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The Etymology of Generosity-Related Terms A Presentation of the *EtymArab*® Project – Part III

Abstract

This article is a presentation of the *EtymArab*® project, a start-up (“zero”) version of an etymological dictionary of Modern Standard Arabic. Taking the etymology of some generosity-related lexical items as examples, the study introduces the reader to the guiding ideas behind the project and the online dictionary’s basic features.

Keywords

Etymology of Arabic, Generosity, *EtymArab*® project.

This article continues from where part II, published in FOr 53 (2016): 59–104, had stopped.

After (1) a general introduction and (2) a description of the article’s structure, part I had started to discuss the etymology of generosity-related terminology with (3) the main terms for ‘generosity’, ‘liberality’, ‘magnanimity’, ‘open-handedness’ etc. themselves (*karam*, *ġūd*, *saḥāʔ*, *qirā*, *zakāʔ*, *ṣadaqaʔ*). Part II continued, in section (3), with some *verbs* for ‘to give liberally, generously’ (*ʔaṣṭā*, *ʔahdā*, *wahaba*, *saʔala*) and two counter-concepts of generosity (*buhl*, *luʔm*), as well as, in section (4), with some ethical concepts under which we may subsume generosity as a sub-concept, such as ‘manliness’, ‘tradition passed on from the forefathers’, etc. (*murūʔaʔ*, *hurriyyaʔ*, *ġiwār*, *ḍiyāfaʔ*, *sunnāʔ*, *ʔadab*). Section (5) will now deal with some beneficiaries of generosity and hospitality and (6) with frequent ‘markers’ of hospitable places, to conclude, in Part IV [FOr 55 (2018)] with section (7) with rituals performed and objects magnanimously given, and (8) metaphors that we often meet in generosity discourses.

5. The beneficiaries of generosity and hospitality

Given the centrality of generosity as an ethical concept, both in pre-Islamic society and later, the beneficiaries of generosity are as many as the ways of showing one's liberality, largehandedness, magnanimity, or munificence. The present article picks out the guest/stranger, the one asking for protection/neighbour, the captive, the widow, and the orphan.

5.1. *ḡayf* (+ *ḡiyāfāʾ*)

As hospitality is one major occasion to give proof of one's generosity, the words for 'guest', *ḡayf*, and, derived from it, 'hospitality', *ḡiyāfāʾ*, have to be the first to be looked at in this section. With *ḡayf* we meet again the difficulty to decide what was first, the hen or the egg. The author of the entry on "*ḡayf*" in the 2nd edition of the *Encyclopedia of Islām* holds that the word is derived from a verbal root ḌYF meaning, originally, 'to incline towards, to set (of the sun), swerve, glance off (of an arrow)' and later developing into 'to turn aside (from one's road)' (cf. *ḡayf* 'side') and 'to halt (on a visit to someone)', »whence for the noun the sense of 'guest'« (J. Lecerf, art. "Ḍayf", in *Et*). In addition to the values 'guest' and 'to incline; to turn aside' (the latter obsolete in MSA), we have to account for yet another value of ḌYF (the most present in MSA): 'to take in, to add'. Although at first sight 'guest' and 'to add' do not seem to have much in common, they are probably related. In spite of a considerable degree of uncertainty, I will treat both under the lemma *ḡayf*, assuming that 'to take in, add' is secondary, a semantic extension of 'to welcome, take in as a guest'. But it could be the other way round as well: *'to take in, add' > 'person who comes in addition, is taken in (as a guest)'. – The value 'to incline, approach, draw near' that we meet in ClassAr and that may well lie at the basis of both 'guest' and 'to add', does not help to decide which of the two would be the primary derivation. The meaning 'to fear', also encountered in ClassAr (but obsolete in MSA), can be interpreted as a specialisation in meaning: *'to turn away' > *'to turn away from fear' > 'to fear'. Should this be correct, a *ḡayf* 'guest' may originally have been either *'s.o. who has turned away (in fear?) (and is now seeking refuge)' or 's.o. who has turned away (from his path) (and is now approaching, drawing near)'. – Here is how the above considerations 'materialize' in two *EtymArab* entries:

LEMMA	ḌYF ضيف
GRAM	"root"
ENGL	▪ ḌYF_1 'guest, hospitality' → ḡayf
	▪ ḌYF_2 'to add' → ḡayf

CONCISE »From the basic meaning ‘to incline towards, to set (of the sun), swerve, glance off (of an arrow)’, the verbal root comes to mean ‘to turn aside (from one’s road)’ and ‘to halt, on a visit to someone’, whence for the noun the sense of ‘guest’ [...]« – J. Lecerf, art. “Ḍayf”, in *EI*².

DISC Although at first sight the two values do not seem to have much in common, they are probably related. Both are treated under the main lemma → *ḍayf* ‘guest’, assuming that ḌYF_2 is secondary, a semantic extension of ḌYF_1: *‘the one who is taken in as a guest’ > ‘to take in (in general), add’. But it could be the other way round as well: *‘to take in, add’ > ‘person who comes as addition, is taken in (as a guest)’. In ClassAr, also the values ‘to incline, approach, draw near’ and ‘to fear’ occur. Of these, ‘to incline, turn away’ could be the original value (cf. *ḍāf* ‘side’), while ‘to fear’ could be explained as a limitation in meaning: *‘to turn away (from fear)’ > ‘to fear’. Should this be correct, then a *ḍayf* ‘guest’ may originally have been either *‘s.o. who has turned away (in fear?) (and is now seeking refuge)’ or ‘s.o. who has turned away (from his path) (and is now approaching, drawing near)’. Cf. Lecerf’s suggestion in *EI*² quoted in the **CONCISE** section.

LEMMA **ḍayf** ضَيْف, pl. *ḍuyūf*, *ḥaḍyāf*, *ḍīfān*

META ID 532 • C • SW – • BP 1454 • √ḌYF

GRAM n.

ENGL 1. guest; 2. visitor – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE ▪ »From the basic meaning ‘to incline towards, to set (of the sun), swerve, glance off (of an arrow)’, the verbal root comes to mean ‘to turn aside (from one’s road)’ and ‘to halt, on a visit to someone’, whence for the noun the sense of ‘guest’ [...]« – J. Lecerf, art. “Ḍayf”, in *EI*².

▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #584 derive the word from a reconstructed Sem **ṣayp*- ‘guest’ < ? AfrAs **ṣayVp*- ‘stranger, guest’. Should this be correct then the AfrAs reconstruction with its dichotomy of ‘stranger’ and ‘guest’ would parallel very well a similar ambiguity in other cultures, cf., e.g., Grk *xénos* ‘(potentially dangerous) stranger; guest, friend’, Lat *hostis* ‘enemy’ vs. (from the same Idg root) *hospes* ‘host; guest’ (cf. also Fr *étranger*, Engl *stranger* vs. Fr *étrange*, Engl *strange*).

▪ For the concept of *ḍiyāfat*, see s.v.

- COGN** ▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #584: Hrs Mhr *ḍayf*. – Outside Sem: WCh **ḥay(V)p-* ‘friend; pilgrim, stranger; guest’, CCh **mi-šip-* ‘guest’.
- Militarev/Stolbova 2007: Qat *ḍyf* ‘to ask to make a trading journey’, Mhr *ḥayf* / *ḥifon* ‘guest, wedding guest’, Jib *ežéf* ‘to give hospitality’, Hrs *ḥayf* ‘guest’, Soq *ḍef* ‘recevoir qq’un comme hôte’. The forms in the modSAr languages may be Arabisms. – Outside Sem: *šapa*, *nzàfè* ‘friend’ in 2 WCh languages; *me-zep*, *mos*, *me-dap* ‘stranger’ in 3 WCh idioms; *mì-zèp*, *mì-zèp*, *mì-zìp*, *miživa* ‘guest’ in 4 WCh idioms; *m-zèp*, *mà-zèp* ‘stranger; guest’ in 2 WCh idioms; *mì-šibi*, *mì-hibi*, *mì-šipi*, *mì-šibi*, *mì-šipi* in 4 CCh languages; and *ḥap-* ‘to pay bridewealth’ 1 SCush language.
- DISC** Orel/Stolbova 1994 and Militarev/Stolbova 2007: From Sem **šayp-* ‘guest’. Because of the WCh (**ḥay(V)p-* or **ḥay(V)f-* ‘friend; stranger; guest’), CCh (**mi-šip-* or **mi-šipi* ‘guest’) and SCush (**ḥap-* ‘pay bridewealth’) cognates, a common AfrAs origin can be assumed, the most probable reconstruction for which is **ḥayVp-* ‘stranger, guest’. The authors assume also a denominative vb. Sem **šlyVp-* as ancestor of Ar *ḍāfa i* ‘to be a guest’ and Jib *eḍef* ‘to give hospitality’.
- DERIV** **ḍāfa i** (*ḍiyāfaṯ*), vb. I, to stop or stay as a guest: denominative (?).
- ḍayyafa**, vb. II, to take in as a guest, receive hospitably, entertain: D-stem, denom., caus.
- BP#291 **ḥaḍāfa**, vb. IV, **1.** = II: *Š-stem, denom., caus.; **2.** to add, subjoin, annex, attach; to admix; **3.** to connect, bring in relation (*ḥilā* with); **4.** to ascribe, attribute, assign (*ḥilā* to s.o.): fig. use (?).
- inḍāfa**, vb. VII, to be added, be annexed, be subjoined, be attached (*ḥilā* to): N-stem, pass. of I, fig. use (?).
- BP#3942 **istaḍāfa**, vb. X, to invite s.o. to be one’s guest: *Št-stem, denom., requestative.
- ḍiyāfaṯ**, n.f., hospitable reception, entertainment as guest, accomodation; hospitality: vn. I. – For the concept see → s.v.
- miḍyāf**, adj., hospitable; n., hospitable host: ints. formation.
- maḍāfaṯ**, n.f., hostel, guesthouse, inn: n.loc.
- maḍyafaṯ**, n.f., guest room; guesthouse: n.loc.
- BP#382 **ḥiḍāfaṯ**, n.f., **1.** addition, apposition; **2.** subjunction, annexation, appending, attachment, augmentation, supplementation; **3.** assignment, allocation; **4.** ascription, attribution (*ḥilā* to): vn. IV, fig. use; **5.** genitive construction (*gram.*): specialised meaning | ~ *ḥilā ḥaḡal*, limitation (of a legal transaction; *Isl. Law*).
- BP#2419 **ḥiḍāfi**, adj., **1.** additional, supplementary, auxiliary, contributory, extra; **2.** secondary, subsidiary, tributary, accessory, incidental, side-, by (in compounds): nisba formation from *ḥiḍāfaṯ*; **3.** relative (*philos.*): dto., from *ḥiḍāfaṯ*

[v4]; for attestations in ClassAr translation literature cf. entry “ἀπόδοσις” in *Glossarium Græco-Arabicum*, <<http://telota.bbaw.de/glossga/glossary.php>> and entry “ad aliquid” in *Arabic & Latin Glossary*, ed. D. N. Hasse [et al.], <www.arabic-latin-glossary.philosophie.uni-wuerzburg.de/> .

ʔiḏāfiyyaṭ, n.f., relativity (*philos.*): n.abstr. in *-iyyaṭ* from *ʔiḏāfi* < *ʔiḏāfaṭ*. – In contrast, Einstein’s “relativity” is consistently rendered in MSA as → *nisbiyya*, cf. Monteil 1960: 194, 203.

BP#1956 **muḏīf**, n., host: lexicalized PA IV.

muḏīfaṭ, n.f., hostess; air hostess, stewardess: specialization, lexicalized PA IV, f.

muḏāf, 1. adj., added, subjoined, adjoined, apposed: PP IV; 2. n., construct state (*gram.*): nominalized PP IV.

5.2. ḡār (+ ḡiwār)

In pre-Islamic Arabia, the neighbour, *ḡār*, held a position that was of equal importance as that of the guest, *ḡayf*, and just like *ḡiyāfaṭ* ‘hospitality’ also *ḡiwār* ‘neighbourhood’ was a key concept in that time’s society and culture because it also was a legal institution: it implied the *‘treatment like a neighbour’, i.e., giving certain guaranties and granting ‘protection, asylum’.

As a noun with a long *-ā-* between R₁ and R₃, *ḡār* could – theoretically – be from a root with R₂ = W or Y. While this often creates some ambiguity, in our case it is easy to hold ḠWR apart from ḠYR and focus exclusively on the former.¹ There is not so much variety in ḠWR as in other roots either. Yet, we still have five major themes, three of which obviously are borrowings. The corresponding disambiguation entry therefore looks as follows:

LEMMA	ḠWR جور	
GRAM	“root”	
ENGL	▪ ḠWR_1 ‘neighbour, to protect, grant asylum’ → ḡār ▪ ḠWR_2 ‘to deviate; to oppress, tyrannize, be unjust, despotic’ → ḡāra ▪ ḠWR_3 ‘pit, hole’ → ḡūraṭ ▪ ḠWR_4 ‘jury’ → ḡūrī (1) ▪ ḠWR_5 ‘damask rose; crimson’ → ḡūrī (2)	
CONCISE	Out of the 8 values <i>DRS</i> registers for the root GWR in Sem, only 4 are represented in Ar. <i>DRS</i> #GWR-3 (Ar ‘attaquer’) does not seem to differ essentially from #GWR-2 (Ar ‘être injuste envers qn., pécher’). Given the many cognates of #GWR-1 and #GWR-2, these are without doubt genuine Sem (for #GWR-1 = ḠWR_1, Kogan 2015 reconstructs	

¹ Under √ḠYR, Wehr/Cowan has only the strange – and obviously already very old – adv. *ḡayri* ‘surely, truly, verily’, of obscure etymology), as well as the nouns (both with deriv.s) *ḡīr* ‘lime’ (perh. < Aram *ḡirā*), and *ḡīrū* ‘endorsement (*fin.*)’ (< It *giro*); one should perh. also add EgAr *ḡīr* ‘gear’ (< Engl).

Sem **gwr* ‘to dwell together, be a neighbour’). – As for #GWR-6, the obsol. †*ḡuwār* ‘caverne’ given by *DRS* seems to correspond to our ĞWR_3 *ḡūraṯ* ‘pit, hole’, which Rolland 2014 thinks is a Pers borrowing. – ĞWR_4 and _5 are clearly non-Sem.

COGN

DRS 2 (1994) #GWR-1. Ug *gr* [Tropper 2008: /gêru/ < **gawiru*] ‘hôte étranger’; Phoen **gr*, Hbr *gēr*, Nab Palm *gr*, JP Syr *gīyōrā* ‘étranger, hôte public ou privé, client’; Mand *guara* ‘demeure temporaire’; Ar *ḡār-* ‘voisin, client’, *ḡārat-*, Tham *grt* ‘protection’; SAR *gr*, Šh *ger*, Mhr *ḡawīr* ‘étranger’; Soq *ḡārheten* ‘voisine’; Gz *gor* ‘étranger, voisin’, *ḡayur* ‘étranger, hôte’; Te Tña *gor* ‘voisin’; Amh *gorä-bet* ‘voisin’; ?Har *ḡār* ‘maison, chambre’. -?2. JP Syr Mand *ḡār*, nSyr *ḡāir* ‘commettre l’adultère’; Ar *ḡāra* ‘s’écarter du chemin; être injuste envers qn., pécher’, *ḡīrat-* ‘bord, angle, crête’; Te *gorä*, *ḡawārä* ‘être hautain, audacieux’. ? -3. Akk *giāru* ‘provoquer(?)’ [*CAD*: *gerū* (*garū*) ‘to be hostile, start a lawsuit’, *ḡērū* (*ḡārū*) ‘foe, adversary’]; Ug *gr*; Hbr **ḡār*, Ar *ḡāra* ‘attaquer’. -4. Hbr *gar* ‘avoir peur’. -5. Phoen **gr* ‘jeune garçon’, Moab **grn* (pl.) ‘jeunes garçons’, **grt* (pl.) ‘jeunes filles’, Hbr **ḡōr*, *ḡūr* ‘petit d’animal (lion, etc.)’. -? Mhr *ḡiyór* ‘croître, augmenter’. -6. nHbr *mḡūrā* ‘grange, magasin’; ? Ar *ḡuwār-* ‘caverne’. -7. Syr *gawrā* ‘colonne (de livre)’. -?8. Te *gar*, *garāt* ‘affaire, matière, requête’.

DISC

▪ ĞWR_1: From Sem **gwr* ‘to dwell together, be a neighbour’ (Kogan 2015). For the semantic ambiguity found within this value in many languages – both ‘*seeking* protection’ (as a neighbour) and ‘*providing* protection (to a stranger, treating him as neighbour)’ – cf. below, entry → *ḡār*.

▪ ĞWR_2: According to *DRS* (and ClassAr lexicography), *ḡāra* ‘to do injustice’ and ‘to attack’ are perhaps related to ĞWR_1 ‘protected stranger’: If one assumes a basic meaning of ‘s’écarter du chemin, être à côté’, we get a constellation that is similar to the one discussed in the DYF and *ḡayf* entries: the one who deviates from his path and inclines to s.o. else’s direction can become both a ‘neighbour’ and an ‘attacker’.

▪ ĞWR_3: According to Rolland 2014, Ar *ḡūraṯ* ‘pit, hole’ is from Pers *gor* ‘tomb, grave’, an etymology not given in *DRS* (#GWR-6) where the word *ḡuwār* is paralleled, though not without hesitation, with nHbr *mḡūrā* ‘granary, storehouse, reservoir’, an item that for Klein 1987 is »of uncertain origin; perhaps formed from *gwr* (= to sojourn, dwell)».

▪ ĞWR_4: From Engl *jury*, < oFr *juré* ‘jury’ < oFr *jurer* ‘to swear, endorse law by swearing an oath’ < Lat *iurare*, from *ius* (*iur-*) ‘law’.

- ĞWR_5: After a town named Ğur in Iran (the one in Kerman?) (Rolland 2014).
- LEMMA** **ğār** جار, pl. *ğīrān*
- META** **C • SW – • BP 1550 • √ĞWR**
- GRAM** n.
- ENGL** **1.** neighbour; **2.** refugee; **3.** protégé, charge – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
- CONCISE** The n. which originally meant s.o. forming part in a mutual relationship of protecting and protection (an important cultural institution), belongs to the Sem root *GWR ‘to dwell together, be a neighbour’ (Militarev/Stolbova: Sem **gūr-* ‘to live; to be close by’ < AfrAs **gir-* ‘to live’; Dolgopolsky: WSem **-gūr-* ‘to dwell’ < Nostr **gû’w’RV* ‘(roof of a) hut; to dwell’).
- COGN** ▪ *DRS* 2 (1994) #GWR-1.² Ug *gr* ‘to lodge, take refuge, be protected’, *gr* [Troppe 2008: /gêru/ < **gawiru*] ‘hôte étranger / protected, guest, foreigner’; Hbr *gwr* ‘to dwell as alien’, *gēr* ‘protected citizen, stranger’, Phoen **gr*, Nab Palm *gr*, JP Syr *giyyorā* ‘étranger, hôte public ou privé, client / peregrinus, cliens’; Mand *guara* ‘demeure temporaire’; Ar *ğār-* ‘voisin, client’, *ğārat-*, Tham *grt* ‘protection’; Sab *gr* ‘master, lord; business partner’, SAR *gr*, Šh *ger*, Mhr *ğawīr* ‘étranger’; Gz *gor* ‘étranger, voisin’, *ğayur* ‘étranger, hôte’; Te Tña *gor* ‘voisin’; Amh *gorä-bet* ‘voisin’; ?Har *gār* ‘maison, chambre’.¹ – This value is perhaps also cognate to those given in *DRS* as #GWR-2 and #GWR-3, cf. section cogn in disambiguation entry → ĞWR.
- Outside Sem, Militarev/Stolbova 1995 #932 compare (LECush) Som *gir-*, Or *gir*, Rend **gir-*, u.a. ‘to be, exist’; Dolgopolsky 2012 #663 juxtaposes evidence from Sem languages with (LECush) Som *guri* ‘house, home’, Rend *gūra* ‘to move to a new dwelling place’, Sid *gare* ‘tribe, people, village’ and (WChad) Hau *gàrī*, ‘town, inhabited environment’.
1. Cf. also Mhr *səgēwər*, Jib *səgēr* ‘to become neighbour; to ask (God) for protection’ and Soq *gārheten* ‘female neighbours’; but these are likely to be borrowed from Ar – Kogan 2015.
- DISC** ▪ Like → *dayf*, also *ğār* may ultimately be *‘s.o. who has deviated from the path and inclined towards the side’. This – unattested – hypothetical basic meaning must be assumed if we try to see Sem **GWR* ‘to dwell together, be a neighbour’ together with **GWR* ‘to be hostile, attack, oppress’; the *‘stranger (who has lost his way)’ may both ‘ask for protection as a neighbour’ and ‘attack’, become a ‘foe’; see disambiguation entry → ĞWR.

² Complemented with data from Kogan 2015: 117 (values given in Engl or Lat).

▪ Irrespective of the preceding, *ḡār* is treated in ClassAr lexicography as one of the *ʔaddād* (sg. *ḡidd*), i.e., words that, apart from one meaning, may take another that is – or at least seems to be – its exact opposite. Even in MSA, the two values [v1] ‘neighbour’ and [v2] ‘refugee’ still seem to be contradictory. [v3] ‘protégé, charge’, however, gives the modern speaker a hint as to how [v1] and [v2] are related: a refugee is s.o. who asks for and/or is granted protection *like/as* a neighbour. In ClassAr, the neutral value ‘neighbour’ and the passive ‘foreigner, seeker of protection’ or ‘protected one’ are complemented by the active ‘giver of protection, one who grants refuge, protects, preserves, an aider, assister, confederate’ (Lane). As Nöldeke has shown in his famous study on the *ʔaddād* (*Wörter mit Gegensinn*, 1910: 72–73), the semantic “riddle” can be explained through a change of perspective: primarily, the *ḡār* is neither the ‘protector’ nor the ‘protected’ (or ‘seeker of protection’) but a person who is involved, as *either* the giver *or* the recipient, in a *ḡiwār*, which is a *mutual* relationship (known also from Eur languages, cf. e.g. Lat *hospes*, It *ospite*, Fr *hôte* ‘host; foreigner, guest’), an institution of customary law that includes rights and obligations on both parts, cf. art. “*Ḍjiwār*” (J. Lecerf), in *EF*².

▪ Militarev & Stolbova 1995 #932 reconstruct Sem **gūr-* ‘to live; to be close by’ and LEC **gir-* ‘to be, exist’, both going back to AfrAs **gir-* ‘to live’. Very similarly, Dolgopolsky 2012 #663 reconstructs WSem **-gūr-* ‘to dwell’, which he thinks is derived, together with the ECush and WChad (**garV* ‘town’) vocabulary as well as some alleged Dravidic and Altaic cognates, ultimately from Nostr **gū(w)* *RV* ‘(roof of a) hut; to dwell’.

SEMHIST **eC7 ḡār** Alongside with ‘neighbour’, the Qurʔān still has also the value ‘protector’: (neighbour) Q 4:36 *waʾl-ḡāri ḡiʾ l-qurbā* ‘and unto the neighbour who is of kin’; (one who protects, grants asylum or sanctuary) Q 8:48 *lā ḡāliba la-kumu ʾl-yawma mina ʾl-nāsi wa-ʔinnī ḡārun la-kum* ‘no man shall conquer you today for I am a protector for you’.

▪ **ḡāwara** (vb. III, to dwell in the neighbourhood of, be\come adjacent to, be a neighbour of) Q 33:60 *tumma lā yuḡāwirūna-ka fī-hā ʔillā qalīlan* ‘then they will not be your neighbours in it but for a short time’. ▪ **ʔaḡāra** (vb. IV, to protect, grant asylum or sanctuary) Q 72:22 *ʔinnī lan yuḡīra-nī mina ʾllāhi ʔaḡadun* ‘no one will protect me against God’. ▪ **istaḡāra** (vb. X, to ask for protection, seek asylum, seek sanctuary) Q 9:6 *wa-ʔin ʔaḡadun mina ʾl-mušrikīna istaḡāra-ka fa-ʔaḡir-hu ḡattā yasmaʔa kalāma ʾllāhi* ‘And if anyone of the idolaters

should seek your protection (O Muhammad), then protect him so that he may hear the Word of God’.

DERIV **ğāwara**, vb. III, to be the neighbour of s.o. (DO), live next door to; to be adjacent, be next (DO to s.th.), adjoin; to be in the immediate vicinity of, be close to; to border (DO on): L-stem, denom., associative.

ʔağāra, vb. IV, to grant asylum or a sanctuary (DO to s.o.); to protect (DO s.o., *min* from), take (s.o.) under one’s wing; to stand by s.o. (DO), aid: *Š-stem, denom., caus. (*to make s.o. one’s protégé)

tağāwara, vb. VI, to be neighbours; to be adjacent; to have a common border: tL-stem, intr.

istağāra, vb. X, to seek protection, seek refuge (*bi-* with s.o., *min* from s.th.), appeal for aid (DO to s.o., *min* against s.th.): *Št-stem, requestative.

ğarat, pl. *-āt*, n.f., neighbouress: f. of *ğār*.

ğīrat, n.f., neighbourhood: quasi-vn. I.

^{BP#1721}**ğiwār**, n., neighbourhood, proximity: vn. III; *bi-*~, prep., in the neighbourhood of, in the vicinity of, near, close to | *ʔilā ~i-hī*, adv., beside him, at his side

muğāwarat, n.f., neighbourhood, proximity: vn. III.

ʔiğarat, n.f., protection, granting of asylum: vn. IV.

tağāwur, n., neighbourhood (reciprocal); contiguity, relationship (of several things): vn. VI.

^{BP#1793}**muğāwir**, **1.** adj., neighbouring, adjacent; near, close by; **2.** (pl. *-ūn*), n., student (esp. of Al Azhar University; living in the vicinity of the Mosque): PA III.

muğīr, n., protector: PA IV.

mutağāwir, adj., having a common border; adjoining, adjacent, contiguous: PA VI.

5.3. ʔasīr

As the example of the *ğār*, the stranger who is granted protection within a *ğiwār* agreement, shows, the typical beneficiary of a noble Arab’s generosity is not necessarily a “normal” guest (*ḍayf*) on equal social level with the donor, but often somebody in a rather precarious situation. This holds especially true also for the next three beneficiaries: widows, orphans, and prisoners or captives.

To start with the latter, *ʔasīr* belongs to √ʔSR for which *DRS* 1 (1994) s.v. gives three values in Semitic. Of these, however, only the first is relevant for Arabic. Since the root does not display a larger semantic heterogeneity I allow myself to skip the disambiguation entry here and instead focus on the verb from which *ʔasīr* obviously is derived:

LEMMA	ʔasar- أَسَرَ, <i>i</i> (<i>ʔasr</i>)
META	SW -/171 (to tie) • BP ... • √ʔSR
GRAM	vb., I
ENGL	1. to bind, fetter, shackle, chain; 2. to capture, take prisoner; 3. to captivate, fascinate, hold spellbound, absorb, arrest (the attention) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
CONCISE	▪ The values ‘to take as captive, prisoner’ and ‘entirety, wholeness, body, constitution; family’ (→ <i>ʔasr</i>, → <i>ʔusraʔ</i>) are dependent on the original meaning, giving ‘to bind/tie a person’ and ‘what is bound/tied/held together’, respectively. ▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 reconstruct Sem *<i>ʔVsir-</i> ‘to bind, join; to hobble [an animal]’ and, on account of some extra-Sem vb.s that may be cognate, see even an AfrAs dimension, reconstructed as AfrAs *<i>ʔacir-</i> ‘to bind, tie’.
COGN	▪ BDB 1906, Bennett 1998, CAD, Zammit 2002: Akk <i>esēru</i> ‘to shut in, enclose, confine; to make captive’, Ug <i>ʔasr</i> ‘to bind; to make captive’, Hbr <i>ʔāsar</i> ‘to tie, bind, imprison’, Phoen <i>ʔsr</i> ‘to bind’, oAram <i>ʔsr</i> ‘to imprison, restrain’, BiblAram <i>ʔsūr</i> ‘band, bond’, Syr <i>ʔesar</i> ‘to bind, make fast, fast, tie,...’, UrmAram <i>sara</i>, Sab <i>ʔsr</i> ‘to bind, make a prisoner’, Gz <i>ʔasara</i> (BDB; also <i>ʔasāra</i>) ‘ligare, nectare, jungere’, Tña <i>ʔasārā</i>, Amh <i>assārā</i>, Arg <i>hassāra</i> ‘to tie’. ▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #12: Akk <i>esēru</i>, Ug <i>ʔsr</i>, Hbr <i>ʔsr</i> ‘to bind, join’, Hrs Mhr <i>wesōr</i>, Šh <i>ʔesor</i> ‘to hobble [an animal]’. – Outside Sem: CCh Mofu <i>sasər</i> ‘to plait, weave’, Mafa <i>cacar</i> ‘to tie’; ECh Tum <i>hīr</i>, Kbl <i>sa:rr</i>, Lele <i>saar</i>; HECush Sid Kmb <i>usur</i> ‘to tie’.
DISC	▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #12 reconstruct Sem *<i>ʔVsir-</i> ‘to bind, join; to hobble’, CCh *<i>ca-car-</i> (with partial reduplication) ‘to plait, weave; to tie’, ECh *<i>saʔir-</i> (with metathesis) ‘to tie’ and HECush *<i>ʔusur-</i> (unexpected *-s- and irregular vocalism) ‘to tie’, all ultimately from AfrAs *<i>ʔacir-</i> ‘to bind, tie’. ▪ Apart from the vb. <i>ʔasara</i>, Ar also has the n. <i>ʔasr</i> ‘strap, thong’ from which the vb., theoretically, could be denominative. The research literature I found does not consider this possibility.
SEMHIST	eC7 <i>ʔasara</i> Q 33:26 <i>farīqan taqtulūna wa-taʔsirūna farīqan</i> ‘Some ye slew, and ye made captive some’. ▪ ʔasr (physique, build, bodily structure; constitution) Q 76:28 <i>naḥnu ḥalaqnā-hum wa-šadadnā ʔasra-hum</i> ‘We it is who have fashioned them and strengthened their constitution’
DERIV	īstaʔsara , vb. X, to surrender, give o.s. up as prisoner: *Št-stem, requestative.

ʔasr, n., **1.** (leather) strap, thong; **2.** capture: perhaps the etymon proper; **3.** ^{BP#2268}captivity: vn. I | *šiddat al-ʔasr*, n., vigor, energy

^{BP#664}**ʔusraʔ**, pl. *ʔusar*, -*āt*, n.f., family; dynasty; clan, kinsfolk, relatives: see → s.v.

^{BP#2268}**bi-ʔasrihī**, adv., entirely, completely, altogether, *ğāʔū bi-ʔasrihim* all of them came, they came one and all: lit., as a coherent body, held together by some bond; cf. also → *ʔusraʔ*.

ʔisār, n., **1.** (leather) strap, thong: the etymon proper, or derived from *ʔasara* ?; **2.** captivity; **3.** captivation, enthrallment: vn. I | *waqaʕa fī ʔisārih*, expr., to be subjected to s.th., fall into the clutches of s.th.

^{BP#1292}**ʔasīr**, pl. *ʔusarāʔ*, *ʔasrā*, *ʔasārā*, n., prisoner, captive, prisoner of war: quasi-PP; see also → s.v.

ʔasīraʔ, pl. -*āt*, n.f., female prisoner, slave girl: f. of *ʔasīr*, quasi-PP.

ʔāsir, adj., winning, captivating, fascinating: PA I; n., captor: nominalized PA I.

maʔsūr, adj., captivated, fascinated, enthralled: PP I.

5.4. ʔarmalaʔ (+ murmil)

The standard word for ‘widow’ belongs to a root to which a large variety of different meanings is attached in MSA and even more so in classical Arabic. This calls for a rather detailed disambiguation entry:

LEMMA **RML** رمل

GRAM “root”

ENGL

- RML_1 ‘sand’ → **raml**
- RML_2 ‘(to be/become) a widow(er)’ → **ʔarmalaʔ**
- RML_3 ‘ramal’ (a metre in classical poetry) → **ramal**

For other values, now obsolete, cf. DISC below.

CONCISE

- A rather complex root in ClassAr, √RML today shows only three major values. Of these, ‘(to be/become) a widow(er)’ is said to be dependent on ‘sand’ by indigenous lexicographers, but this seems to be wrong.

- The root is only scarcely represented in Sem (only ‘sand’ in modSAr), and not at all in AfrAs. It seems to be an Ar innovation.

COGN —

DISC

- Classical dictionaries make RML_2 depend on RML_1, the notion of ‘be(com)ing a widow(er)’ being regarded as a secondary value, developed from an earlier †‘to be(come) poor, needy’, thought to be a metaphorical extension from ‘sand’ (< *‘to look like s.o. who is creeping in the sand’, because s/he is near starvation). But Kogan 2011 gives another etymology, see → *ʔarmalaʔ*.

▪ In contrast, RML_3 ‘ramal’, the term for one of the metres of classical poetry, is said to derive from †*ramala*, *u* (*ramalān*, *ramal*, *marmal*), vb. I, now extinct, with the meaning of (inter al.) ‘to go in a kind of trotting pace, between a walk and a run; to go quickly’ or from RML_4, see below and → *ramal*.

Other notions attached to √RML and found in ClassAr include:

- RML_4 †‘to weave (thinly, a mat of palm-leaves, or the like)’: †*ramala u* (*raml*), vb. I, ? hence also: ‘to ornament with jewels, precious stones, gems, etc.’
 - RML_5 †‘to have little rain’: †*ramila a* (*ramal*), vb. I, in *ramilat al-sanāi*: perhaps fig. use of ‘to run short (of provision), become poor’, but it may also be denom. from *ramal*, pl. *ʔarmāl*, n., ‘weak rain, little rain’. Connected to RML_1 ‘sand’?
 - RML_6 †‘to lengthen, make long, wide (rope, cord)’: one of the many values of *ʔarmala* (vb. IV); cf. also †*ramal* ‘redundance, excess (in a thing)’.
 - RML_7 †*ramal* ‘(black/white) lines, or streaks, upon the legs of the wild cow’; †*rumlaī*, pl. *rumal*, *ʔarmāl* ‘diversity of colours upon the legs of the wild bull; black line, or streak (upon the back and thighs of a gazelle)’; *ʔarmal^u* ‘(= *ʔablaq^u*) black and white’. – Connected to RML_1 ‘sand’?
 - RML_8 †*ʔurmūlaī* ‘stump of (the plant, tree, called) *ʕarfağ*, stock, stem’.
- Also from RML_1 ‘sand’ or, more precisely, the denom./caus. vb.s II *rammala* ‘to put sand into s.th. (food)’ (and hence ‘contaminate’) and IV *ʔarmala* ‘to become sandy; cleave to the sand’ are such specialised meanings as (II) ‘to smear (with blood)’ (probably < *‘sprinkle blood on s.th. like sand’), ‘to adulterate, corrupt, render unsound (speech)’ (< ... like contaminating food by putting sand into it) and (IV) ‘to be smeared with blood (arrow, the claws of a lion, etc.)’. – The value ‘geomancy’ derives from the fact that a kind of divination was practised by means of figures or lines in the sand.

For the sake of conciseness I will not treat the lemmata *raml* (‘sand’) and *ramal* (the poetical metre, 6 times *fāʕilātun* – ∪ – –) here³ nor in any way touch upon the other, now obsolete values. Instead, it is indicated to concentrate on ‘widow(er)’. Since it seems probable that the masc. form *ʔarmal* is secondary,

³ For *raml* and *ramal* the reader is kindly referred to the respective entries in the current *EtymArab*® test version in the *Bibliotheca Polyglotta*, see intro to Part I, FOr 52 (2015): 173–4.

derived from the fem., I have made the latter the main entry to deal with the semantic complex:

- LEMMA** *ʔarmalaṭ* أَرْمَلَة, pl. *ʔarāmil*^u, *ʔarāmilat*
- META** SW – • BP ... • √RML
- GRAM** n.f.
- ENGL** widow – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
- CONCISE** If Kogan 2011 is right, the word derives from Sem **ʔalman-at-* ‘widow’. In this case, indigenous Ar etymology which makes the word dependent on → *raml* ‘sand’ should be dismissed. Ar lexicographers regard ‘widow’ as a semantic extension: ‘sand’ > ‘to cleave to the sand’ > ‘to look (so poor and needy) like s.o. who is cleaving to the sand because his/her traveling provisions are exhausted’ > ‘to be in need of s.o. who provides for o.s.’ > ‘to be a widow’ (because widows are in need of s.o. to provide for them).
- An explanation of this evidence could be that with the gradual mutation, in Ar, of a Sem **ʔalman-at-* to *ʔarmal-at*, the original value of *LMN ‘to be without support, be in need of support’ began to overlap with Ar RML ‘sand’, ‘be covered with sand’, ‘creep in the sand’, ‘look sandy’, etc., so that the explanation of ‘being in need of support’ as derived from ‘being destitute, look poor like s.o. covered with sand’ seemed plausible to the Arab lexicographers.
- COGN** Akk *almattu*,⁴ Ug *ʔalmnt*, Hbr *ʔalmānā*, Syr *ʔarmaltā* ‘widow’ – Kogan 2011.
- DISC**
- Classical dictionaries make *ʔarmalaṭ* depend on → *raml* ‘sand’: for them, the notion of ‘be(com)ing a widow(er)’ seems to be a secondary value, developed from an earlier †‘to be(come) poor, needy’. For the vb. IV *ʔarmala*, for example, Lane iii (1867) gives ‘to become sandy’, hence (!) ‘to become poor’ [as though cleaving to the sand], ‘to become s.o. whose travelling-provisions became difficult to obtain, [... or] exhausted, or consumed’, and hence (!) ‘to become an *ʔarmalaṭ* (said of a woman), i.e., without a husband’ »because of her being in need of one to expend upon her«.
 - Kogan 2011 reconstructs PSem **ʔalman-at-* ‘widow’ and thinks that the Syr and Ar forms (showing -r- instead of *-l-) »must be related with a mutation of sonorants.«
 - Given, on the one hand, the wider Sem dimension and the old age of the meaning ‘woman without support, widow’ proper, and,

⁴ CAD: ‘woman without support, widow’.

on the other hand, the abundance of instances in ClassAr where the lack of support is associated with the “creeping in the sand” of those miserable who have come in a situation of need, we may be confronting a case of semantic overlapping and contamination here in which two originally distinct roots, *LMN and *RML, have merged, with *LMN mutating, phonologically, to RML and the sense of ‘lack of support’ intersecting and eventually being integrated into that of ‘sand’.

SEMHIST For the ClassAr dictionaries, the primary value of *ʔarmal* (as well as the PA IV, **murmil*) is (Lane iii-1867) ‘a man whose provisions, or travelling-provisions, have become difficult to obtain, or exhausted, or consumed, and who has become poor’, hence also the more general meaning ‘needy, needing, in want’ and even ‘destitute, indigent’, the pl. *ʔarāmil*^u and *ʔarāmilāṭ* being applied also to ‘men without women, or women without men, after they have become in need or want’. While the m. does not seem, in ClassAr, to be used (in the sg. at least) with the specific meaning ‘widower’, the f. *ʔarmalaṭ* can mean ‘woman having no husband’ (in general) and, more specifically, ‘widow’. Wherever *ʔarmal* nevertheless means ‘widower’ this is regarded by many authorities to be »cases of deviation from the usual course of speech [...] because the man’s provision does not go in consequence of the death of his wife, since she is not his maintainer, whereas he is her maintainer« (*ibid.*).

DERIV *ʔarmala*, vb. IV, to become a widower or a widow: *Š-stem, denom. (?).

tarmamala, vb. V, = IV.

ʔarmal^u, pl. *ʔarāmil*^u, n., widower: (secondary?) m. of *ʔarmalaṭ*.

tarmamul, n., widow(er)hood: vn. V.

5.5. yatīm

Unlike the ‘widow’ (or, rather, ‘person in need for somebody who provides for her/him’), the ‘orphan’, who in generosity narratives often appears together with the former, is much easier to treat, etymologically spoken. We do not need a disambiguation entry and can go right into the matter:

LEMMA *yatīm* يَتِيم, pl. *ʔaytām*, *yatāmā*

META SW – • BP 3236 • √YTM

GRAM adj., n.

ENGL **1.** n., orphan; **2.** adj., unique of its kind, unequaled, unmatched, incomparable; **3.** adj., single, sole, one only, isolated – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

- CONCISE** (Following Kogan 2011:) from WSem **yatVm-* ‘orphan’.
- COGN** ▪ *DRS* 10 (2012) #YTM, -1. Ug Phoen *ytm*, Hbr *yātōm*, TargAram *yatōmā*, Syr *yatmā*, Mhr (*ḥə-*)*yīm*, Jib *otim*, Soq *āʔthim* ‘orphelin’.*
 -2. Ar *yatima* ‘être las, fatigué’.
 **DRS* lists also Mand *yatim*, Te Har *yātīm* ‘orphelin’ but says that these are loans from Ar.
- Kogan 2011: (Ug Hbr Syr as in *DRS*, the modSAr forms in slightly different transliteration:) Mhr *ḥə-yīm*, Jib *ótīm*, Soq *éʔtim* ‘orphan’.
- DISC** ▪ Kogan 2011 reconstructs WSem **yatVm-* ‘orphan’, not without adding that although the root is usually thought to be missing from Akk and Eth, one has perhaps to compare Akk *watmu* ‘small young animal or man’ and Sod *tam*^{ya} ‘orphan’.
- The value ‘to be tired, unable to continue with s.th.’ (*DRS* #YTM-2) is attested only in ClassAr and may have to be treated separately.
- In contrast, ‘(to be) unique, incomparable’ and ‘(to be) single, sole, isolated’ [v2, v3] are interpreted here as extensions of ‘orphan’.
- SEMHIST** **IC6** ṢAntara b. Šaddād 130,10 *taḍuḡḡu* ‘l-nisāʔu min ḥīfatī ‘l-sabyi wa-tabkī ṣalā ‘l-ṣiḡārī ‘l-yatāmā ‘the women cry out of fear of being taken captive and they weep over (the destiny of) the little orphans’ (Polosin 1995)
- eC7** Ḥuṭayʔa 31,1 *ʔinnahū ʔimālu* ‘l-yatāmā ṣiṣmaʔun fī ‘l-mahāliki ‘he is the refuge/support of the orphans (and) a defender in the state of perdition’ (Polosin 1995)
- eC7** Q 6:152 *wa-lā taqrabū māla* ‘l-yatīmi ʔillā bi-ʔlatī hiya ʔaḥsanu ‘and do not come near the property of the orphan except with the best [of intentions] until they reach their strength’ (Badawi/AbdelHaleem 2008)
- DERIV** **yatama** *i*, **yatuma** *u*, and **yatima** *a*, vb. I, to be or become an orphan, be bereaved of one’s parents: denom.⁵
- ʔaytama**, vb. IV, to orphan, deprive of his parents (s.o.): *Š-stem, caus.
- tayattama**, vb. V, = I.
- yatm**, var. *yutm*, *yatam*, n., orphanhood: vn. I.
- maytam**, pl. *mayātīm*^u, n., orphanage: n.loc.
- muyattam**, adj., orphaned, parentless: PP II; n., orphan: nominalization

5.6. muqtarī → *qiran* (det. *qirā*), treated in part I of this study, see FOr 52 (2015): 186–191.

⁵ Cf. the fact, mentioned in *DRS* 10 (2012) #YTM, that also »[l]a plupart des langues [sémitiques] (mais pas l’hébreu) forment des verbes à partir des bases nominales«.

5.7. ḥalīl

The entry on the ‘friend’ is still to be written. Given the enormous diversity within the root ḤL: (ḤLL), both within Ar and Sem, any assumption about the etymology of the term must remain preliminary. *DRS* 10 (2012) gives not less than ten basic values for the root in Sem, five of which are represented in Ar (#1 *ḥillaī* ‘fourreau’, *ḥalla* ‘appliquer un drain, un séton’; #2 *ḥalla* ‘percer, trouver, forer; pénétrer dans l’intérieur’, *ḥallaī* ‘fente, brèche’, *ḥilāl* ‘intervalle’; #5 *ḥalla* ‘diminuer de volume, maigrir, devenir indigent; être dérangé’; #6 *ḥill*, *hull*, *ḥalīl* ‘ami intime, véritable’; #7 *ḥall* ‘vinaigre’). There are theories that derive *ḥalīl* ‘friend’ (an Ar idiosyncrasy according to the grouping in *DRS*) ultimately from ‘to pierce’; if there is some truth to this, then also the *ḥalīl* ‘friend’ is, etymologically, a *‘person in need’: ‘to pierce > to have holes > to be deficient > to be in need’. But this is still to be studied in detail, and the reader of the present article is kindly requested to look up the term in *EtymArab* on the *Bibliotheca Polyglotta* platform.

6. Markers of hospitable places

Given that hospitality, as a cultural institution, followed certain standardized “rules”, we can see a structural parallelism between this normativity and the more or less standardized set of attributes with which generosity “events” are narrated. I have dealt with the few and little variegated plot patterns of these narratives in my study “Aesthetics of Generosity – Generous Aesthetics” (Guth 2015) and will therefore focus here on the etymology of only some standard markers of hospitable places: the fire and the smoke that can be seen from afar, the copious ashes that remain after generous treatment of guests, etc.

6.1. nār

Interestingly enough, the first of these terms in Ar, *nār*, is not the word for ‘fire’ in many other Sem languages. These have preserved reflexes of the more original word, **ʔiš(-āt)*- (e.g., Akk *išātu*, Hbr *ʔēš*, Gz *ʔasāt*). In Ar, as also in many Aram idioms, **ʔiš(-āt)*- has been replaced, for unknown reasons, by terms going back to Sem **nwr* ‘to be bright’. As Kogan rightly remarks, this type of replacement is much more common in Ar than we are used to believe,⁶ so that the case of *nār* can serve as an example of the fact that quite a number

⁶ Cf. also Ar *ṣḍḍ* (replacing Sem **nkī*/**nḡk*) ‘to bite’, *šrb* (≠ **šty*) ‘to drink’, *ḥḍr* (≠ **wrk*) ‘to be green, yellow’, *qalb* (≠ **libb-*) ‘heart’, *ʕlm* (≠ **ydf*) ‘to know’, *qamar* (≠ **warḥ*) ‘moon’, *ʔašl* (≠ **šVrš*) ‘root’, *baḍr* (≠ **ḍarṣ-*) ‘seed’, *qṣd* (≠ **wṭb*) ‘to sit’, *ḥaḡar* (≠ **ʔabn-*) ‘stone’, *šaḡar* (≠ **šṣ-*) ‘tree’, *imraʔat* (≠ **ʔVnṭ-at-*) ‘woman’ (Kogan 2015: 174).

of »deeply rooted PS [= protSem] lexemes persisting in the majority of Semitic languages are either completely lost in Arabic or deprived of their basic status« and that we thus are »faced with a peculiar kind of tension between the extreme conservatism of the Arabic vocabulary as a whole and the highly innovative nature of some of its most basic segments« (Kogan 2015: 174).

In order to adequately “anchor” the entry on *nār* itself, *EtymArab* will need an entry on → *nūr* (where the whole complex based on Sem **nwr* ‘to be bright’ is treated), and a “root” entry → NWR (serving the disentanglement of the main values attached to the root: 1. ‘light’ → *nūr*, 2. ‘fire’ → *nār*, 3. ‘blossoms’ → *nawr*, 4. ‘gypsies’ → *nawar*, 5. ‘lime’ → *nūraī*, 6. ‘maneuver’ → *munāwaraī*). Due to restriction in space these entries will not be reproduced in the present article.⁷

LEMMA	nār نار, pl. <i>nīrān</i>
META	SW 82/48 • BP 498 • √NWR
GRAM	n.f.
ENGL	1. fire; 2. rifle fire, gunfire; 3. conflagration; 4. <i>al-nār</i> , Hell – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
CONCISE	▪ Akin to → <i>nūr</i> ‘light’, from Sem <i>*nwr</i> ‘to be bright’ ▪ Ar <i>nār</i> replaced the more original Sem <i>*ʔiš(-at)-</i> ‘fire’. This shift in terminology is one of several cases in which Ar, otherwise known to be rather conservative, behaves astonishingly innovative (cf. also → <i>ʔaṣl</i>, → <i>baḍr</i>, → <i>ḥaḡar</i>, → <i>ʔaḥḍarʷ</i>, → <i>šaḡar</i>, → <i>šariba</i>, → <i>ṣaḍḍa</i>, → <i>ṣilm</i>, → <i>qaṣada</i>, → <i>qalb</i>, → <i>qamar</i>, → <i>imraʔaī</i>).
COGN	See → <i>nūr</i> .
DISC	See above, section CONCISE.
SEMHIST	C6/7 The word is present all over pre-Isl poetry. It is of frequent occurrence also in the Qurʔān (cf., e.g., eC7 Q 21:69 <i>qulnā yā nāru kūnī bardan wa-salāman ṣalā ʔibrāhīma</i> ‘We said: O fire, be coolness and peace for Abraham’), where it often takes the meaning ‘Hell (fire)’.
DERIV	ḡabal al-nār, n., volcano šarīṭ al-nār, n., slow match, fuse šayḥ al-nār, n., the Devil nār ṣalā ṣalam, n., a leading light or celebrity <i>ʔašharʷ min n.ṣ.ṣ.</i>, adj., very famous

⁷ Briefly: *nawr* ‘blossoms’: akin to **nwr* ‘to be bright, to shine’?; *nawar* ‘gypsies’: also *nūrī*, perh. from Pers *lūrī* (~ *lōrī* ~ *lūlī*) ‘inhabitant of the town of al-Rūr (or Arūr)’ in Sind (J. Walker, art. “Nūrī”, in *ET*); *nūraī* ‘lime’: ?; *munāwaraī* ‘maneuver’: prob. from It *manovra* (Rolland 2014) . – Cf. also *nīr* (√NYR) ‘yoke’ < Aram *nīrā* < Akk *nīr* ‘id.’ (Zimmern 1914).

kāna ʕalā nār, vb., to be on pins and needles

nīrān ḥāmiyaṭ, n., heavy fire, drumfire (*mil.*)

BP#2826 **nārī**, adj., **1.** fiery, igneous, fire (in compounds); **2.** burning, blazing, red-hot | *ʔālāi* ~ *yaī*, n.f., (in popular usage) motor, any motor-driven device; *darrāḡai* ~ *yaī*, n.f., motorcycle; *silāḥ* ~, n., firearm; *sahm* ~, n., rocket; *ṭalaq* ~, n., shot (from a firearm), riflshot, gunshot; *ʔalʕāb* ~ *yaī*, n.pl., fireworks; *maqḏūf* ~, n., projectile (of a firearm), bullet, shell

nāʔirāṭ, n., hatred, flame of war: morphologically a PA from a hypothetical vb. I ‘to take fire, be in flames’

6.2. duḥḥān

Like the fire, visible from afar, so also the smoke raising from a cooking place announces a place where the guest is welcome.

Since the root shows two major values, a disambiguation entry is needed:

LEMMA **DḤN** دخن

GRAM “root”

ENGL ▪ DḤN_1 ‘millet’ → **duḥn**
▪ DḤN_2 ‘smoke’ → **duḥḥān**

CONCISE Some scholars assume a dependence of ‘millet’ on ‘smoke’, due to the plant’s colour, but this is doubtful.

For further etymology, cf. individual entries → *duḥn* and → *duḥḥān*.

COGN *DRS* 4 (1994) #DḤN: **-1.** **duḥn*- ‘millet’: Akk *duḥnu*, Hbr *dōḥan*, JP *dōḥinā*, Syr *duḥnā*, Ar *duḥn*. **-2.** Ar *daḥan* ‘fumée, méchanceté, haine’, *duḥnai* ‘couleur foncé’, *daḥnān* ‘sombre, couvert, nuageux’, dial. *ʔadḥan* ‘grisâtre, terne’, Hrs *edḥān* ‘de couleur foncé, pourpre’, ? Jib *nideḥ* ‘fumer’, *māndoḥ*, Šḥ *endoḥ*, Mhr *nīdēḥ*, *mānādāḥ* ‘fumée’. **-3.** Gz *dāḥna*, Te Ta *dāḥanā* ‘être sain et sauf’, Amh *danā* ‘être guéri, sauvé, délivré’, Gz *dāḥun* ‘sain et sauf, en bonne santé’, *dāḥn* ‘en bonne santé, innocent, non coupable’, Te *dāḥan* ‘bien-être, paix’, Amh *danā* ‘guérir’, *dāḥna* ‘en santé, en bon état’, Gz *madḥan* ‘sauveur, rédempteur, garant’, Ta *mādhān*, *mādān*, Gur *mādin* ‘garant’. **-4.** Akk *dihnu diḥnu*: formule magique utilisée dans les incantations.

DISC ▪ *DRS* 4 (1994) #DḤN-1. According to some, the name of the plant derives from its colour, which would relate it to DḤN_2; but many do not accept this etymology. – 2. Cf. the Ar nouns, now obsolete, †*daḥaḥ* ‘couleur noir, foncé’, †*duḥḥ*, †*daḥḥ* ‘fumée’ (not in Lane!). – The forms in Jib Šḥ Mhr show metathesis.

▪ Kogan 2011 reconstructs Sem **duḥn*- for ‘millet’ (DḤN_1). For details see → *duḥn*.

- Orel/Stolbova 1994 and Militarev/Stolbova 2007 see an AfrAs dimension for both DĤN_1 and DĤN_2; for details cf. → *duḥn* and → *duḥān*, respectively.
- Can there be a connection between the value ‘health, healthiness’ of DĤN in EthSem (i.e., *DRS* #DĤN-3) and ‘to smoke, fumigate’ (*DRS* #DĤN-2)?
- And is possibly also the Akk magic formula *diḥnu diḥnu* (*DRS*, or *diḥun diḥun*, as in *CAD*, where it is qualified as standard Bab) related to DĤN-2? The formula is said to have been »used in incantations« (*CAD*). Smoke may have had a magical function...
- If *DRS* #DĤN-1, #DĤN-3 and #DĤN-4 could be proven to depend on ‘smoke’, then #DĤN-2 would be the primary etymon.

For the purposes of the present article, we can pass over ‘millet’⁸ and proceed immediately to ‘smoke’:

LEMMA **duḥān** دُحَان, var. *duḥḥān*, pl. *ʔadḥinat*

META SW 81/142 • BP 2269 • √DĤN

GRAM n.

ENGL 1. smoke, fume, vapor. – 2. tobacco – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

- CONCISE** ▪ The word seems to be Sem, but given the different position of *n* – final in Ar, initial in modSAr –, reconstruction is difficult. Orel/Stolbova 1995 go for Sem **dVḥan-* ‘to be smoked; ²dark-colored’, Militarev/Stolbova 2007 suggest Sem **duḥḥān* ~ **nidāḥ-* ‘smoke’.
- There may also be some CCh cognates, and if these are genuine, the word may have AfrAs origins. Orel/Stolbova 1995 reconstruct AfrAs **deḥan-* ‘smoke’ (derived from AfrAs **daḥ-* ‘smoke’), and Militarev/Stolbova 2007 have AfrAs **daḥ-* (?) ‘smoke’.
- One could think of ‘smoke’ being the origin of other meanings of DĤN (‘millet’ as **‘the dark-coloured [plant]’*, ‘healthiness’ as the result of a treatment with – magical? – smoke, and the Akk incantation formula as conjuring up the healthy spirits/power of smoke). But these have to remain, for the moment, pure working hypotheses that still have to be corroborated by textual evidence, cf. → DĤN.
- [v2] is transferred from the smoke that is emitted to the product that emits it when burning.

⁸ References unanimously reconstruct Sem **duḥn-* ‘millet’. A hypothetical AfrAs ancestor is reconstructed as **doḥVn-* ‘millet, grain’ (Orel/Stolbova 1994) or **duḥVn-* ‘sorghum, corn’ (Militarev/Stolbova 2007).

- COGN** ▪ *DRS* 4 (1994) #DĤN-2: Ar *daḥan* ‘fumée, méchanceté, haine’, *duḥnai* ‘couleur foncé’, *daḥnān* ‘sombre, couvert, nuageux’, dial. *ʔadḥan* ‘grisâtre, terne’, Ḥrs *edḥān* ‘de couleur foncé, pourpre’, ? Jib *nideḥ* ‘fumer’, *məndoḥ*, Šḥ *endoḥ*, Mhr *nīdēḥ*, *mənādēḥ* ‘fumée’.
- Orel/Stolbova 1995 #675: Šḥ *edḥān* ‘to be dark-colored’. Outside Sem: a cognate *mi-ḏeni* ‘smoke’ in a CCh language.
- Militarev/Stolbova 2007 #1109: Mhr *nidiḥ*, Jib *mə-ndoḥ*, Ḥrs *nedēḥ*. – Outside Sem: (CCh) Lame *dèákú*, Peve *dēoka*, Mesme *deu* ‘smoke’.
- DISC** ▪ *DRS* 4 (1994) #DĤN: According to some, the name for ‘millet’, *duḥn*, derives from ‘smoke’, due to its dark colour, which would make DĤN a more uniform root in Ar; but many do not accept this etymology.
- Is also the magic formula Akk *diḥnu diḥnu* (or *diḥun diḥun*, as in *CAD*), mentioned in *DRS* 4 (1994) #DĤN-4, related to ‘smoke’? It is said to be »used in incantations« (*CAD*). Smoke may have had a magical function there...
- *DRS* 4 (1994) #DĤN-2 also points to the Ar nouns, now obsolete, †*daḥaḥ* ‘couleur noir, foncé’, †*duḥḥ*, †*daḥḥ* ‘fumée’ (not in Lane!), which do not show final *-n*.
- If the Ar form reflects the Sem situation, then Jib Šḥ Mhr show metathesis. But see below Militarev/Stolbova 2007’s reconstruction of Sem where the Ar and modSAr forms are treated on equal terms.
- Orel/Stolbova 1995 #675 reconstruct Sem **dVḥan-* ‘to be smoked; dark-colored’ and CCh **dyaHVn-* ‘smoke’, both from AfrAs **deḥan-* ‘smoke’. The latter, they say, is derived from #630 AfrAs **daḥ-* ‘smoke’, which gave Sem **duḥ(h)-* ‘smoke’ > Ar *daḥḥ-*, *duḥḥ-* (with secondary *-u-*), and CCh **dyaH-* (**daHi-*) ‘smoke’. Cf. the obsolete nouns lacking final *n* mentioned by *DRS* (see above).
- Similarly also Militarev/Stolbova 2007 #1109: Sem **duḥḥān* ~ **nidāḥ-* ‘smoke’, CCh **dyaHu-* ‘smoke’, both from #630 AfrAs **daḥ-* (?) ‘smoke’.
- SEMHIST** IC6 ʕAntarah b. Šaddād 9,4. (Polosin 1995).
- DERIV** **daḥina** *a*, vb. I, to be smoky; to taste or smell of smoke: denom.
- daḥana** *a u*, vb. I, to smoke, emit smoke (fire): probably denom.
- daḥḥana**, vb. II, to fumigate, fume (s.th.); to smoke, cure with smoke (foodstuffs); to smoke (a cigarette, tobacco, a pipe): D-stem, denom., caus.
- ʔadḥana**, vb. IV, to smoke, emit smoke (fire): *Š-stem, denom., caus.
- tadaḥḥana**, vb. V, to be smoked, be cured with smoke; to be fumigated: tD-stem, pass. of II.

daḥan, n., smoke, fume, vapor: alongside with *duḥ(h)ān* another candidate for the position of the etymon proper.

duḥnaṭ, n.f., 1. smoke color; 2. a kind of incense (*Calamus aromaticus*): ?

daḥīnaṭ, pl. *daḥāʔin*^u, n.f., cigarette: quasi-PP.

daḥāḥinī (eg., tun.), n., tobacconist: nisba formation.

madḥanaṭ, pl. *madāḥin*^u, n.f., chimney, smokestack, funnel: n.loc.

BP#2333 **tadḥīn**, n., 1. fumigation; smoking (e.g., of fish); 2. (tobacco) smoking: vn. II.

dāḥinaṭ, pl. *dawāḥin*^u, n.f., chimney, smokestack, funnel: a neologism, lit. a f. PA I, meaning 'the smoking one'.

mudaḥḥin, pl. *-ūn*, n., smoker: PA II.

mudaḥḥan, adj., smoked (foodstuff): PP II.

6.3. ramād

Like the smoke (6.2.) over the fire (6.1.), so also the huge amount of ashes remaining after the generous treatment of an invit  bears eloquent witness of the host's overwhelming hospitality and, hence, his nobleness. Because the association between ashes and generosity was so common, the attribute *kaṭīr al-ramād* 'having copious ashes' became synonymous with 'generous, hospitable', and as if wanting to dwell on the picture ClassAr also knows the expression *ramād* [†]*rimdid* (or [†]*rimdad*, [†]*rimdīd*), with intensifying reduplication of the final *-d*, for 'very fine and copious ashes'.

Etymologically, the Ar word does not seem to have direct/genuine cognates other than such borrowed from *ramād* itself, that is, curiously enough, the root, if Sem at all, does not seem to have left traces in any other Sem language (except those dependent on Ar). Is there perhaps a relation between RMD and RMD or (with metathesis) *MDR, both roots that are more widespread in Sem?

The semantic spectrum covered by Ar $\sqrt{\text{RMD}}$ can be explained rather plausibly as the result of diversification from one of two basic meanings – 'ashes' and [†]'to be extinguished, perish' – , but given the lack of cognates in Sem it is difficult to decide which of the two might have developed from the other: are the 'ashes' originally *'s.th. *extinct* (sc. the remains of a fire)', or is the vb. 'to be extinguished, perish', etymologically spoken, *'to become *like ashes*'? We tend to believe the latter (denom. dependence of the vb. on the n.). – There is also *ramad* 'ophthalmia, inflammation of the eyes; eye disease',⁹ but this does not seem to represent an original basic value since it is probably

⁹ Cf. also the (denom.) *ramida a (ramad)*, vb. I, 'to have sore eyes; to be inflamed (eye)' and the adj.s *ramid* and *ʔarmad*^u, 'sore-eyed' as well as the *mustašfā 'l-ramad* 'eye clinic' and the (*tabīb*) *ramadī* 'ophthalmologist, oculist', all in Wehr/Cowan 1979.

based on ‘ashes’, from *‘to be blear-eyed, have eyes *as if* covered by, or as dusty as, ashes’.¹⁰ Thus, we have a rather slim entry:

LEMMA	ramād رَمَاد, pl. <i>ʔarmidat</i>
META	SW 83/4 • BP 3471 • √RMD
GRAM	n.
ENGL	ashes – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
CONCISE	Etymology obscure. Further research needed.
COGN	▪ Kogan 2015: Ar <i>ramād</i> , (Mhr <i>rāmēd</i> , Jib <i>rīd</i> , Soq <i>rīmid</i>) ‘ashes’
DISC	▪ Kogan 2015: The modSAr (Mhr, Jib, Soq) terms are probably borrowings from Ar because they don’t have cognates outside Ar. ▪ Is <i>ramād</i> in any way related to †<i>ramiḏa</i> (with <i>ḏ</i> !) ‘to be burning (day); to heat the sand (sun); to be scorched by the ground (foot); to be blasted by the sun (flock)’? Cf. Militarev 2006 #3007, Tropper 2008: Ug <i>rmšt</i> ‘Röstopfer’, postBiblHbr <i>rāmaš</i> ‘to roll or bake in hot ashes’, <i>rāmāš</i> ‘hot ashes, embers’, (JudAram <i>rimšā</i> ‘hot ashes, embers’ <Hbr?), Syr <i>rāmūš</i> ‘ashes’, Ar <i>rmḏ</i> ‘to burn, be scorched’, Gz <i>ramaḏa</i> ‘to scorch, burn (intr.), be burning’, Te <i>rāmmāḕa</i> ‘to be kindled’, <i>rāmāḕ</i> ‘hot ashes’, Tña <i>rāmāšā</i> ‘to heat, cook’, Amh <i>rāmmāṭā</i> ‘to bake in ashes’, Mhr <i>ramž</i>, Jib <i>remḕ</i>, from Sem *<i>ramš-</i> ‘ashes’. ▪ <i>ramād</i> has been suggested to be a metathetical variant from the root *MDR, cf. Militarev 2006 #3004: Sem *<i>midr-</i> ~ *<i>ramad-</i> ‘dust, dirt, ashes’ > postBiblHbr <i>mādār</i> ‘ordure (material used for vessels)’, Syr <i>medrā</i> ‘gleba (terrae), terra, lutum, pulvis’, Ar <i>ramād</i> ‘cendre’, <i>madar</i> ‘boue sèche et tenace, sans sable’, LevAr <i>rmad</i>, MecAr <i>rumād</i>, Malt <i>ərmit</i> ‘ashes’, Mhr <i>mdēr</i> ‘Lehmziegel’ (Hrs <i>remēd</i>, Soq <i>rimid</i> < Ar?). Kogan 2015 does not seem to share this view, but separates <i>ramād</i> (as above) and <i>madar</i> ‘lumps, clods of dry clay’ (< Sem *<i>mVd(V)r-</i> ‘soil, clod of earth’, cf. also Syr <i>medrā</i> ‘gleba (terrae), terra, lutum, pulvis’, Sab <i>mdr</i> ‘territory, ground’, Mhr <i>mdēr</i> ‘Lehmziegel’; Gz <i>madr</i>, Tña <i>mədri</i>, Amh <i>mādar</i> < EthSem *<i>mVdr-</i> ‘earth’.)
SEMHIST	eC7 (dust, ashes) Q 14:18 <i>ʔaʕmālu-hum ka-ramādin ištaddat bi-hī</i> ‘l-rīḥu ‘their works are as ashes which the wind bloweth hard upon’

¹⁰ ClassAr *ramdāʔa* ‘ostrich’ is called after its ashen colour, and the vb. IX †*irmadda* which not only means ‘to be ash-coloured’ but also ‘to run fast’ has its latter value from the fast-running ash-coloured ostrich. – The vb.s †*rammada* and †*ʔarmada* ‘to have milk before bringing forth (female)’ which hardly can be related to ‘ashes’ or ‘to become extinguished’, do however not corrupt the picture because they seem to be just “mis-pronunciations” of *rabbada* and *ʔarbada* (with shift among the labials, *b* > *m*).

- DERIV** **ʔarbiṣāʔ** *al-ramād* or *yawm al-ramād* or **ʕid al-ramād**, n., Ash Wednesday (*Chr.*)
nafaḥa fī ʔl-ramād, expr., (lit.: to blow into cold ashes, i.e.) to engage in futile undertakings, set out on a wild-goose chase
rammada, vb. II, to burn to ashes, incinerate: D-stem, denom., caus.
tarammada, vb. V, to burn to ashes, become ashes: tD-stem, intr. of the preceding
ramādī, adj., ashen, ash-coloured, ashgray: nsb-adj.
tarmīd, n., cremation, incineration: vn. II.
 For other items from $\sqrt{\text{RMD}}$, see $\rightarrow$ *ramad*.

6.4. *kalb*

Another marker of hospitable places is the dog whose barking, heard by the stranger from afar, tells him that he will find generous treatment in the place the voice is reaching him from.

The word for ‘dog’, like that for other common animals, is widely attested in Semitic and already studied extensively by previous research. I will therefore content myself with the presentation of the “basic” entry on *kalb*, leaving it to the interested reader to inform him/herself in the digital *EtymArab* about other values attached to $\sqrt{\text{KLB}}$ in Ar and Sem. The latter is particularly important for *kalb* because it would be difficult to decide, from the Ar evidence alone, what was first: the ‘dog’ (*kalb*) or ‘rabies’ (*kalab*). Given that ‘rabies’ does not seem to be a value of $\sqrt{\text{KLB}}$ outside Ar it is quite probable that it is a secondary development, peculiar to Ar.¹¹

- LEMMA** **kalb** كَلْب, pl. *kilāb*
META SW 21/30 • BP 1267 • $\sqrt{\text{KLB}}$
GRAM n.
ENGL dog – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
CONCISE From Sem **kalb*- ‘dog’. The fact that the word can be traced back in time until protSem shows that the domestication of wolves (9th–8th millennium BC) must have been completed already then.
COGN ▪ *DRS* 10 (2012) #KLB-1, Militarev/Kogan 2005 #115: Akk *kalbu*, Ug *klb*, Hbr *kālāb*, Phn *klb*, EmpAram *klb*, JudAram *kālēb*, *kālab*, Syr *kalbā*, Mand *kalba*, Ar *kalb*, Sab *klb* ‘dog’, Šhr *kob* ‘wolf’, ekob ‘dog’, Mhr *kawb* (pl. *kālōb*), Jib *kob* (pl. *kālōb*), Hrs *kawb*, *kōb* (pl. *kelōb*), Soq *kalb* ‘wolf; dog’, Gz *kalb*, Te *kālāb*, Tña *kālbi* ‘dog’.

¹¹ Apart from ‘dog’ (*kalb*) and ‘rabies; madness, lust, fury’ (*kalab*), Ar $\sqrt{\text{KLB}}$ also contains such items as *kullāb* (< Aram *kullābā*) ‘hook; cramp; nail, bolt, pin’ or *kallābaʔ* ‘tongs’ (according to Rolland 2014 perh. from Pers *kalab* ‘bird’s bill, beak’), plus values developed by figurative extension such as ‘to rage, show enmity against’, etc.).

▪ Outside Sem: Militarev/Kogan 2005 and the AfrAs database on the *StarLing* platform (Militarev/Stolbova 2006), for example, register words like: (in some Berb languages) *ă-kûlen* ‘loup, loup peint (lycaon)’, *əkolān* (pl. *ikolānān*) ‘écureuil’, (in CCh) *kûlām* ‘hyena’, *kàlā*, *kelī*, *kila* ‘dog’, (NCu) *ták^wla*, (in CCu) *täg^wla*, *təy^wla*, *taḥ^wəla*, *takwila*, *tuhula* ‘wolf’, and (in SaAf) *takla*, *taḥla* ‘wolf; hyena dog’.

DISC

- See also $\sqrt{\text{KLB}}$ for *kalab* ‘rabies’.
- Most sources reconstruct Sem **kalb-* ‘dog’.
- On account of the Sem and outer-Sem evidence Militarev/Stolbova 2006 reconstructs: Sem **k^wahil-* ‘fox-like animal’ $\sim$ **ta-k^wVL-* ‘wolf, jackal’ (< Cush?), Berb **kulVn* ‘wolf (or squirrel?)’, CCh **kVL-* ‘dog’, NCush (Beja) *ták^wla* ‘wolf; Lycaon pictus’, CCush (Agaw) **ta-k^wil-* ‘wolf’, SaAf **ta-kla* ‘wolf; hyena dog’, Omot **tolk-* (< **tV-IVk-*, with metath.) ‘hyena; leopard’, all from AfrAs **k^wVL-* ‘wolf, dog’.
- As the Berb, Chad and Cush evidence makes clear, Sem **kalb-* seems to be somehow related to biconsonantal themes with **KL*. This made Diakonoff 1998: 214 think that *kalb* might be segmented into **kal-* plus an AfrAs suffix (»key consonant«) **-b* for strong and/or dangerous animals (cf. also $\rightarrow$ *ʔarnab*, $\rightarrow$ *dubb*, $\rightarrow$ *ḏiʔb*, $\rightarrow$ *ḏubāb*, *labb*, $\rightarrow$ *ʕaqrab*, $\rightarrow$ *taʕlab*), still before their domestication. Sima 2000: 103-4 (fn. 338), argues against this idea: an ‘undomesticated dog’ is nothing else but a wolf, for which protSem had a different word (**ḏiʔb-*).
- Dolgopolsky 2012 #1031 puts Sem **kal₁b-* ‘dog’ together with (among others) IndEur **^ok^wol-/*^okul-*, **k^welb-/*k^wolb-* ‘(young?) dog’ (Grk *kýlla* ‘young dog’; Germ **x^welpo-z*, **x^walpo-z* ‘whelp, young dog’¹² > oNo *hvelpr*, Dan *hvalp*, Swed *valp*, oHGe *welpf*, mHGe *welf*, nHGe *Welf*, AS, oSax *hwelp*, nEngl *whelp*) and reconstructs a common Nostr ancestor as **kôLV(bA)* ‘dog\wolf, whelp’.

SEM HIST

- **eC7 kalb** (dog) Q 7:176 *fa-maṭalu-hū ka-maṭali* ‘l-kalbi: ʔin taḥmil ʕalay-hi yalhaṭ, ʔaw tatruk-hu yalhaṭ ‘so his likeness is as the likeness of a dog, if you attack him, he pants [with his tongue out], and if you leave him alone, he pants [with his tongue out]’
- **eC7 mukallib** (one who trains animals or birds or keeps them for hunting) Q 5:4 *ʔuḥilla lakum-u* ‘l-tayyibātu wa-mā ʕalimtum mina ‘l-ḡawāriḥi mukallibīna ‘permitted to you [for food] are all good things and [the catch of] such predatory creatures as you train to hunt’

¹² Another etymology is given in De Caprona 2013: 436 : Germ **hwelpa-*, perh. originally ‘the whimpering one’, from IndEur **(s)k^wel-* ‘to whimper, yap, yell, woof’.

- DERIV** (Only the semantically closest derivatives are given here; but cf. also → *kalab* and → *kullāb*.)
- al-kalb al-ʔakbar** n., the constellation Canis Major with its main star Sirius
- al-kalb al-ʔaṣṣḡar**, n., the constellation Canis Minor with its main star Procyon
- kalb al-baḥr**, n., shark
- kalb al-māʔ**, n., **1** otter; **2** beaver
- kalbaʔ**, pl. -*āt*, n., bitch: f. of *kalb*
- kalbī**, adj., canine: nsb-adj.
- For other values of the root, cf. → *kalab*, → *kullāb*, and, for the general picture, → KLB.

6.5. *qidr*

Like the fire and smoke that are seen from afar, the dogs that announce a hospitable camp, and the ashes that give proof of a busy cooking place, also the cauldron, or cooking pot, *qidr*, in which the meal is prepared for the guest, is a current attribute of hospitality and generosity settings. The “root” under which *qidr* is to be found in the dictionaries, √QDR, is too extensive to be treated here in some detail. Suffice it to remind ourselves of the large variety of meanings attached to it both in ClassAr and MSA, as, e.g., summarized by Badawi/Abdel Haleem 2008: »[a] power, strength, ability, to have power; [b] fate, to decree, pre-ordain; [c] to reckon, measure; [d] extent, worth, sum; [e] destruction, to strain, to straiten; [f] cooking pot«. We are still waiting for the volume of *DRS* containing the Semitic roots with initial “Q”, but one can be pretty sure that there will be even more values in Semitic than in Arabic alone. While some of the Ar values are, with all probability, etymologically related (e.g., ‘fate’ as s.th. ‘measured, apportioned’, or ‘straitening’ as a sort of ‘measuring’, etc.), the ‘cooking pot’ seems to lead a life of its own. A closer look into the word’s history confirms this first impression: *qidr* does not seem to be akin to either of the values [a] through [e], listed by Badawi; rather, it is probably a loanword from Aram which is likely to be based on a Sem root meaning ‘to be dark, dirty’.

LEMMA **qidr** قَدْر, pl. *quḍūr*

META SW – • BP ... • √QDR

GRAM n.f. (or m.)

ENGL cooking pot; kettle – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE Probably a loan-word from Aram *qidrā*, Syr *qedrā* ‘pot’, which is perhaps akin to Hbr *qāḏar* ‘to be dark, be gloomy’ (which in turn seems to be akin to Ar → *qaḏira* ‘to be dirty’). Zimmern considered it likely that the Aram words depend (with metathesis) on Akk

diqāru, a kind of ‘bowl with round bottom, for serving and heating’ (CAD). Others do not mention this idea, reconstruct a Sem **kidr*- ‘earthenware’ and, on account also of some (though doubtful) ECh ‘cognates’, reconstruct AfrAs **ḵVdur*- with the likely meaning of ‘clay vessel’ as the word’s ultimate origin. The latter, however, may be related to a hypothetical AfrAs **ḵVḍa/ur*- ‘to be dirty’ (the cooking pot being called after its bottom which is ‘dirty’ from the fire).

- COGN**
- Zimmern 1914: Akk *diqāru* ‘(bowl with round bottom, for serving and heating)’, Aram *qidrā*, *qedrā* ‘pot’.
 - In addition to the items given by Zimmern 1914, Zammit 2002 mentions also Hbr *qāḏēr* ‘pot’.
 - Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1618 (and Militarev/Stolbova 2007 #277): Hbr *qāḏērā*, Aram *qidrā*, Ar *qidr*, Hrs *qeder*, Mhr *qāder*. – Outside Sem: *gəḏəryá* ‘clay pot’, *gùḏùr* ‘big pot’ in 2 in ECh languages. – Cf. also Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1630: Ar *qḏr* (IPFV *a*, *u*), with outside Sem cognate in *goder* ‘faeces, silt’ in 1 ECh language (no longer listed in Militarev/Stolbova 2007).
- DISC**
- Zimmern 1914 thinks that Akk *diqāru* »probably« is the source of Aram *qidrā*, *qedrā*, which was borrowed into Ar as *qidr*, *qidraī*.
 - Klein 1987 lists (all post-BiblHbr) *qḏērāh* ‘pot’ (from this the dimin. nHbr *qḏērūt* ‘small pot’), *qadrā* ‘pot’ (from Syr *qadrā*, related to Hbr *qḏērāh*), *qaddār* ‘potter’ (n.prof., properly back formation from *qḏērāh*; from *qaddār* is *qaddārūt* ‘potter’s craft, pottery’). Perhaps akin to Hbr *qāḏar* ‘to be dark, be gloomy’ (related to Ar → *qadira* ‘to be dirty’).
 - Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1618: From the evidence in Sem, the authors reconstruct Sem **kidr*- ‘earthenware’; from the ECh items they assume ECh **gudur*- ‘(big/clay) pot’; as an ancestor of both they suggest AfrAs **ḵūdur*- ‘vessel’. In the internet version, Militarev/Stolbova 2007 #277 retain the reconstruction of Sem **kidr*- ‘earthenware’ but add the remark »correspondences doubtful« and set a question mark behind their (slightly modified) reconstruction of AfrAs **ḵVdur*- ‘clay vessel’.
 - Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1630 relates Hbr *qḏr* ‘to be dark’ to Ar *qḏr* (IPFV *a*, *u*) ‘to be dirty’, on account of which they hypostasize Sem **ḵVḍar*- / **ḵVḏur*- ‘to be dirty’. The latter, they say, is cognate with ECh **gVḏwar*- ‘faeces, silt’. On account of the Ar and the ECh items they reconstruct AfrAs **ḵVḏor*- ‘dirt, to be dirty’. In the updated internet version, there are no longer AfrAs reconstructions, but only

#950 Sem **ḵVdVr-* ‘to be dirty’ (on account of Hbr *qdr* ‘to be dark’) and #1793 Sem **ḵVḍar-* / **ḵVḍur-* ‘to be dirty’.

- SEMHIST** eC7 Q 34:13 *yašmalūna la-hū mā yašāḍu min maḥārība wa-tamāṭila wa-ḡifānin ka-'l-ḡawābi wa-quḍūrin rāsiyātin* ‘they made for him whatever he wanted: palaces and statues, basins as large as water troughs, and cauldrons hard to move’
- DERIV** **qidraʿ**, pl. *qidar*, n.f., pot; jug: clearly related to *qidr*, but perhaps borrowed directly from Aram *qidrā*, Syr *qedrā* ‘pot’ rather than derived from Ar *qidr*.

6.6. *samn*

Like the fire, the smoke and the dog that signal a hospitable place from a distance, and like the ashes of the cooking-place over which, and the cauldron in which, the meal for the guests is prepared, the delighted guest also always remembers the huge amount of meat with which he was treated and the smell of freshly roasted fat, particularly camel humps. The noun *samn*, the corresponding adjective *samīn*, and the denominative verb *samina* are all attested in pre-Islamic poetry, with *samn* having taken, already then, the specialised meaning of ‘clarified butter, (hardened) fat’ that it has preserved over the centuries, as we see it in MSA.

LEMMA **samn** سَمْن, pl. *sumūn*

META SW 32/42¹³ • BP ... • √SMN

GRAM n.

ENGL clarified butter, cooking butter – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE ▪ Ar *samn* ‘melted purified butter’ seems to be a specialisation from a Sem **šamn-* that denoted ‘oil, fat’ in general. Ar derivatives show the original wider meaning.

▪ Militarev/Stolbova 2007 reconstruct Sem **šam(-an)-* (Kogan 2011, Huehnergard 2011: **šamn-*) ‘fat, oil’, from AfrAs **sim-an-* ~ **sin-am-* ‘oil, fat, (fat) milk’.

COGN ▪ Kogan 2011: Akk *šamnu*, Ug *šmn*, *šmt*, Hbr *šāmān* (mostly) ‘vegetable oil’, (rarely also) ‘animal fat or cream’, Aram **šumnā* (mostly) ‘(animal) fat, fatness’, Ar *samn-* ‘(clarified) butter’, Jib *šēn* ‘fat, fatness (?)’

▪ For outside Sem, Militarev/Stolbova 2007 give (Berber) Ghat *isim* ‘graisse (de tout animal)’, Tahaggart *ésim* ‘graisse fondu’, Tawllmetmet

¹³ In the Swadesh list of 1952, this item is ‘fat, organic substance’, in that of 1973 it is given as ‘grease’. The second figure is that of ‘fat (substance)’ in the extended Swadesh list (200-word basic vocabulary) as given in Bennett 1998: 40.

ē-šim ‘liquid fat; broth’, Taqbaylit (Ayt Mangellat) *ta-ssəm-ṭ* ‘graisse animal’, Canarian *achemen* ‘milk’; OEg *smy* (med.) ‘fat milk, cream’; (WCh) *šivena*, *sinama*, *sin*; (ECh) *swān*, *swānī*, *sòn-gò*, *súwāné*, *sùwānè*, *séwén*, *séwèn*, *súnu* ‘oil’, *sùwàn-gə*, *sən*, *siwín* ‘oil, fat’, *sóane* ‘melted butter/oil’, *séwéj* ‘fat’ (n.), *súnē* ‘fat’ (adj.); (Warazi/Dullay) *šiinan-ko*, pl. *šiinan-aane* ‘butter’, *šiinan-ko*, pl. *šinam-aane* ‘fat’; perhaps also *s’əmən* ‘thick’ in a CCh language, but this is said to be semantically problematic.

- DISC**
- Huehnergard 2011 reconstructs Sem **šamn-* ‘oil, fat’.
 - Kogan 2011: »The main protSem term for ‘fat’ as a foodstuff seems to be **šamn-*, although exact semantics of its reflexes are rather diverse [...]. The meaning ‘(clarified) butter’ is typical of Ar [...], whereas [the Akk, Ug and Hbr terms] mostly denote ‘vegetable oil’ and are only rarely applied to animal fat or cream. ComAram **šumnā* mostly denotes ‘(animal) fat, fatness’ [...]. The exact meaning of Jib [...] remains to be ascertained.«
 - Militarev/Stolbova 2007 reconstruct Sem **šam(-an)-* ‘fat, oil’, Berb **-sim(-an)-* ‘(liquid) fat, milk’, OEg *smy* (med.) ‘fat milk, cream’, WCh **sin(-am)-* ‘oil’, ? CCh **sVmVn-* (?) ‘thick’, ECh **siwan-* (< **siman-* ?) ‘oil; melted butter/oil; fat (n.); fat (adj.)’, Warazi (Dullay) **šinam-* ‘butter; fat’. All from AfrAs **sim-an-* ~ **sin-am-* ‘oil, fat, (fat) milk’.
- SEMHIST** **IC6** ʕUrwa b. al-Ward 23,2: *wa-faḍlati samnatīn ḍahabat ʔilay-hi* ‘and the rest of a piece of butter/fat [n.un.] that went to him’ (Polosin 1995)
- eC7** *samn* itself is not in Q, but we find the vb. IV *ʔasmana* ‘to fatten, benefit, nourish’ and the adj. (pseudo-PP) *samīn* ‘fat, well-fed’: Q 88:6–7 *laysa la-hum ʔaṣāmun ʔillā min ḍarīʕin lā yusminu wa-lā yuḡnī min ḡūʕin* ‘with no food for them except bitter dry thorns that neither nourish nor satisfy hunger’; 12:43 *ʔinnī ʔarā sabʕa baqarātīn simānin yaʔkulu-hunna sabʕun ʕiḡāʕun* ‘I see [in my dreams] seven fat cows being eaten by seven lean ones’.

Apart from Ar *zakāʔ* which gave the relatively young loan Engl *zakat* (see Part I, section 3.5), Ar *samn* is the first among the items treated in the present article that is interesting also on account of its European connection:

WESTLANG Although Ar *samn* is not the origin of Engl *sesame*, both are relatives nevertheless: According to Huehnergard 2011, the Engl word is »from Grk *sēsamē sēsamon* ‘sesame’, from a Sem source akin to Ug *ššmn*,

Phoen *ššmn*, Aram *šumšəmə*, Ar *simsim* ‘sesame’, all probably from Akk *šamasšammū* ‘sesame’, back-formation from **šaman šammī* ‘oil of plants’, from [Akk] *šaman*, bound form of *šamnu* ‘oil’ (*šammī*, gen.pl. of *šammu* ‘plant’, Sem *šmm*). It is possible that the Akk form represents a folk etymology for an original form *šamšamu*, from a root **šmšm*.«

- DERIV** **samina** *a* (*siman*, *samānāṭ*), vb. I, to be or become fat, corpulent, obese, stout, plump, fleshy, put on weight: denom.
- sammana**, vb. II, and **ʔasmana**, vb. IV, to make fat or plump, fatten: D-stem, denom., caus.
- siman**, n., and ^{BP#4632}**simnāṭ**, n.f., fatness, plumpness, fleshiness, stoutness, corpulence; obesity: vn. I and abstr. in *-aṭ*, respectively.
- summun**, n.coll. (n.un. *-aṭ*), pl. *samāmin^u*, quail (*zool.*): *‘the fat one (bird)’?
- samīn**, pl. *simān*, adj., fat; corpulent, plump, fleshy, stout, obese: quasi-PA (or -PP).
- summān**, n.coll. (n.un. *-aṭ*), quail (*zool.*): *‘the fat one (bird)’?
- sammān**, n., butter merchant: n.prof.
- samānāṭ**: ~ *al-riḡl*, n.f., calf of the leg: vn. I.
- sumānā**, n.coll. (n.un. *sumānāṭ*, pl. *sumānayāt*), quail (*zool.*): *‘the fat one (bird)’?
- musamman**, adj., fat: PP II.

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