56) Additamenta to Arameo-Akkadica[1] — Below I add more documentation on Aramaic loanwords in Akkadian and Akkadian loans in Aramaic (A, B), as well as more morphological comparanda. A LB term in an Aramaic milieu is discussed in section C, while lexemes (mostly adjectives) ending in *-ān* (with or without *-ī*) are analysed in D. Section E has an Akkadian compound occupational term, which is recorded in an unpublished tablet, while F is devoted to a discussion of several Akkadian names in Aramaic texts from the Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenid and early Hellenistic periods.

A. Aramaic loanwords in Akkadian

1. NB/LB *la-mu-ta-nu* (Zadok 2020c: 4) – The considerable number of the Aramaic adjectives which are spelled *QTWLtn* (see Nöldeke 1904: 78-79:129c) can be normalized as /*qattūl-t-ān* /. Hence *la-mu-ta-nu* can originate from *lawwūy-t-ān and normalized as *lawwûtān with contraction of *–y-*. The Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic forms which are quoted by me are not homonymous with the NB/LB term, but resembling as they are based on the same root, but – as I pointed out – have a different meaning since they refer to a mythical monster.

In addition to the impressive number of adjectives of the type *qattūl-t-ān*, this compound suffix is attached to other nominal formations as well:[2]

> Mand. *qʾrbʾtn'*, OSyr. *qrbtn'* "warlike, bellicose" (> JBA *qrpdn'*), *ḥyltn'* "powerful, robust"; *bʾyrtn'* "wild, rough, brutal" (= *bʾyrn'*); *zywtn(')* "shining, bright, distinguished" (JBA *zywt(')n* is rendered as "proud" by Sokoloff 2002: 407b); *ryḥtn'* "fragrant" (JPA *ryḥtn*,[3] to *ryḥ*); MHeb. *krstn* "with a thick belly" (cf. Akkad. *karšānû*, below, D); *zḥtn* "proud" (JAram. *zḥwḥ'*); OSyr. *ḥrtn'* "quarrelsome"; *kmnytn'* "insidious"; *kʾbtn'* "unwell, suffering" (cf. Mand. *kaiba* "aching", Macuch 1965: 180:123); JPA *ptltn* "perverter" (∥ *ptln*), JAram. *rbtn'* "enormous, huge"; *rʾbtn'* "greedy, gluttonous" (cf. JBA *rʾbtn'h*); MHeb. *šytnyt* "female listener"; BHeb. *ʾqltwn* "crooked" (Ug. *ʾqltn*, /* *ʾaqal-at-ān*/, see Tropper 2012: 272:51.46, e). The suffix is attached to a non-Semitic noun in OSyr. *nḥšyrtn'* "hunter", which is based on *nḥšyr* < MPers. *naxčīr* "game, chase".

The following adjectives look as if they end in the same compound suffix, but in reality their adjectivising suffix is merely *–ān* which is attached to substantives ending in *–(V)t* (for the same adjectivising suffix attached to nouns without this ending, cf. below, D):

> OSyr. *ḥmtn'* "given to anger" (from *ḥmt'* "ardor", cf. *ḥmtny'*), *ʾktn'* "angry" (from *ʾkt'* "boiling heat", i.e. in a figurative sense) and *nqbtn* "womanly" (based on *nqbh*, det. *nqbt'*):[4] JPA and MHeb. *gywtn* "proud, haughty, arrogant" (from *gʾwh* "pride, haughtiness"), JPA *ʾnwtn'* "meek, humble" (to Mand. *ʾnwt'* "condescension", cf. Heb. *ʾnwh* "humility") = JPA *ʾnwwn*; OSyr. *bhwttn'* "modest" (from *bhwt'* "modesty"), MHeb. *prstn* "with a big claw" (*prsh*), OSyr. *sʾrtn'* "hairy" (from *sʾrt'* "hair", cf. JPA *śʾrn*, *śʾrtyy*, *śʾrnyy* "hairy"), JPA *ʾymtn'* "fearsome, terrifying" (cf. *ʾymtny* in Onkelos, from *ʾymh*, "fear", det. *ʾymth*); Mand. *rbwtʾn'* "proud, haughty, arrogant" (from *rbwt'* "pride, arrogance"); *qntn* (fem. *qntnyt*) "jealous" (from *qn(ʾ)h*, det. *qn(ʾ)th* "jealousy", cf. JPA *qnʾn* "jealous"), OSyr. *ydʾwtn'* "intellectual, learned" (cf. JBA *ydʾwt'*, Mand. *yʾdwt'* "knowledge"); *gbrtn'* (fem. *gbrtnyt'*) "heroic, strong" (to *gbrʾ* /*gibbārā*/ "hero", or rather based on the abstract noun *gbrt, extant in Mand. *gbarta* "strength, manhood", cf. Macuch 1965: 181: 124, b in fine) = MHeb. *gbrtn*; OSyr. *rgtn'* "lascivious, greedy" (from *rgt'* "desire, longing, eagerness"), Mand. *rʾktʾn'* "voluptuous" (both derive from R-G-G "to desire greatly", the latter with *g* > *k*); cf. Mand. *gdwltʾny'* ("ringlet-spirits", from *gdwlt'* "lock", see Macuch 1965: 195-196 with n. 120, substantivized), OSyr. *rḥmtʾn'* "clement" (apparently based on *rḥmt'* "love, lust" which derives from R-Ḥ-M "to love, pity, have mercy") and perhaps Mand. *ʾwtn'* "powerful, violent" (cf. *ʾywt* "power", Macuch 1965: 196: 143b). JBA *ḥyṭrtn'* "having a protrusion" is also based on a substantive ending in *–t*, cf. MHeb. *ḥwṭrt* "hump" on the one hand and Mand. *ḥʾṭʾrʾt'* "mounds, humps" on the other. The same pattern, i.e. substantive + adjectivising *-ān*, is extant in Akkad. *tukultānu* "trustworthy" (from *tukultu*); *ṭābtānu* "doer of good" (from *ṭābtu* "good deed"); *urbatānu* "overgrown with rushes" (from *urbatu* "rush, reed"); *usātānu* "charitable, generous" (from *usātu* "help, assistance"); BHeb. *nḥštn* "bronze serpent" (from *nḥšt* "copper, bronze" as a votive venerated object in the temple). Perhaps late BHeb. *Ydwtwn* (var. *Ydytwn*), a clan name which originally refers to a guild (of musicians), is of the same type, if its base was originally a substantive *ydwt* (the suffix is *-t* + *-ūn* < *-ōn* < *-ān*). JBA has the substantive *šybtn'* "shuttle" (Sokoloff 2002: 959a).

Some OB < Am. anthroponyms end with *–at-ān* (see Streck 2000: 315: 4.9, 342-343, 345-347, 351: 5.77). LB has *Har-ba-ta-nu* and *Ra-mat-ta-ni* (cf. Zadok 1978: 113, 169). OB < Am. toponyms with the same compound suffix are *Ba-ni-a-ta-an*[ki], *Ku-ba-ta-a-nu*/*Ku-ba-ta-ni*[ki], *Ma-nu-ha-ta-an*[ki], as well as *A-ri- ta-na-IA*[ki] and [i?]*Si-ba-ta-ni-tum* (Rép. géogr. 3: 21, 38, 142, 144, 159, 307, s.vv.; the two last toponyms are apparently originally gentilics). Later toponyms with the same compound suffix are with Canaanite *ā* > *ō*: EA *Hi-in-na-tu-ni*/*Hi-na-tu-na*[ki], NA *Hi-na-tú-na* = OT *Ḥntwn*. OT has also *Gbtwn* (NA *Gab-bu-tú-nu*), *Prʾtwn*, and without this Canaanite shift *Qrtn* (var. *Qrth*, to *qrt* "town") and *Ṣrtn* (related to GN *Ṣrt*), cf. Talm. *Ḥmtn*

(to *Ḥmt*). Modern Palestinian *Jaʿtūn* originates from *Gʿtwn* (with *ā > ō*, cf. with *–t-m* the OT clan name *Gʿtm*, Septuagint *Γοωθαμ, Γοθομ*). For the suffix in ancient Levantine toponyms and their modern survivals see Wild 1973: 196. An Akkadian substantive, which apparently ends in the same compound suffix, is *ṣalbatānu* "planet Mars" (MB, NB/LB, NA).[5] This combination plus *-û* (< *-īyu*) is extant in *hallutānû* "tuft of black hair from the hind legs of a donkey" (SB), which is related to *hallu* "hind legs of an animal" (notably donkey, OB, SB, NA, AHw.: 312b, s.v. *hallu* I, 313a; CAD H: 45, s.v. *hallu* A; 48a, s.v. *hallutānû*). Another example is *imtanû* "tuft of black hair from the rump of a donkey" which is related to *imû* "tuft of black hair from the forehead legs of a donkey" (both SB lex., AHw.: 379b; CAD I/J: 139a, 141b, cf. GAG: 86:56r). From the typological (but not functional) point of view, this compound suffix, viz. *–t-ān-û < -*t-ān-iy-*, is comparable to the above-mentioned *–t-ān-āy* of *rʿbtnʾh*, as well as to *-ān-iy-* of *karšānû*, *-ān-āy* of *ʾymtny*, *ḥmtnyʾ* and *śʿrnyy* (for parallels cf. below, D).

The feminine marker *-t* is omitted before *-ān* in JBA *twlʾ/ʿnʾ* "worm–coloured" (to *twlʿtʾ* "worm", Sokoloff 2002: 1197b).

2. *gil(a)du* "leather" in the Ebabbar and Eanna archives is considered a plural by Bongenaar (see just below). He does not elaborate, but he was apparently inspired by the general phenomenon of broken plurals in certain West Semitic dialects. This is not supported by the context for one would expect that this form will exclusively refer to multiple units, which is not the case: [x] units (Camb. 71, 1, 7) are mentioned on 7.VIII.1 Camb. = 529 BC, while ᵏᵘˢ*gi-l*[*a-du*] occurs in a text where the number of units is not indicated (Bongenaar 1993: BM 63917, 2). Moreover, the form without *–a-*, viz. ᵏᵘˢ*gi-il-du*, refers to 2 and 27 units (Bongenaar, NB *Ebabbar*: 398, n. 347: BM 75181, 3 and YOS 6, 180 respectively). Bongenaar (NB *Ebabbar*: 550b, s.v. *gildu*) renders it as "cowskin", but on 399 he has "cowskin?" and on 413-414 "hide(s)" (more references in van Driel 1993: 241 with n. 138).

3-4. NB/LB *gi-ra-A+A* and *ma-gal-la-a* (Zadok 2020a: 4) – There are more designations of occupations and professions in Aramaic which end in *–āy* or are contracted from it. They are attached to substantives in JBA *ʾbwlʾh* (perhaps "gate watchman"), *ʾrbʾh* "boatman", *bwṣʾh* "maker of linen cloth" (to *bwṣʾ*), *bzʾh* "falconer" (to *bzʾ*, Sokoloff 2002: 74b, 163a, 191b, 194a), *gyldʾh* "leather worker" (to *gyldʾ* "leather"),[6] *pšṭʾh* "one who explains", *ptwrʾh* "money changer", *qynʾh* "metal worker", *qyrʾh* "dealer in bitumen" (to *qyrʾ*),[7] *šwqʾh* "market vendor", *tnwrʾh* "corselet maker", *trbṣʾh* "student", *trmdʾh* "gatherer of *trmdʾ*-plant", and perhaps *twrʾh* "cattle dealer(?)". The suffix is also attached to nomina agentis of the *qātūl*-formation (generally occupational terms), e.g., *ʾmwdʾh* "diver", *gšwšʾh* "sounder of a depth", *knwšʾh* "sweeper", *mšwḥʾh* "surveyor", *qbwrʾh* "grave digger", *qpwlʾh* "one who uncovers", *špwkʾh* "pourer (of wine)", *ṭrwpʾh* "expert on animal defects", *zlwḥʾh* "sprinkler", as well as *prwmʾh* "burglar" (Sokoloff 2002: 139a, 306a, 414a, 515-516, 588a, 712a, 929b, 978a, 1031, 1124a, 1169b, 1199b, 1217b, 1231a, 1235a). Its merely adjectival denotation is preserved in the behavioral designation JBA *plgʾh* "disputatious"; cf. *šlṭʾh* "empowered" (Sokoloff 2002: 911a, 1148b).

5. *ha-lil-a-nu* (pl. of *hālilu*) – In addition to the multiple occurrences from Sippar (see Zadok 2020b: 4), there is a single occurrence in the Uruk documentation, where it is recorded in a undated letter (Weisberg, NB Texts, 162, 21) together with *qáp-pa-a-ti* (baskets made of palm leaves, cf. CAD Q: 92, s.v. *qappatu*, especially b where they are listed together with tools used in agriculture and digging).

6. *ma-as-tar* (Zadok 2020b: 5) - the interpetation of von Soden (AHw.: 637b, s.v.) as *mazkûtu* "Abdeckung von Verpflichtungen", which is based on an alternative reading *ma-az-kut*, is not adopted by CAD (M/1: 438b).

B. Akkadian loanwords in Aramaic

1. *ʾklwšʾ* < *atkaluššu* (Zadok 2020a: 1) – Regarding the assimilatiom of *t* before *k* cf. *tC > tt* in verbal forms, e.g. JAram. *myktbʾ* < *mtktbʾ* (cf. Litke 2018: 113).

2. *bqtʾ* for for *bīt qātī* (É ŠUᴵᴵ) – "building wing (used as workroom or storehouse)" (CAD Q: 198-200) is noticed by Streck (2017: 192 ad 180:XXIV = Joannès 2001: 251-252:2 from 309 BC). He suggests alternative explanations of *b-*, viz. an abbreviation or a mistake. Perhaps it is an early example of Aram. *b(y)-* for *byt* in compounds. Aram. *byt-* has become *by- > b-* from this period onwards, cf. Mand. *Biqata*[8] and JBA *byqtʾ* (also defective spelling *bqtʾ* in view of *bqty* "my *b.*"). The traditional explanation of the JBA compound which is followed by the modern lexicographers is < *by ʿqtʾ* "hut" (cf. just below), *lit.* "narrow place, house of distress" following a Geonic commentary (see Sokoloff 2002: 205b, 217a). This explanation is phonologically defensible (JBA has *ʿqtʾ*, but the Mandean equivalent *ʾqtʾ* (Sokoloff 2002: 878b) with weakening of /ʿ/ is not exceptional in the late Aramaic dialect cluster of Babylonia). What is more relevant in my opinion is that the derivation of *byqtʾ* from *by ʿqtʾ* is explicitly documented much earlier: A Babylonian sage (Amora) presents this explanation in the Babylonian Talmud Sabbath 77b, a passage where more popular etymologies of his are listed. The motivation of this reinterpretation (popular etymology) of *byqtʾ* as *by ʿqtʾ* is clear: a building wing used as a workroom or a storehouse is generally smaller and narrower than the building which normally serves as dwelling. The rendering of JBA *byqtʾ* as "hut" can be modified: the context does not rule out a denotation "workroom" or "storehouse" which is not contradictory to the traditional (but rather secondary) rendering, but stresses the functional aspects of the edifice in question.

3. *ḥlṣ* < *halṣu* can be added to the almost exhaustive list of Akkadian loanwords in Aramaic (Kaufman 1974, Sokoloff 1976, 2005 and von Soden 1977). It is extant in *ḥlṣ tmr* which would mean either "(fortified) district" > "fortress", i.e. "the palm's fortress" (see van der Toorn 2018: 21 ad xvi, 7 who renders it as "a fortress of palms") or as a toponym "the fortress of Tmr".

C. A putative Akkadian (LB) form in an Aramaic milieu –
še-ra-ag-gu-ʾ is recorded in the archive of the Rēš temple in Seleucid Uruk. It is perhaps plural of Akkad. *širaku* (a by–form of *širku/šerku*) as cautiously suggsted by Beaulieu (1989: 76 ad 4, 1). It is with the rare shift of intervocalic *k > g* as in NB/LB *a-ga-a* "this, that" which originates from Aram. *hk* (cf. Fales 1980: 264 and below).[9] This Akkadian term refers to members of the temple community who did not belong to the cultic personnel and had to fulfill *ilku*–obligations according to the rich pertinent documentation from the long 6th century BC (see Ragen 2006, *passim*). A plural or a collective is suggested by the context. If the final vowel represents the plural, then it is an archaizing attempt to insert the Akkadian *–ū* (nominative masculine pl.), while NB/LB generally has the oblique case for masculine plural, viz. *širkī* (> *širkē*). The base of the plural is once spelled with *–kk–* in SAL *ši–rak–ki*[meš] ; the latter may render *širakātu* (see CAD Š/3: 110: *šir(a)kātu*). The form with *–kk–* is also extant in the related NB/LB anthroponyms *Ši–rik–ka/ki* (CAD Š/3: 110a with refs.) and *Še–ra–ak–ka* (Stolper 1985, 35, 13). The latter has the same formation as *še–ra–ag–gu–ʾ*, the last member of the trio [lú]*ṣa–bi*, [lú]*ki–niš–tu₄* and *š.*, all referring to different classes of temple personnel. The shift *k > g* may be due to the Aramaic milieu of this very late occurrence within LB. This shift is recorded in Eastern Aramaic, viz. Mandaic (see Macuch 1965: 76:44) and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. For the latter cf. *kwprʾ* > *gwprʾ*, *glwpqrʾ* and *gyndrwps*, whose Greek sources has κ– and perhaps *gmš* < Akkad. *kamāšu* (Sokoloff 2002: 271b, 281b, 285b, 293b, 565). The geminated *g* may reflect pretonic lengthening in an open penultimate syllable, a phenomenon which possibly took place in certain Aramaic dialects (cf. Blau 1978: 101–102: 7 and passim). The final vowel may alternatively render a collective, like the preceding members of the trio, viz. [lú]*ṣa–bi* and [lú]*ki–niš–tu₄* (the former has also a plural form which the scribe chose not to use here). The Aramaic feminine suffix *–ū* (<–w>, det. *–wt*, cf. Tal 2013: 97:6.1.7.3), can serve in this case as a collective, cf., e.g., JBA and OSyr. *ḥbrwtʾ* "companionship" as well as JBA *glwtʾ* "exiles". On the whole, the term may have a low degree of absorption in Aramaic: it may be surmised that *še-ra-ag-gu-ʾ* did not survive as a loan in the Aramaic dialect of southern Mesopotamia, viz. Mandaic, due to the abolishment of the institution (the pagan temple) in the early Sasanian period.

D. Adjectivising suffixes
-ān is extant in e.g., Akkad. *ṭēmānu* "wise" and *tamkarānu* "mercantile" < "like a merchant" from *ṭēmu* and *tamkaru* respectively. This adjectival suffix, which is extant in JPA *rym(ʾ)n*, SA *rʾmn* lit. "wild–ox–like", is rendered simply as "wild ox", in which case it would be synonymous with *rʾm* (cf. Sokoloff 2017: 600b). One should ask why the suffix was inserted here. Perhaps it refers to a related but different species, compare the difference in meaning between the cognates Akkad. *rīmu* (< Proto–Sem. **riʾm*) "*Bos primigenius*" and CA *riʾm* "*Oryx leucoryx*" (Talshir 2012: 2). JBA *gldʾnʾ* (name of a fish) is apparently based on *gld* "skin", cf. JBA G–L–D "to have a covering" and *gllnytʾ* means "stone–shaped": it is based on *gll + –ān* (cf. the NB/LB name *Ga–la–la–nu*, Zadok 1978: 118, 160) and a feminine suffix (cf. JBA *ʿmrnytʾ* "woolly" to *ʿmrʾ* "wool"), as well as *kalbānu* "dog–like", *patrānu* "sword–like", *puglānu* "radish–like", *šuqdānu* "almond– like", *šizbānu* "milky plant" (= *hi–la–ba–nu*), i.e., "with milk–like juice" (also referring to milk–fed lamb) and *HAR–da–ta–nu* describing a date palm, perhaps "shaped like a cross–beam" (*hurdatu*, see AHw.: 358b; differently Cocquerillat 1973–1974: 100).

The compound suffix *-ān + -ī* is extant in Akkad. *amānû*, *bārānû*, *ālānû*, *ilānû*, *lumnānû* (see GAG: 86:56r), *karšānû* "with a thick belly" (CAD K: 223b, cf. above, A; *bārānû* is based on *bārtu* with omission of the feminine marker according to AHw.: 106a, in which case it would be analogous to JBA *twlʾ/ʿnʾ*, above, A, 1 in fine), *ṣillānû* "providing shade" (CAD Ṣ: 188b), *habšānû* (referring to a quality of wool, AHw.: 305b), and *tīnānû* "fig like". The latter is a by–form of *tīnānu* (both MB, CAD T: 419–420), just as *qarnānû* "horned" and *rāʾimānû* "affectionate" have almost the same denotation as *qarnānu* "with (large) horns" and *rāʾimānu* "lover" respectively (CAD Q: 133-134; R: 81-82), and *kayamānu* is synonymous with *kayamānû* "normal, regular, usual" (CAD K: 36-38).[10] This compound suffix is typologically comparable to Aram. *-ān-ī* and *ān–āy* (above, A, 1 in fine). *Kūṣānû* seems to have the same denotation as *kūṣāyu* "wintry" (cf. AHw.: 515b, CAD K: 593-594 and GAG: 85:56p), i.e. with interchange of *-ān-ī* and *-āy* and *šakrānû* is synonymous with *šakru* "drunk" (CAD Š/1: 192).

E. Akkad. *naggār lēʾi* – Ahhēšâ (ŠEŠ[meš]*-šá-a*), carpenter of a writing board ([lú]NAGAR [giš]DA), was perhaps from Borsippa in view of an anthroponym with Mār-bīti, viz. Mār-bīti-iddina ([d]A.É- MU) son of Bēl-ahhē-bulliṭ ([d+]EN-ŠEŠ[meš]-TIN (line 2), which occurs in the same source. He is recorded in a NB/LB administrative list from 14.XII (no year and RN, SC 68, 5, 6, unpublished tablet in Smith College, Northampton, MA).[11] For various categories of carpenters see CAD N/1: 113-114, s.v. *naggāru*, b and cf. Zadok 2012: xlv:1.2.2.1 in fine.

F. On Akkadian names in Aramaic texts and dockets – PN *br Npḫy* denotes "PN descendant of the Nappāhu clan" (Streck 2017: 174:107); *-y* very probably renders here the gentilic /*–āy/ (status absolutus; the determinate status is rendered by *–y'*, see Streck 2017: 189 ad 192 with n. 118).- ARHUŠ-GAR- a restoration *R[w]škn* is more likely than *R[m]škn* (Streck 2017: 184:4) in view of the phonetic spellings LB *Re-e-mu-šu-kun* (Nippur, 5.V.35 Art. I = 430 BC, Donbaz and Stolper 1997, 97, 2) and *Re-šu-kun-nu* (Nippur, 21.II.38 Art. I = 427 BC, Stolper 1985, 103, 6, 9 <*nu*>, 10), very probably for one and the same individual. The shift *m > w* took place only when the original Akkadian (Babylonian) /*m*/ is intervocalic (cf., e.g., the related name ^{d+}AG-*re-man-ni* = Aram. *Nbwrwn*, Streck 2017: 183:1). In this case, a normalization *Rēm-šukun* for the ARHUŠ-GAR, which is understandable for late Babylonian, a dialect devoid of case endings, cannot be the point of departure. It may be envisaged that the shift of intervocalic *-m-* to *-w-* in this case took place when the name was still pronounced *RēmV-šukun* (presumably *Rēma-šukun*), or was the *–m-* heard like a sonant one?- The brick inscription retains the *-'-* of *Nbwn'd* (see Streck 2017: 185:6) presumably because it is an official (royal) document (Sass and Marzahn 2010: 170:30), where the scribe rendered accurately the Babylonian original.- *'dnnbw* < Iddin(a)-Nabû:¹²⁾ for the segmentation cf. *Byt'llwny* (*Bayt-'il* + G perf. 3rd sg. m. of L-W/Y-Y "to accompany" + acc. suff. 1st sg. *–ny*, Sass and Marzahn 2010: 166:9). - The forms *Nuska* (Babylonian) and *Na/ušuh* (/*Na/usuh*/, Neo-Assyrian, cf. Streck 2017: 191) may indicate that the *u* after the initial consonant is short, in which case Aram. *Nwšklny* is a plene spelling. Therefore, [*'n*]*wbls*? = ^d60-TIN-*su* /*Anu-uballissu*/ (Streck 2017: 176:144) can alternatively render *Anu-bullissu*. Regarding Streck 2017: 172:51, the deed BE 8, 51 (CBS 3539), 1 has [^dUT]U-ŠEŠ-MU (son of Nergal-iddina, collated by me in 2015).

Notes

1. Abbreviations (mostly of editions of cuneiform texts) are as in A.L. Oppenheim et al. (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago and Glückstadt 1956-2010), unless otherwise indicated. The months (in Roman figures) are the Babylonian ones. Non-bibliographical abbreviations: Am. = Amorite; Aram. = Aramaic; BHeb. = Biblical Hebrew; CA = Classical Arabic; det. = determinate state; JAram. = Jewish Aramaic; JBA = Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; Mand. = Mandaic; MHeb. = Middle Hebrew; MPers. = Middle Persian; OSyr. = Old Syriac; SA = Samaritan Aramaic; Sem. = Semitic.

2. NA *ma-qa-al-ta-a-nu* is apparently with a *m*-preformative, but its *–n* has been interpreted as fem. pl. by Fales 2007: 117.

3. Extant in *prds r*. (Sokoloff 2017: 600b), cf. JBA (and Targum of Esther) and OSyr. *bwstn'*, Mand. *bwst'n'* < Middle Iranian **bōstān* (MPers. *bōyestān*) "orchard" (of fruits), "grove" (notably of planted cedars, distinct from prds "vineyard", cf. Sokoloff 2002: 191b) < Old Iranian **bauda-stāna* "the place of smell, fragrance".

4. Cf. the antonym JBA *dwkrnyt'* (hapax, presumably for **dykrnyt'* due to the frequent graphic interchange *w/y* in texts with square Jewish scripts) which renders MHeb. *'ylwnyt* "man-like woman". They are based on *dykr* (cf. JBA *dykr'*) and *'yl* "male" < "ram".

5. This planet name has no cognates according to AHw.: 1077a. It is apparently based on a *qatl*-formation of Ṣ- L-B "to impale, crucify". For the latter root in Aramaic and Middle Hebrew as well as its Akkadian cognate *ṣalāpu* (SB, CAD Ṣ: 71a) see Moreshet 1980: 305-306. The Akkadian cognate denotes "to cross out, cancel, to distort, pervert". Is it used figuratively in the naming of the star? (cf. the derived nominal forms OB, SB *ṣalpu*, OB, MB, LB *ṣiliptu* "diagonal", NA *ṣilbu* "crosswise arrangement").

6. Sokoloff 2002: 280 where the status designation *gyl'h* "of the same age", based on *gyl* and ending in the same suffix, is listed. Another status designation, Aram. *'ḥr'y* (*'ḥr* + adjectival suff.) "responsible" is modelled on NB/LB *uškû* (< *urk*- + adj. suff., cf. Greenfield 1982: 478 = 2001: 212) "holder of prior claim" (see Weszeli 2007 and cf. CAD U/W: 301). JBA *yrḥyn'h* "of the (new) moon" (*yrḥ*) is a designation of the Talmudic sage Samuel, who was also an astronomer (cf. Sokoloff 2002: 542, for an interchange *–ān-/-īn-* in Mandaic see Macuch 1965: 196).

7. Sokoloff 2002: 943b, 945b, 1013-1014, 1016a; *'yhy dqyr'* (cf. Zadok 2014) was understood as "it (= the place) of the bitumen", i.e. a case of reinterpretation of the toponym **Hyt* (*dqyr'*). Throughout history, the toponym ends in a dental consonant. The process of textual corruption can be reconstructed as **Hyt +dqyr'* with assimilation of the 1st (unvoiced) dental to the following unvoiced one, resulting in **Hy dqyr'* which was reinterpreted as *'yhy dqyr'*.

8. It is listed as variant of **byqyt'*, which is extant in pl. *byqy't'* by Drower and Macuch 1963: 62b with an incorrect rendering "region, plane" comparing Bibl. Aram. *bqʿh* and OSyr. *pqʿt'* "plain". The context strongly suggests "a narrow house" as a degradation of a normal, spacious dwelling, which matches the JBA term as will be demonstrated presently. The Mandaic cognate is aptly compared with the JBA form by Sokoloff 2002: 205b, s.v. byqt'.

9. The shift is more common in NA, but unlike NB *sa-ga-ni-iá*, which is a loan from NA (see Zadok 2020a: 3), *šir(a)ku* is an exclusively Babylonian term. The only NA occurrence, viz. lú *še-er-ki*, is in a letter from central Babylonia concerning Babylonian oblates (ABL 1274 = Parpola, LAS 291, 13, see CAD Š/3: 108a, s.v. *širku* A, b, 2').

10. *Bītānû* is not analogous as it is not homonymous with *bītānu* "inner part, interior", but an adjective thereof (CAD B: 274-276).

11. Quoted with kind permission of Dr. M. Antonetti, curator of the Rare Books Room of Smith College.

12. See Streck 2017: 188; and cf. Zadok 2020a: 5, but note the unique spelling *Id-di-na-*^{d+}A[G]/E[N] from Babylon, 22.VIII.28 Darius I = 494 BC (Wunsch, *Urkunden*, 18, 19).

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Ran ZADOK <zadokr@tauex.tau.ac.il>
Tel Aviv University, Ramat-Aviv 69778 (ISRAEL)