



State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
Volume XXIII (2017)

LEXICAL SONDERGUT OF NEO-ASSYRIAN

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This study addresses the words unique to the extant Neo-Assyrian corpus. All of them are listed in the paper, with etymological and philological notes wherever feasible or appropriate. Two foci of the inquiry are innovations in the basic lexicon of Neo-Assyrian and productive rules of word-formation in this language.

Keywords: History of Akkadian, Lexicon exclusive to Neo-Assyrian, Rules of word-formation in Neo-Assyrian

Introduction

The purpose of the present study is to look at those words which are unique to the extant Neo-Assyrian corpus, *i.e.*, not attested in the rest of the Akkadian varieties. For brevity’s sake, we shall call the totality of these words the (lexical) *Sondergut* (of Neo-Assyrian).¹ We hope that our inquiry will contribute to a comprehensive description of Neo-Assyrian.²

* We thank Bert Kouwenberg and Walther Sallaberger for helpful comments on a draft of this article. The work on the paper was financed by the Russian Science Foundation, project 16-18-10343.

1. The German words *Sondergut* and *Gemeingut* are metaphors taken from the literary criticism of the gospels. We use them for want of better terms that would be both short and transparent.
2. Abbreviations follow CAD. Additional abbreviation: VA = verbal adjective. English words written in SMALL CAPS refer, wherever convenient, to concepts whose basic exponents may have varied within the lifespan of Akkadian, e.g., SNOW, TO MILK.

Previous lexical studies important for our research include Abraham & Sokoloff (2011), Kogan (2006), Streck (2005, 68), and Streck (2010).

In order to establish the glossary of our NA *Sondergut*, we singled out the dictionaries' lemmata that bear “NA” as the only corpus marker.³ We then excluded those lemmata that, at a closer look, happened to be attested in SB texts of the Neo-Assyrian period rather than in genuine NA texts. Thus, AHw, 572 and CAD M₁ 16 assign a *hapax madgalu/magdālu*, “Beobachtung”[?] / “observation” to NA, yet this term occurs in an inscription of Sargon II (TCL 3: 249), obviously written in SB, as is clear in particular from the context cited in the respective CAD entry (CAD M₁ 16): *ša ma-ad-ga-li-šu-nu ša nagū ... dimāte rukkusā*; it stands to reason that NA forms are *nagiāne*, “districts”, and *rakkusā*, “they were constructed”. Given this nonchalant stance of the dictionaries, we checked all the “NA” lemmata against the editions and as a result excluded some thirty of these lemmata from the specifically NA lexicon. In compensation, we have added to the NA *Sondergut* a few items we have found in the SAA glossaries and texts.

The user of the dictionaries comes across a number of assumed NA words that, in the course of time, turned out to be non-existent, as it follows from recent editions based on collations. Thus, an assumed word *asūmu*, “Bildstele (?)” (AHw, 77), “relief figure” (CAD A₂, 348f.), “stele?” (CDA, 26), results from a misread passage in a NA letter. In order to update the dictionaries, we did include such lemmata into our study, with appropriate discussions, marking them with the double asterisk (**) to say the respective words do not exist, though our lexicographic tradition still keeps them.⁴

In this paper, we study only *vocables* unique to NA, we do not register new meanings of the words known from other Akkadian varieties. A well-known example is the verb *rammū*: NA, unlike the rest of Akkadian, uses it as the basic exponent of TO LEAVE in its various senses,⁵ while *ezābu*, well known in OA, is not attested in NA.

Here and there in the study we use various statistical data on NA. We have gleaned them from the lemmatized searchable corpus of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/saao/corpus>). By the end of 2016, the corpus included all the SAA volumes with letters (1, 5, 10, 13, 15–19), as well as SAA 2 (NA treaties), 6 and 14 (legal transactions), 8 (astrological reports) and 9 (prophecies). We have not taken into account the data of lexical lists, except “Practical Vocabulary of Assur” (Landsberger & Gurney 1957–58), “Practical Vocabulary of Nineveh” (*ibid.*), and NA lists of professions from Kuyundjik (MSL 12, 238–241) and Sultantepe (*ibid.*, 233–237).

We deal with the words of our corpus in the following order: I. Verbs; II.

3. In particular, we leaned heavily on CDA, and its online supplement <http://www.soas.ac.uk/cda-archive/lemmata/>. We have also perused the post-CDA, volumes of CAD (P, R, T, T̄, U/W).
4. In certain cases, AHw posits a *hapax* unique to NA, while CAD cancels it for some reason or another. And, *vice versa*, AHw sometimes reinterprets a sign chain taken by CAD as a NA *hapax*. In such cases, we have excluded these false entries from our list tacitly, since the correct readings are already reflected in one of the dictionaries. In most cases, these spurious words have not been entered into CDA.
5. CAD R, 130–133. See also Deller 1961.

Substantives; III. Adjectives; IV. Adverbs; V. Function words, *i.e.* those encoding various meanings related to grammar, in particular prepositions and conjunctions. Within Verbs, we first list those with roots unknown outside NA, and then those formed from roots known yet possessing stem shapes unique to NA. Within Substantives, we first discuss deverbal ones, arranged by pattern (II.1); we then list denominal substantives, arranged by derivational affix (II.2); finally, we bring in the rest of the substantives, *i.e.*, those whose morphological shape is opaque (II.3). We have classified Adjectives in the same way as Substantives.

Our entries open with the lemma, followed by references to the dictionaries. The “hashtag” # introduces textual examples wherever necessary. The triangle ▲ is followed by examples absent from the dictionaries. The obelisk † says that the word is a *hapax legomenon*. The || sign introduces what we have to say additionally about the word, in particular its etymology. In this part of the entry, the familiar < sign points to the etymon (*i.e.*, the direction of derivation).

I. Verbs

1. Roots Unknown Outside Neo-Assyrian

1.1. *baddudu*, “to waste, to squander” (CAD B, 303; AHw, 1549 s.v. *buddudu*).

|| Cf. HALOT, 109 (s.v. *bdd*) for cognate verbs in WSem.

1.2. *darāru*, “to add an intercalary month” (CAD D, 109f.; AHw, 163; CDA, 57).

|| < *dīru*, “intercalation” (CDA, 60).

1.3. ***darruku*, “dreschen” (AHw, 1550 s.v. *darāku* D).

|| According to AHw, 1550, the verb is represented by the sign chains *lu-du-ri-[...]* and *la ú-du-ru-ku* (Saggs 1956, 49, no. 34, r. 9'; 50, no. 35, 7, as interpreted in AHw, 1550). The collated edition has a different reading for the second one: *la ú-du-’bi-ku*, “they have not piled up” (SAA 19 109, 7), so now a sign chain *lu-du-ri-[...]* alone is not enough to establish the existence of a verb *darruku*. Anyway, the DU sign rather than the expected DA calls for an explanation, and see SAA 19, p. 113.

1.4. *etāku*, “G: to be watchful, alert; D: to alert” (CAD E, 380; AHw, 260).

|| An Arabic cognate *hataka*, proposed in AHw, 260 (AEL, 510): “*hataka*: he walked with short steps, and quickly; *hataka-hu*: he scraped it up; searched/sought for it/after it in the dust/earth”), is semantically doubtful.

1.5. *halāpu*, “to milk” (CAD H, 36; AHw, 309 s.v. *halābu*).

ši-iz-bu ša ina IGI ^d15 *ša NINA.KI i-hal-li-pu-ni*, “The milk which they milk in front of Ištar of Nineveh” (SAA 3 34, 33); *er-bi zi-ze-e-šá ina pi-ka šak-na 2 te-en-ni-iq 2 ta-hal-líp ana pa-ni-ka*, “Her four teats are placed in your mouth; two you suck, and two you milk to your face” (SAA 3 13, r.8).

|| *Halāpu* is an Aramaic loanword (Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 33, no. 69). It is the only non-analytical exponent of the meaning “to milk” in the whole of our Akkadian record.⁶ Thus, the loanword from Aramaic fills a semantic gap.

1.6. *hanāpu*, “schmeicheln?” (AHw, 1559).†

|| See Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 34, no. 77.

1.7. *harādu*, “to wake up, to be alert, to keep watch” (CAD H, 88; AHw, 322).

1.8. *kadāru*, “to labour?” (CDA, 141).†

ka-na-a-šú ka-da-a-ru ù pu-luh-tu ša É.GAL, “submission, toil⁷ and fear of the palace” (SAA 10 294, 29).

|| See Parpola (1987, 276). According to Sallaberger (2000, 235), in a SB divination text, *ke-di-ir* may mean “gebeugt”; consequently, *kadāru* in SAA 10 294, 29 could also mean “to bow”.⁷ If this be true, *kadāru* has to be excluded from the NA *Sondergut*.

1.9. *kaṣṣû*, “to tilt” (CAD K, 596).†

1.10. *ka’’û*, “(Wedel) schwingen” (AHw, 1567).†

|| See the example in the entry on *sāru* (II 3.131).

1.11. *marāsu*, “to squash” (CAD M₁, 269; AHw, 609 s.v. *marāsu* 2).†

|| See Abraham & Sokoloff (2011, 41, no. 137).

1.12. ***muāšu*, “to check, to look over” (CAD M₁, 403 s.v. *mâšu*), “berühren, prüfen” (AHw, 665).

|| According to AHw, 665, this verb is represented by the sign chains *a-šur mu-šu* (Saggs 1956, 53, no. 37, r.9) and *a-šur mu-š[u]* (Saggs 1955, 142, N23, 5), yet Saggs’ collated edition reads *a-šur mu-ħur*, “check and receive!” in both places (Saggs 2001, 175, 84, and see SAA 19 3, 5; 56, r.10).⁸

1.13. *magguru*, “to tear down (building)” (CDA, 215 s.v. *mugguru*).†

[...] -'tū' ši-i ša UDU.MEŠ ša ir-sip-u-ni un-ta-gír, “I have torn down this [...] of sheep he had constructed” (SAA 1 179, 11f.).

|| Parpola (SAA 1, p. 140) interprets this context starting from the premise that the sign chain *un-ta-gír* reflects a loan from Aramaic into NA. The verb *mgr D*, “to ruin”, is well known in Aramaic (DNWSI 594; DQA 132; SL 375; DJBA 641), yet the available context of *un-ta-gír* is not enough to ascertain the meaning of the verb form.

1.14. *nagāru*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD N₁, 108, cf. AHw, 710 s.v. *nagāru(m)* II).

6. “For milking, the verb for “to draw” is used (*gíd, šadādum*) (RIA 8, 191). Cf. also the use of *šabātu* in this meaning in a NB text (YOS 7 79, 9, see CAD Š₃ 150).

7. We owe the reference to Sallaberger 2000 to a p.c. of Walther Sallaberger.

8. This fact was overlooked in Abraham & Sokoloff (2011, 42, no. 144), who discuss an Aramaic etymology of ***muāšu*.

1.15. *parā'u*, “to sprout, to flourish” (CAD P, 182), “aufgehen (Pflanzen)” (AHw, 833).
 || Denominal of *pir'u* (CAD P, 416ff.; AHw, 856).

1.16. *parāzu*, “to thresh?” (CAD P, 182).†

|| Cf. Arabic *faraza*, “he put/set it apart, away, aside; he separated it from another thing(s)” (AEL, 2365). See Parpola (1979, 30).

1.17. *paršumu*, “D: to let live to old age; Dtt: to be blessed with old age” (CAD P, 206; AHw, 836).

|| The verb is denominated from *paršumu*, “old man or woman, elder” (CAD P, 525f.; AHw, 881).

1.18. *paššuqu*, “to explain” (CAD P, 545).†

up-ta-ši-iq a-na LUGAL EN-íá aq-ti-bi mu-uk ta-ri-is, “I explained and told the king, my lord, that it was right (to do so)” (SAA 16 121, 12f.).

|| The verb, if correctly understood, must be a borrowing from Aramaic *pšq* D, “to explain” (DNWSI 946; SL 1262f.; MD 383).

1.19. *pa'uşu*, “to appropriate, embezzle” (CAD P, 555), “zerschlagen; aufteilen?” (AHw, 807 s.v. *pa'āşu* D).

1.20. *qarāhu*, “to become iced up” (CAD Q, 126f.; AHw, 902).

[A.AN].⁹ MEŠ’ *ina UGU-hi-šú i-za-nun šúm-mu qar-hu ina UGU-hi-šú la iq-ru-hu ina meš-la-a-ti ša ITL.ZÍZ nu'-ra-ma*, “It is [now] raining upon it. If ice does not form on it, we can leave (it) in mid-Shebat (XI)” (SAA 5 272, 1–5); PN₁ PN₂ LÚ.BUR.GUL *is-se-niš lil-lik-u-ni šu-nu i-la- i-i i-kab-bu-su a-di qar-hu la i-qar-ra-hu-ni*, “PN₁ and PN₂, the stone-carver, should come together. They will be able to tread⁹ before it ices up” (SAA 13 127, r.12–17).

|| The verb *qarāhu* is attested only in these two contexts. In both of them, it is used in the paronomastic construction with the substantive *qarḥu* “ice”. Since *qarḥu* has a WS cognate (see II 3.112) and must be a primary noun, *qarāhu* is a denominative verb in NA.

1.21. ***raqābu* Š, “meaning unknown” (CAD R, 166), “vermodern, verfaulen” (AHw, 957).†

GIŠ.ṣal'-lu-ma-a-ni NA₄.ki-šá-'du¹⁰ SAG.DU-pa-zu-za-a-ni *ina SAG-šú i-ba-áš-ši⁹ ú-šar-qu-up*, “They hang amulets of black wood, a neck-stone (and) Pazuzu-heads on his head” (SAA 16 65, r.3ff.).

|| The text is a report to the king against a certain goldsmith who illegally taught his son sorcery. According to Luukko and van Buylaere (SAA 16, p. 64f.), the sign chain *ú-šar-qu-up* stands for **ušazqupū*, with the trivial apocope of the final vowel¹⁰ and an unusual shift *-z-* > *-r-*.¹¹ Yet the Š-Stem of *zaqāpu* is represented in the dictionaries only by a *ha-*

9. On the use of *iBašši* as “an emphasizing adverb”, see Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 109.

10. Luukko 2004, 111–115.

11. M. Luukko and G. Van Buylaere (SAA 16, p. 65) produce an assumed example of this shift for *zaqāpu* in another NA text, StAT 2 173, 8.

pax from Mari, with the expected causative meaning “to have (something) planted” (CAD Z, 54; AHw, 1513), therefore the very existence of *šazqupu in NA remains to be proven. A lesser claim is to emend *ú-šar-qu-up* to *ú-šar-kub'-ub*, since the well-known verb *šarkubu*, “to place an object on another” (CAD R, 90f.), attested in NA, perfectly fits the context.

1.22. *rašāšu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD R, 186f).†

1.23. *sapāqu*, “to be sufficient” (CAD S, 161; AHw, 1026).†

|| See Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 49, no. 207.

1.24. *sarruru*, “to pray” (CAD S, 414; AHw, 1031).

1.25. *ṣahātu*, “wünschen” (AHw, 1074).†

1.26. *šammunu*, “to oil, to rub with oil” (CAD Š₃, 281).†

|| The verb is denominated from *šamnu*, “oil, fat, cream” (CAD Š₁, 321–330; AHw, 1157f.).

1.27. *ta'umu*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD T, 500).†

1.28. *zarāpu*, “to buy, acquire” (CAD Š, 105 s.v. *ṣarāpu*; AHw, 1514f).

|| The instances of Gt mentioned in CAD are best interpreted as IPTARAS forms of the G-Stem.

2. Verbs Formed from Known Roots Yet Possessing Stem Shapes Unique to Neo-Assyrian

2.1. Gt-Stem

2.1.1. *tarāšu*, “Gt: to be mutually satisfactory” (CAD T, 216).†

2.2. D-Stem

2.2.1. *da'āpu* “D: to repulse (revolt), to injure by pressure (the nasal septum)” (CDA, 52; CAD D, 1; AHw, 146).

2.2.2. *harāpu*, “D: to be early” (CAD H, 90; AHw, 323).

2.2.3. *hašānu*, “D ~ G: in den Arm nehmen” (AHw, 331), “D ~ G: to hug, take under one’s protection” (CDA, 110), “to shelter, to receive in a friendly way” (CAD H, 130).†

2.2.4. *ṣarāru*, “D: to libate, pour out” (CAD Š, 106; AHw, 1085).

2.2.5. *šamū*, “D: to inform” (CAD Š₂, 286; AHw, 1213).†

2.2.6. *tabālu*, “D: to take away” (CAD T, 20; AHw, 1297; see a comment in CAD T, 21).†

2.2.7. *ze'û*, “D: unklar” (AHw, 1523).†

2.3. Š-Stem

2.3.1. *ḥakāmu*, “Š: to inform, instruct, prescribe” (CAD H, 33; AHw, 309).

2.3.2. *karāku*, “Š: to have [something] done promptly” (CAD K, 199), “zusammenbringen lassen?” (AHw, 446).†

2.3.3. *pahāzu*, “Š: to allow to be arrogant, improper” (CAD P, 33).

2.3.4. *uraqu*, “Š: vergolden” (AHw, 1464 s.v. (*w*)*arāqu* D).†

2.4. *N-Stem*

2.4.1. *esēpu* “N: to be decanted” (CAD E, 331; AHW, 249).†

2.4.2. *kasāru*, “N: (of air) be blocked off.” (CDA, 150; AHW, 453).†

2.4.3. *marū*, “N: unklar” (AHW, 617).†

2.4.4. *parāmu*, “N: to break (v.intr., about shoes)” (CDA, 265).†

'ki'-i šá KUŠ.E.SÍR šal-qa-tu-u-ni ina kaq-qar pa-qut-ti [KUŠ.E.SÍR]. ‘MEŠ’-ku-nu li-par-ma, “Just as (this) shoe has been cut open, so may your [shoes] break in a region of brier” (SAA 2 6, 656ff.).

|| The N-stem of *parāmu* is a *hapax* in the NA corpus, with the detransitive meaning “get broken, torn”. The basic stem is attested in SB and NB by three tokens:¹² *ša parmu*, “that was rent”, *taparram*, “you will chop”, and *pārim napištu*, “the one who cuts the throat” (CAD P, 161). The verb root *prm* with the basic meaning “cut, tear apart” is well known in WS, in particular Aramaic (see HALOT, 969 s.v. *prm*). Its marginal attestation in Neo-Akkadian¹³ prompts one to surmise the root is a loan from Aramaic. A substantive *pi-rindu*, “(a vegetable foodstuff)” (CAD P, 398), attested in SB and NB, may be an inner Neo-Akkadian derivation of *prm*, but the meaning “slice”, ascribed to it in CDA, 275 (following AHW, 866), depends on the assumed etymology rather than the extant contexts. Given that NA widely uses *batāqu* and *šalāqu* for “to cut, tear off.”, the reason of the assumed borrowing is still to be found.

2.4.5. *sapāku*, “N: sich winden?” (AHW, 1025), “meaning uncertain” (CAD S, 157).†

|| See Watanabe (1987, 203).

2.4.6. *taqānu*, “N: to be put in order, to be made secure” (CAD T, 199; AHW, 1323).†

2.5 *Dtt-Stem*

2.5.1. *marāqu*, “Dtt: to become crushed, broken” (CAD M₁, 267), “zerrieben warden” (AHW, 608).

12 In this study we employ the term ‘token’ for “an individual occurrence of a linguistic unit in speech or writing” (“Oxford Living Dictionaries. English”, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/token>).

13. All four tokens are in literary texts and documents; in particular, *lipparmā* expresses a curse in the vassal-treaty of Esarhaddon.

2.5.2. *mazāqu*, “Dtt: to be sucked?” (CAD M₁, 437; AHw, 637).†

2.5.3. *paṣādu*, “Dtt: passive to *puṣṣudu*, “to smash up, to shatter” (CAD P, 226).†

2.5.4. *šalāmu*, “Dtt: to be paid in full” (CAD Š₁, 229), “unklar” (AHw, 1145).

II. Substantives

1. Deverbal Substantives

1.1. *pirsu*

1.1.1. *hilpu*, “milk” (CAD H, 187; AHw, 345).†

šá mu-ši-ia e-rak AN-ṣar-ka šá kal u4-me hi-il-pa-ka ad-dan, “At night I will stay awake and guard you; in the daytime I will give you your *hilpu*” (SAA 9 7, r.9).

|| *Hilpu* is commonly believed to be an Aramaism (Kogan 2015, 83), yet the **hilVb-* base is absent from Aramaic (Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 33, 69), as well as from the rest of known WSem. languages where the word is attested; in Kogan 2015, 83, the assumed Proto-WSem. shape is **halab-*. Thus, *hilpu* was not borrowed directly from Aramaic but derived in NA from the verb *halāpu*, “to milk” (see above, I.1.5). Therefore *hilpu* must mean “milking” or “that which was obtained by milking, milk yield” rather than “milk” pure and simple. Note that *šizbu/zizibu* “milk” is well known in NA.

1.1.2. *dilpu*, “night attendance (on a sick person)” (CAD D, 142).†

|| < *dalāpu*, “to be or stay awake, be sleepless, to continue (work) into the night” (CAD D, 47ff.; AHw, 153f.).

1.1.3. *qīlu*, “eine Brandschwärzung?” (AHw, 921), “meaning uncertain” (CAD Q, 252), “burning, burn-mark?” (CDA, 289).†

|| < *qalū*, “to burn (intrans.)” (CAD Q, 69ff.; AHw, 896).

1.1.4. *ridpu*, “pursuit” (CAD R, 324).†

|| < *radāpu*, “to pursue” (CAD R, 59). The verb is attested in NA and NB.

1.1.5. *riqdu*, “dance” (CAD R, 367, cf. AHw, 987).

|| < *raqādu*, “to dance” (CAD R, 166f.; AHw, 957).

1.1.6. *timru*, “burying?” (CAD T, 419).†

|| < *temēru*, “to bury, to conceal” (CAD T, 335ff.; AHw, 1345f.). See Parpola (1983b, 171). A noun *temrum*, attested in Mari (CAD T, 419; AHw, 1346), must have nothing to do.

1.2. *pursu*

1.2.1. *ḥūpu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD H, 243), “Furcht” (AHw, 357).†

ina UGU PN ARAD ša LUGAL EN-ia mé-e-mi-i-ni la ú-ṣah-si-is ina ḥu-up lib-ba-te i-mu-at, “Nobody has reminded (the king) about PN, the servant of the king, my lord. He is dying of a broken heart” (SAA 10 224, 16-r.4).

|| < *hapû*, “to smash, destroy, break off.” (CAD H, 170–174; AHw, 340f.).
 The interpretation “broken heart” was taken over in CAD L, 165. On the form *lib-ba-te*, see *ibid.* On the context, cf. Parpola (1983b, 103) and Parpola 1987.

1.2.2. *kuspu* (in *kusup libbi*), “heartbreak” (CAD K, 587), “Scham” (AHw, 515).†
 || < *kasāpu*, “to chip, break off. a piece, to trim” (CAD K, 241f.; AHw, 453). See Abraham & Sokoloff (2011, 38, no. 113).

1.2.3. *pūtu* in *pūt upni*, “a vessel” (CAD P, 545f.), lit. “the opening of palms”.
 || < *patû*, “open” (CAD P, 340–357; AHw, 858–861).

1.2.4. *rūbu₁*, “setting of planet” (CAD R, 400; AHw, 992).†
 || < *rabû* “to set, to disappear (said of celestial bodies)” (CAD R, 50ff.; AHw, 940).

1.2.5. *rūbu₂*, “adulthood” (CAD R, 400; AHw, 992).
 # ▲ [...] - 'ri'-šú a-di ru-bé-šú [...] 'AD'-šú šá DUMU-MAN uk-te-li, “[From] his [chi]ld-hood till his maturity, [my father] took [care of] the father of the crown prince” (SAA 10 182, 5f.).
 || < *rabû*, “to become large in size, to increase” (CAD R, 37–50; AHw, 938ff.).
 Note, that, *pace* dictionaries, *rūbu₂* is not a *hapax* anymore.

1.3. VA Shapes

1.3.1. *dabbubu*, “rebellion” (CAD D, 168).†
 || < *dabbubu*, “to grumble, to pester a person, to entreat” (CAD D, 11ff.), “viel reden” (AHw, 147).
 Cf. SAA 15 157, 7.

1.3.2. *šapru*, “pledge” (CAD Š₁, 481), “unklar” (AHw, 1175).†
 # ▲ *i-šap-ri /iššapre/* in SAA 13 50, r.7 may happen to be a second token of the word.
 || < *šapāru*, “to send a person, to convey goods” (CAD Š₁, 430–448; AHw, 1170f.). Cf. *šapartu*, the pan-Assyrian term for “pledge” (CAD Š₁, 428ff.; AHw, 1170).

1.4. purāsu

1.4.1. *gumāru*, “ember?” (CAD G, 133), “verkohltes Holz” (AHw, 298).†
 # *šum-ma pi- -it- 'tu' lu-u gu-ma-ru TA UGU ka-nu-nu it-tu-qu-ut*, “if either charcoal or a (live) ember? falls out of the brazier” (Müller 1937, 62 pl. 2:8f.).
 || In CAD G, 133, *gumāru* is a synonym of *pe'ittu*, the basic term for “ember” in the whole of Akkadian (CAD P, 324ff.). The gloss depends on an assumed connection with the Aramaic *gumr-* (SL, 240) and the Arabic *ğamr-* (AEL, 453), both meaning “embers, live coals” (see Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 32). Yet *lū*, “or”, shows that *pe'ittu* and *gumāru* do not say the same thing in the text. Müller (1937, 76) suggests that our *gumāru* is derived from the Akkadian verb root *gmr*, “to finish”, and refers to burnt firewood. Verb forms *gammur* and *ugdatammer* “(the fuel) has been burnt totally” (Müller 1937, 62, ii 4. 12; 64, iii 39) support this suggestion. Besides, an Aramaic borrowing would require an

explanation of the non-assimilated (and hence long?) /a/ in *gumāru*, while *purāsu* is a well-known de- verbal nominal pattern of Akkadian (GAG §55k). As the present section (1.4) of our study shows, this derivation rule was productive in NA.

1.4.2. *rubû*, “interest” (CAD R, 400).

|| < *rabû*, “to become large in size, to increase” (CAD R, 37–50; AHw, 938ff.).

1.4.3. *sunābu*, “a loincloth” (CAD S, 383f), “eine Binde” (AHw, 1058).

|| The word must be derived from *sanābu*, “to tie” (CAD S, 132f.; AHw, 1020; and cf. the note in CAD S, 384), yet the verb is attested only in OB and SB.

1.4.4. *surāru*, “prayer” (CAD S, 407; AHw, 1062).

|| < *sarruru*, “to pray” (see I 1.24, above).

1.4.5. *šurāru*, “libation offering” (CAD S, 256).

|| < *šarāru*, D (see I 2.2.4, above). See Parpola 1983b, 325.

1.4.6. **ukālu*, “leftovers?” (CAD U/W, 54).†

|| < *akālu*, “to eat, consume” (CAD A₁, 245–259; AHw, 96f).

1.5. *pirīsu*

1.5.1. *qirīru*, “oil?” (CAD Q, 268), “Docht?” (AHw, 923).†

qi-ri-ru a-na nu-ri-šú-nu lib-bi-ši, “let there be q. for their lamps” (KAR 214, iv 19f.; variants add “fine” q.).

|| The noun may be a derivation of *qarāru*, “to flow, to overflow; to pour” (CAD Q, 127f.); “sich krümmen, schlängeln” (AHw, 902f. s.v. *q/garāru*). AHw, 903 keeps together *qarāru*, “to flow”, and *garāru*, “to roll over” (CAD G, 47f., see the commentary in CAD Q, 128), and this is probably the reason of the gloss “Docht”.

1.6. *pirrisu*

1.6.1. *nirritu*, “trembling, fear” (CAD N₂, 260; AHw, 746).

|| < *narātu*, “to tremble, to shake (intrans.), to quiver, to sway” (CAD N₁, 348f.; AHw, 746).

1.7. *Participial Shapes*

1.7.1. *mubarrimu*, “dyer” (CAD M₂, 158; AHw, 665).†

|| < *barrumu*, “to color” (CAD B, 103; AHw, 105).

1.7.2. *mudakkīu*, “an object” (CAD M₂, 160; AHw, 665).†

1 ša¹ GABA KUG.GI 1 *mu-dak¹-ki-u* : 1 BÀN.DA *gu-um-*’*e-e* 1¹ šá GABA 1 *mu-dak-ki-šá* KUG.GI, “1 breastpiece of gold; 1 m., ditto; 1 necklace of *gum'u*; 1 breastpiece; its 1 m. of gold” (SAA 7 72, 19'ff.).

|| The word refers to a golden object. *Mudakkīu* has the morphological shape of the D-Stem participle, yet a semantic relation to *dakkū*, “to incite” (CAD D, 123–128), “in Trab bringen, antreiben” (AHw, 166f.) is not obvious. Does it mean “an exciting (piece of jewelry)”?

1.7.3. *mulappitu*, “a tool” (CAD M₂, 188; AHw, 670).†

7 GIŠ.mu-lap-pi-te ... 8 GIŠ.mu-lap-pi-te (SAA 7 119, i 9'; ii 16').

|| The noun must be derived from *lappitu*, “touch, write, play a stringed instrument, scratch, scatter, sprinkle” (CAD L, 82; cf. AHw, 536) and denote a wooden instrument: “plectrum”, “scraper” or the like.

1.7.4. *munnagru*, “hired man” (CDA, 217).†

▲ LUGAL be-lí ú-da ki-i URU. 'še-di'-kan-a-a LÚ.mu-un-'na'-[ag]-'ru'-te šu-nu-u-ni, “The king, my lord, knows that the Šadikanneans are hirelings” (SAA 1 223, 4–7).

|| <*agāru* N, “to be hired” (CAD A₁, 148; AHw, 16).

1.7.5. *muṣappiu*, “dyer” (CAD M₂, 241).

|| <*šabū*, “G: to soak, irrigate (a field), to flood, to flow out; to bathe, soak (an object); D: to soak (a field)” (CAD S, 45f.). The verb is not attested in Assyrian.

1.7.6. *šākiru*, “habitual drinker” (CAD Š₁, 168).†

|| <*šakāru*, “to become inebriated, drunk” (CAD Š₁, 157; AHw, 1139).

1.8. *parāsu*

1.8.1. *qatāru*, “incense” (CAD Q, 166; AHw, 907).†

|| <*qatāru*, “to rise, billow, roll in (said of smoke, fog)” (CAD Q, 166ff.; AHw, 907f.).

1.9. *parrāsu*

1.9.1. *tayyāru*, “profit, income; return, benefit, share” (CAD T, 60f. s.v. *tajāru*; AHw, 1304 s.v. *ta(j)jāru* III 2b).

|| <*tuāru*, “to return” (CAD T, 250–279; AHw, 1332–1336).

1.10. *piristu*

1.10.1. *ḥisītu*, “mistreatment” (CAD Ḥ, 201 s.v. *hisi’āte*; AHw, 348).†

|| <*hasū*, “to mistreat” (CAD Ḥ, 177; AHw, 342).

1.10.2. *kizirtu*, “curl, lock of hair, an ornament” (CAD K, 477), “Haarschopf” (AHw, 496).

|| <*kezēru*, “to curl the hair” (CAD K, 316), “mit einer bestimmten Haartracht (Zopf?) versehen” (AHw, 468).

1.10.3. *piri’tu*, “offshoot” (CAD P, 403; AHw, 1583).†

|| <*parā’u* (see I 1.12, above).

1.10.4. *qinītu*, “acquisition, property” (CAD Q, 254; AHw, 921).

|| <*qanū*, “to buy, acquire” (CAD Q, 91; AHw, 898).¹⁴

1.10.5. *sili’āte*, “lies, deception” (CAD S, 262), “falscher Vorwurf” (AHw, 1043).

|| <*salū*, “to cheat, to lie, to deceive” (CAD S, 97f.; AHw, 1015).

1.10.6. *šikintu*, “deposit?” (CAD Š₂, 429f.), “unklar” (AHw, 1233).†

14. This meaning of *qanū* is exclusive to NA.

|| < *šakānu*, “to place, set” (CAD Š₁, 116–157; AHw, 1134–1139).

1.10.7. *tidintu*, “gift, present” (CAD T, 396; AHw, 1356).

|| < *tadānu*, “to give, to offer a gift” (CAD N₁, 42–59; AHw, 1300).

1.11. VA Bases + -t- (*paristu / parrustu / šaprustu*)

1.11.1. *akiltu*, “expended goods” (CAD A₁, 266).

|| < *akālu*, “to eat, consume” (CAD A₁, 245–259; AHw, 96f.). The VA *aklu*, although it is sporadically attested in OB and MB, is absent from the extant NA corpus.

1.11.2. *ballussu*, “mixture” (CAD B, 75 s.v. **balultu*; CDA, 37).

|| < *ballulu* D, “to mix” (CAD B, 42f.; AHw, 98).

1.11.3. *galītu*, “Deportierte” (AHw, 1555).

|| < *galū*, “to go into exile” (CAD Š₃, 201 s.v. *šuglū*; AHw, 275). Cf. Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 30, no. 46.

1.11.4. *gaššutu*, “firewood” (CAD G, 53f.; AHw, 282).

|| < *gašāsu*, “to trim, cut” (CAD G, 53), “abschleifen” (AHw, 457f. s.v. *kašāsu*).

1.11.5. *ḥammurtu*, “kind of beer” (CAD Ḫ, 69; AHw, 319).

|| *ḥammurtu* may have been derived from the verb *hemēru*, “to pucker, contract” (CAD Ḫ, 169), “G “austrocknen; D fact. austrocknen” (AHw, 315 s.v. *hamāru*). Cf. the VA *ḥamru*, “shrunk”, which is derived from the same root and refers to a liquid mixture in a NA medical text (CAD Ḫ, 70). A connection with the Central Semitic **ḥamr-*, “wine” (Kogan 2015, 212) is unlikely.

1.11.6. *pahhurtu*, “collection?” (CAD P, 483).

|| < *pahhuru*, “to assemble, gather, muster” (CAD P, 28–32; AHw, 811).

1.11.7. *raqqūtu*, “Ölkelterung” (AHw, 958).†

|| < *raqqū*, “to prepare perfume” (CAD R, 420), “Feinöl keltern” (AHw, 995).

1.11.8. *sadirtu*, “battle line” (CAD S, 233; AHw, 1039, both s.v. *sidirtu*)

|| < *sadāru*, “to do regularly; to array, to set in a row” (CAD S, 11–17; AHw, 1000f.). The form *sadirtu* is attested twice in NA letters as against *sidirtu* known in SB sources.

1.11.9. *šakintu*, “woman manager, woman in charge of a royal harem” (CAD Š₁, 165f.), “Eingesetzte”, eine Verwalterin von hohem Rang” (AHw, 1139).

|| < *šakānu*, “to place, set” (CAD Š₁, 116–157; AHw, 1134–1139).

1.11.10. *šazbussu*, “shipment, consignment of goods, provisions” (CAD Š₃ s.v. **šuzbultu*), “Transportauftrag” (AHw, 1206).

|| < *zabālu* D, “to have (someone) carry (something)” (CAD Z, 4; AHw, 1501).

1.11.11. *ullūtu*, “levy” (CAD U, 85; AHw, 1410).

ú-ma-a i-da-tu-šu-nu ul-lu-a-te KUR ú-tu-li-u, “Now, after their (arrival), they have

raised the levies of the country” (SAA 5 87. 15ff.).

|| < *ullû*, “to raise, elevate, extol” (CAD E, 125f.; AHw, 208).

1.12. *purāstu*

1.12.1. *nusāhāte*, “removed, torn out parts” (CAD N₂, 351; AHw, 805 s.v. *nusāhu*).†

|| < *nasāhu*, “to remove, withdraw, tear out” (CAD N₂, 1–15; AHw, 749–752).

1.13. *Participial Bases + -t-*

1.13.1. *mudammiqtu*, “a broom or sprinkler made from palm tree branches” (CAD M₂, 160).†

|| < *dammuqu*, “to improve (trans.), to embellish, to make pleasing” (CAD D, 62ff.; AHw, 156).

1.13.2. *mudarriktu*, “Drescherin” (AHw, 1575).†

|| The gloss in AHw is based on the alleged verb ***darruku*, “dreschen”, whose existence has been disproved (see I 1. 3, above). According to SAA 13, p. 188, *mudarriktu* is a ritual. We count the word among derived substantives in order to keep in touch with the lexicographic tradition, waiting for a better solution.

1.13.3. *munaqqītu*, “libation bowl” (CAD M₂, 199; AHw, 1575).†

|| < *naqqû*, “to pour out as a libation” (CAD N₁, 340f.; AHw, 744f.).

1.13.4. *musakkiltu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD M₂, 231), “eine Ortsbezeichnung” (AHw, 677).†

|| The term may have been derived from *sakālu*, “to appropriate fraudulently, illegally, to annex” (CAD S, 68f.; AHw, 1010).

1.13.5. *mušanmirtu*, “lamp, lighting device” (CAD M₂, 258).†

|| < *šanmuru*, “to light, kindle a fire, to illuminate, to make shining” (CAD N₁, 217f.; AHw 770).

1.13.6. *mušebirtu*, “a topographical feature” (CAD M₂, 263).†

|| < *ebāru*, “to cross (water)” (CAD E, 10–13; AHw, 182).

1.13.7. *mušēzibtu* in *ša mušēzibāte*, “archers protected by a wooden shield” (CAD M₂, 269; AHw, 683 s.v. *mušēzibu* 3).

1.13.8. *pāširtu*, “a container” (CAD P, 252), “Löserin” (AHw, 844 s.v. *pāšertu*).†

|| < *pašāru*, “to loosen” (CAD P, 236; AHw, 842f.).

1.13.9. *qābītu*, “one who speaks” (CAQ Q, 3).†

1.14. *parristu*

1.14.1. *gallissu*, “slave-girl” (CDA, 283); other dictionaries list only adjectival meanings: “unimportant, small” (CAD Q, 61f. s.v. **qallilu*), “(eine) eilige (Sache)” (AHw, 894).†

MUNUS.*ṣu-uḥ-rū qa-li-su bi-la-a-ni a-na* É.GAL *lu-še-e-li*, “Get me the girl Şuhru, I will dedicate (her) to the palace” (SAA 10 194, r.10ff.).

|| See Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 45f., no. 175. Cf. III 1.5.1, below.

1.15. *purīstu*

1.15.1. *gubibātē*, “parched barley” (CAD G, 118 s.v. **gubibtu*; AHw, 295).

|| <*gabbubu*, “to roast” (CAD G, 117 s.v. *gubbubu*; CAD K, 2 s.v. *kabābu*; AHw, 414 s.v. *kabābu*).

1.16. *parastu*

1.16.1. *šakartu*, “drunkenness” (CAD Š₁, 157; AHw, 1139).

|| <*šakāru*, “to become inebriated, drunk” (CAD Š₁, 157; AHw, 1139).

1.17. VA + -ūt-

1.17.1. *sasūtu*, “invitation” (CAD Š₂, 167f. s.v. *šasūtu*), “unklar” (AHw, 1033).†

|| <*šasū*, “to shout; to call, to summon” (CAD Š₂, 147–167; AHw, 1195ff.).

1.17.2. *šag(a)lūtu*, “deportation” (CAD Š₃, 202; AHw, 1125).†

|| <*šaglū*, “to deport, to exile” (CAD Š₃, 201; AHw, 275).

1.17.3. *šahsasūtu*, “reminder” (CAD Š₁, 100f.; AHw, 1132).†

|| *šahsusu*, “to remind” (CAD H, 125; AHw, 330).

1.17.4. *šarqūtu*, “theft” (CDA, 361).

▲ *pir-ku u la ket-tu ḫar-tu u šar[!]-qu-tú[!] šá* PN, “the iniquity and injustice, the crime and theft of PN” (SAA 7 44, r.3ff.).

|| <*šarāqu*, “to steal” (CAD Š₂, 53–57; AHw, 1185).

1.17.5. *turrūtu*, “turning” (CAD T, 489; AHw, 1375).†

|| <*ta[!]uru*, “to put back” (CAD T, 269–278; AHw, 1332–1336).

1.17.6. *ṭībūtu*, “goodness” (CAD T, 105f.).†

|| <*ṭiābu*, “to become good” (CAD T, 34–42; AHw, 1389ff.).

1.18. Participle + -ān

1.18.1. *ḥāripānu*, “early riser” (CDA, 108).

né-me-il ḫa-ri-pa-a-ni [šu]-[!]*tu*[!]-ni ^{2/3?} KASKAL.GÍD UD-mu li-iš-qi-a ḫa-ra-am-me-ma lu te-ru-ub, “since (the king) is an early riser, let the day (= the sun) rise for an hour and a half, thereupon she may enter” (SAA 10 209, 10–r4).¹⁵

|| <*harāpu*, “to be early” (CAD H, 90; AHw, 323).

1.18.2. *ḥādiānu* (*ḥaddānu*), “ill-wisher” (CAD H, 23; AHw, 307).

15. This context is cited in AHw, 326 s.v. *ḥarīpu*. CDA, 108 has both *ḥāripānu* and *ḥarīpu*.

|| < *hadū*, “to be happy, to rejoice” (CAD H, 25ff.; AHw, 307f.).

1.19. *parus-* + *-ān-* + *-ūt-*

1.19.1. *sahurānūtu*, “Jugend” (AHw, 1075).†

|| < *sahāru*, “to become small (in size or quantity), to become few, to be young” (CAD S 120–124; AHw, 1087f.).

1.20. *purussû*

1.20.1. *šugummû*, “buzzing?” (CAD Š₃, 202), “unklar” (AHw, 1260 s.v. *šugumu*).†

|| < *šagāmu*, “to roar, thunder, resound; to buzz (said of the ears and head)” (CAD Š₁, 63ff.; AHw, 1125f.).

1.21. *mapra/ās*

1.21.1. *mēširu*, “drawing?” (CAD M₂, 37).†

šal-mu LUGAL *ša mi-ši-ri a-na-ku e-te-ši-ri*, “I make a likeness of the king in drawing” (SAA 13 34, 14'f.).

|| < *ešāru*, “to draw, to make a drawing” (CAD E, 346–349; AHw, 252f.).

1.21.2. *nasrāmu*, “a wooden implement or utensil” (CAD N₂, 31), “ein Holzgegenstand” (AHw, 754).†

|| The word is probably related to *sarāmu*, “to cut, to cut into, to make an incision” (CAD S, 172), “aufbrechen, -meißeln” (AHw, 1028), and cf. *saramû*, “part or decoration of a door” (CAD S, 172), “ein Bau-Ornament” (AHw, 1028).

1.22. *maprastu*

1.22.1. *manāḥtu*, “resting place” (CDA, 195).†

ina! GN É [ma]-'dak'-tú ta-šak-ka-na-ni mid-bar [šu-tú] [a]-na ša-ka-ni ša ma-'dak'-[te a-dan-niš] DÙG.GA a-na da-a-a-la-'tú' [a-dan-niš] DÙG.GA-ma Ú.HI.A *ina šà-bi* [ma-a'-da] ù ma-na-ah-tú ma-'a'-[tú *ina šà-bi*], “In GN where you are to pitch the camp [there is] a plain which is [very] good for encamping; it is also [very] good for reconnaissance expeditions, there is [much] grass there, and it is a [good] place to rest” (SAA 1 13, 14'–19').

|| < *nuāḥu*, “to relent, be appeased; to take a rest” (CAD N₁, 143–150; AHw, 716f.).

1.23. *taprāsu*

1.23.1. *tēšābu*, “additional portion?” (CAD T, 372, see the discussion), “Bezeichnung eines Schmiedes” (AHw, 1362).

|| If the interpretation in CAD T, 372 is correct, *tēšābu* must be derived from *uṣābu*, “to enlarge, to add, to increase in size or number” (CAD A₂, 352ff. s.v. *aṣābu*; AHw, 1474f. s.v. *waṣābu*).

1.24. tapristu

1.24.1. *tarbītu*, “enlargement, extension (of an object)” (CAD T, 225), “unklar” (AHw, 1328 s.v. *tarbītu* 6).†
 || <*rabbū*, “to enlarge, to increase” (CAD R, 44–48; AHw, 939).

1.24.2. *tēgirtu*, “excuse, pretext?” (CAD T, 324), “ein Bericht?” (AHw, 1344).

|| The word may have been derived from *egāru*, “to twist, to be or become twisted, perverse, cross, confused, to maneuver for position” (CAD E, 41f.); “sich quer darüberlegen” (AHw, 190). See also Parpolo 1983b, 196f.

2. Denominal Substantives

2. 1. Noun + -ūt

2.1.1. *dārūtu*, “eternity” (CAD D, 118; AHw, 164).

|| <*dārū*, “everlasting, enduring, perpetuating” (CAD D, 115–118; AHw, 164).

2.1.2. *ēqūtu*, “consecration” (CAD E, 254), “Widder?” (AHw, 232).

|| <*ēqu*, “a cultic object” (CAD E, 253f.; AHw, 232).

2.1.3. *halṣūtu*, “Festungszustand” (AHw, 314).†

|| <*halṣu*, “fortress, fortification” (CAD Ḥ, 51f.; AHw, 313f.).

2.1.4. *hardūtu*, “alertness” (CAD Ḥ, 99; AHw, 325).†

|| <*hardu* (see III 1.1.3, below).

2.1.5. *gērūtu*, “Feindschaft” (AHw, 291 s.v. *girūtu*).†

|| <*gērū*, “foe, adversary” (CAD G, 62f.; AHw, 286f.).

2.1.6. *mušadbibūtu*, “instigation (to armed rebellion)” (CDA, 220).†

šum-ma mu-šam-hi-ṣu-u-tú mu-šad-bi-bu-tu li-iḥ-šu šá a-mat MUNUS.ḤUL la DÙG.GA-tu
la ba-ni-tu da-bab sur-ra-a-ti u la ke-na-a-te šá ina UGU PN ... *ni-šam-mu-u-ni nu-pa-*
za-ru-u-ni a-na PN ... *be-lí-ni la ni-qa-bu-u-ni*, “Should we hear of instigation to armed
 rebellion, agitation or malicious whispers, evil, unseemly things, or treacherous, disloyal
 talk against PN..., we shall not conceal it but will report it to PN..., our lord” (SAA 2, 6:
 499–507).

|| Both CAD M₂, 252, 257f., and AHw, 681 believe that *mu-šam-hi-ṣu-u-tú* and *mu-šad-*
bi-bu-tu are plural forms of *mušamḥiṣu*, “troublemaker”, and *mušadbibu*, “instigator”. This
 is not true, because in NA the plural of *mušadbibu* is *mušadbibūte* (Hämeen-Anttila 2000,
 78f.).

2.1.7. *mušamḥiṣūtu*, “sedition” (CDA, 221).†

|| See on *mušadbibūtu* (II 2.1.6, below).

2.1.8. *mušarkisūtu*, “office of the *mušarkisu*” (CAD M₂, 261; AHw, 681).†

|| <*mušarkisu*, “an official connected with the mounted guards” (CAD M₂, 260), “ein Be-

auftragter für Beschaffungen und Requisitionen” (AHw, 681).

2.1.9. *rab-bētūtu*, “office of the administrator in charge of households” (CAD R, 6; AHw, 933, s.v. *rab, rabi*).†

2.1.10. *rab-kiṣirūtu*, “Kommandantenstellung” (AHw, 933 s.v. *rab, rabi*).†

2.1.11. *sakkukūtu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD S, 363), “Taubheit, Beschränktheit” (AHw, 1056).†

|| <*sakkuku*, “deaf, obtuse” (CAD S, 362f.; AHw, 1055f.).

2.1.12. *ṣāb-šarrūtu*, “serfdom (obligation to work in the king’s service” (CAD S, 2).†
 <*ṣāb šarri*, “worker or soldier levied for royal service; tax paid in lieu of outfitting a soldier” (CAD S, 1f.).

2.1.13. *urasūtu*, “corvée work” (CAD U/W, 210; AHw, 1428).†

|| <*urāsu*, “corvée worker” (CAD U/W 208f.; AHw, 1428).

2.2. Noun + -ān-

2.2.1. *tābtānu*, “benefactor” (CAD T, 10; AHw, 1377).

|| <*tābtu*, “goodness, good behavior” (CAD T, 15–18; AHw, 1377).

2.3. Noun + -ān- + -ūt-

2.3.1. *mudānūtu*, in *la mudānūtu* “ignorance” (CAD M₂, 160; AHw, 666).

|| <*mudû*, “knowing” (CAD M₂, 163–167; AHw, 666f.).

2.3.2. *urdānūtu*, “vassalage, servitude” (CAD 214; AHw, 1428).

|| <*urdu*, “slave” (CAD A₂, 243–251; AHw, 1464ff.).

2.4. Noun + -ān- + *nisba* -ī-

2.4.1. *šakrānû*, “drunk” (CAD Š₁, 192; AHw, 1141).†

|| <*šakru*, “drunk” (CAD Š₁, 192; AHw, 1141).

2.5. Noun phrase + *nisba* -āy-

2.5.1. *šiddi-nārāyu*, “[riverain]” (CAD Š₂, 405 s.v. *šiddu* 1D), “Flußuferbewohner” (AHw, 1230 s.v. *šiddi-nārāja*).†

2.6. Noun + -t-

2.6.1. *ebissu*, “Bindeseil?” (AHw, 183), “meaning uncertain” (CAD I/J, 2 s.v. *ibissu*).

|| According to CDA, 65, *ebissu* is a *t*-derivate of *eblu*, “rope” with the NA shift **lt* > *ss*. This is confirmed by the plural form *ebilāte* (*ibid.*).

2.6.2. *ḥurrutu*, “Loch” (AHw, 359 s.v. *ḥurratu*).†

|| A *nomen unitatis* of *ḥurrū*, “hole” (CAD Ḥ, 252f.; AHw, 359).

2.6.3. *kasūtu*, “a (single) seed of the *kasū*-plant” (CAD K, 257), “Senfpflanze” (AHw,

456).†

|| This is a *nomen unitatis* of *kasū*, “a native spice plant, specifically, its pungent seeds” (CAD K, 248ff.), “Senf(-Kohl), *Sinapis nigra*” (AHw, 455).

2.6.4. *lahhinutu*, “a female official at the queen’s court” (CAD A₁, 294 s.v. **alahhinatu*).
 || <*lahhinu*, “an administrative official” (CAD A₁, 294ff. s.v. *alahhinu*), “ein Angestellter in Tempeln usw.” AHw, 528).

2.6.5. *mutqītu* (in *ša mutqītišu*), “sweet cake peddler” (CAD M₂, 301), “ein Süßbrot?” (AHw, 688).

|| <*mutqū*, “sweet cake or bread” (CAD M₂, 302), “Süßbrot” (AHw, 688).

2.6.6. *sūntu*, “red wool” (CAD S, 381; AHw, 1058, both s.v. **sūmtu*).†

|| <*sūmu*, “redness” (CAD S, 381ff.; AHw, 1058).

2.7. *purīstu*

2.7.1. *dulīqāte*, “a type of groats” (CAD D, 173), “gebranntes Korn?” (AHw, 175).

|| According to CAD D, 173, the word is a diminutive of *dalīqātu*, “a type of groats” (CAD D, 51f.). AHw, 175 treats *dulīqāte* as a phonetic variant of *dalīqātu*.

2.8. Singular form corresponding to an older plurale tantum

2.8.1. *tīru*, “coil of the intestines” (CAD T, 430).

|| <*tīrānū*, “coils (of intestines, textile, etc.)”, *plurale tantum* attested in OB and MB, as well as SB (CAD T, 423ff.).

3. Substantives with Morphologically Opaque Shapes

3.1. *adammumu*, “wasp; an ornament? in the shape of wasp” (CAD A₁, 95; AHw, 10).

3.2. *akullu* in *bēt akulle*, “part or room of an elaborate house” (CAD A₁, 285).

3.3. *amikū*, “meaning unknown” (CAD A₂, 46), “ein Baum?” (AHw, 43).†

3.4. *amaru*, “sideboard (of a bed)” (CAD A₂, 5; AHw, 40).

|| Cf. *amartu*, “side” (CAD A₂, 4; AHw, 40).

3.5. *amūmu*, “a spice” (CAD A₂, 90), “eine Bieressenz?” (AHw, 45), “designation of beer” (CDA, 16).

3.6. *antu*, “ear of barley” (CAD A₂, 146).

3.7. *aparakku*, “a headdress” (CAD A₂, 166; AHw, 57).†

3.8. *apisana?*, “ein Baum?” (AHw, 58), “reading and meaning uncertain” (CAD A₂, 171).†

3.9. *aqqabu* (or *aqqabānu*), meaning unknown (CAD A₂, 207; AHw, 62).†

2 MA *aq-qa-ba-ni ša ga-me-da'-te*, two minas (of wool?) for the *a.-s* of the ... (SAA 7 115, r.ii 17).

|| It is impossible to establish the citation form: *aq-qa-ba-ni* is either the plural of **aqqa-bu* with the inflectional suffix *-āne* or a singular form **aqqabānu*, with the derivational suffix *-ān*.

See Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 26, no. 13.

3.10. *arsu*, “a cereal” (CAD A₂, 307).†

3.11. *asarru*, “a type of tablet or a literary composition” (CAD A₂, 330).†

4 *a-sar-ri*[!] (following GIŠ.ZU.M[ES], DUB.MEŠ and *e-gír-a-t[ē]*) (SAA 7 49, r.ii 7).

|| The word is a *hapax legomenon* known only from an Assyrian library record. Parpola suggests “diagram” as “a guess based on the context” and derives *asarru* from a Sumerian verb form **a/ī-sar* (Parpola 1983a, 23). According to p.c. of Ekaterina Vizirova and Rim Nurullin, this kind of nominalization is unlikely.

3.12. ***asūmu*, “relief figure” (CAD A₂, 348f.; AHw, 77, quoting ABL 151, 10, 12).

|| *asūmu* (*a-su-mu*), “relief figure” would be a *hapax*, while the traditional interpretations of the sign chain *a-su-mu*, reproduced in CAD and AHw, are purely contextual guesses. Parpola (1997, 318, and see SAA 15, 17) translates *a-su-mu ... a-su-mu* as “either ... or” (i.e., *šumma ... šumma*). Within his overall interpretation of the letter, this makes a perfect sense, yet spellings of this conjunction with a prosthetic *a-* are otherwise unknown in NA.

3.13. *aşūdu*, “a dish of food of liquid consistency” (CAD A₂, 385), “ein Speisegefäß” (AHw, 77).

|| See Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 27, no. 18.

3.14. *a/ithuṣu*, “~ carrying-pole (for fruit?)” (CDA, 30).

▲ 10 *it-hu-su* NÚ.UR, “10 (carrying-)sticks of pomegranates” (SAA 11 36, i 26).

3.15. *bayādu*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD B, 33; AHw, 97).

3.16. *be' u*, “a bird” (CAD B, 215; AHw, 124).†

3.17. *birḥu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD B, 246).†

3.18. *biškānu*, “cocoon” (CAD B, 270), “Puppenhülle der Raupe” (AHw, 131).†

3.19. *bi-it*, “one hundred” (Postgate 1976, 63; Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 85).†

3.20. *burallu* (or *purallu*), “a stone or stone object” (CAD B, 326), “Beryll” (AHw, 139).

an-nu-rig 're'-eš NA₄.*bu-ra-al-li* 'at'-ti-ši ú-sab-ši-il *i-na sih-hi ša* NA₄.*bur-al-[li]* [...], “Now I have prepared a medication with beryl in it. In the ... of the beryl-stone [...]” (SAA 10 323, r.9–12; the translation belongs to the present writers); 1 NA₄ *bu-ra-a-li* (among household utensils listed towards the end of a dowry list) (Parker 1954, 38: ND 2307, 37).

|| The interpretation “beryl” was first suggested by H. Zimmern (1915, 60). CAD B, 326 believes that the word denotes “a stone bowl”. Yet, in SAA 10 323, r.9–12, a noun denoting a utensil cannot be a direct object of *šubšulu* “to cook a meal, to prepare medication by boiling” (CAD B, 136), in particular because “to cook in” is rendered by prepositional

phrases headed by *ina* (see examples in CAD *ibid.*). Therefore the opinion of Zimmern (followed by Thompson 1936, 174, xliv–xlv, AHw, and Parpola in SAA 10) is the correct one. Thompson (1936, 174) points out a Sanskrit noun *vāidūriya* as the etymon of *burallu*.

3.21. *burbillātu*, “an insect” (CAD B, 329), “Libellen?” (AHw, 139).†

ha-da-nu-te-ka PN *ki-i si-pi ina pa-an me-e i-šu¹-’u ki-i bur-bi-il-la-a-te ša pa-an šat-ti un-ta-at-ar¹-ru-qu*, “Your ill-wishers, Assurbanipal, will fly away like *pollen* on the surface of the water. They will be squashed before your feet like *b.-insects* in spring!” (SAA 3 13, r.9f.).

|| The attested form is most probably pl. f.

3.22. **buru*, “son” (CDA, 49).†

(an estate of) PN *bur* PN₂, “(An estate) belonging to PN son of PN₂” (SAA 6 173, 6).

|| BUR as a CVC sign may have rendered the syllables *bir* and *bar* as well, see Streck (1995, 245, n. 554) for LB. For NA personal names with *bur*, see Radner (1999, 353–356).

3.23. *dāpi ’u*, “a bowl or goblet” (CAD D, 105).†

3.24. *diru ’u*, “a kind of bread” (CAD D, 160).†

3.25. *duqdu*, “almond (tree)” (CDA, 62; CAD L, 268 s.v. **luddu* A; AHw, 561 s.v. **luddu*).

3.26. *durā ’u*, “forearm, foreleg” (CAD D, 190f.; AHw, 177, 1551).

1 𒄩 HAR *du-ra-’i* KUG.GI one golden bracelet (along with 𒄩 HAR *rit-te*, “hand ring”) (SAA 7 73, 3, also 6, 11, 16, r.4 and 9); UZU.*du-ra-’u i-ba-ta-qu-u*, they cut off the forelegs (of the he-goat)” (KAR 33, 25, cf. *ibid.* r.2; also KAR 146, i 21).

|| The word was borrowed from Aramaic, see Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 29, no. 40.

Durā ’u appears in three texts: six tokens in a list of awards to officials, and three tokens in two ritual texts. The bureaucratic or literary nature of these texts warrants that the word is completely integrated into the NA lexicon. Thus, in NA “hand” is *qātu* (CAD Q, 184ff.), “arm” is *ahu* (CAD A₁, 205ff.), while “forearm/foreleg” is *durā ’u*, and “wrist” is *rittu* (CAD R, 383b 2').

3.27. *edulnu*, “a profession or class” (CAD E, 38; AHw, 188).†

|| AHw, 188 suggests that the spelling *e-dul-nu* can render a noun **edullānu*, i.e., a noun shape with the agent noun suffix *-ān*. The use of CVC-signs for the expected CV-CV is well known in NA (Deller 1962).

3.28. *egertu*, “a letter; a tablet” (CAD E, 45f. s.v. *egirtu*; AHw, 190).

|| The NA searchable corpus includes 118 tokens of *egertu*. Thus three tokens of *egertu* in NB/SB (AHw, 190) are Assyrianisms. See Kaufman 1974, 48).

3.29. *gamēsu*, “a precious stone” (CAD G, 32), “ein Stein” (AHw, 278).

|| *gamēsu* is compared with *algamešu*, “steatite?” (CAD A₁, 337), “Korund?” (AHw, 35), attested from Oakk on (see also Thompson 1936, 167ff.).

3.30. *girdu*, “a kind of wool” (CAD G, 86).

3.31. *gumakil(l)u*, “a wooden item” (CDA, 96).†

LUGAL be-lí ú-da LÚ.UM.ME.A.MEŠ [TA] pa-ni-ia i-tú-si-ú la a-na bat-qi [la] [a]-na GIŠ. gu-ma-ki-li e-pa-a-ši [TA IGI]-ia lu-ra-mi-šu-nu, “The king my lord knows that I have been losing artisans; I would not like to relinquish them either for repair work or for making g.-item(s)” (SAA 1 179, r.18–21).

3.32. *gum’u*, “part of an ornament?” (CDA, 96).†

1 ša¹ GABA KUG.GI 1 mu-dak¹-ki-u : 1 BÀN.DA gu-um- 'e-e 1¹ šá GABA 1 mu-dak-ki-šá KUG.GI, “1 breastpiece of gold; 1 m., ditto; 1 necklace of *gum’u*; 1 breastpiece; its 1 m. of gold” (SAA 7 72, 19'ff.).

|| The word is a *hapax legomenon* in the list of precious items in the palace. After the collation of the text by M. Fales and N. Postgate, the meaning “a necklace or a part thereof” (CAD G, 133 and AHw, 298) is not feasible anymore.

3.33. *g/quršu*, “a room in a private house” (CAD G, 141), “Hauskapelle” (AHw, 299).†

É ep-šú a-di GIŠ.ÙR.MEŠ-šú a-di GIŠ.IG.MEŠ-šú ina GN É-a-kul-li É-KI.NÁ É-U5 É-gur-šu É-ub-sa-a-te É AN.TA 4 GIŠ.IG.MEŠ ina ŠÀ-bi, “A built house with its beams and doors in GN, a tool shed, a bedroom, a bathroom, a g.-room, a stable, an upper store (with) 4 doors therein” (SAA 14 149, 6–10).

|| The word may be a variant of *huršu*, “storehouse” (CAD H, 256), cf. *gusigu*, “a piece of jewelry” in SAA 10 348, 5 as a “free variant of *husigu*” (CAD G, 143). According to CAD G, 141, the enigmatic SB/NA term *g/quršu*, referring to a hierogamic ritual (see Nissinen 2001, 95ff., with lit.), must be a different word.

3.34. *hallam* “designation of meat” (CDA, 102).

1 UDU 1 UDU.NIM¹ 1 MUŠEN¹ GAL¹-u¹ 10 TU.GUR4.MUŠEN *hal-lam*, “1 sheep, 1 spring lamb, 1 duck, 10 turtledoves, in *h*.-type preparation” (SAA 7 159, i 3f., a list of food offerings), *hal¹-lam* (SAA 7 149, ii 5', a provision list for the banquet), *hal¹-lam¹* (SAA 7 154, ii 11', a provision list for a banquet), see also SAA 7 151, ii 15.

3.35. *halputu*, “successor? (of eunuchs)” (CDA, 102, s.v. **halpatu*).†

a-di ina UGU DUMU.MEŠ šá šá-SU₆.MEŠ ina UGU *hal-pe-te* šá ša-LÚ.SAG.MEŠ [at]-¹*ta*¹ LUGAL-u-tú ina UGU-*hi*-šú-nu tu-up-pa-šú-u-ni [a-ha]-¹*si*¹-in¹-ka ina É-UŠ-u-ti, “until you rule as king over the sons of the bearded courtiers and the successors of the eunuchs, [I will look af]ter you in the Palace of Succession” (SAA 9 7. 4ff.).

|| Parpola suggests an Aramaic etymology for *halputu* (SAA 9, p. 38): he compares the Syriac *hlaftā*, “replacement, exchange, compensation” (SL, 460).

3.36. *hammar tīde*, “a tree” (CAD H, 68; AHw, 317).†

3.37. *hangaru*, AHw, 321, 1559, with no meaning; “Dolch” (von Soden 1977, 187), *hangāru*, “dagger?” (CDA, 105).†

PN *ap-lu ke-e-nu* DUMU DN *ha-an-ga-ru ak-ku* ina ŠU.2-ia LÚ.KUR.MEŠ-ka *u-qa-at-ta*,

“PN, rightful heir, son of DN! With an angry dagger in my hands I will finish off your enemies” (SAA 9 1, iv 7).

|| In CAD Հ, 79, the sign chain *ha-an-ga-ru ak-ku* is referred to as *hangaruakku*, with no interpretation. AHw (321 and 1559) breaks the chain into two words, *hangaru* and *akku*, which were considered as Aramaisms in von Soden (1977), with the meanings “Dolch” and “grimm(ig)” respectively. *Hangaru*, if it has indeed to do with cold steel, must be a loan into NA whose immediate source language is hard to pinpoint. This term for “cold steel” is a cultural *Wanderwort* of Turkic origin (Dybo 2007, 84f., and REW I, 558 for the Turkic etymology of the related Russian word *кинжал*, “dagger”). It is attested in Persian (*hangār*, “Kurzschwert”: MPDW II, 1265, no. 1578) and Arabic (*hangār*, “knife, dagger”: AEL, 815). The /g/ betrays that, phonologically, it must be a loan from Arabic into Persian. The word is also a near-*hapax* and probably a *Fremdwort* in Syriac (*hangārā*, “dagger”: SL, 470).

3.38. *hanzubu*, “ein Töpfereiprodukt” (AHw, 321).†

3.39. **hapālu*, “a container” (CAD Հ, 83; AHw, 321).†

3.40. *harāgu*, “sagger (a protective fireclay box enclosing ceramic ware while it is being fired)” (CAD Հ, 89; AHw, 322).†

|| According to CAD Հ, 89, this word is “the Assyrian form” of NB and SB *garakku*, “brazier” (see CAD G, 46), therefore it has to be excluded from the NA *Sondergut*.

3.41. *harbakannu*, “a breed or color of horses and donkeys” (CAD Հ, 96f.), “Bezeichnung einer Art Esel oder Pferd” (AHw, 324 s.v. *ha/urbakk/qqannu* 2).

3.42. *harmāku*, “a profession?” (CDA, 108).†

LÚ.*har-ma-ka-ni* (SAA 12 69, r.19, cf. r.13).

3.43. *harurtu*, “throat” (CAD Հ, 121; AHw, 329).†

'ša[!]a-na LUGAL be-lí-á is-lu-ni EME-šú TA *ha-ru-ur-ti-šú li-iš-du-du-u-ni*, “let them pull the tongue out of the throat of the man who lied to the king, my lord” (SAA 1 205, 9ff.).

|| Cf. Syriac *herroštā* / *harroštā*, “throat” (SL, 488). As Kaufman (1974, 54) and Abraham & Sokoloff (2011, 35, no. 87) observe, the Syriac word, if it is indeed connected with *harurtu*, betrays the impact of the NB shift *rt* > *št*. This means that *harurtu* is not an Aramaism (*pace* von Soden, 1977, 187, and cf. DNWSI, 407, for remarks that we have difficulties following), so it may have existed in Akkadian outside NA as well.

3.44. *hatamli*, “meaning unknown” (CAD Հ, 148), “eine Art Mehl” (AHw, 335).†

3.45. *huzīqutu*, “ein Kopftuch”.†

3.46. *hulṣu*, “ein Gewand” (AHw, 354).†

3.47. *hulūtu*, “a foodstuff” (CAD Հ, 233; AHw, 355).

DUG.ma-si-tú *hu-lu-ti* DUG.ma-si-tú *mar-me-na*, “One *massītu*-container with *ḥ*., one

massītu container with *marmēna*" (SAA 7 218, 5f.), see also SAA 7 209, r.3; 215, r.2; 216, r.6; 217, r.4; 208, r.4', ▲SAA 7 210, r.6; 207, r.3.

|| *Hulūtu* always appears together with *marmēna*. According to SAA 7, p. 212, 216, both terms refer to milk products.

See Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 36, no. 93.

3.48. *hurdu* in *ša hurde*, "a metal object" (CAD Ḥ, 250).†

3.49. *husīnu* in *ša husīnīšu*, "designation of an official or a tradesman" (CAD Ḥ, 238 s.v. *hupānu*; AHw, 360).

PN LÚ.šá *hu-si-ni-šú* (SAA 14 65, r.9'); PN LÚ.šá *hu-si-ni-šú* (SAA 14 66, r.6'); [x] 'MA' šá IGI GIŠ.šá-GÍD.DA) [x] MA *ša hu-pa-ni-šú* [x] 1' MA KUŠ.DÀ.E.SÍR *ša'* KUR², "[x mi]nas, the man in charge of the rickshaw; [x] minas, the basket-dealer; [x+]1 minas, the sandals of the palace" (SAA 7 115, r.ii 10ff.).

|| Both CAD and AHw consider the sign chain *ša hu-pa-ni-šú* as referring to the same profession as šá *hu-si-ni-šú*, with no clear reason. Judging by its shape, *ša husīnīšu* must refer to "a peddler selling *husīnu*-objects" (see CAD Ḥ, 238).

3.50. *hutugu*, "ein Gerät" (AHw, 362).†

3.51. ***huzūnu*, "a garment" (CAD Ḥ, 266; AHw, 363).

|| This word is also attested in a text from Boghazköy (HFAC 6+, iii 4f.) and therefore has to be excluded from the NA *Sondergut*.¹⁶

3.52. *ikīš/su*, "a person of undetermined status" (CAD I/J, 49), "ein untergeordnetes Familienmitglied" (AHw, 368).†

3.53. *iršiṣu*, "a precious item" (CDA, 131).

[x x x] *ir'-ši-ši'* KUG.UD, "... of silver" (SAA 7 66, r.ii 5'); [x x] '03²' *ir-ši-ši* 'KUG'.[UD²], "3 sil[ver] ...s" (SAA 7 68, r.ii 2').

3.54. *issu*, "woman, wife" (CDA, 132)

KUR.*i-sa-a-te* "(a name of a plant)" (SAA 7 161, i 3, 14; ii 3, 15; r.i 3), parallel to KUR.MUNUS.MEŠ (SAA 7 162, 9', r.8); *ina UGU si-iḥ-ir'* 'ša'¹ *i-sa-a-te*, "due to intercourse with women" (SAA 13 73, r.3f.).

|| This NA exponent of "woman" was described in Postgate 1979, 95, fn. 9, and Parpola 1979, 34. The reasoning of both writers starts from the fact that, in the contexts cited above, KUR.*i-sa-a-te* and KUR.MUNUS.MEŠ refer to the same thing, a plant whose identity we do not know. See also Parpola 1988 for additional evidence: according to this study, Hebrew *šēgāl*, "queen" (HALOT, 1415) must go back to NA **issi* [*išši*] *ekalle*, "the woman of the palace", rather than to **ša ekalle*.

3.55. *ithuṣu* in *bēt ithiṣi*, "a type of field" (CAD I/J 296; AHw, 404).†

16. We owe the reference to this text to a p.c. of Walther Sallaberger.

3.56. *kabāku*, “a type of field” (CAD K, 2).

3.57. *kabilukku*, “a dish or a fruit” (CDA, 140).†

0.0.3.0 GIŠ.KIN.GEŠTIN.MEŠ 0.0.1.0 *ka[!]-bi-lu-ki*, “3 seahs of grapes, 1 seah of *k.*” (SAA 11 28, 8).

3.58. *kadammu*, “a building?” (CAD K, 30), “Kerker?” (AHw, 419).

3.59. *kamēšu*, “a food” (CDA, 144).†

1 *ka[!]-me-šú* (among different kinds of bread; SAA 7 174, 11').

3.60. *kapilu*, “a leather object” (CAD K, 183), “eine Lederschnur?” (AHw, 443).

1 GÍN KUŠ.*ka-pi-li* (Parker 1961, 21: ND 2312, 3), 1/3 MA.NA 4 KUŠ.*ka-pi-li[!]-e* (*ibid.*, ND 2310, 19).

|| According to AHw, 443, and CDA, 147, the word is connected with *kapālu*, “roll up” or *kiplu*, “twisting, twine”.

3.61. *kigillatu*, “rubbish dump” (CDA, 159), “meaning uncertain” (CAD K, 401 s.v. *ki-qillatu*), “Zwangsvverkauf?” (AHw, 483 s.v. *kigillatu*).

ki-qi-lu-tu ina IGI KÁ ša LÚ.MEŠ-e an-nu-ti ina GN, “a refuse dump in front of the gate, belonging to these gentlemen, in Buruqu” (SAA 6 31, r.3); TA *re-e-ši ina ŠÀ AD-šú ša LUGAL LÚ la-ap-nu DUMU la-ap-ni kal-bu mi-i-tu [sak]-lu ù su-uk-ku-ku a-na-ku TA ŠÀ ki-qil-li-ti in[!]-ta-at-ha-an-ni*, “Initially, in (the days of) the king’s father, I was a poor man, son of a poor man, a dead dog, a vile and limited person. He lifted me from the dung heap; (I received gifts from him, and my name was mentioned among men of good fortune)” (SAA 10 294, 14f.).

|| The CDA interpretation “rubbish dump” follows Postgate 1976, 78ff., 195. The word is a loan from Aramaic. The assumed Aramaic etymon of *kigillatu* is attested for the first time in KAI 309, 22, as *qlqlt*. The parallel in the Akkadian text of the bilingual is *tup-qi-na-te*, “refuse heaps” (DNWSI, 1012; CAD T, 446). In Middle Aramaic, the cognate words meaning “rubbish/garbage dump” are *qeqqaltā* (SL, 1365f.), *qiqqaltā /qilqaltā* (DJBA, 1015), *qyqlh* (DJPA, 491). See also Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 38, no. 110, with lit.

3.62. *kirbīnu* (*kiribinnu*), “a garment” (CAD K, 404; AHw, 484).†

3.63. *kudāru*, “a topographical feature” (CAD K, 492; AHw, 499).

3.64. *kudāru?* in *rab ku-ud-d[a-ri]* (ADD 1077, i 4), “an official” (CAD K, 492).†

3.65. *kullānu*, “a plant or its seed” (CAD K, 503f).

|| Cf. *kullu*, “shelled nuts” (CAD K, 508), “eine Frucht” (AHw, 502), a word which occurs twice in the inscription of Assurnasirpal II (RIMA 2 293, no. 30, 132f., SB). AHw, 502, considers *kullānu* to be a plural of *kullu*.

3.66. *kupīru*, “meaning unknown” (CAD K, 550; AHw, 508).†

|| This word is attested four times in the same text (SAA 11 16, r.i 1', 5', 8'; r.ii 3', a report about the building process). It is probably a variant of *kup(u)ru*, “bitumen,” the term known

from OB on (CAD K, 553ff.).

3.67. *kuppû*, “snow, ice, cold” (CAD K, 551; AHw, 509).

|| *Pace* the dictionaries, this word is not exclusive to NA but rather the common Assyrian exponent of “snow”, see the Discussion, below.

3.68. *kurangu* (*kuraggu*), “a cereal” (CAD K, 556 with lit.), “Reis” (AHw, 509).

3.69. *kurissu*, “~ leek” (CDA, 168).

See the examples in the entry on *issu*. The sign chain KUR.MUNUS.MEŠ, referring to a certain plant, may stand for **kurissu*, pl. **kurissāte*.

3.70. *lamaqartu*, “a container of a specific capacity” (CAD L, 60); “ein Fischbehälter” (AHw, 532).

3.71. *lattu*, “a container of standard capacity” (CAD K, 112f), “eine Fischkonserve” (AHw, 540).

3.72. *li’šu*, “desecration” (CDA, 183), “meaning unknown” (CAD L, 215; AHw, 556).†
 # *ki-i ú-di-na MAN be-lí la ú-šá-za-za-ni-ni tab-lu ú-tab-bu-lu ú-sa-hu-ru šu-nu-ma šá la dul-li šá la me-me-ni ú-ka-tú-mu li-i’-šú dan-nu ina ŠÀ É.KUR e-pu-šú*, “When the king, my lord, had not yet stationed me in my post, they used to commit thefts and cover them up. (Left) on their own, they (can) cover (everything) up without any effort, (thus) causing great *l.* in the temple” (SAA 13 138, r.2–8)

|| The meaning “desecration” fits the context. A connection with *la’āšu* (CAD L, 6 without interpretation; AHw, 521 “bedrücken”) is uncertain.

3.73. *malgūtu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD M₁, 162), “eine Geländebezeichnung” (AHw, 595).

3.74. *maqaltānu*, “a priest” (CAD M₁, 240; AHw, 605).†

|| The only attested token (SAA 16 63, r.10) refers to a priest in Sam’al. See Fales 2007, 117, for an interpretation of this word.

3.75. *maqātu*, “a piece of apparel” (CAD M₁, 251; AHw, 607).

3.76. *marmēnu*, “a beverage” (CAD M₁, 284; AHw, 612).

|| See above on *hulūtu*.

3.77. *maškuru*, “waterskin” (CAD M₁, 374f), “Schwimmschlauch” (AHw, 627).

3.78. *mazā’u*, “a leather object” (CAD M₁, 438; AHw, 637).

3.79. *mazi’u*, “a metal pot for liquids” (CAD M₁, 438), “ein Bronzegefäß” (AHw, 637).

3.80. *meħsu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD M, 4).†

3.81. *memēni*, “somebody, anybody, (negated) nobody; whatever, something, (negated)

nothing” (CAD M₂, 17f.; AHw, 644).

|| See GAG §118b.

3.82. ***mešurru*, “a topographical term” (CAD M₂, 43; AHw, 649).

|| The sign chain *me-šur-ru* (ADD 430, 4) referred to in both dictionaries is to be read *u'-gar'-ru* (SAA 6 173, 4).

3.83. *miglu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD M₂, 63 s.v. *miklu*).†

1 GÚ.UN KUG.UD *ina KALAG-te mi-ig-li* NA4.KIŠIB ša PN GAL–SIMUG.KUG.GI *ina UGU-hi*, “There is one talent of silver by the heavy standard (= 60 kg) with a scroll (bearing) the seal of PN, chief goldsmith, attached to it” (SAA 13 28, r.3ff.).

|| Deller & Millard (1985, 47) translate *migli kunukki* as “Siegelabrollung”, with no attempt to justify this. They refer to Postgate (1974, 297), where the sign chain *mi-ig-li* is not translated. SAA 13 28, r.4 follows Deller and Millard and translates *miglu* as “scroll”. One might compare *miglu* with *magallatu*, “scroll”, attested in NB and LB (Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 40, no. 124).

3.84. *nahansū*, “kind of wine?” (CAD N₁, 126; AHw, 712).†

3.85. *nahnahutu*, “cartilage” (CAD N₁, 140; AHw, 715, both s.v. *nahnahatu*).†

|| Cf. Syriac *nahnahtā*, “glands of throat, tonsils” (SL, 908) and Arabic *nuğnūga*, “goitre” (Dozy II, 693).

3.86. *nahhaptu*, “a garment” (CDA, 232).

1-lim-5'-me TÚG.na-ha-pa-a-te ša KUR'.qu'-ra?-a-a PN *e-dan*, “PN will provide 1,500 wraps of the Gurraeans” (SAA 7 112, r.1ff.); 8' GÚ 10 MA *a-na 5-me* TÚG'.na?-ha'-bat *gur-ri*, “8 talents 10 minas for 500 wraps of the Gurraeans” (SAA 7 115, ii 17f.).

|| Postgate (2001, 377) indicates a MA word *na-ha-ÁB-tu* (KAJ 77, 9), which he correctly considers to be another token of *nahhaptu*.¹⁷ Thus, *nahhaptu* has to be excluded from the NA *Sondergut*.

3.87. *nātu*, “a ritual” (CAD N₂, 133; AHw, 768).

3.88. *nerāku*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD N₂, 174).†

3.89. *nimra 'u*, “a garment” (CAD N₂, 234), “eine Binde?” (AHw, 777 s.v. *nemra 'u*).†

3.90. *niqittu*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD N₂, 251), “Vergeltung, Genugtuung” (AHw, 792).†

|| See Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 43f., no. 158.

3.91. *nišru*, “stone block?” (CAD N₂, 282).†

3.92. *numūru*, “torch” (CAD N₂, 336).†

17. Postgate believes that *nahhaptu* is a variant of *nahlaptu*, “wrap, outer garment” (CAD N₁, 138).

- 3.93. *pagalu*, “a jar for liquids used in libating” (CAD P, 10; AHw, 808).
- 3.94. *pāhizu*, “a profession or status” (CAD P, 33), “aufdringlich?” (AHw, 811).
 || A connection with *pahāzu*, “to be arrogant, highhanded” (CAD P, 32f.; AHw, 811) is unlikely (see Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 44, fn. 449).¹⁸
- 3.95. *pakku*, “a metal object” (CAD P, 36).
- 3.96. *panantu*, “a stave, pole” (CAD P, 78; AHw, 727 s.v. *namhaštu*).†
- 3.97. *pāritu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD P, 187).†
- 3.98. *parūgu*, “pile? of grain” (CAD P, 210), “Saatgetreidebehälter?” (AHw, 837).
- 3.99. *pašuttu*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD P, 269).†
- 3.100. *pispisu*, “an insect” (CAD P, 425), “?” (AHw, 867).†
 # *ki-i šá pi-is-pi-su bi-’i-šu-u-ni ki-i ha-an-ni-i ina IGI DINGIR u LUGAL a-me-lu-te ni-piš-ku-nu li-ib-’i-iš*, “Just as this bug stinks, just so may your breath stink before god and king (and) mankind” (SAA 2 6, 603; four copies read *pi-is-pi-su an-ni-u*, “this bug”: Watanabe 1987, 204).
 || The NA *pispisu* must be a loanword from WSem, most probably Aramaic. Watanabe (1987, 204) compares Syriac *pešpšā*, “bed bug” (SL, 1262) and rabbinic Hebrew *pišpāš*, “idem” (Jastrow Dict. 1248).
- 3.101. *pitūtu*, “headband, diadem” (CAD P, 448; AHw, 871).
 || See Parpola (1983b, 117).
- 3.102. *pūtuhu*, “responsibility, obligation” (CAD P, 553ff.; AHw, 885 s.v. *putuhhu*).
 || The word is used within the idiom *putuh X našû*, “to be responsible for X”. The etymology of *pūtuhu* is obscure, see the discussion in Parpola (1983b, 150f.).
- 3.103. *puṭūru*, “a foodstuff” (CAD P, 555), “?” (AHw, 885).†
- 3.104. *qabhu*, “a container” (CAD Q, 3), “ein Bronzegefäß” (AHw, 886).
- 3.105. *qablu*, “grove?” (CAD Q, 16), “Hügel” (AHw, 888 s.v. *qablu(m)* I).
- 3.106. *qadaruttu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD Q, 45f.; AHw, 891).†
- 3.107. *qadurtu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD Q, 52; AHw, 892).
 || The terms *qadurtu* and *qadaruttu* may be related and refer to temple personnel (see the commentary in CAD Q, 45f.).
- 3.108. *qānītu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD Q, 81).†
- 3.109. *qapīru*, “a container” (CAD Q, 91f.; AHw, 898).
 || See Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 46, no. 176.

18. The interpretation of this term suggested by Kinnier Wilson (1972, 86f.) is based on a misreading of ABL 166 (Parpola 1976, 173, and see now SAA 16 30).

3.110. *qāqulu* in *rabi qāqulāte*, “an official” (CAD K, 59 s.v. *kakkullu*; AHw, 901 s.v. *qāqultu*).

3.111. *qarbāte*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD Q, 128).

an-nu-rig qar-ba-te-ia ú-ma-ma-ni ú-še-rab, “Right now I am personally bringing in the monsters” (SAA 1 54, r.11f.).

|| S. Parpola (SAA 1, p. 224) believes that *qarbāte* with bound possessive pronouns means “(I, you, she, etc.) personally”.

3.112. *qarhu*, “ice, frost” (CAD Q, 131; AHw, 903).

|| *Qarhu* is a cognate of the Hebrew *qārah*, “ice” (HALOT, 1140; see Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 46, no. 179), but its further etymology is unknown.

3.113. *qarrāru*, “a garment” (CAD Q, 127 s.v. *qarāru*; AHw, 905).

3.114. *qarrūhu*, “sherbet?” (CAD Q, 127 s.v. *qarāhu*), “kahlköpfig, altes Tier” (AHw, 905).

|| See Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 46, no. 181, cf. HALOT, 1140 s.v. *qērē^aḥ*.

3.115. *qirsu₁*, “a sacred area” (CAD Q, 269).

3.116. *qirsu₂*, “a wooden object” (CAD Q, 269).

3.117. *qaspu/qazpu*, “a tool” (CAD Q, 146), “ein Eisengerat” (AHw, 906).

3.118. *qimmu*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD Q, 254), “ein Schrein?” (AHw, 1584).

3.119. *qusāyu*, “designation of sheep” (CDA, 292), “zu Ortsnamen?” (AHw, 930 s.v. *qu-sa-a-a*).†

UDU.*qu-sa-a-a* (Parker 1961, 20; ND 2311, 14).

3.120. *ra(d)idu*, “a garment” (CAD R, 60), “ein Kleidungsstück” (AHw, 941).

3.121. *rimtu*, “a disease” (CAD R, 359), “eine Krankheit?” (AHw, 986).†

|| According to CAD R, 359, and AHw, 1585, the word may be related to *ramītu*, a medical term known from SB sources (CAD R, 126; AHw, 1585).

3.122. *ripsy*, “haze?” (CAD R, 366), “Dunst” (AHw, 987).

3.123. *ruqpu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD R, 416; cf. AHw, 994 s.v. *ruqb/pu*).†

3.124. *rūtu*, “span, half a cubit” (CAD R, 438f. with lit.; AHw, 997f.).

|| According to the dictionaries, the word probably goes back to **ammar ūtu*, “as much as half-cubit”. See Parpola (1988, 75f.) on the dropping of initial syllables in compounds and particles.

3.125. *sabubu*, “a piece of jewelry” (CAD S, 2 s.v. **sababu*), “Kümmel-Korn” (AHw, 1000 s.v. *sabūbu*).

3.126. *sahāru*, “tower” (CDA, 311; AHw, 1009 s.v. *sahhāru*, 1586 s.v. *sahāru*).†

|| See Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 49, no. 201.

- 3.127. *samādiru*, “an oleiferous aromatic plant” (CAD S, 107), “Blüte” (AHw, 1016).
 || *Samādiru* has counterparts in Syriac and Mandaic, all these terms may go back to a non-Semitic etymon (Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 49, no. 204).
- 3.128. *sapulhu*, “a container or a dish of food” (CAD S, 168), “ein Gefäß” (AHw, 1027).
- 3.129. *sarāmû*, “part or decoration of a door” (CAD S, 172; AHw, 1028).†
- 3.130. *sarrānu*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD S, 178), “?” (AHw, 1028 s.v. *saranātu*), “a wooden item” (CDA, 317 s.v. *saranātu*).†
- 3.131. *sāru*, “whisk” (CAD S, 189; AHw, 1031).
 # ▲ LUGAL EN *ina šU.2-šú-nu la-a ú-ra-ma-an-ni kal-bi me-e-ti a-na-ku sa-a-ri ina šÀ- bi É.GAL 'sa LUGAL' EN-ia lu-ka- i*, “May the king, my lord, not leave me in their hands. I am (but) a dead dog. May I sweep the palace of the king, my lord!” (SAA 16 128, r.13’–17’).
- 3.132. *sēpu* in *akal sepi*, “(a kind of bread)” (CAD S, 227), “eine Getreideart” (AHw, 1036f.).
- 3.133. *sidātē*, “an implement” (CAD S, 233; AHw, 1039 s.v. *sidātu*).†
- 3.134. *siddētu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD S, 233; AHw, 1039).†
- 3.135. *sīlhu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD S, 235), “ein Gegenstand aus Beryll” (AHw, 1034).†
- 3.136. *simātu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD S, 272 s.v. *simatu*), “Bezeichnung von Gedärmen?” (AHw, 1044 s.v. *simatu*).†
- 3.137. *sinnutu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD S, 294 s.v. *sinnūtu*), “Bronzegegenstand” (AHw, 1048), “brand?” (CDA, 324).†
- 3.138. *sīpu*, “an aquatic insect” (CAD S, 305).†
- 3.139. *sisalhu*, “a breed of cattle and sheep” (CAD S, 321), “Bezeichnung einer Rasse oder ähnlich von Rindern oder Schafen” (AHw, 1050).
- 3.140. *siprītu*, “a garment” (CAD S, 304).†
- 3.141. *sulukannu/sulukānu*, “jar” (CAD S, 371), “ein Ledersäckchen (für Korn, Sesam, Früchte)” (AHw, 562 s.v. *lukannu*).
- 3.142. *supāqu*, “a garment” (CAD S, 392; AHw, 1060).†
- 3.143. *supīrātu*, “a linen object” (CAD S, 392), “etwas aus Leinen” (AHw, 1060).†
- 3.144. *supuqtu*, “an object” (CDA, 328).†
 || See Menzel (1981, 185*).
- 3.145. *silbu*, “crosswise arrangement (of bandages or wood)” (CAD S, 187), “ein Kultgerät?” (AHw, 1100 s.v. *sil(l)iбу*).
 || Cf. Syriac *slībā*, “cross” (SL, 1288).

- 3.146. *sillāte*, “storeroom” (CAD Š, 188f.), “Lagerräume?” (AHw, 1100 s.v. *sillātu*).†
- 3.147. *simtu*, “a type of beer” (CAD Š, 200; AHw, 1103).†
- 3.148. *šippa(r)rātu*, “morning” (CAD Š, 202; AHw, 1103).†
 || The word is a possible loan from Aramaic (Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 51, 69, no. 226).
- 3.149. *sippūtu*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD Š 204), “ein Baum” (AHw, 1104).†
- 3.150. *šarbu/sarbu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD Š₂ 60).†
- 3.151. *šašbutu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD Š₂ 168), “eine Pflanze?” (AHw, 1194).†
- 3.152. *šaššantu*, “small sun disc” (CAD Š₂, 174).†
- 3.153. *šazamū*, “a container for fine wine” (CAD Š₂, 244f), “Zamua-Weinkrug” (AHw, 1206).
 || The term may have been derived from the prepositional phrase *ša Zamua* via the nisba -ī, see a commentary in CAD Š₂, 245.
- 3.154. *šeburtu*, “a color² of wool” (CAD Š₂, 256).†
- 3.155. *šedū*, “a tree” (CAD Š₂, 256), “Sproß” (AHw, 1208).†
- 3.156. *širiātu*, “a type of bread” (CAD Š₃ 103).
- 3.157. *šugānū* (*tugānū*, *utugānū*), “a container for fruit” (CAD Š₃, 196), “ein Holzgefäß?” (AHw, 1259).
- 3.158. *šūhu*, “a small melon” (CAD Š₃, 210), “eine kleine Gurke” (AHw, 1262).†
- 3.159. *šullāmu*, “a breed of or way of training horses” (CAD Š₃, 240), “Bezeichnung von Pferden” (AHw, 1267).
 || See Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 53, no. 248.
- 3.160. *tallakku* (or *gištallakku*), “a wooden carrier for food?” (CAD T, 97).†
- 3.161. *tal’ītu*, “dressing, bandage” (CAD T, 97), “Salbenverband” (AHw, 1310).†
 || A relation to *la’’ū*, “to defile, desecrate (a sanctuary, a rite), to dirty (an object)” (CAD L, 258f.; AHw, 565, both s.v. *lu’’ū*) or *la’ātu*, “to swallow” (CAD L, 6f.; AHw, 521) is unlikely for semantic reasons.
- 3.162. *tamarzu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD T, 114; AHw, 1313).†
- 3.163. *tarmazilu*, “a bird” (CAD T, 238; AHw, 1331).
- 3.164. *tattidūtu*, “a francolin” (CAD T, 299; AHw, 1340).†
- 3.165. *tebiru*, “a profession” (CAD T, 305).†
- 3.166. *tirānu*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD T, 425).†
- 3.167. *tuānu*, “a bath” (StAT 2, p. 238).†
 || Cf. Fales 2003.

- 3.168. *tīru*, “meaning unknown” (CAD T, 492).†
- 3.169. *tūdu*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD T, 122).
- 3.170. *tuṭumesi*, “a grain” (CAD T, 167).†
- 3.171. *undē*, “a skin disease” (CAD U/W, 158 s.v. *undū*).†
 || According to Parpola (1983b, 253), **undu* (<**umdu*) must be a *purs-* derivation from the verb *emēdu*, “to lean upon, to inflict”.
- 3.172. *unnānu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD U/W, 161).†
 || According to AHw, 1421, *unnānu* is the NA variant of the well-known *unnīnu(m)*, “Flehen, Gebet”. See the commentary of Parpola in SAA 9, p. 39, with references.
- 3.173. *uptu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD U/W, 191), “ein Opferterminus?” (AHw, 1426).†
- 3.174. *urhu* (in *bēt urhi*), “a cella or chamber?” (CAD U/W, 222).
 || AHw, 1429, compares this word with *urhu*, “Weg, Pfad, Bahn”, while CAD U/W, 222, suggests a connection with *urhu*, “month”.
- 3.175. *urnutu*, “a garment” (CAD U/W, 233; AHw, 1431).
- 3.176. *ursūtu*, “depot” (CAD U/W, 249; AHw, 1433).
- 3.177. *ussuktu*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD U/W, 281; AHw, 1438 s.v. *ussuku*).†
 || This *hapax* in SAA 2 8, 19 stands in parallelism with *milku*, “advice”, and may be derived from *ussuku*, “to apportion lots” (CAD E, 332 s.v. *esēqu*). SAA 2 translates *ussuktu* as “suggestion”.
- 3.178. *ušamītu*, “a bird” (CAD U/W, 298; AHw, 1441 s.v. *ušamī/ītu*).
- 3.179. *yābilu*, “ram” (CAD I/J, 321; AHw, 411).†
 || Cf. HALOT, 398 s.v. *yōbēl*.
- 3.180. *yahulu*, “a garment” (CAD I/J, 321 s.v. *jahili*; AHw, 411 s.v. *jaha/ilu*).†
- 3.181. *yamnuqu*, “a garment” (CAD I/J, 322; AHw, 411).†
- 3.182. *yannussu*, “fetters?” (CAD I/J, 322), “ein Gegenstand?” (AHw, 411).†
- 3.183. *yanūqu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD I/J, 324f.), “eine Fleischsorte” (AHw, 412).†
- 3.184. *yarburānu*, “a plant used in the preparation of perfume” (CAD I/J, 325).
- 3.185. *zinzarū'u*, “meaning unknown” (CAD Z, 124), “etwas wie Öl?” (AHw, 1529).†
 || See Watanabe (1987, 208) on possible cognates in Akkadian and WSem.
- 3.186. *zipunu*, “unklar” (AHw, 1529 s.v. *zipini*).†
- 3.187. *zīzu*, “teat” (CAD Z, 149 with lit.; AHw, 1534).
- 3.188. *zunzurahhu*, “ein Wagenknecht” (AHw, 1538).†
- 3.189. *zuqutu*, “a metal container” (CAD Z, 166), “eine kleine Metallschale” (AHw, 1538 s.v. **zuqatu*).

III. Adjectives

1. Deverbal Adjectives

1.1. Verbal Adjectives

1.1.1. *gabbubu*, “roasted” (CAD G, 117; AHw, 272)

|| < *gabbubu*, “to roast” (CAD G, 117 s.v. *gubbubu*; CAD K, 2 s.v. *kabābu*; AHw, 414 s.v. *k/gabābu(m)*).†

1.1.2. *hallupu*, “describing garments” (CAD H, 46f.), “unklar” (AHw, 313).

|| < *halāpu*, “to cover, clothe” (CAD H, 35f.; AHw, 310).

1.1.3. *hardu*, “meaning uncertain” (CAD H, 99), “wachsam” (AHw, 325).†

|| < *harādu*, “to wake up, to be alert, to keep watch” (see I 1.7, above).

1.1.4. *harrupu*, “early” (CAD H, 115), “sehr früh” (AHw, 328).†

|| < *harrupu* D, “to be early” (CAD H, 90; AHw, 323).

1.1.5. *haşşusu*, “abgeknickt (Rohr)” (AHw, 361).†

|| < *haşşusu*, “to cut, break (reeds)” (CAD H, 131; AHw, 331).

1.1.6. *kabsu*, “measured?” (CAD K, 23), “unklar” (AHw, 418).†

|| The word is probably derived from the verb *kabāsu*, “to stride, to walk upon” (CAD K, 5–11; AHw, 415f.; note the meaning “to pace off” in OB mathematic texts: CAD K, 8).

1.1.7. **karmu*, “ruined (?)” (CAD K, 217), “verzögert?” (AHw, 449).†

[k]a-ri-in-tu-ú ši-i, “(as for the house,) it is ruined?”/ “(as for the construction?) it is delayed” (SAA 1 121, 7, cf. also 8 and 9).

|| The context of this *hapax* is damaged. If it is indeed an adjective, its derivation from *karamu*, “to delay” (so AHw) is easier to figure out than a derivation from the substantive *karmu*, “heap, ruin” (so CAD K, 218).

1.1.8. *kassupu*, “damaged?” (CAD K, 593).†

|| < *kasāpu*, “to chip, break off a piece, to trim” (CAD K, 241f.; AHw, 453).

1.1.9. **nagmuru* (in **nagamarūte*), “meaning unknown” (CAD N₁, 121), “vollendet?” (AHw, 712), “completed, finished?” (CDA, 231).†

[ina] GN₁ [ina] GN₂ [ina] GN₃ [ina] GN₄ [ina] GN₅ ú-se-ri-ib na-ga-ma-ru-u-te UD 23-KAM *ina* GN₄ ú-se-ri-ib, “I have brought (the deportees) [into] GN₁, GN₂, GN₃, GN₄, and GN₅; the exhausted ones I made enter GN₄ on the 23rd” (SAA 1 247, 3-r.1).

|| The word must be derived from *nagmuru*, “be finished”. As for the spelling *na-GA-ma-ru-u-te*, the use of a CV sign for the expected VC is well known in NA, see Deller 1962b.

1.1.10. *qallupu*, “peeled” (CAD Q, 299; AHw, 894)†

|| < *qallupu*, “to skin, to peel off” (CAD Q, 59; AHw, 894).

1.1.11. *raqqûtu*, “a vegetal foodstuff” (CAD P, 179 s.v. *raqūtu*), “gekeltert (Öl)” (AHw,

958 s.v. *raqqû*), “spice(s)” (CDA, 299).

|| < *raqqû*, “to prepare perfume” (CAD R, 420), “Feinöl keltern” (AHw, 995).

1.1.12. *raspu*, “constructed, well-built” (CAD P, 187), “fertig gebaut” (AHw, 960).

|| < *rašāpu*, “to erect, to pile up; to keep in a good repair” (CAD R, 184ff.; AHw, 959f.).

1.1.13. *šaktumu*, “covered” (CAD Š₃, 226; AHw, 1141).†

|| < *šaktumu*, “to cover, to overwhelm” (CAD K, 302; AHw, 464).

1.1.14. *šarpu*, “consumed by fire” (CAD Š₂, 66), “Brand” (AHw, 1187 s.v. *šarpu* 2b).

|| < *šarāpu*, “to burn” (CAD Š₂, 50–53; AHw, 1185)

1.1.15. *šītu*, “negligent” (CAD Š₃, 147; AHw, 1253).

|| < *šiātu*, “to be negligent” (CAD Š₃, 374f.; AHw, 1226).

1.1.16. *tabiu*, “erect; ready?” (CAD T, 27), “unklar” (AHw, 1298 s.v. *tābiu*).

|| < *tabû*, “to get up, to rise, to rear up” (CAD T, 306–320; AHw, 1342f., both s.v. *tebû*).

1.1.17. *tallulu*, “equipped, arranged” (CAD T, 465; AHw, 1311).

|| < *tallulu*, “to equip, to harness” (CAD T, 465f.; AHw, 1369 s.v. *tullulu*).

1.1.18. *taqnu*, “safe” (CAD T, 199; AHw, 1324).†

|| < *taqānu*, “to become placid, orderly, secure” (CAD T, 197ff.; AHw, 1323).

1.2. Participle

1.2.1. **mušašnû*, “regulated (said of water or canals)” (CAD M₂, 262; cf. AHw, 1167 s.v. *šanû* Š).†

|| < *šašnû*, “to change, cause a change in something” (CAD Š₁, 408; AHw, 1167).

Only the feminine form *mušašnītu* is attested (SAA 15 156, 22, r.14).

1.3. *pirrisu*

1.3.1. *giṣṣiṣu*, “raging, furious (lit. “tooth-gnashing”)” (CAD G, 99), “Bezeichnung von Feinden” (AHw, 292).†

|| < *gašāṣu*, “to trim, cut” (CAD G, 53), “abschleifen” (AHw, 457f s.v. *kašāṣu(m)*).

1.4. *parris*

1.4.1. *ebbû*, “thick” (CAD E, 16 s.v. **ebû*), “sehr dick” (AHw, 180).

|| < *ebû*, “to be thick” (CAD E, 16; AHw, 183).

1.4.2. *haddû*, “happy” (CAD Ḥ, 23), “sehr freudig” (AHw, 307).†

|| < *hadû*, “to be happy, to rejoice” (CAD Ḥ, 25ff.; AHw, 307f.).

1.5. *parristu*

1.5.1. *qallissu*, “unimportant, small” (CAD Q, 61f. s.v. **qallilu*), “(eine) eilige (Sache)” (AHw, 894).

|| Cf. II 1.14.1, above.

1.6. *parrasu*

1.6.1. *dammaqu*, “expert” (CAD D, 68).†

|| <*damāqu*, “to improve (intrans.), to prosper” (CAD D, 61–64; AHw, 155f.).

2. *Denominal Adjectives*

2.1. *Noun + nisba -āy*

2.1.1. *armāyu*, “Aramaic (scribe, document, town, food)” (CAD A₂, 293f. s.v. **armū*; AHw, 69 s.v. *armītu*).
|| See Deller 1959, 86–89, and Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 84.

2.1.2. *haršāyu*, “gentilic referring to a breed of horses” (CAD H, 115 s.v. *haršā*), “Haršu-Pferd” (AHw, 328).

|| According to CAD H, 115, the word is probably connected with the toponyms *Ha-aršu* and *Ha-ar-ša-a-a*. This interpretation is accepted in AHw, and SAA 5 171, 9, 11; 114, 2'.

2.2. *Pronominal possessive adjectives (iCC- base + bound pronoun + nisba -ī-)*

2.2.1–5. The attested forms are *īyū* (<**iyyū*) “my/mine” (sg.), *ikkū* “your(s)” (sg., for singular possessor), *innū* “our(s)” (sg.), *innūte* “our(s)” (pl.), *ikkanū* “your(s)” (sg., for plural possessor), *iššunū/iššanū* “their(s)”. See GAG §44c; Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 48f.

|| Cf. the LB personal pronouns *iššū*, “he”, *iššī*, “she”, etc. (GAG §41i–j).

3. *Adjectives with Morphologically Opaque Shapes*

3.1. *akku*, “grimmig” (AHw, 1542; CDA, 10).

See II 3.37, above, on *hangaru*.

|| As Simo Parpolo showed in SAA 9, p. 8, *akku* is a devoiced variant of the adjective *aggu*, “angry” (CAD A₁, 150). Therefore the word has to be excluded from the *Sondergut* lexemes provided by dictionaries.

3.2. *baslu*, “meaning unknown” (CAD B, 133; AHw, 110 s.v. *basālu*).

3.3. *ēdumānu*, “single” (CAD E, 39), “einzeln, ohne Familie” (AHw, 188).

|| The word is connected with (*w*)*ēdu*, “individual, solitary” (CAD E, 36ff.; AHw, 1494f.).

3.4. *habburu*, “a qualification of wine” (CAD H, 14; AHw, 305).

3.5. *hinziribu*, “blue or a shade of green” (CAD H, 195; AHw, 347).†

3.6. *irginu*, “a color describing horses” (CAD I/J, 176; AHw, 240 s.v. *erginu*).

3.7. *kirnāya*, “a garment” (CAD K, 408), “Bezeichnung eines Mantels” (AHw, 484 s.v. *kirnā'a*).†

3.8. ***lašlamu*, “valueless (of words)” (CDA, 179 s.v. *lašlašu*).

|| *a-na mi-ni di-ib-bi la-áš-la-mu'-te* LUGAL EN *i-sa-na-me*, “Why does the king, my lord, pay attention to groundless² allegations?” (SAA 5 121, r.14ff.).

For the sign chain *di-ib-bi la-áš-la-mu'-te*, AHw, 1149, and SAA 5, p. 90, provide a parallel text *di-ib-bi la šal-mu-ti* (Saggs 1958, 188, no. 41, 47; see now Saggs 2001, 209, and SAA 19 89, r.18). The spelling *di-ib-bi la-áš-la-mu'-te* probably renders an external sandhi in **lā šalmūte*.

3.9. *mēreššū*, “naked” (CAD M₂, 22; AHw, 645).†

3.10. *meširānu*, “an adjective describing a horse” (CAD M₂, 37).†

3.11. *nakkupu*, “around (*i.e.*, in circumference)” (CAD N₁, 185f.), “unklar” (AHw, 722 s.v. *nakkupu* 2).†

|| 6-a-a 1 KÙŠ GÍD.DA 1 KÙŠ *na-ku-pu* ... 5 *ina* 1 KÙŠ GÍD.DA 1 KÙŠ *na-ku-pu*, “(logs) each six cubits long and one cubit in circumference ... five cubits long, one cubit in circumference” (SAA 5 294, 9'ff.).

3.12. *paşsu*, “absent, missing” (CDA, 268), “meaning unknown” (CAD P, 227 s.v. *pāṣu* with lit.).

PAB IGI.LAL 1 LÚ.SIPA UDU.MEŠ *pa-ṣu* PAB É PN₁ LÚ.MU, “(in a list of property) All is inspected. One *pa-ṣu* shepherd. The total of the estate of PN₁, a cook” (SAA 11 203, iii 5ff.); PAB 1-me-25 ANŠE.gam-mal.MEŠ *pa'-ṣu-u-te*, “in all, 125 *paşsu* camels” (SAA 11 162, r.4f.).

|| According to Kwasman (1998, 635), the sign chains *pa-ṣu* and *pa-ṣu-u-te* are to be normalized as *paşû*, *paşûte*, “white” (CAD P, 328–334). In this case, the term **paşsu* has to be excluded from the NA Sondergut list.

3.13. *samku*, “spiteful” (CAD S, 118), “unklar” (AHw, 1018).

3.14. *simmatānū*, “meaning unknown” (CAD S, 273; AHw, 1045) (designation of horses).†

3.15. *tuānu*, “a color or breed of horses” (CAD T, 444), “Pferdebezeichnung” (AHw, 1364).†

IV. Adverbs

1. *adanniš*, “very, greatly” (CAD A₁, 96f.; AHw, 10).

|| According to AHw, 160 (s.v. *danniš*), the word is derived from **ana danniš*. On the shortening of [-dd-] in this form, see Luukko 2004, 117, fn. 344 with references.

2. *ayyēkamēni*, “somewhere” (CAD A₁, 231; AHw, 25).

|| <*ayyēka*, “where?” (CAD A₁, 232f. s.v. *ajikī*”am; AHw, 24 s.v. *ajjaka(m)*). Cf. GAG §118b.

3. (*ša/ina*) *bade*, “in the evening” (CAD B, 27; AHw, 95 s.v. *bâdu*).

|| <*biādu*, “to stay overnight, spend the night, to delay” (CAD B, 169–173 s.v. *bâtu*; AHw, 124 s.v. *biātu(m)*).

4. *battatayya*, “each of several, side by side” (CAD B, 168; AHw, 115; *battatā* according to GAG §120g).

|| Cf. the pan-Assyrian word *battu*, “side; surroundings” (CAD B, 168f.; Kogan 2006, 181). See Postgate 1976, 64, and Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 87, on the extensive use of the distributive marker *-a-a* in NA with words denoting measures.

5. *da'ānatte* “forcibly” (CAD D, 1, AHw, 1550 s.v. *dānatte*).†

|| <*da'ānu*, the NA form of *danānu*, “strength, might, superiority; force, violence” (CAD A₂ 81ff.; AHw, 158f.) + *-atte* (see GAG §113l).

6. *enguratti*, “meaning unknown” (CAD E, 168), “nach Art von ...” (AHw, 218).†

|| The word is formed via the suffix *-atti*, see GAG §113l.

7. *hallalatti*, “like a furtively walking person” (CAD H, 43).†

8. *iħ-harpūte*, “early” (CDA, 108 s.v. *ħarpūtu*).†

|| <*ina* + **ħarpūtu*, “early moment” (CAD H, 106), “Frühzeitigkeit” (AHw, 326) <*ħarpu* “early (adj.)” (CAD H, 105f.; AHw, 326).

9. *issahē'iš*, *issahīš(i)*, “together” (CAD A₁, 164 s.v. *ahāmeš*), “miteinander, gemeinsam” (AHw, 389 s.v. *issahīš*).

|| <*issu* + *ahā'iš*, the NA form of *ahāmeš*, “each other, one another, mutually; together” (CAD A₁, 164–168), “einander” (AHw, 17f.). See Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 54f.

10. *kallāmāre*, “early in the morning” (CAD K, 78; AHw, 425).

11. *qinniš*, “backwards” (CAD Q, 257).

|| Cf. *qinnutu*, “anus, buttock; rear” (CAD Q, 254ff.; AHw, 921f.).

12. *rabūšeni*, “three years ago (lit., in the fourth (previous) year)” (CAD R, 57; AHw, 940).

V. Function Words

1. *adunakanni*, “until now” (CAD A₁, 120; AHw, 28 s.v. *akanni*).

|| According to AHw, 28 (s.v. *akanni*), it goes back to **adu/i ana akanni*. See V 4, below.

2. *ahħur*, “else, in addition” (CAD A₁, 186), “für die Zukunft” (AHw, 359 s.v. *ħurri*).

|| <*ahħuru*, “to delay, to remain” (CAD U/W, 42ff.).

3. *ahħula*, “alas! woe!” (CAD A₁, 213; AHw, 22).

|| Cf. *ahulap*, “an exclamation used to express or to seek compassion” (CAD B, 213ff.; AHw, 22f.)

4. *akanni*, “now” (CAD A₁, 262f.; AHw, 28).

|| The word must be connected with *anni*, “now”, attested in OA (Kouwenberg 2017, §13.5.3)

5. *annûrig*, “now then, along with” (CAD A₂, 142f.), “in diesem Augenblick, eben jetzt” (AHw, 54).

|| Pace CAD A₂, 142f., *annûrig* is a temporal deictic adverbial rather than a discursive marker introducing a new message. In other words, it says “now” rather than “now then”. In particular, this follows from the examples cited in CAD. *Annûrig* must be connected with *anni*, “now”, well-known in OA (Kouwenberg 2017, §13.5.3) or with *anniu*, “this”, yet the provenance of *-*rig* is unclear. AHw, 54, points out the Hebrew *rega'*, “moment” (HALOT, 1189), as the cognate of a substantive **rigu*, of which there are no traces in Akkadian.

6. *atā*, “why?” (CAD A₂, 479f.; AHw, 86).

|| Dictionaries mention two tokens of *atā* in NB as against one hundred sixty three reliable attestations in the searchable NA corpus. Thus, *atā* belongs to the lexicon specific to NA, and it is an Assyrianism in NB.

7. *bēt*, “where, when, what” (CAD B, 272f.; AHw, 131, both s.v. *bīt*).

|| < *bētu*, “house, dwelling place” (CAD B, 282–295; AHw, 132–135).

A few attestations of *bēt* in NB letters from Nineveh are Assyrianisms (CAD B, 272). As for the alleged MA tokens in Ebeling 1950, pl. 11 r.18, and Müller 1937, 62, ii 16, these texts are written in NA. In particular, CAD B, 272b, failed to notice that *bēt še-eħ-tu ana šakānikani*, “when it is for you to set the incense burner” (Ebeling 1950, pl. 11 r.18) has *šēhtu* rather than **šēhta* in the direct object slot.

8. *bis*, “then, afterwards” (CAD B, 268; AHw, 130)

|| Cf. *basi*, “soon”, attested in NA and SB (CAD B, 133; AHw, 110).

9. (*id*)*dāt*, “1) after (temporal); 2) behind (spatial)” (CAD D, 121f.; AHw, 165).

|| Cf. *dātu* (V 10, below), and see GAG §114m.

10. *dātu/iddāte*, “afterwards” (CAD D, 122; AHw, 165).

|| Cf. (*id*)*dāt* (V 9, above), and see GAG §114m.

11. *issurri*, “perhaps, presumably, surely” (CAD S, 411f. s.v. *surri*; AHw, 389).

|| < **ina + surri*, “surely, certainly” (CAD S, 410f.).

12. (*ina*) *līdiš*, “the day after tomorrow” (CAD U/W, 81 s.v. *ullītiš*; AHw, 552).

|| *Ina līdiš* is the reanalyzed form of the older *ullītiš*, “the day after tomorrow; in the future” (CAD U/W, 81; AHw, 1409f.; see Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 55).

13. *matimeni*, “ever” (CAD M₁, 411; AHw, 633).

|| < *mati*, “when?” (CAD M₁, 406ff.), “wann” (AHw, 632). Cf. GAG §118b.

14. *muk*, “particle (introducing direct speech after verbs in the first person sg.)” (CAD M₂, 180f.; AHw, 669).

|| Cf. *nuk* (IV 27, below).

15. *nēmel*, “because” (CAD N₂, 157; AHw, 776).

|| < *nēmelu*, “benefit, profit” (CAD N₂, 157–160; AHw, 776).

16. *nirit*, “because?” (CAD N₂, 260), “~ because” (CDA, 254).
17. *nuk*, “particle (introducing direct speech after verbs in the first person sg. or pl.)” (CAD N₂, 322f.; AHw, 802).
18. *piqtatte* (*piqtāte*), “perhaps” (CAD P, 393f.).
|| Cf. *pīqat*, “perhaps” (CAD P, 386ff.; AHw, 864f.).
19. *šuh*, “as to, concerning, on account of” (CAD Š₃, 202f.; AHw, 1260).
20. *tūra*, “again, furthermore” (CAD T, 483; cf. AHw, 1372).
|| Etymologically, it is the imperative of *tuāru* “return” (CAD T, 250–279; AHw, 1332–1336, both s.v. *tāru*) with the ventive.
21. *umā*, “now” (CAD U/W, 91f.), “nun, nunmehr” (AHw, 1412).
|| *Umā* means both “now” and “today” (Parpolo 1983b, 197). It is used together with *annūrig* in the “Epistolary Perfect” formula *umā annūrig assaprakku* (e.g., in SAA 1 1, 12f.). The etymology of *umā* is not transparent (see AHw, 1412; Parpolo 1983b, 197).

Discussion. The Relevance of Our Results for the Description of Neo-Assyrian

We have found 409 words unique to NA, as against the number “three hundred seven” mentioned in Streck (2005, 68).¹⁹ 216 of them are *hapax legomena*. It makes sense that not all of these 409 words were in real life exclusive to the Neo-Assyrian language, because the absence of certain items from other Akkadian corpora must be due to chance.²⁰ Yet several terms within our *Sondergut* are in fact genuine lexical innovations of NA, since they are frequent and supposed to be of everyday use. Some of them must have replaced older words:²¹

- *issu*, “woman, wife”, rather than OA *awīltum* (Kogan 2006, 193) and OA/MA *aššutu(m)* (CAD A₂, 463f.). In the searchable NA corpus, the logogram DAM is attested only six times, while the usual way to render WIFE is the MUNUS sign.
- *egertu*, “letter”, rather than OA/MA *našpartu*²² and MA *tuppu*.²³ In the searchable NA corpus, *našpartu* is not attested, while *tuppu* means “letter” only in the letter head (fourteen tokens). Aside from this, in transactions from SAA 6 and 14, there are twenty

19. “Eine systematische Durchsicht des AHw, ergibt 365 nur mittel- und neuassyrisch bezeugte Wörter, davon 307 nur neuassyrisch”. Note that some of these have proved as either non-existent or non-NA (see our Introduction).

20. Conversely, certain words that appear only in NA and SB corpora (*i.e.*, their *Gemeingut*) may have been in real life an exclusive property of the Neo-Assyrian language. This NA-SB lexical *Gemeingut* comprises some four hundred words and needs a special study.

21. We speak here of “replacement” in a conventional and non-obliging way, because NA does not have to be a direct descendant of OA or MA.

22. See Kogan (2006, 194f) for OA and CAD N₂ 71 for MA examples.

23. See examples in CAD A₁, 26a, T 143b, and Jakob (2009, 45, no. 5: 3).

seven tokens of *ṣābit tuppi*, “the person who wrote down the text of this tablet”, *i.e.*, the noun phrase *ṣābit tuppi* refers to the writer of the document in which it stands written. There remain forty-nine tokens of *tuppu*, referring either to a tablet as a manuscript (*i.e.*, a physical carrier of data) or denoting texts other than letters (e.g., astrological reports or omen compendia). Thus the only regular NA word for “letter” is *egertu*, with one hundred eighteen tokens in the searchable corpus.

- *putuh X našū*, “to be responsible for X”, rather than the MA verb phrase *pāhat X našū* (Postgate 1976, 43f.). In the searchable NA corpus, *pāhutu* means only “province”, while LÚ.*pāhutu* is “governor”.
- *adanniš*, “very much”, rather than OA *mādiš*²⁴ and OA/MA *danniš*.²⁵ *Mādiš* does not appear in the searchable NA corpus, while *danniš* is attested thrice as against 462 tokens of *adanniš*.
- *akanni* and *annûrig*, “now”, rather than OA *anni* (Kouwenberg 2017, §13.5.3).
- *atā*, “why?”, rather than OA *ana mīnim/ammīnim* (CAD M₂, 94) and MA *ana īne* (< **ana mīnim*) (Mayer 1971, 108; CAD M₂, 94). In the NA searchable corpus, there are 163 tokens of *atā*. The admittedly older word, *ana mīne*, counts twenty-three tokens, plus there are related terms: *ana ammīne* (four tokens), *ina muḥhi mīne* (three tokens), *ina libbi mīne* (once), *issu pan mīne* (once), *pūt mīne* (once).
- *bēt*, conjunction “where”, rather than OA/MA *aśar*²⁶ and OA *āli*.²⁷ In the NA searchable corpus, *aśar* appears once in a literary text, SAA 8 4, 11, while *āli* is a question word “where?”.
- *dātu/iddāte*, “afterwards, later on” (both in past and future), rather than MA *urkiš* (Mayer 1971, 99; CAD A₂, 280) and *ina urkitti* (CAD A₂, 282), and OA *warkītam/urkītam* (CAD A₂, 281), *warkatam/urkatam* (CAD A₂, 274), *ina warkitim* (CAD A₂, 282). NA has two more words for “afterwards, later on”, both inherited from older stages of Assyrian. The first one is *urkīt(i)*, which has the MA counterpart *ina urkitti* (CAD A₂, 282). *Urkīt(i)* was being gradually replaced in NA by *iddāte*: NA *urkīt(i)* is represented by seven tokens in the 8th century, and by four tokens in the 7th century, while *dātu/iddāte* has seven tokens in the 8th century and nineteen tokens in the 7th century. Five of the latter are in literary texts. The second inherited word for “afterwards” is *urkiš*, it appears only within the formulae *ina urkiš*, “thereafter”, and *ina urkiš ina matēma*, “any time thereafter”, used in legal transactions (*passim* in SAA 6 and 14).
- *dāt* as the preposition “after; behind”, rather than OA/MA *urki* (Mayer 1971, 101; CAD A₂, 278ff.; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 229).²⁸

24. CAD M₁, 17f.; Kouwenberg 2017, § 13.5.5.

25. Kouwenberg 2017, § 13.5.5; Mayer 1971, 99.

26. Kouwenberg 2017, §12.4.2–3; Mayer 1971, 113f.

27. Kogan 2006, 192.

28. In MA, *urki* is attested only in its temporal meaning “after”.

- *memēni*, “somebody; something”, rather than OA/MA *mamma(n)*, “somebody”, and *mimma*, “something” (Kouwenberg 2017, §11.3, 11.5; Mayer 1971, 40–42). In the NA searchable corpus, *mimma*, “something”, is attested once in the vassal treaty of Esar-haddon (SAA 2 6, 412, and 6A, 412), and *mamma*, “somebody”, appears six times within standard formulas in legal transactions, as against the total of more than 170 tokens of *memēni*, meaning both “somebody” and “something”. Note also the word *mammanu-* (with bound pronouns), “whosoever of”, which occurs forty-seven times in legal transactions and only once in a letter (SAA 1 183, 9': *mám-ma-MEŠ-šunu*, “whosoever of them”). Thus, in the everyday NA there was no exponent of both “something” and “somebody” other than *memēni*.
- *umā*, “now, today”, rather than OA *ūmam*, “today, now, at the present moment” (Kouwenberg 2017, §13.5.2; CAD U/W 92f).

Note also the particle *muk / nuk* marking the verbatim rendering of the speaker’s words addressed to the interlocutor. This particle partly replaced the direct speech marker *mā*, which in MA introduced indiscriminately utterances of the speaker, the interlocutor, and third parties (see, e. g., a MA private letter Freydank 2009, 150f.).

A special case is *kuppû*, “snow”, and *qarhu*, “ice”. Both of them refer to things important in real life, yet, according to the dictionaries, both are unique to NA. Moreover, the dictionaries know of no words for “snow” and “ice” in OA and MA. Yet, as shown by Larsen (AKT, 6b, p. 84), *kuppû* is a pan-Assyrian word for “snow” (as against the pan-Babylonian *šalgu*, which must be a proto-Semitic retention). To our knowledge, there is no other word for “snow” in the whole of Assyrian.²⁹

As for *qarhu*, “ice”, it is still unique to NA. Since we are aware of no OA and MA terms for “ice”, *qarhu* may turn out to be a pan-Assyrian word for this concept. As for Babylonian, its “ice” is *šurīpu*, whose etymology is unknown.

Regarding the verbs unique to NA, the following frequent ones are worth mentioning in this discussion: *etāku*, “to be alert”, *harādu*, “to guard” (along with *našāru*), *sarruru*, “to pray”, the etymology of all three being unknown. Note that *sarruru* is narrower in the meaning than *karābu* (which can also mean “give one’s blessing”) and refers only to prayers addressed to gods, while *sallû* means both “to pray (a deity)” and “to plea one’s superior”.

* * *

Now let us review the words specific to NA in terms of the classes in which we have

29. We are now aware of the following tokens of the OA *kuppā'um*, “snow”: CCT 3 48b, 5 (the example is courtesy Bert Kouwenberg, Hecker reads *ku-ṣú'-um*); AKT 6b 329, 19; kt 94/k, 1514 (cited in AKT 6b, p. 84); AKT 5 18, 49f. (twice); Kt 87/k 426, 22 (as cited in Barjamovic 2011, 28); KTK 64, 3 (as interpreted in Barjamovic 2011, 28); AKT 7a 284, 16 (*ku-ba-ú-um* interpreted as “snow” by the present writers, *pace* the Edition).

subdivided them.

1. There are twenty-eight verb roots exclusive to NA and twenty two verbs formed from roots known yet possessing stem shapes not attested for the respective roots outside NA: six of them are in the N-stem; seven are in the D-stem; four are in the Š-stem; four are in the Dtt-stem; one is in the Gt-stem.

For several verbs exclusive to NA, derived substantives and adjectives are attested, which, in their turn, are unique to NA. This means that the respective verbs were well entrenched in the language. Consider the evidence:

- *harādu*, “to be alert, keep watch”, > *hardu*, “watchful”, > *hardūtu*, “alertness”;
- *halāpu*, “to milk” > *hilpu*, “milking”;
- *parā'u*, “to sprout” > *piri'tu* “offshoot”;
- *sarruru* “to pray” > *surāru* “prayer”.

2. There are seventy six deverbal substantives, twenty six denominational ones, and 189 substantives with morphologically unanalyzable bases. The bulk of the *Sondergut* substantives in the extant NA corpus is *hapax legomena* (162 tokens). In particular, thirteen of them stem from administrative records of the archive located in Room 54 of the South-West palace of Sennacherib in Nineveh (SAA 7, p. xv). These records include lists of temple offerings, as well as those of votive gifts from high officials, lists of victuals for royal banquets, reward lists, and records of commodities. The meaning of these *hapaxes* is often obscure due to lack of context. Thirty *hapaxes* have been found in the “Practical Vocabulary of Assur”, and two *hapaxes* appear in the NA list of professions from Kuyundjik.

These difficulties notwithstanding, a look at the substantives derived from known verbal roots allows one to isolate certain deverbal nominal patterns productive in NA:

- Participial bases (+ *-t-*): agent nouns and instruments; fifteen tokens, nine of them with *-t-* (II 1.7; II 1.13).
- Verbal adjective bases + *-t-*: action nouns, eleven tokens (II 1.11).
- *piristu*: objects as outcome of the activities encoded by the respective verb roots, seven tokens (II 1.10).
- *pirsu*: action and “outcome” nouns, six tokens (II 1.1).
- *purāsu*: action and “outcome” nouns, six tokens (II 1.4).
- Verbal adjective bases + *-ūt-*: action nouns, six tokens (II 1.17).
- *pursu*: action and “outcome” nouns, five tokens (II 1.2).

As for denominative word-formation, two suffixes are productive in NA. The suffix *-ūt-* forms abstract substantives from substantives, adjectives, and nominal compounds. In the *Sondergut*, there are fifteen tokens of the kind. The suffix *-ān* forms agent nouns from participial and other nominal bases. There are four such tokens, including *-ūt*-formations from *-ān*-agent nouns otherwise not attested in the whole of Akkadian, such as *mūdānūtu*

“knowledge” (< **mūdānu* “connoisseur”).

Substantives specific to NA include two reliable Aramaisms: *durā'u*, “forearm”, and *kiqillutu*, “rubbish dump”.

3. Adjectives: twenty four deverbal, seven denominal ones, sixteen with opaque shapes. The only productive adjectival patterns in NA are those of the verbal adjectives *parsu*, *parrusu*, *šaprusu*, and *naprusu* (III 1.1, eighteen tokens in all).

4. There are twelve adverbs. One can single out two productive patterns of their derivation in NA: 1) lexicalization of prepositional phrases (four examples), 2) formation via the suffix *-atte/-atti* (three tokens, and cf. *piqtatte* “perhaps” V 19).

5. NA has a brand-new repertoire of everyday function words, *i.e.* those encoding various meanings related to grammar. Here belong:

- shifter time adverbials (*i.e.*, those whose meaning depends on the speech moment or another reference point): *adunakanni*, “until now”, *annûrig*, “now”, *iddâte*, “afterwards”, *ina lîdiš*, “the day after tomorrow”, *umā*, “now, today”;
- a shifter spatial adverbial *dât*, “behind”;
- a phasal particle *tûra*, “again”;
- a scalar adverbial *adanniš*, “very”;
- an adjunct of manner *issâhîš(i)*, “together”;
- a preposition *dât*, “after”;
- a conjunction *bêt*, “where”, “when”;
- a question word *atâ*, “why?”

We shall close the discussion with two disparate notes on this list of function words:

- 1. The MA “Epistolary Perfect” formula has no shifter adverbials: *mâr šiprîya alta-prakku*, literally “I sent you my messenger” (EA 15, 7), while NA uses in the related formula both *umā*, “now, today”, and *annûrig*, “now”: *umā annûrig PN u aħūšu ana šarre bēlîya ussēbila* (SAA 1 203, r.3ff.). The “Epistolary Perfect” formula is a Babylonianism in written MA and NA, which is clear from its absence from OA. The NA *umā annûrig* makes for its deeper adaptation into the epistolary formular.
- 2. Frequent NA function words *umā*, “now, today”, *atâ*, “why?”, *bêt*, “where; when”, *dâtu/iddâte*, “afterwards”, *dât*, “after, behind” have no semantically comparable cognates in Akkadian.

* * *

A next step in this research would be a study of the words exclusively shared by NA and SB (*i.e.*, the *Gemeingut* of NA and SB), on the one hand, and those exclusively shared by NA and NB, on the other. This kind of study would allow us to cast in sharper relief the nature of the Neo-Assyrian language in terms of its lexicon. Through this we shall also achieve a complete description of word-formation in NA.

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