D-stem attested in NA.

²¹ Both dictionaries distinguish *eṭēru* 'to take away, save' and *eṭēru* 'to pay' although they share the logograms KAR and SUR. The first root consonant of both verbs cannot be determined, and no Semitic cognates are known.

²² For the construction of the word see Jursa 2005:48.

²³ For the difference between *eṭēru* and *maḥāru* in some contexts see Jursa 2005:44.

²⁴ See von Soden 1966:8; 1977:186. Cf. *gld* 'hide, skin' (DNWSI 223); *geldā* 'cutis, pellis' (Brock. 117); *gildā* 'Überzug, Platte; Haut, Schorf' (Dalman 74); *gildā* 'Haut, Kruste' (WTM I 331); *gildā* 'plate, covering; scab, scurf; skin, leather' (Ja. 245); *gilda* 'testicle' (DM 90).

²⁵ Sum. **gíd** 'long.'

²⁶ Sum. **gúg** 'cake, offering,' cf. CAD G 135 (*guqqanū* discussion section).

²⁷ One attestation: *AnSt* 7, 130:31 (Sultantepe, Ist mill.).

²⁸ In NB *takātu* is only attested in literary texts and in personal names.

²⁹ Royal inscriptions of the NA period.

³⁰ A derivation from *hādu* A 'to cease (?), to come to an end (?)' (CAD K 35) = *hādu* I 'festhalten' (AHw. 420) is improbable. However, no Semitic cognates are known.

³¹ CAD K 183 comments: "There is no reason to connect this word with *kapādu*. It is most likely an Aram. expression." AHW. 443 also questions a connection with *kapādu*. However, there is no corresponding root in any of the numerous Aramaic dialects. On the other hand, a semantic development 'to plan, to strive' > 'to hurry' doesn't seem to be impossible.

³² Many other words for 'granary, silo' are booked by Kämmerer–Schwiderski 1998:353 s. v. "Speicher."

³³ See Hackl 2007:23f. for the semantic development of *kī* which he separates from *kī* < *kīma*.

³⁴ See von Soden 1966:13; 1977:189. Cf. *k'nišūtā* 'compressio; congregatio' (Brock. 335); *k'ništā* 'congregatio; commune; synagoga; schola' (ibid. 335); *k'ništā* 'Sammlung; gottesdienstliche Versammlung; Versammlungshaus, Synagoge; Gemeinde' (Dalman 192); *k'nišā*, *k'ništā* 'Versammlung, Versammlungsort' (WTM II 359); *k'nišūtā* 'Versammlung' (ibid. 360); *k'nišā*, *k'ništā* 'gathering, assembly' (Ja. 649); *kinša* 'assembly, congregation' (DM 214); *kinša* 'assembly, congregation'

(*ibid.* 214); *kništa* ‘assembly congregation, place of congregation, synagogue, church’ (*ibid.* 291).

³⁵ See von Soden 1966:76; 1977:189. Cf. *lwy* ‘accompany’ (DNWSI 569); *l’wāt* ‘bei’ (HALAT 1731); *lwā* ‘sich anschliessen, begleiten’ (Dalman 214); *lwī*, *lwā* ‘to join, cling to; to escort’ (Ja. 697); *lwā* ‘anhängen’ (WTM II 484); *lwā* ‘comitatus est,’ *l’wūtā* ‘comitatus; funus’ (Brock. 360); *lwa* ‘to go with, accompany, conduct, escort’ (DM 232).

³⁶ *lēta nadū*, literally ‘to incline the cheek,’ in OB and SB most often has the meaning ‘to pay attention to’ which is still attested in NB. On the other hand, in NB it is more frequently a gesture of ‘becoming careless.’

³⁷ See CAD M₁ 257 (*mār banē* 2) for SB attestations from the inscriptions of Assurbanipal.

³⁸ See Jursa 2005:10 for this interpretation.

³⁹ AHw. 102 (*banū* I 1a).

⁴⁰ *maškanu*, in OB designates the ‘threshing floor’ and in MB means ‘place.’ Both meanings can be derived from the literal meaning ‘place of putting.’ But in NB *maškanu* means ‘pledge’ which is derived from the literal meaning ‘object of putting,’ an example for the much wider semantic range of *maPRaS* nouns than described by our grammars (see Streck 2002).

⁴¹ The meaning ‘witness’ is only attested once in OB, see CAD M₂ 186 (*mu-kinnu* 1a).

⁴² *naḥāsu* as a movement of persons is still attested in NB.

⁴³ One lexical attestation each (CAD N₂ 327 *nāpu* A and 343 *nūptu*).

⁴⁴ According to AHw. 804, the word might be a loan from Aramaic. Von Soden 1968:262: “dürfte aram. Herkunft sein ... Allerdings fehlen mir Nachweise für dieses Wort ... aus den jüngerem aram. Sprachen. Daher bleibt die Ableitung unsicher.” Cf. DNWSI 723 s. v. *nwph*: “highly uncert. interpret.”

⁴⁵ *našpartu* in the OB of Mari had the meaning ‘written order, message,’ which was widened to any ‘instruction,’ written or not, in NB.s

⁴⁶ Cf. AHw. 761 “u(nbekannter) H(erkunft).”

⁴⁷ One NA attestation in CAD N₂ 229 *nikkassu* 3b = SAA 10, 359rev.:15.

⁴⁸ Semantic development ‘account’ > ‘things accounted’ > ‘property.’

⁴⁹ In NB attested only in literary texts (AHw. 144).

⁵⁰ ‘Something cut off’ > ‘expense.’

⁵¹ Probably ‘income in form of porridge’ > ‘income of all kinds.’

⁵² In NA rarely attested, cf. CAD P 403.

⁵³ According to von Soden 1968:263, the word would be ‘eine in dieser Form aram. sonst nicht bezugte Ableitung von *praq* ‘einlösen’; cf. also von Soden 1977: 192 and AHw. 855 *perku* B. But this is phonologically and semantically difficult: the Akkadian root is **prk*, not **prq*, and the latter in Aramaic never has the meaning ‘harm, wrong.’ The etymologically corresponding root **prk* in Aramaic also has a different meaning: *prk*₁ ‘to break, to damage’ (DNWSI 938); *prak* ‘zerbröckeln, zermalmern, widerlegen,’ *pirhā* ‘Widerlegung’ (Dalman 348f.). Therefore, the meaning ‘harm, wrong’ seems to be due to an inner-Akkadian semantic shift rather than a loan from Aramaic. Given that the root **prk* has a general basic meaning ‘to separate,’ this shift is not surprising. Note that CAD P gives three lemmata: *pirku*, A ‘harm, wrong,’ B transversal ..., and C ‘width’ (the latter said

to be a ‘foreign word’); the references in AHW. 867 *pirqu* II ‘Auslösung’ are booked under CAD *pirku* A. For NB *pirqātu* ‘freedom,’ a loan from Aramaic **prq*, see Weisberg 2000 and OIP 122, 38:45 with commentary p. 73.

⁵⁴ ‘Something lying across’ > ‘harm.’

⁵⁵ Cf. Streck 1992:147f. The logogram GÉME can be read both *qallatu* and *amtu* in NB. For GÉME = *amtu* see also the writing KUR *ti*-GÉME for *māt tām̄ti* (*ti-amti*) (Jursa 1999:20).

⁵⁶ See von Soden 1968:264; 1977:193. Cf. *qbl* Pael ‘empfangen’ (HALAT 1771); *qubbālā* ‘acceptio; receptio, convivium; adoptio’ (Brock. 642); *qbl* Pael ‘erhalten, empfangen; aufnehmen; übernehmen; klagen,’ *qublānā* ‘Entgegennahme,’ *qabbālūtā* ‘Annahme’ (Dalman 353); *qabbālūtā* ‘Aufnahme’ (WTM IV 237); *qabbālūtā* ‘reception, taking’ (Ja. 1310); *qbl* ‘to receive, accept, offer up, take, approve, advance, promote, put forward, prefer; to confront, meet with, advance (against or towards), bring against, oppose, accuse, impeach’ (DM 404).

⁵⁷ Both used in the payment clause of sale contracts, cf. Jursa 2005:29, note 155.

⁵⁸ The relationship between the older and the NB *rasānu* is not entirely clear. According to Kessler 1991:81, the NB meaning could be derived from the older one: “Es mag durchaus sein, daß die Begriffe entsprechend der Bedeutung des Verbuns *rasānu* auf dem Hintergrund kultischer Handlungen unter Verwendung von Wasser oder anderer Flüssigkeiten, sei es bei der täglichen Zubereitung von Speisen oder deren Präsentation, entstanden sind.” His further argument (ibid. 82), that a “Grundbedeutung ‘Pfründenaus- oder Pfründendurchführung’” might be possible as well is true for NB but does not answer the question of the origin of this meaning of *rasānu*. I cannot detect an Aramaic origin of the word. Note that *rasānu* and its derivations is in use in Uruk only; in Babylon and Sippar its counterpart is *epēšu/ēpišānu/ēpišānūtu* (Jursa 1999:44, n. 149).

⁵⁹ Sum. **rig**₇, the verbal base of the composite verb **saġ-rig**₇ ‘to donate’? However, CAD volume S considers it to be a strange spelling for *širku*, which has the same meaning.

⁶⁰ Together with *širku*.

⁶¹ The *sissinnu*-remuneration consisted of dates.

⁶² The *sūtu* rent consisted of agricultural products measured by the *sūtu*-vessel.

⁶³ Cf. *ša lā* which corresponds to Aramaic *d’lā*. Whether NB *ša lā* is a calque of the Aramaic expression (AHw. 521 s. v. *lā* C 2c) is doubtful, because *ša lā* is attested already in OB.

⁶⁴ Only rarely attested in NB letters and economic texts, see CAD B 72 *balu* k 2’.

⁶⁵ In NA only rarely attested, see AHW. 1203 *šaṭāru* I 1 and CAD Š₂ 223 1 b 3’ and 224 1 b 4’. In SB I. mill. references only.

⁶⁶ Both words only in NB royal inscriptions, see CAD Š₃ 144 *šitirtu* b and 145f. *šitru* 1 b 2’.

⁶⁷ See von Soden 1968:268; 1977:195. Cf. *šālū* ‘Nachlässigkeit’ (HALAT 1790); *š’lī* ‘quievit; desiit; tacuit; mansit’ (Brock. 778); *š’lā*, *š’lī* ‘sorglos sein; vergessen; irren’ (Dalman 404); *š’lī*, *š’lā* ‘vergessen, etwas gedankenlos thun’ (WTM IV 562); *š’lē*, *š’lā* ‘to be at ease, quiet, unconcerned; to neglect, forget; to be unaware, err, make a mistake’ (Ja. 1582); *šālūtā* ‘neglect, error, forgetfulness’ (ibid. 1579); *šla* I ‘to be quiet, still, rest, stay still, be at ease; to desist, be motionless,’ *afel* ‘to abandon’ (DM 466).

⁶⁸ “Exceptionally NA, when referring to Babylonians” CAD Š₂ 106 *širku* A b. For a SB attestation see *ibid.* a.

⁶⁹ *širku* ‘gift’ (CAD Š₂ 111 *širku* B) is not attested in OB or MB, and only very rarely in Ugarit, Middle Assyrian and NB.

⁷⁰ Together with *riqqu*.

⁷¹ See von Soden 1968:268; 1977:196; Cf. *ruq* ‘eng sein; bedrängt sein; Angst haben’ (Dalman 308); *ruq* ‘to be narrow, pressed; to feel pain, disgust; to be sick of’ (Ja. 1056); *ruq* ‘drücken, drängen’ (WTM III 628f.); *ruq* ‘to be weary’ (CSD 406); *auq*, *huq* I, *ruq* ‘to be anxious, worry’ (DM 10); *aqta* ‘distress, adversity, need, evil, ill will, envy harm’ (*ibid.* 34); *aqta* ‘distress, need, adversity, hardship, penury, want, privation’ (*ibid.* 34).

Conclusion

The kind of analysis of the Akkadian lexicon which has been presented here will offer us a deeper insight into the lexical structures of individual periods of attestation and the development of the lexicon in the course of time. It should be supplemented by a contrast of the different dialects, particularly Babylonian and Assyrian, which has already been started by L. Kogan (2006).³ At the end, this analysis of the Akkadian lexicon will be an important element of the still unwritten comprehensive history of the Akkadian language.

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³ See also the preliminary remarks in Streck 2007:67f. s. v. 3.3 “Dialektale Varianz und sprachhistorische Entwicklung.”

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