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The Etymology of Generosity-Related Terms
A Presentation of the EtymArab© Project – Part IV

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 III, published in *FOr* 54 (2017): 149–180, had stopped.

After (1) a general introduction and (2) a description of the article's structure, part I [*FOr* 52 (2015): 171–201] had started to discuss the etymology of generosity-related terminology with (3) the main terms for 'generosity', 'liberality', 'magnanimity', 'open-handedness' etc. themselves (*karam*, *ǧūd*, *saḫāʔ*, *qirà*, *zakāẗ*, *ṣadaqaẗ*). Part II [*FOr* 53 (2016): 59–104] continued, in section (3), with some *verbs* for 'to give liberally, generously' (*ʔaʕṭà*, *ʔahdà*, *wahaba*, *saʔala*) and two counter-concepts of generosity (*buḫl*, *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. (*murūʔaẗ*, *ḥurriyyaẗ*, *ǧiwār*, *ḍiyāfaẗ*, *sunnaẗ*, *ʔadab*). Part III [*FOr* 54 (2017): 149–180] contained section (5), which dealt with some beneficiaries of generosity and hospitality (*ḍayf*, *ǧār*, *ʔasīr*, *ʔarmalaẗ*, *yatīm*, *ḫalīl*), and section (6), which treated frequent 'markers' of hospitable places (*nār*, *duḫḫān*, *ramād*, *kalb*, *qidr*, *samn*). Part IV will now be dedicated to (7) rituals performed and objects magnanimously given, as well as (8) a few metaphors that we often meet in generosity discourses. For a Table of Contents (overview over all sample entries), see below, pp. 140f.

7. Rituals performed and objects magnanimously given

Given that the present article focuses on *hospitality* as the most common cultural concept in the framework of which generosity is displayed, the objects that are magnanimously given consist mostly of good precious food, in particular slaughtered animals. Since these have formed part of the Arab tribes' natural habitat and their life for hundreds of years, the words we shall deal with first in this section are all from the most basic lexicon (although none of them figures in the Swadesh lists[1]). As they have been studied in detail already by Sima 2000 and Militarev/Kogan 2005, I will not reproduce the full *EtymArab*© entries here but rather restrict the treatment of the respective first six items to the summaries that are given in the dictionary's CONCISE section.

7.1. ǧamal

Strangely enough, and as L. Kogan rightly observed, there is no one common protSem term for 'camel', there are several: **gamal-*, **ʔibil-*, **nāḳ-at-*, **bVkr-*, ... It is also interesting that all of these terms not only have their reflexes in Ar, but also that »[t]he obvious similarity between camel designations in individual [Sem] languages must be due to diffusion from an Arabian source« (Kogan 2011: 207).

Apart from this, the entry on *ǧamal* will present Diakonoff's idea that the Sem word may be composed of a bi-consonantal nucleus **GM-* and an extension in **-L/R-* for tamed/domesticated, hence 'weak' animals (cf. [in Part III] 6.4. *kalb*, with corresponding hypothetical **-B-* for wild and 'strong' animals).

The question whether or not there is a relation between *ǧamal* 'camel' and the many other values that both Ar √ǦML and Sem √GML display, has to be addressed mainly in the "root"/disambiguation entry. For Ar, Badawi/AbdelHaleem 2008 give, for instance, '**1**. camel, grace, beauty, elegance, to adorn, to make beautiful [thus, here it looks as if 'camel' belonged together with 'grace, beauty, elegance, to adorn, to make beautiful' – S.G.]; **2**. to have good character, to be kindly, to ask nicely, to treat well; **3**. group of people, sentence, to add together, total, entirety; **4**. thick rope'.[2] For Sem, *DRS* 3 (1993) #GML distinguishes eight basic values, two or three of which represented in Ar: #GML-

[1] This can serve as an indication of the fact that the Swadesh lists contain concepts that are still "more basic", pre-domestification (as they do not have social concepts either). In contrast, most of the animal terms treated here are obviously "too basic" as to appear in the corpus of texts analysed as samples of written MSA by Buckwalter/Parkinson 2011; except for *ǧamal*, none of them "made it" into their list of the »top 5,000 most frequently used words«, even *faras* is ranked as far down on the list as no. 5663 (figuring in the book only because it is on the special »Animals« list and these thematic lists often give room for items beyond rank no. 5000).

[2] The numbering in this enumeration is my own (S.G.), assuming that Badawi & Abdel Haleem's semicola mark what they believe to be distinguishable semantic (sub)fields.

1. ‘camel’. **-2**. a theme with many facets: [**a**] ‘to be beautiful, developed, mature’ (→ *ğamula*); ‘to behave politely, make complete, put together’ (→ *ğāmal-*); †‘full, fat (body)’; [**b**] ‘big, long’ (nHbr *gamlōn*, Aram *gamlānā*, not realised in Ar); [**c**] ‘to assemble, put together’ (→ *ğamala*), ‘totality’ (→ *ğumlaẗ*), ‘cable, rope’ (†*ğamal*, *ğuml*); [**d**] ‘grease, fat, fondue’ (†*ğamīl*), ‘to melt, liquify (the grease, etc.)’ (†*ğamala*). – *DRS* is not sure whether or not also [**e**] ‘nightingale’ (†*ğumlānaẗ*, *ğumaylānaẗ*) and [**f**] ‘(sort of) palm tree’ (†*ğamal*) should be grouped with #GML-2a-d. The authors also remain silent about the details of the semantic relations within theme #GML-2. – Classical dictionaries tend to see †‘fat’ (= *DRS* #GML-2d) and †‘fatness’ as the original meaning, “hence” ‘beauty’ (= *DRS* #GML-2b), »because, when a man becomes fat and in good condition, his *ğamāl* becomes apparent«; from physical beauty then also ‘beauty of character’ – Lane, s.v. *ğamīl*. **-5**. ‘sort of boomerang (Akk), sickle (Ug), yoke (JP), hooked (Syr)’, etc. (→ *ğummal*).[3]

LEMMA **ğamal** جَمَل, pl. *ğimāl*, *ʔağmāl*

META **SW** – • **BP** 3969 • √ĞML

GRAM n.

ENGL camel – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE
- From Sem **gam(a)l-* ‘camel’ – Militarev/Kogan 2005.
- Diakonoff thinks Sem **gamal-* is an extension in **-l-* for tamed/domesticated, hence ‘weak’ animals.
- Any relation between *ğamal* ‘camel’ and the ‘fat, beauty, completeness, politeness’ complex (→ *ğamula*, *ğamāl*, *ğamīl*; → *ğamala*, *ğumlaẗ*), the architectural ‘gable’ (→ *ğamalūn*) and/or the ‘letter of alphabet’ (→ *ğummal*)?
- Not Ar *ğamal*, but a Sem term akin to it[4] must be the source of Grk *kámēlos*, Lat *camēlus*, whence the term for the animal in many Eur languages (Engl *camel*, Fr *chameau*, Ge *Kamel*).

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[3] Ar *ğummal* ‘letter of alphabet’ is akin to the name of the third letter in the Hbr alphabet, *gîmel*, an alteration of Phoen **gaml* ‘throwstick (?)’ (whence also the name of the Grk letter *gamma*). This word may in turn be akin to Ar *minğal* ‘sickle’ (Akk *gamlu* ‘throwstick’, Ug *gml* ‘sickle; crescent’, Hbr *maggāl*, Aram *magg^{e}lā / maggaltā* ‘sickle’). – The values in *DRS* that seem to be irrelevant for Ar √ĞML are: #GML-**3** ‘anger’ (Te only); **-4** ‘to cook a little flour in order to add it to the bread’ (Amh only); **-6** ‘to burn, roast slowly; white freckles on the skin, esp. the legs’ (Amh only); **-7** ‘cow without, or with small, horns’ (Amh only); **-8** ‘clitoris’ (Gur only).

[4] Huehnergard 2011: »from a Semitic source akin to Hbr *gāmāl*, Aram *gamlā*, Ar *ğamal*«; *EtymOnline*: from Hbr or Phoen *gāmāl-*.

7.2. nāqaẗ

Ar has an own special term for the 'she-camel'. The items figuring under √NWQ or √NYQ in Wehr/Cowan 1979 can all be explained, as it seems, as derived from *nāqaẗ* (cf., e.g., *tanawwaqa*, *tanayyaqa*, vb. V, 'to be squeamish, fastidious, finical, dainty, choosy' < *'to behave like a she-camel'). In ClassAr, the picture is more complex, and the "root" entries NWQ and NYQ will have to address the question whether or not there is an etymological connection between *nāqaẗ* and items such as †*nāqa u* (*nawq*) 'to remove the fat from the flesh and clean it', †*nīq* (pl. *niyāq*, *ʔanyāq*, *nuyūq*) 'top of a mountain', †*nawaq* 'reddish white' (Hava 1899), †*nāq* 'raie dans la paume de la main entre la base du pouce et celle du petit doigt allant dans la direction du bras; creux et raie au milieu du coude, à l'intérieur ou au-dessus de l'os sacrum; (coll.) pustules qui surviennent à la main', †*nāwaq* 'bateau, nacelle; tout objet creusé comme une nacelle ou comme une navette'. It looks as if †*nawwaqa* 'to train, to break in (a camel); to fecundate (a palm-tree); to set s.th. in order' and †*nawwāq* 'clever manager' are derived from *nāqaẗ* (via 'to train a she-camel'), but what about †*nīqaẗ* 'zeal, skill; foppishness; daintiness'? Also: Should MSA vocabulary like the adj. *ʔanīq* 'neat, trim, spruce, comely, pretty; elegant, chic' and the corresponding n. *ʔanāqaẗ* 'elegance', conventionally grouped under √ʔNQ, be connected to *nāqaẗ* ?

LEMMA **nāqaẗ** ناقة, pl. *nūq*, *niyāq*, *nāqāt*

META **SW** – • **BP** ... • √NWQ / NYQ

GRAM n.f.

ENGL she-camel – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE ▪ Given that most of the Sem "cognates" usually are regarded as borrowed from Ar, the reconstruction of protSem **nāḳ-at-* 'she-camel' is »rather unreliable« – Militarev/Kogan 2005 #161. Given the Akk forms (which, according to Sima, can be taken as »Nebenüberlieferung«, i.e., parallel attestations, of the Ar evidence), the noun can be traced back in this form at least to the first half of the first millennium BC – Sima 2000: 126.

▪ The idea that *nāqaẗ* may be related to Sem *YNḲ 'to suck' (unattested in Ar) (Hommel, Vycichl) is discussed, and rejected, by Sima (2000: 126), but not completely dismissed by Militarev/Kogan 2005.

▪ Cf. also → ʔNQ.

7.3. baʕīr

Another word for what today means 'camel' may originally have been a 'bull', or the meaning differentiated from an earlier general *'livestock, cattle'. Jeffery 1938, like before him also al-Suyūṭī, thought the word was borrowed from Hbr (where *bᵊʕîr* means 'beast of burden'). But although this idea is not without a certain appeal, it is not cogent, as the word is very widespread in Sem in general, so it may well be ComSem.[5]

The root BʕR itself does not seem to have taken other values than such as can be derived from the animal. For a discussion of the relation between √BʕR and items lacking -ʕ- as well as hypotheses of derivation of the Sem term from either AfrAs **bar-* or **baʕ-* 'domestic ruminant' (with secondary -ʕ- inserted or fossilized suffix -*Vr*- attached, respectively, to form the Sem word), cf. Militarev/Kogan 2005 #53 (p. 75).

LEMMA **baʕīr** بَعِير

META **SW** – • **BP** … • √BʕR

GRAM n.coll.; pl. *ʔabʕiraẗ*, *buʕrān*, *ʔabāʕirᵘ*, *baʕārīnᵘ*

ENGL camel – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE ▪ Kogan 2011 reconstructs Sem **bVʕVr*- 'bull', possibly also 'livestock, cattle' in general (cf. Militarev/Kogan 2005: Sem **bVʕVr*- 'household animal; beast of burden'), the semantic shift to 'camel' in Ar being an Arabian innovation.

▪ According to Orel/Stolbova 1994, Ar *baʕīr* goes back to Sem **baʕīr*- '[1]bull, [2]young bull, [3]camel, [4]ox', which in turn may have developed from an hypothetical AfrAs **baʕür*- 'bull'. Militarev/Stolbova 2007 reconstruct, like Kogan a bit more cautiously, Sem **bVʕVr*- but with the meaning of either 'cattle' or 'camels'; building on the evidence from other AfrAs branches, however, we are back to the value 'bull' for AfrAs **biʕ(-Vr)*- (?).

7.4. ʔib(i)l

Another word for 'camels', *ʔib(i)l*, is conventionally attributed to a root that displays an extreme semantic diversity the disentanglement of which would need an article in its own right.[6]

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[5] Cf. Pennacchio 2014: 163.

[6] *DRS* #ʔBL mentions 7 main values for Ar (out of 10 in Sem): **1** *ʔabbala*, var. *ʔabbana* 'pleurer un mort, prononcer un éloge funèbre', *ʔabīl* 'triste, affligé', *ʔablaï* 'dommage, perte, malheur', *ʔabila* 'renoncer au monde, se livrer entièrement au culte de Dieu'; **2** *ʔubl* 'regain', *ʔabal* 'frais, vert, fourrage', *ʔabala* 'to be content with green pastures', *ʔabila* 'recevoir la pluie'; ? *ʔabila* 'être riche';

ʔib(i)l exists as a collective noun only, i.e., neither can it refer to just one camel nor can a singulative ("*nomen unitatis*") be formed from it.

LEMMA **ʔibil** إِبِل, var. *ʔibl* إِبْل

META **SW** – • **BP** ... • √ʔBL

GRAM n.coll.f.

ENGL camels – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE ▪ Given that there is no protSem term for 'camel' (cf. also → *ǧamal*, → *nāqaẗ*, → *bakr*) (Kogan 2011) and that the root corresponding to Ar *ʔib(i)l* is, with this value, »reliably attested in the Arabian area only«, its ComSem status is doubtful (Militarev/Kogan 2005 #2). Sima therefore thought (2000: 18) that it may be borrowed from a non-Sem source.

▪ Nevertheless, *DRS* 3 reconstructs Sem **ʔ/hibil-* 'chameau, troupe de chameaux; bête de somme'. (Militarev/Kogan 2005 suggest [Arabian] Sem **ʔibil-* 'camel'.)

▪ There may also be an AfrAs dimension. Reconstructions made on account of possible cognates in Berb [**(H)abal-* '(young) camel'], CChad [**bVlHin-* 'donkey'], EChad [**bVl(l)ah-* 'mare; donkey'], Beja [*balāb-* (< **balbal-*) '2–3 years old camel'], CCush (Agaw) [**bayl-*/**biHl-* 'mule'], and HECush [**buHul-* 'mule'] include AfrAs **ʔi-bil-* 'camel, donkey' (Orel/Stolbova 1995 #90), **ʔa/iba/il-*, **balbal-* 'camel' (Militarev/Kogan 2005 #2), and **(ʔV-)bVl-* 'camel; equid' (Militarev/Stolbova 2007).

7.5. faras

Like for 'camel', »[t]here is no deeply rooted common term for 'horse'« in Sem either (Kogan 2011: 206). In Ar, we find, for instance, the n.coll. *ḫayl* and terms like *ǧawād* (perh/probably akin to *ǧūd*, treated in part I of this study), *ḥiṣān* (mostly for the male animal), *faras* (often female), *muhr* 'foal', etc.

And like √ʔBL, the "root" √FRS too displays a high degree of complexity – obviously the result of the convergence of several etymological units. Suffice it to mention that in MSA we find, apart from the evidently foreign words for **a** 'Persia' (→ *furs*) and **b** 'Pharisee' (→ *farrīsī*), such disparate values as **c** 'horse' (*faras*), 'horsemanship, chivalry' (*furūsiyyaẗ*), 'knight, cavalier, chevalier; hero'

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3 *ʔibil*, *ʔibl* 'chameau'; ? **4** *ʔibbawl* 'bande, troupeau (de chevaux, de chameaux), oiseau qui se détache d'une nuée d'oiseaux'; **5** *ʔabala* 'entourer d'un puits de maçonnerie'; **6** (not realized in Ar); **7** *ʔubullaẗ* 'fruits verts de l'arak'; **8** *ʔabal* 'lourdeur d'estomac'; **9** and **10** (not realized in Ar). – From Lane's *Lexicon*, we may also add *ʔibālaẗ* 'bundle of firewood; bundle of dry herbage' (unless this belongs together with #ʔBL-2).

(*fāris*); **d** ‘perspicacity, discernment, keen eye; intuitive knowledge’ (→*firāsat*), ‘to scrutinize, look firmly’ (*tafarrasa*); **e** ‘to kill, tear (its prey, of a predatory animal)’ (→*farasa*), ‘prey; victim’ (*farīsat*), ‘to ravish, rape (a woman)’ (*ĭftarasa*). The corresponding “root” entry will become quite voluminous also on account of the fact that √FRS may be an extension in *-*S* from a pre-protSem biconsonantal “root nucleus” **PR*- ‘to cut (a piece from)’ > Ar → **FR*-. But it is rather unlikely that *faras* ‘horse’ has s.th. to do with the latter; *EtymArab*© will quote Rolland 2014 who summarizes the state of the art regarding *faras* in a concise manner.

LEMMA **faras** فَرَس, pl. *ʔafrās*

META **SW** – • **BP** 5663 • √FRS

GRAM n.m./f.

ENGL **1.** horse, mare; **2.** knight (*chess*) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE ▪ From WSem **paraš*- ‘horse’ (Kogan 2001), perh. from AfrAs **para/is*- ‘id.’ (Militarev/Stolbova 2007).

▪ According to Rolland 2014, the etymology of the word is still obscure. The hypotheses that have been made so far include an origin in →*furs* ‘Persia’ [rather unlikely – S.G.] and a genuine (W) Sem origin (the many cognates are a strong, though not necessarily sufficient indication of this). Forthermore, according to Rolland, the phonetic structure of the word reminds of Sem *BRD*, *PRD* etc. »qui caractérisent les noms de divers équidés de cette partie du monde à diverses époques, et pas seulement dans le domaine sémitique. Origine mésopotamienne? Voir →*barīd*.«[7]

7.6. ḫarūf

While horses aren’t slaughtered any longer to treat a guest, and camels only in certain parts of the Arab world and on certain special occasions, the ‘default’ meat of our times is that of sheep, preferably lamb. Like for ‘camel’ and ‘horse’, there exist several terms for this animal too (cf. esp. →*ḥamal*). The most common one among these today is not the original Sem word (which was **ʔimmar*- ‘lamb’, still attested in ClassAr *ʔimmar* ‘id.’[8]), but a derivation from the root ḪRF. The latter is, again, a polyvalent root, showing three basic meanings: **1**. ‘to talk foolishly’ (*ḫaraf*), **2**. ‘autumn, fall’ →*ḫarīf*, and **3**. ‘lamb’ (*ḫarūf*). As the “root” entry and those on values 2 and 3 will show, *ḫarūf* ‘lamb’ is etymological based on *ḫarīf* ‘autumn, fall’.

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[7] There is a theory saying that Ar *barīd* ‘mail’ derives from Lat *veredus* ‘thill horse’ (*‘thill horse > post horse; courier; stage > mail’)

[8] Obsolete in MSA in this sense. There is *ʔimmar* ‘simple-minded, stupid’. But this is probably not related to ‘lamb’.

LEMMA **ḫarūf** خَرُوف, pl. *ḫirāf*, *ʔaḫrifaï*, *ḫirfān*

META **SW** – • **BP** ... • √ḪRF

GRAM n.

ENGL **1.** young sheep, lamb, yearling; **2.** wether – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE ▪ In MSA, *ḫarūf* replaces ClassAr †*ʔimmar* 'id.', a descendant of the original Sem **ʔimmar*.

▪ From Sem **ḫVrVp-* 'lamb (?)' – Kogan 2011. The word seems to be akin to →*ḫarīf* 'autumn, fall', its original meaning being *'yearling' or *'the fall-born'.

▪ Probably unrelated to →*ḫaraf* 'foolish talk'.

7.7. ḏabaḥa

Among the rituals connected to generosity, the slaughtering of animals, esp. camels or horses, holds a special place. It is performed both to treat guests and with the charitable function of providing meat for those in need (cf. section on the beneficiaries of generosity). The most common/general term for 'to slaughter' is *ḏabaḥa*.

LEMMA **ḏabaḥ-** ذَبَح, *a* (*ḏabḥ*)

META **SW** – • **BP** … • √ḎBḤ

GRAM vb., I

ENGL **1.** to kill (by slitting the throat); **2.** to slaughter, butcher; **3.** to massacre; **4.** to murder, slay; **5.** to sacrifice, offer up, immolate (an animal) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE Militarev/Stolbova 2007 suggest that the word derives from Sem **ḏVbVḥ-* 'to slaughter; to sacrifice', from AfrAs **ǯVbVḥ-* 'to make a sacrifice'.

COGN ▪ Bergsträsser 1928 (for Ar *ḏibḥ*): Akk *zību*, Hbr *zéḇaḥ*, Aram *deḇḥā*, Gz *zebḥ* 'sacrifice (n.)'

▪ *DRS* 4 (1993): Akk *zebū*, Ug *dbḥ*, Hbr *zābaḥ*, Pun *zbḥ*, BiblSyr *d^{e}baḥ*, Mand *dba*, SAr *ḏbḥ*, Gz *zabḥa* 'égorger, immoler', Te *zabḥa* 'dépouiller, écorcher (une vache)'. – Akk *zib* '(offrande alimentaire)', Ug *dbḥ*, Hbr *zebaḥ*, EmpAram *dbḥ*, JP *dibḥā*, Syr *debḥā*, Ar *ḏibḥ* 'sacrifice sanglant', SAr *ḏbḥ*, Gz *zebḥ* 'victime sacrificielle'; – Ug *mdbḥt*, Pun *mdbḥ*, Hbr *mizbē^{a}ḥ*, EmpAram *mdbḥ*, Syr *madbəḥā*, Ar *maḏbaḥ*, SAr *mḏbḥt* 'autel à sacrifies'; Mand *madbha*, *madba* 'sanctuaire'; – Ar *ḏibḥaï*, *ḏubḥaï* 'douleur à la gorge, angine'.

▪ In addition to the Sem cognates (given as in *DRS*), Militarev/Stolbova 2007 #1246 mention (ECh) Bidiya *ziib* 'to make a sacrifice before

eating the new corn', and (LECush) Som *dabaaḥ* 'to slaughter', ? Eg *dbḥ* 'to beg for, request' (*dbḥt-ḥtp* 'the requisite offerings, full menu of offerings').

DISC ▪ *DRS* 4 (1993) mentions that Cohen 1969 »rapproche un certain nombre de racines cham.-sém. dont la constitution phonique présente des analogies avec celle de *ḏbḥ* signifiant 'tuer, abattre, etc.'«, but adds, rightly, that none of these show »correspondances rigoureuses« – they are too far-fetched.

▪ Militarev/Stolbova 2007 #1246 reconstruct Sem **ḏVbVḥ-* 'to slaughter; to sacrifice', ECh **ʒiHib-* (metath.) 'to make a sacrifice before eating the new corn', and LECush **ʒabaḥ-* 'to slaughter', all from AfrAs **ǯVbVḥ-* 'to make a sacrifice'.

▪ DRS 4 (1993) #ḎBḤ treats Ar *ḏibḥaï* / *ḏubḥaï* 'disease in the throat, angina; diphtheria' as belonging to the complex 'to cut the throat, sacrifice' colour'. The earliest meaning of the root may thus have been 'to cut lengthwise, split', then specialised to 'to cut the throat' as well as 'disease in the throat'.

SEMHIST ▪ **eC7** The Koran has both the vb. I *ḏabaḥa* 'to slay' (2:21 *la-ʔuʿaḏḏibanna-hū ʿaḏāban šadīdan ʔaw la-ʔaḏbaḥanna-hū*), 'to ritually sacrifice' (2:67 *ʔinna 'llāha yaʔmuru-kum ʔan taḏbaḥū baqaraïan*), the vb. II *ḏabbaḥa* 'to be in the habit of slaughtering, to slaughter in number' (28:4 *yastaḍʿifu ṭāʔifaïan min-hum yuḏabbiḥu ʔabnāʔa-hum wa-yastaḥyī nisāʔa-hum*), and the n. *ḏibḥ* 'animal earmarked or fit to be sacrificed, a sacrificial animal' (37:107 *wa-fadaynā-hu bi-ḏibḥin ʿaẓīmin*).

▪ Attestations in Polosin 1995 (*ḏabaḥa*, *ḏābiḥ*) do not alter the picture.

DERIV **ḏabbaḥa**, vb. II, to kill, slaughter, butcher, massacre, murder: D-stem, ints.

ḏabḥ, n., slaughtering, slaughter: vn. I.

ḏibḥ, n., sacrificial victim, blood sacrifice: perh. the etymon proper.

ḏibḥaï, var. **ḏubḥaï**, n.f., **1**. angina (*med.*); **2**. diphtheria: related? | *ḏ. ṣadriyyaï* / *fuʔādiyyaï*, n.f., angina pectoris (*med.*): probably related to the complex of 'slaughtering' via the idea of 'cutting the throat'.

ḏabbāḥ, adj., slaughtering, killing, murdering: ints.; n., slaughterer, butcher: n.prof.

ḏabīḥ, adj., slaughtered: quasi-PP.

ḏabīḥaï, pl. *ḏabāʔiḥ*^{u}, n.f., **1**. slaughter animal; **2**. sacrificial victim, blood sacrifice: f. of quasi-PP; **3**. sacrifice, immolation; **4**. offering, oblation: transferred from the object to the act of sacrificing.

maḏbaḥ, pl. *maḏābiḥ*^{u}, n., **1**. slaughterhouse; **2**. altar (*Chr.*): n.loc.

maḏbaḥaï, n.f., massacre, slaughter, carnage, butchery: n.loc.

7.8. munāḥaraẗ

The slaughtering of animals as a way of showing one's generosity could also take rather excessive forms. The ritual known as *munāḥaraẗ* or *muʿāqaraẗ* that consisted of trying to outrival another person by slaughtering hundreds of animals in order to give proof of one's own limitless generosity, superior to a rival's – a ritual that has much in common with the so-called *potlatsch* rituals of North American west-coast Indians – must have been quite widespread in pre-Islamic Arabia. It continued for some time also into Islamic times even though it had been forbidden by the new religion and was channeled into the obligation of almsgiving and/or the call for volontary donations (see section 3.5 *zakāẗ* and 3.6 *ṣadaqaẗ*, in Part I, *FOr* 52), which, like the *munāḥaraẗ* events, served the purpose of providing for the poor (widows, orphans, etc.) without ruining the whole tribe/family. With the ritual itself also the word *munāḥaraẗ* soon came out of use; as we can see from Wehr's dictionary, it is no longer part of the MSA lexicon (nor do we find it as an entry in Wahrmund's *Handwörterbuch* that covers usage of m/lC19).

Etymologically, *munāḥaraẗ* is clearly derived from *naḥr* 'upper part of the chest, throat'. As a vn. of form III, it shows the typical associative meaning of the *fāʿala* pattern (L-stem), i.e., literally, it means 'to compete (with s.o.) in stabbing/cutting the throats'.

The root √NḤR is not as clear and uniform as one would have wished or assumed. Even in MSA, there are at least one or two items that, at first sight, seem to be difficult to relate to (the cutting of) throats: the adj.s *niḥr* and *niḥrīr* both mean 'skilled, adept, proficient, versed, experienced (*fī* in)'. If we then turn to ClassAr, the picture becomes even more confusing: Badawi/AbdelHaleem 2008, for instance, gives three basic values of √NḤR in ClassAr: '**1**. chest, the upper part of the chest, the throat, to slaughter; **2**. to strive; **3**. to pour down heavily'. And in Lane viii (1893) we find: '**1**. upper part of chest, throat; to slaughter; to hit, kill; **2**. to master one's affairs; **3**. first part, beginning; to perform the prayer in the first part of its time; **4**. to become opposite, to face, confront; **5**. to pour down heavily'. Since there seem to be no cognates in Sem (apart from a Te and a Jib form which both denote the same as Ar *naḥr*), we are thrown back to Ar itself as the only point of reference we have at our disposal in order to explain the semantic variety. *EtymArab*©'s disambiguation entry on √NḤR therefore reproduces more or less the opinion of the Arab lexicographers – who make all values ultimately dependent on *naḥara a* (*naḥr*).

LEMMA **NḤR** نحر

GRAM "root"

ENGL
- NḤR_1 'upper part of chest, throat; to slaughter; to hit, kill'→ **naḥr**
- NḤR_2 'to master one's affairs' → **naḥr**

Other values, now obsolete, include:

▪ NḤR_3 †'first part, beginning; to perform the prayer in the first part of its time': see DISC below.

▪ NḤR_4 †'to become opposite, to face, confront': see DISC below.

▪ NḤR_5 †'to pour down heavily': see DISC below.

CONCISE The many meanings that the root can take in ClassAr may all go back to *naḥr* 'upper part of chest, throat'. Though scarcely attested, the root seems to be genuine Sem.

COGN See → *naḥr*.

DISC ▪ Badawi/AbdelHaleem 2008 gives three values of √NḤR in ClassAr: '**1**. chest, the upper part of the chest, the throat, to slaughter; **2**. to strive; **3**. to pour down heavily'.

▪ The lexicographers derive all values from NḤR_1 'to stab, stuck (a camel)': NḤR_2 'to master one's affairs' is explained as *'to be so experienced as s.o. who when slaughtering a camel, hits it exactly where it ought to be hit'; †NḤR_3 'first part, beginning; to perform the prayer in the first part of its time' is another transfer of meaning, either of 'upper part (of body)' > 'upper part = beginning (of s.th.)', or (in the case of the early prayer) of the notion of 'exactness', to the field of religious duties; †NḤR_4 'to become opposite, to face, confront' is *'to become abreast of'. The value †NḤR_5 'to pour down heavily' (only in vb. VI, *tanāḥara*, said of a cloud that bursts out with water) is not explained but could be interpreted as figurative use as well: rain pouring from a cloud *like* the blood from an animal whose throat has just been cut.

On the other hand, the complexity of the picture in ClassAr notwithstanding, the entry on *naḥr* itself remains largely unaffected by these considerations and can probably count as one of the 'safest' in *EtymArab*©:

LEMMA **naḥr** نَحْر, pl. *nuḥūr*

META **SW** – • **BP** … • √NḤR

GRAM n.

ENGL upper portion of the chest, juncture of chest and neck, throat – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE Militarev/Kogan 2000 consider evidence in Sem broad enough to reconstruct Sem **naḥ(a)r* 'upper part of the chest'.

COGN Militarev/Kogan 2000 (*SED* I) #196: Te *näḥar* 'breast' (regarded as an Arabism by some), Jib *náḥar* 'windpipe and lungs'. »Scarce but reliable attestation in SSem area.«

DISC See **CONCISE**.

SEMHIST **eC7** Q **naḥara 1**. (to stand upright; to fulfil one's duties as they become due, in 1 interpretation of 108:2) *fa-ṣalli li-rabbi-ka wa-'nḥar* 'so pray to your Lord and be upright [in your prayer] (*or*, and fulfil your prayers as early/as soon as it becomes due)'; **2**. (slaughter, kill a sacrificial animal, in another interpretation of 108:2) 'so pray to your Lord and make your sacrifice'

DERIV **naḥara**, *u* (*naḥr*), vb. I, to cut the throat (of an animal), slaughter, butcher, kill (an animal): denom.

tanāḥara, vb. VI, to fight; to kill each other, hack each other to pieces, engage in internecine fighting: tL-stem, denom., recipr.

ĭntaḥara, vb. VIII, to commit suicide: Gt-stem, denom., refl., lit. 'to cut one's own throat'.

naḥr, n., killing, slaughter(ing), butchering: lexicalized vn. I | *yawm al-naḥr*, n., Day of Immolation (on the 10th of Ḏū 'l-ḥiǧǧaï).

niḥr and **niḥrīr**, pl. *naḥārīr*^{u}, adj., skilled, adept, proficient, versed, experienced (*fī* in): belonging to the obsolete meaning of vb. I, †'to master (e.g., *al-ʔumūr* the affairs)', explained by the classical lexicographers as derived from the original meaning of *naḥara*, 'to stab (a camel etc.) in its *manḥar*', hence 'to hit, hurt' s.o. exactly where he is vulnerable, hence *naḥara ... ʕilman* 'to master s.th. by knowledge or science' (cf. Lane 8, 1893).

naḥīr, adj., killed, slaughtered, butchered: quasi-PP.

manḥar, n., throat, neck: n.loc.

ĭntiḥār, n., suicide: vn. VIII.

manḥūr, adj., killed, slaughtered, butchered: PP I.

muntaḥir, adj./n., suicide (person): PA VIII.

7.9. ʔahlaka

Generosity discourses are often also eager to demonstrate that the giver's openhandedness reached a degree where it endangered his own existence and that of his family. Therefore the neutral *ʔanfaqa* 'to spend (s.th. on s.o.)' seems to be less common in such narratives than verbs like *ʔahlaka*, *ʔatlafa* or *ʔafnà*, all meaning 'to destroy, bring about ruin over (o.s. and others by spending too excessively)'.[9] Let us look at one example of the latter.

ʔahlaka is a form IV vb. based on vb. I, *halaka* 'to perish, die, be annihilated, destroyed' and is thus a simple *Š- causative of the latter with the literal sense of 'to make perish, cause to die, etc.'. A look into Semitic shows that the basic

[9] Cf. the potlatsch-like *munāḥaraï* rituals, mentioned above, #7.8.

meaning ‘to perish’ in Arabic is in itself the result of a semantic extension from the Semitic basic notion of ‘to go, walk, go away’.

LEMMA **halak-** هَلَكَ, *i* (*halk*, *hulk*, *halāk*, *tahlukaẗ*)

META **SW** – • **BP** … • √HLK

GRAM vb., I

ENGL to perish; to die; to be annihilated, wiped out, destroyed – Wehr/Cowan 1979

CONCISE From Sem *√HLK ‘to go, walk’. The meaning ‘to perish’ is a semantic extension, attested also in other Sem languages that have preserved the original basic meaning ‘to go, walk’. ClassAr still has †*tahallaka*, vb. V, and †*tahālaka*, vb. VI, both in the sense of ‘to swagger gracefully in one’s walk’ (said of a woman).

COGN *DRS* 5 (1995) #HLK-**1**. Akk *alāku*, Ug *hlk*, Hbr *hālak*, Phoen Pun Moab *hlk*, oAram EmpAram BiblAram *hlk*, *hk*, Nab Palm *hlk*, Syr Mand *hallek* ‘aller, marcher, s’en aller’, Ar *halaka* ‘périr, être détruit’, *tahālaka* ‘marcher avec grâce (femme)’, *ĭhtalaka* ‘marcher avec fierté; se jeter sur qn’, *ĭstahlaka* ‘détruire, mettre hors d’usage; confisquer’, MSA ‘dépenser, consommer’; EgAr *hālik* ‘mortel; déchet industriel’, *hālūk* ‘plante parasite de certaines cultures’, SaudAr *halākīt* ‘mouvement’; Qat *hlk* ‘se comporter’, *šhlk* ‘achever’, Mhr *hīlek*, Jib *helk* ‘être très fatigué et assoiffé; regretter un disparu’, *ehulk* ‘annihiler’, *hélä̆k* ‘difficulté, impasse’, Mhr *hōlək* ‘décédé’, *hələkt* ‘soif’, Soq *htlk* ‘périr’, Te *halkä* ‘s’efforcer de, s’exténuer; mourir, crever’, *haläkä* ‘troubler’, *halkay* ‘fatigué’, Tña *haläkä* ‘se fatiguer, s’agiter; aller et venir d’un endroit à l’autre sans raison’, *halläkä*, Amh *tälaläkä* ‘s’obstiner à faire qc.’, *əlkam* ‘têtu’. – […]

DISC ▪ For further discussion see Kogan 2015: 234, 264.

▪ Dolgopolsky 2012 #771 finds parallels (with metathesis) in Berb *√HKL ‘to walk’ and reconstructs Nostr **haLVḲˀu*ˀ ‘to step, to walk’.

WESTLANG Not from Ar *halaka* but from pBibl Hbr *hᵃlāḵāh* ‘rule, tradition’ (from *hālaḵ* ‘to go’) is Engl *Halacha* – Huehnergard 2011.

DERIV Among the many derivatives – of which the following list is only an excerpt – we find:

hallaka, vb. II, and **ʔahlaka**, vb. IV, to ruin, destroy: D- and *Š-stem, respectively; caus. of I | *ʔahlaka ’l-ḥarṯ wa’l-nasl*, expr., to destroy lock, stock and barrel

tahālaka, vb. VI, to exert o.s., do o.’s utmost (*fī* in); to pounce, fall, throw o.s. (*ʕalà* upon); to fight desperately (*ʕalà* for); to covet, crave (*ʕalà* s.th.); to feel enthusiasm (*ʕalà* for), devote o.s. eagerly (*ʕalà* to), go all out (*ʕalà*

for); to become languid, tired, weak; to drop in utter exhaustion (*ʕalà* on); to break down, collapse

halāk, n., ruin, destruction; perdition, eternal damnation: vn. I.

tahlukaẗ, n.f., ruin; jeopardy, perilous situation, danger

BP#3014**ïstihlāk**, n., consumption; attrition, wear and tear; discharge, amortization: vn. X.

mutahālik, adj., broken down, downandout; exhausted: PA VI.

BP#2985**mustahlik**, n., consumer: PA X.

7.10. ʔakala

Since generosity mostly means hospitable treatment and huge amounts of food are involved, the guest's duty – in recognition of the host's generosity – is to eat and drink a lot. The basic Arabic word for eating, *ʔakala*, is etymologically more or less unproblematic, apart from the fact that the relation between the theme 'to eat' and the other theme that is found in Semitic, 'to be equal, sufficient', perhaps needs further investigation:

LEMMA **ʔakal-** أَكَلَ, *u* (*ʔakl*, *maʔkal*)

META **SW** 55/37 • **BP** 1338 • √ʔKL

GRAM vb., I

ENGL to eat; to eat up, consume, swallow, devour, destroy; to eat, gnaw (at), eat away, corrode, erode; to spend unlawfully, enrich o.s., feather o.'s nest (with) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE From Sem **ʔVkul-* 'to eat'. – Any relation to the theme 'to be equal, sufficient > half' as found in SAr and EthSem?

COGN ▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #148, *DRS* 1 (1994) #ʔKL-**1**: Akk *akālu*, Ug *ʔakl*, Phoen *ʔkl*, Hbr *ʔākal*, Syr *ʔekal*; Gz *ʔəkl* 'food', Te *ʔəkəl*, Amh *ʔəhəl* 'grain'. – Outside Sem: Hs *kālā-čī* 'food'.

▪ Do we also have to consider *DRS* 1 (1994) #ʔKL-**2**? : 'être égal, suffisant > moitié': SAr *mʔkly* 'moitié'; Gz *ʔakala*, Te *ʔaklä*, Tña *ʔahalä* 'être suffisant'; Amh *ʔAkkälä* 'être égal'; Tña *maʔkäl* 'milieu'; Te *ʔakəl* 'comme, pareil à'; Amh *əkkul* 'moitié'; Te *ʔakəl ʔayi*, Amh *mən yahəl* 'combien?'; ?Gz *ʔakāl*, Te *ʔakal* 'corps'; Amh *akal* 'personne'.

DISC ▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #148: Sem **ʔVkul-* 'to eat', WCh **kal-* (< **kaʔVl*) 'food', both from AfrAs **ʔVkul-* 'to eat' (the WCh forms resulting from metathesis).

▪ Cf. also *DRS* 1 (1994) #ʔKL-**2**?

DERIV The list of derivatives is rather extensive, but can be dropped here – it does not show any peculiarities or "surprises" that would be worth noticing.

7.11. laḥm

More challenging than the etymology of the two preceding items is that of the standard Arabic word for 'meat', i.e., the type of food that is preferably offered to guests by generous, hospitable hosts. Problems arise from two facts. First, the root Ar √LḤM displays quite a variety of themes, even in MSA:

LḤM_1	'meat'	→ **laḥm**
LḤM_2	'to mend, patch, weld, solder (up); woof, weft (of a fabric); close union, conjunction, connection, coherence, cohesion, adhesion, to adhere, cleave, stick to s.th., get stuck; relationship, kinship'	→ **laḥama**
LḤM_3	'bloody fight, slaughter, massacre, fierce battle'	→ **malḥamaẗ**

Secondly, the direct cognates of LḤM_1 in Semitic do not mean 'meat', but rather 'food' in general, or 'bread' in particular.

The variety of themes is usually reduced to two basic meanings if one assumes that the idea of fighting (LḤM_3) – apart from Ar also found in WSem (Ug *lḥm* 'to fight,' *mlḥmt* 'war', Hbr *lāḥam* 'to fight,' *milḥāmâh* 'battle, war', oAram *lḥmh* 'war' – Kogan 2015: 427, with fn. 1228) – probably is a metaphorical use of LḤM_2, developed from a literal *'to get into fierce contact, bicker with s.o.'. If this is true, LḤM_3 is dependent on LḤM_2, for which one then can assume a basic meaning, in protSem, of *'to come/bring in close contact, to touch', represented by (LḤM_2) Ar *laḥama* 'to fit, join together', Gz *ʔalḥama* 'to close, glue', Te *läḥamä* 'to hold together by means of glue', *ʔalḥamä* 'to glue,' *ləḥəm belä* 'to stick', Mhr *ləḥām* 'to touch', Jib *laḥám* 'to jump up and touch (something high)', Soq *ḷáḥam* 's'habituer', and which still seems to be preserved in Syr *lḥem* 'to suit, be appropriate; to lean towards, attach o.s. to', (pa.) 'to join, adapt' (ibid.). In SSem, this LḤM alternates with LHM (with non-"emphatic" *h* : Jib *lɛhém*, Soq *ḷéhɛm* 'to touch', id., 563), a fuzziness which is repeated, interestingly, in the parallels between Sem LḤM items meaning 'to devour, swallow' and Ar *lahima* 'to devour, gobble, swallow up'.

But what about the relation, or non-relation, between LḤM_1 and LḤM_2+3? Most studies treat *either* the first *or* the second, silently assuming that they are two separate homonymous roots. As far as I can see it is only Georg Krotkoff (1969) who has made an attempt to see both together, building on the idea that *laḥm* – be it meat (as with the Arabs) or bread (as in Hbr etc.) – shows a texture that is characterized by the 'sticking together' of its fibres. (Krotkoff here builds on Guidi 1879 for whom Sem **laḥm-* basically meant 'food', interpreted as something 'solid' – »cosa 'solida'«, 596 – , as opposed to drinks, soups, mashes, etc., and with this also attaches **laḥm* to the idea of

a texture whose fibres are 'glued together'.) I leave it to the discretion of the reader to decide whether this attempt, which not only makes LḤM_3 but also LḤM_1 dependent on LḤM_2, is convincing or not.

As for the difference of meaning inside Sem LḤM_1, it seems quite safe to assume, with Guidi 1879, a development from an original general '(solid) food' (and a corresponding verb **lḥm* 'to eat, consume', as in Akk *laḫāmu*, Ug *lḥm*) to more peculiar meanings, either 'bread' (as in WSem) or 'flesh, meat' (as in Ar), depending on the respective natural givens and social customs.

LEMMA **laḥm** لَحْم, pl. *luḥūm*, *liḥām*

META **SW** 29/96 • **BP** 1518 • √LḤM

GRAM n.

ENGL flesh; meat – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE From Sem **laḥm-* '(solid) food'. The item may be akin to, if not even dependent on, Sem *LḤM 'to be/get in close contact, be glued together, be compact, solid' (= LḤM_2, see → *laḥama*). The meaning 'meat' seems to be a specialisation, peculiar to Arabic, from an earlier, more general *'food' in Sem.

COGN ▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1642, Zammit 2002, Tropper 2008: Ug *lḥm* 'food, bread; grain', Phoen *lḥm*, Hbr *läḥäm*, TargAram *lᵉḥēm*, Syr *laḥmā* 'bread, food'; Ar *laḥm*, *laḥam* 'flesh, meat'. – Outside Sem: Cognates (acc. to Orel/Stolbova) in *laam*, *laamu* 'meat' in two WCh languages; note also Hs *lamai* 'tuwo'. – Cf. also corresponding verbs: Akk *laḫāmu* (also *leḫēmu*, *lêmu*, *leʔēmu*, *leʔāmu*) 'to consume, eat (and drink)', Ug *lḥm* 'to eat, devour', Hbr *läḥäm* 'to use as food, eat; to try, taste'.

▪ For further possible cognates cf. root entry → LḤM (for the general picture) as well as → *laḥama* (LḤM_2) and → *malḥamaẗ* (LḤM_3).

DISC ▪ On account of the Sem evidence Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1642 reconstruct Sem **laḥm-* 'bread, food; meat'. Taken together with the WCh evidence, for which the authors reconstruct WCh **laHam-* 'meat', they postulate a common origin in AfrAs **laḥam-* 'meat, food'.

▪ Huehnergard 2011 assumes Sem √LḤM 'to eat'.

▪ For a discussion of the relation between 'meat', 'bread' and the more general 'food', cf. Guidi 1879, Fraenkel 1889, Krotkoff 1969.

▪ For an attempt to make Sem **laḥm-* '(solid) food' dependent on *LḤM 'to be/get in close contact, be glued together, be compact, solid' (LḤM_2), see Krotkoff 1969. If there is such dependence, then

Ar *laḥm* 'meat' is akin to other items of the root, such as → *laḥama* 'to mend, patch, weld, solder (up)', II *laḥḥama* 'to solder', VIII *ĭltaḥama* 'to adhere, stick to, cling to, fit closely, be interjoined, closely united; to scar over, cicatrize (wound)', *laḥmaẗ*, *luḥmaẗ* 'woof, weft (of a fabric), *luḥmaẗ* 'relationship, kinship', as well as to the complex of 'battle, fighting, etc.' (LḤM_3), cf. → *malḥamaẗ*.

▪ »*Laḥm* was used in Classical Arabic to designate any type of meat, including flesh (edible or not), and even the core of fruit. In present-day Arabic, the same word, while still used to designate flesh and still within the domain of edible meats, conveys (red) meats almost exclusively, while other types of meats are referenced often by the name of their animal source (e.g. *dajāj* 'chicken')« – Esseesy 2009.

DERIV **bi-laḥmih wa-šaḥmih**, expr., in his real human form; *laḥman wa-daman*, expr., dyed in the wool, inveterate

laḥmaẗ, n.f., a piece of flesh or meat: n.un.

laḥim, adj., fleshy, corpulent; carnivorous: adj. formation.

laḥḥām, n., **1**. butcher; **2**. → *laḥama* : n.prof.

laḥīm, adj., fleshy: quasi-PP.

laḥāmaẗ, n.f., fleshiness, corpulence: n.abstr.

For other items of the root, cf. → *laḥama* and → *malḥamaẗ* and, for the general picture, root entry → LḤM.

7.12. saqà

The function of the *sāqī*, i.e., the one who gives a guest to drink, quenches his thirst and/or treats him with refreshing and/or intoxicating drinks (→ *sakar*, → *ḫamr*), in pre-Islamic times carried out by the generous host or his servants, will become a more or less institutionalized office in the Islamic period, especially in court culture. The *sāqī* is also a familiar figure in poetry, particularly mystic love and wine poetry, where the magic potion of divine love is drunk from a cup offered by the *sāqī*. The etymology of the corresponding verb is rather unproblematic:

LEMMA **saqà** سَقَى, *i* (*saqy*)

META SW – • BP … • √SQY

GRAM vb., I

ENGL to give to drink, make s.o. drink; to water (cattle, plants) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE From Sem **šḳy* 'to irrigate, quench one's thirst' – Kogan 2015: 30, 537. According to Huehnergard, who also assumes Sem **šḳy*, this

word for the 'watering of animals (and irrigation of fields)' belongs to the oldest proto-Semitic layer of agricultural terminology that can be reconstructed (2011: 2068). Militarev/Stolbova's reconstruction (**šVḳ-* 'to drink, give to drink' < AfrAs **sVḳ^{w}-* 'to drink') (2007) is supported by the extra-Semitic evidence, but little convincing inside Semitic itself. – Any connection with the IndEur theme 'to suck'?

COGN ▪ Bergsträsser 1928, Zammit 2002: Akk *šaqū* 'tränken, bewässern', Ug *šqy* 'to drink', Hbr *šāqā* (hif.) 'to cause to drink; to water', Aram (af.) *š^{e}qā* 'to give drink; to water', Syr (af.) *ʔašqī* 'to water, irrigate', SAr *sqy* 'to irrigate; to provide with water', Gz *saqaya* 'rigare, irrigare', Ar *saqā* (y) 'to water, give drink to'

▪ Militarev 2006 #1469 (< Orel/Stolbova 1994 #2220): Akk *šaqû* 'to give a drink', Ug *šqy* 'to drink', Hbr (hi) *hi-šqâh*, Jib *šeḳe* 'to give a drink'. – Outside Semitic, Militarev / Stolbova 2007 (< Stolbova 2006) quote the forms *soke* 'to give water (to a child)') in a WCh language, and *sexwì*, *sɛgwi*, *sakwù* 'to drink' in some CCh idoms.

▪ For ClAr √SQY and Hbr √ŠQY 'to give to drink', Almedlaoui 2012 also compares Berb *swa* 'to drink'.

DISC ▪ Militarev / Stolbova 2007 reconstruct Sem **šVḳ-* 'to (give to) drink', WCh **suḳ-* / **swaḳ-* 'to give water (to a child)' and CCh **sVḳwa-* 'to drink', and from these AfrAs **sVḳ^{w}-* 'to drink'.

▪ Dolgopolsky 2012 #2031 even connects Sem **šḳy* 'to give to drink' with IndEur **seu̯g-* (~ **°seu̯k-*?) 'to suck' (> nHGe *saugen*, Engl *suck*, etc.) and reconstructs Nostr **šükVʔa* 'to drink, suck'. Usually, however, the IndEur root is believed to be **seuə-* 'to take liquid' (Kluge 2002 s.v. *saugen*, Harper s.v. *suck*, *sup*), without **-g-*, so that Dolgopolsky's equation of Sem **-ḳ-* and IndEur **-g-* remains without basis.

DERIV Among the main derivates we find

sāqin, det. *sāqī*, pl. *suqāï*, n., cupbearer, Ganymede, saki: PA I.

sāqiyaï, n.f., **1**. barmaid; **2**. (pl. *sawāqin*, det. *sawāqī*) **a**. rivulet; irrigation ditch, irrigation canal; **b**. water scoop; **c**. sakieh, water wheel: PA f.

7.13. šariba, sakar, qahwaï, ḫamr

The entries on **šariba** 'to drink', **sakar** 'intoxication', **qahwaï** 'wine; coffee' and **ḫamr** 'alcoholic drink' are too extensive to be reproduced in the present overview, mainly due to polyvalence encountered in the corresponding roots. The interested reader is kindly requested to consult these entries online, on the *EtymArab*© website currently hosted by *Bibliotheca Polyglotta.*

7.14. Under preparation / partly finished…

… are *EtymArab*© entries on **muʕāqaraẗ** / **taʕāqur** 'to compete with s.o. in cutting the tendons (of animals)', i.e., in slaughtering, **mufāḫaraẗ / tafāḫur** and **mumāǧadaẗ** / **miǧād** 'to compete with s.o. for glory', **ʔanfaqa** 'to spend (s.th. on s.o.)', **ʔatlafa** and **ʔafnà** (similar to 7.9. **ʔahlaka**) 'to destroy (o.s. and others by spending too excessively)', **šabiʕa** 'to be full, have eaten one's fill', **kabāb** 'fried or broiled meat'.

8. Common metaphors etc.

Among the many metaphors that were used to characterize a person's generosity were those that likened his *karam*, *ǧūd*, *saḫāʔ* etc. to a sea one is immersed in, or rivers or the rain that come with huge amounts of fresh, life-giving water, or the dew that makes sear thirsty plants blossom out again, or a hand that brings the spring to a landscape. I will only treat a very small selection of items to conclude this article.

8.1. baḥr

To call a person a "sea" or an "ocean" of generosity was even so common that the metaphorical meaning was lexicalized in the course of time – with the result that one of the standard values of *baḥr* today is 'very generous person'.

If we look at the evidence in MSA only, the root √BḤR seems to be rather homogeneous. There are, apparently, only very few BḤR items in the modern lexicon that cannot easily be related to the value 'sea', be it as a derivation ('to travel by sea, to sail; marine, naval; navigation', etc.), extension ('large river') or as figurative use (as in the case of 'generous person'). Those few items, however, that do *not* fit into this "harmony" are rather annoying: for some reason or other, *baḥr* can also mean '(poetical) meter', and apart from that the lemma BḤR in Wehr/Cowan mentions the verb *baḥira*, meaning 'to be startled, be bewildered (with fright)', and the noun *buḥrān* 'crisis (of an illness); climax, culmination (also, e.g., of ecstasy)'; quite irritating is also the fact that what without doubt is a diminuitive of *baḥr*, the noun *buḥayraẗ*, not only can mean 'lake' (< *'little sea') but in Tunisian Arabic this word also signifies a 'vegetable garden, truck garden'. These "irregularities" should suffice to make us suspect that our initial impression that √BḤR might be a rather homogenous root, was nothing but wishful thinking. Indeed, as soon as we risk a look into the *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* (*DRS*), Lane's *Lexicon* or Nöldeke's *Neue Beiträge*, we understand immediately that we are dealing with a case of immense complexity. *Baḥr* itself seems to be one of the *ʔaḍdād* that we have already come across earlier (see part I, s.v. *ǧār*). Thus, in ClassAr,

baḥr can not only mean 'sea' but also 'wide land', 'lowland', or 'inhabited territory'. *DRS* gives not less than nine main values that the root displays in Sem, seven among these having representatives in Ar *and* other Sem languages or being listed because of their occurrence exclusively in Ar. As if this was not enough, for some values the *DRS* entry on √BḤR refers us to another lemma, B/MḤN/R 'to test', and it is there, not under BḤR, that we find, for example, the form V and X verbs *tabaḥḥara* and *ĭstabḥara* 'to penetrate deeply, delve (into s.th.); to study thoroughly (a subject)' that one had thought to be obvious derivations from *baḥr* in the sense of 'sea of knowledge', namely *'to make o.s. delve into a subject *like* in a vast sea of knowledge'. In contrast, *DRS* groups *tabaḥḥara* together with Ar *maḥana* 'to try, try out, test, put to the test' (cf. *ĭmtiḥān* 'test, exam'). In contrast, the lexicographers on whom Lane relies, connect *tabaḥḥara*, as we would have done, to *baḥr*, explaining that it means 'to go deep into science, or knowledge, and enlarge o.s., or take a wide range, therein, *wide as the sea*' (my italics, S.G.). May this at first have a reassuring effect on us, we only have to go on reading the BḤR entry in Lane to find that the lexicographic material assembled there is non really comforting either, for the entry lists even more values than those *DRS* has taken account of and tried to sort out, e.g., †'swift excellent horse' (for *baḥr*), and 'the moon' and 'intense heat in the month of *tammūz*' (both for †*al-bāḥūr*, obsolete in MSA). In addition, Lane reproduces the classical lexicographers' view that *baḥr* 'sea' is not only a *source* of derivations but also *itself* secondary, going back either to the idea of 'wideness, spaciousness' ('sea' < *'the wide, spacious, large, deep one') or to that of 'cutting, splitting, dividing' (in this interpretation, 'sea' is assumed to be taken from 'river' as the allegedly more general meaning, which in turn is called *baḥr* because it flows in a bed that "is trenched in the earth", from the vb. †*baḥara* 'to slit, cut, divide lengthwise, split, clave'... and hence also 'to enlarge, make wide'). The latter is also an example of the fact that the lexicographers themselves often differed as to the semantic relation between the many values. It goes without saying that the medieval scholars' opinions have to be treated with caution, for they clearly show a tendency to trace diversity within a root back to one basic value.

From the brief discussion above it should be clear that the "root" entry BḤR will be rather extensive – too extensive to be reproduced in the present article. (An overview over the "system" BḤR as frequently met in ClassAr dictionaries is to be found below in the Appendix, pp. 138f.)

As for the entry "*baḥr*" itself, it has to explain only two values that come in addition to the basic '**1**. sea' and its relative '**2**. large river', namely '**3**. noble/great man' and '**4**. (poetical) meter'. While 'noble/great man' is based, as we saw, on the comparison of a generous man with the ocean or the abundant water of a large river and thus without doubt figurative use, the case of '(poetical) meter' is not as evident. Strangely enough, this value is not mentioned at all

in Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon* (nor in al-Bustānī's *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* or his *Qaṭr al-muḥīṭ*). The dictionaries Lane summarizes do however give, as one of the meanings of *ĭstabḥara* (vb. X) 'to expatiate in speech' (a poet, speaker, orator). This suggests a connection between 'meter' and the idea of 'wideness, spaciousness' that according to a number of dictionaries is the very "essence", the "proper" meaning of the root. Freytag presents the opinion of *his* references (Ǧawharī, Fīrūzābādī, et al.) as saying that the proper meaning of *baḥr* is '*aqua multa vel aqua salsa*' (much water, or salty water), *hence* also 'big river' (e.g., Nile, Euphrates) and 'river (in general)', and that '*a mari plures significationes derivatae sunt*' [from 'sea' several meanings are derived], among which also '*metrum in carminibus*'. These explanations are helpful in that they do not let us reject from the outset a possible semantic kinship between 'sea, river' and 'meter' but make us retain such a connection as a hypothesis to be checked; unfortunately, however, they do not elaborate on the *way* both values may be connected. – A closer examination of the case shows that 'meter' is indeed related to 'river', more precisely the *flowing* of a river. Given that it is a technical term in prosody and that the systematization of philological (and other) disciplines was completed in Islamic history in close dialogue with the Grk sciences, it is not surprising to learn (e.g., from the article on Ar prosody, *ʕarūḍ*, by Gotthold Weil in *EI²*) that the name for »[t]he ideal forms in the circles [as designed in the foundational work on Arabic metrics, *Kitāb al-ʕarūḍ*[10]], *buḥūr* (sg. *baḥr*), signifies "river, ῥυθμός".« So, *baḥr* for 'metre' is obviously a calque from Grk *rhythmós* 'measured movement, harmonious flow (in dance, speech, music, ...)', which in itself is from the vb. *rhéō* (1SG.PRS) 'to flow'. Thus, there is good reason to group *baḥr* in the sense of '(poet.) meter' together with 'sea', 'river', and 'generous person':

LEMMA **baḥr** بَحْر, pl. *biḥār*, *buḥūr*, *ʔabḥār*, *ʔabḥur*

META **ID** 054 • **SW** 129 • **BP** 507 • √BḤR

GRAM n.

ENGL **1.** sea; **2.** large river; **3.** a noble, or great, man (whose magnanimity or knowledge is comparable to the sea); **4.** meter (*poet.*) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE ▪ From SSem **baḥr-* 'sea' (following Kogan 2011; in contrast, Dolgopolsky 2012 #253 reconstructs WSem **baḥ̯ V̯ r-* 'watercourse, river' > 'sea').

▪ **[v3]** 'noble, or great, man' can be thought to be figurative use (Wehr/Cowan: person »whose magnanimity or knowledge is comparable to the sea«).

[10] Authored by al-Ḫalīl b. ʔAḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. 786 or 791 CE).

▪ **[v4]** ‘(poetical) meter’ remains unexplained in the sources but is obviously a calque from Grk *rhythmós* ‘measured movement, harmonious flow’ (in dance, speech, music, ...) (from *rhéō* ‘to flow’).

COGN ▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #305: Syr *baḥrā*, SAr *bḥr*, Gz *bāḥr*, Te *bähar*, Tña *baḥri*, Amh *bahər*. – Outside Sem: WCh Sura *voγor*, Ang *fwor* ‘rivulet’, Grk *vor*, *voor* ‘pond; rivulet’, ECh Kera *vor* ‘sea, river’.

▪ Leslau 1979: SAr *bḥr*, Gur *bahər*.

▪ Kogan 2011: Ar *baḥr*, Sab Min *bḥr*, Gz *bāḥr*.

DISC ▪ Kogan 2011: From SSem **baḥr-*, which seems to be the most widespread replacement in the SSem area for what probably had been the main Sem term for ‘sea’ earlier, Sem **tihām(-at)-* (traces of which are to be found in today’s Ar only in the name for the coastal region in W Yemen, the Tihāmaï). (In the NWSem area, Sem **tihām(-at)-* was replaced by **yamm-*, which later was loaned from there into Ar as → *yamm*.)

▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #305: A hypothetical Sem **baḥr-* ‘sea, lake’ is probably the common ancestor of the Ar word as well as its Sem cognates. Together with reconstructed cognates outside Sem, such as WCh **b^{w}aHVr-* ‘pond; rivulet’ and ECh **b^{w}ar* < **b^{w}aHVr* ‘sea, river’, the Sem word may go back to AfrAs **boḥVr-* ‘sea, lake’. – *-a-* in Sem **baḥr-* may have developed from an earlier Sem **-u-* under the influence of the preceding labial.

▪ Huehnergard 2011: from Sem **baḥr-* ‘sea, coast’.

▪ Ehret 1995 #9: Together with Cush **bôoḥ-* ‘to spill (intr.)’, Ar *baḥr* goes back to AfrAs **-bôoḥ-* ‘to flow’; the word is composed of the AfrAs stem + noun suffix **-r*.

▪ Dolgopolsky 2012 #253: from WSem **baḥ̯ V̯ r-* ‘watercourse, river’ (> ‘sea’), from Nostr **b˞u˞Xŕa* ‘watercourse, river’ (which, according to Dolgopolsky, also gave IE **b^{h}˞e˞r̥ u̯-* / **°b^{h}˞ō˞r-* ‘body of water’ > oInd *bharu-ḥ* ‘sea’; cf. also Germ **brōka-* > oHG *bruoh* ‘marsh, swamp’, nHG *Bruch* ‘feuchte Wiese’, nLG *brōk*, Dt *broek* ‘Morastgrund’, AS *brōc* ‘brook, stream, river’, nEngl *brook*).

SEMHIST ▪ Unless the idea of ‘wideness’ was prior to that of ‘sea’, the latter can be assumed to have served as a metaphor for the former, which then could be transferred both to generosity and knowledge.

▪ The fact that, in Gəʕəz, *bāḥər* means ‘sea’ while *bəḥēr* is ‘land’, and that a similar “contradiction” within the root is to be found in Ar (cf. *baḥr* ‘sea’ vs. †*baḥraï* ‘land’, and the dimin. of both, *buḥayraï*, denoting ‘[little sea >] lake’ as well as †‘[little land >])

Ländchen'), made Nöldeke (*Gegensinn*, 93-4) assume that there was a »Grundbedeutung« (basic meaning), common to both, which later must have split into two. »Vielleicht 'Niederung, Senkung'? Schwerlich 'Fläche' (wie bei *aequor* 'Land' und 'Meer').« – See, however, DISC in entry → √BḤR for another picture.

DERIV **baḥḥara**, vb. II, to travel by sea, make a voyage: D-stem, denom.

ʔabḥara, vb. IV, to travel by sea, make a voyage; to embark, go on board; to put to sea, set sail, sail, depart (ship); to go downstream, be sea-bound (ship on the Nile): *Š-stem, denom.

tabaḥḥara, vb. V, to penetrate deeply, delve (*fī* into); to study thoroughly (*fī* a subject): tD-stem, denom., from *baḥr* in the sense of 'person whose knowledge is comparable to the sea', lit. *'to delve into (a sea of knowledge)'? *DRS* suggests another etymology, unrelated to *baḥr*, but rather to → √MḤN 'to examine closely, scrutinize'; see also → √BḤR.

ĭstabḥara, vb. X, = V.

al-**Baḥrayn**, n., the Bahrein Islands; (State of) Bahrein: n.topogr.

BP#3264**baḥrānī**, adj., of the Baḥrein Islands; *al-baḥārinaẗ*, the inhabitants of the Bahrein Islands: nisba formation from *(al)-baḥrayn*.

BP#1874**baḥrī**, adj., sea..., marine; maritime; nautical; naval; navigational; (in Eg.) northern, *baḥriyyaẗ* (with foll. genit.) north of: nisba formation; (pl. *-ūn*, *-aẗ*), n., sailor, seaman, mariner: nominalized nisba adj.

BP#4032**baḥriyyaẗ**, n.f., marine; navy: abstr. in *-iyyaẗ*.

baḥraẗ, n.f., pond, pool: n.un. (?).

baḥḥār, pl. *-ūn*, *baḥḥāraẗ*, n., seaman, mariner, sailor: n.prof.; pl. *baḥḥāraẗ*, crew (of a ship, of an airplane).

BP#3535**buḥayraẗ**, pl. *-āt*, *baḥāʔir*^{u}, n.f., **1**. lake: dimin.; **2**. (*tun.*) vegetable garden, truck garden: meaning transferred from 'lake' to *'place with a small lake, pond = garden'? *DRS* suggests another etymology, unrelated to *baḥr*.

ʔibḥār, n., navigation, seafaring: vn. IV.

tabaḥḥur, n., deep penetration, delving (*fī* into a subject), thorough study (*fī* of): vn. V, like *tabaḥḥara* perh. not based on *baḥr* but rather akin to √MḤN.

mutabaḥḥir, adj., thoroughly familiar (*fī* with); profound, erudite, searching, penetrating: PA V; for etymology see preceding item.

For other items from the root, cf. → √BḤR and → *baḥira*.

8.2. furāt

The Euphrates being the largest river and lifeline in Western Asia, it is no wonder that it could become a metaphor of abundance and abundant generosity – it almost suggested itself for that purpose. While the lexicographers of ClassAr tend to associate its name with a ClassAr verbal root √FRT (now extinct), »in fact

the opposite would be more plausible«, as Badawi/AbdelHaleem 2008 rightly observe, and *furāt* must therefore be treated as distinct from other values that √FRT may take in ClassAr. Since only 'sweet water; Euphrates' has survived into MSA, there will be no other entries than *furāt* to which the disambiguation entry √FRT will direct the *EtymArab*© user. However, the entry √FRT *will* contain the information that Lane vi (1877), apart from '(to be) sweet (water); Euphrates', lists three more values, all obsolete in MSA: †FRT_2 '(to be) weak-minded', as in *farita a* 'to become weak in one's intellect, after having possessed ample intelligence'; †FRT_3 'to violate religious norms', as in *farata i u* (*fart*) 'to act vitiously, or unrighteously; to commit adultery, fornication', to which according to some also belongs (*al-*) *fartanā* 'fornicatress, adultress, female slave', obviously a loanword (from ?) but related by many lexicographers to √FRT (though others say it is from √FRTN), from which is also the invective *ibn al-fartanā* 'son of the female slave that is a fornicatrice; *hence:* low, ignoble, mean, sordid'; and †FRT_4: *firt*, var. of *fitr* 'space measured by the extension of the thumb and forefinger'.

LEMMA **furāt** فُرات

META **SW** – • **BP** … • √FRT

GRAM n.fl.; adj.

ENGL **1.** *al-furāt*, n.fl., the Euphrates; **2.** *furāt*, adj., sweet (water) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE Via Hbr Syr *pᵊrāt*, or (as Pennacchio 2014 thinks) directly from Akk *purattu*, *purāt*, ultimately from Sum *pura-nun* 'great water'.

COGN Akk *purattu*, *purāt*, Hbr Syr *pᵊrāt* (not real cognates since the word is loaned from there).

DISC ▪ Jeffery 1937: 222–3: »The passages [in the Qur'ān] are all Meccan and refer to the sweet river water as opposed to the salt water of the sea, and in the two latter passages the reference is apparently to some cosmological myth. – In any case the word *furāt* is derived from the river Euphrates (Horovitz, *KU*, 130), which from the Sum *pura-nun* 'great water', appears in Akk as *purattu*, or *purāt*,[11] and in oPers as *Ufrātu*, whence the Grk *euphrátēs*. From the Akk come the Hbr *pᵊrāt* and Syr *pᵊrāt*, whence in all probability the Ar *furāt*, if indeed this was not an early borrowing from Mesopotamia.«

▪ Pennacchio 2014: 81 thinks the word is directly from Akk *purāt*, for phonological reasons. The meaning [v2] 'sweet (water)', as in the Q,

[11] Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 169 ff. 2; Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, p. 211; and cf. Meillet, *Grammaire du vieux Perse*, p. 164 (references as made by Jeffery 1938).

»viendrait de l'une des caractéristique du fleuve«, by semantic extension.

SEMHIST **eC7** The word occurs three times in the Qur'ān, always meaning 'sweet-tasting (water)', e.g., Q 77:27 *wa-ʔasqaynā-kum māʔan furātan* 'and We gave you to drink sweet-tasting water' (Badawi/AbdelHaleem 2008).

WESTLANG The European names for one of the main rivers in Mesopotamia, e.g. Engl *Euphrates*, have all come in via Grk *euphrátēs*. Jeffery 1938 thinks the latter is directly from Akk, while OED assumes oPers *ufrātu* as the more immediate source of borrowing. As this is perhaps from Av[esta] *huperethuua* 'good to cross over', composed of *hu-* 'good' + *peretu-* 'ford', which, however, according to Kent [*Old Persian*, p. 176], probably is »a popular etymologizing in oPers of a local non-Iranian name«, we are back to Akk *purattu*, *purāt*, from Sum *pura-nun* 'great water'.

DERIV –

Had *furāt* been related to †*farata* or †*farita* (see above) then a difficult topic would have been touched: the formation of so many triradical roots that have the first two radical consonants in common (R_1 = *F* and R_2 = *R*) and all display the notion of 'cutting' or 'separating', from a bi-consonantal nucleus by means of "extension", the adding of a (specifying?) third consonant. As Versteegh 1997: 76 observes, in these cases »a Proto-Semitic root **p-r* with the general meaning 'to divide' might be posited«, and the notion of 'cutting apart' and 'dividing', of 'separation' and 'isolation' seems to be a constant in the semantic history of the *f-r* group up til modern times. Thus, we have, e.g., *farra* 'to flee', *farağa* 'to split; scatter', *farada* 'to be alone', *faraza* 'to separate', *farasa* 'to tear apart', *faraša* 'to spread', *faraṣa* 'to slit, pierce', *faraḍa* 'to cut', *faraʿa* 'to branch off', *faraqa* 'to split, separate', *faraka* 'to rub', *farama* 'to mince', *farā* 'to split'. Christopher Ehret has gone a step farther and assigned certain specific semantic functions to the third consonants. Thus, he posits (Ehret 1989) a bi-consonantal "pre-Proto-Semitic" (pPSem) root **PR-* 'to cut (a piece from)' and explains the extensions, found in ClassAr, as follows (using the vn. as the quotation form): *farfar* 'to break, cut, tear to pieces' (reduplicated simple form > intensive), *fartak* 'to cut very small' (durative **-t* and **-k*), *faraṯ* 'to cut up the liver, split' (diffusive **-ṯ*), *farğ* 'to put asunder, separate, split' (finitive fortative **-g*), *furūd* 'to be single, isolated, be unique' (durative **-d*), *farz* 'to separate, set apart, secrete, select' (intensive manner **-z*), *fars* 'to break the neck, tear the prey into pieces' (fortative **-s*), *farš* 'to spread on the floor, spread out' (venitive **-ł*), *farṣ* 'to cut, split, tear' (focative **-ṣ*), *farṣam* 'to break off, cut off' (focative **-ṣ* + fortative **-m*), *farḍ* 'to make incisions, notches'

(middle *-*ḍ*), *farṭ* ‘to beat off fruit’ (durative intensive *-*ṭ*), *farʕ* ‘to prune a tree’ (sunderative *-*ʕ*), *farq* ‘to split, separate’ (intensive effect *-*ḳ*), *farkaḥ* ‘to have the buttocks wide apart, separate the legs immoderately in walking’ (durative *-*k* + iterative *-*ḥ*), *farm* ‘to cut small, hash’ (fortative *-*m*), *fary* ‘to cut, cleave, sever’ (inchoative *-*y* > transitive). In a later study (Ehret 1995), the author identifies yet another meaning of the pPSem root **PR*-, namely ‘to speak’ (from a hypothetical AfrAs **-poor*- or **-pur*- ‘to speak’): *fartan* ‘to speak indistinctly and incoherently’ (durative *-*t* + non-finitive *-*n*), *farḍ* ‘to predict, announce; divine commandment’ (middle voice *-*dl*).[12]

8.3. nahr

The “root” entry NHR will have to discuss the relation, or non-relation, between three major themes that in MSA are still the same as those listed by Badawi/AbdelHaleem 2008 for ClassAr: ‘**1**. river, stream, to strike water (in digging a well), to gush forth; **2**. daylight; **3**. to chase away, rebuke’. Accordingly, this entry contains the disambiguation

NHR_1	‘river, stream; to strike water (in digging a well), to gush forth’	→ **nahr**
NHR_2	‘daylight, day’	→ **nahār**
NHR_3	‘to chase away, rebuke’	→ **nahara**

and treats, among others, the theory that the three values all go back to the basic idea of *‘(suddenly and forcefully) gushing forth (of water), breaking through (of light)’. Given that *nahr* ‘river’ and the corresponding vb. I *nahara* ‘to flow copiously, stream forth, gush forth’ still contain this basic notion in its original form, the corresponding entry will be rather unproblematic. – As for NHR_2 (*nahār* ‘daylight, day’), the relation with, or interference of, *nūr* ‘light’ and *nār* ‘fire’ (from Sem *NWR ‘to be bright’) will have to be addressed. (For *nār*, cf. no. 6.1 of the present study, *FOr* 54 [2017]: 164–166.)

LEMMA **nahr** نَهْر, pl. *ʔanhur*, *ʔanhār*, *nuhūr*

META **SW** –/119 • **BP** 1184 • √NHR

GRAM n.

ENGL **1**. stream, river; – **2**. (pl. *ʔanhur* and *ʔanhār*) column (of a newspaper) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

[12] For a discussion of several related models and the “biradicalist” approach in general, cf. Guth 2017.

CONCISE From a ComSem noun **nah(a)r-* ‘river’ – Huehnergard 2011. Underlying may be the idea of *‘(water) gushing forth and carving a river bed/channel into the earth/soil’.

[v2] Figurative use (?).

COGN ▪ Dolgopolsky 2012 #1619: Akk *nāru* ‘river, canal; vein’, Ug *nhr* (Tropper 2008: [**nah(a)ru*]) ‘stream, river, flood’, BiblHbr *nāhār* ‘stream, river’, oAram *nhr* ‘river, watercourse’, (BDB 1906: BiblAram *nhar* ‘river’), JudAram [Targ] *nahrā* ‘stream’, Syr *nahrā*, Ar *nahr* ~ *nahar* ‘river’, Sab *ʔnhr* (pl.) ‘irrigation channels’. – Cf. also corresponding verb: BiblHbr *nāhar* ‘to stream’, Ar *nahara* ‘to flow abundantly’ (blood, river), Gz *nahara* ‘to flow, go down, leap’

▪ BDB 1906, Klein 1987: Hbr *minhārâh* (dubious) ‘(BDB:) crevices, ravines (?), (Klein:) fissure, cleft, (nHbr) tunnel’: perh. related to Ar †*minhar(aẗ)* ‘place hollowed out by water’, †*manhar* ‘bed of a river, channel of water’

DISC ▪ Huehnergard 2011 assumes a ComSem noun **nah(a)r-* ‘river’.

▪ Similarly, Dolgopolsky 2012 #1619 reconstructs Sem **nahar-* ‘stream, river’ (verbal root *√NHR ‘to stream’ attested only in WSem). – Based on Sem and extra-AfrAs evidence, the author further reconstructs Nostr **ńihRˈaˈ* ‘to stream; a stream, liquid’.

▪ According to Gabal 2012-IV: 2337, Ar *nahr* ‘river’ belongs to a theme √NHR the basic meaning of which is ‘copious (or also thin) flowing, broadly and extensively, from an opening (which it also produces and widens/carves out)’, based on a 2-consonantal nucleus **NH-* meaning ‘an opening, a void space filled by s.th.’.

▪ Fraenkel doubted that *nah(a)r* is a genuinely Arabic word (as already Guidi 1879: 7 had assumed). According to him, »the Arabs can hardly have had an idea of a stream because they only knew *wādī* and *sayl* in their lands. *nah(a)r* however is a big stream, and I believe that the Arabs have taken its name from the inhabitants of Euphrates region« – Fraenkel 1886: 285.

▪ The Sem word has also been loaned into lEg as **nahara*, *Nah(a) rêna* ‘stream, river’ – Hoch 1994 #253. – Cf. also (#254) lEg **nahara* ‘flowing; fleeing’ or ‘to flee; to sail’, (#255) **naharû* (?) ‘fugitives’.

[v2] The value ‘(newspaper) column’ given in Wehr/Cowan could not be attested elsewhere. If this is not a mistake it must be a case of figurative use (*‘channel/river bed in which text is flowing’?). No explanation could be traced.

WESTLANG ▪ Engl *Achernar* '*α* Eridani (*astron.*)', the brightest 'star' or point of light – actually, it is the primary star in a binary system – in the constellation of Eridanus, from Ar *ʔāḫir al-nahr* 'the end(point) of The River' (Grk *Potamós*, sc. the Eridanus) – Huehnergard 2011.

DERIV **mā bayna 'l-nahrayn**, n.topogr., (lit., what is between the two rivers, *sc.* Euphrates and Tigris) Mesopotamia

mā warāʔa 'l-nahr, n.topogr., (lit., what is behind/beyond the river, *sc.* the Oxus) Transoxiana

nahr ʔurdunn, n.fl., the Jordan river

nahr al-salām, n.fl., (lit., river of peace) the Tigris

nahr al-šarīʿaẗ, n.fl., the Jordan river

nahr al-ʿāṣī, n.fl., the Orontes

nahara, *a* (*nahr*), vb. I, **1**. to flow copiously, stream forth, gush forth: BDB 1906 (s.v. Hbr *nāhar*) thinks that the Ar vb. I 'to run, flow' is »perh[aps] denom[inative] fr[om] *nahr* 'river'«; **2**. → *nahara*

nahrī, adj., river- (in compounds), riverine, fluvial, fluviatile: nisba formation from *nahr.*

nahīr, adj., copious, ample, abundant, plentiful, much: quasi-PP.

nuhayr, pl. -*āt*, little river, creek, brook; a tributary, an affluent: dimin. of *nahr.*

8.4. ḫalīǧ

Another common way of characterizing the host's generosity is to liken it to a *ḫalīǧ*, a word that basically signifies »what is cut off from the main mass of water« (Lane, ii, *s.v.*) and therefore can mean everything from a canal, or a river branching off from another, or from a lake, to a bay or a gulf. The large variety of meanings that we encounter in the corresponding "root", √ḪLǦ, and the scarcity of cognates in Sem make it difficult to come with etymological suggestions. ClassAr lexicography tends to make *ḫalīǧ* dependent on the notion of 'dragging, drawing, pulling out, separating' that is one of the meanings attached to vb. I, *ḫalaǧa* (ibid.). In contrast, Nişanyan (as of August 21, 2014) gives the meaning of the Ar etymon of Turkish *haliç* as 'to writhe (with pain, etc.), suffer greatly, be in distress' (*kıvrandı*), a value that is indeed found both in ClassAr and MSA (*ḫaliǧa* 'to be broken with fatigue', *taḫallaǧa* 'to be shaken, be convulsed, be rocked', *ĭḫtilāǧaẗ* 'convulsion, jerk, twitch; tremor'). The only non-Ar cognate given in the whole *ḪLG* entry in *DRS* is Mhr *ḫəlawg* 'qui pleure la perte, la séparation d'un enfant', which could be borrowed from Ar *ḫalūǧ* '[…] she-camel […] whose young one has been taken from her […], and that yearns towards it […]' (but also 'clouds separated, or scattered, as though drawn away from the mass' – Lane); but this is put to Ar *ḫalaǧa* 'to drag, pull out, etc.' (#ḪLG-2), not Ar *ḫalīǧ* (listed sub #ḪLG-3), while *ḫaliǧa* 'to be broken, convulse, etc.' is treated as #ḪLG-1.

In the absence of comparative material and historical documentation/ attestation we are unable to draw convincing conclusions from these givens and have to content ourselves with the discussion of the material (in a "root" entry ḪLǦ, which I have to drop here, for reasons of restricted space) and a rather open, incomplete entry on *ḫalīǧ*:

LEMMA **ḫalīǧ** خَليج, pl. *ḫuluǧ*, *ḫulǧān*

META **SW** – • **BP** 993 • √ḪLǦ

GRAM n.

ENGL bay, gulf; canal – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE Etymology still rather unclear, due to lack of Sem cognates and semantic variation within Ar →ḪLǦ. Nişanyan makes *ḫalīǧ* dependent on *ḫaliǧa* 'to writhe (with pain, etc.)' (ḪLǦ_1) while ClassAr lexicographers put it to *ḫalaǧa* 'to drag, pull out, separate' (ḪLǦ_2) and *DRS* hesitates to assign it to either of the two, preferring to list it as a value in its own right (ḪLǦ_3). In the first case, *ḫalīǧ* would be *'the curved one', likened to a person writhing from pain; in the second, the bay or gulf would be regarded as s.th. *'diverted, branching off'; and in the third, it would remain without etymology.

COGN No direct cognates in Sem. – For items that may be cognates *if* the word is based on either ḪLǦ_1 or ḪLǦ_2, or both, see "root" entry →ḪLǦ.

DISC Morphologically, a derivation from ḪLǦ_1 or ḪLǦ_2 does not seem impossible. The pattern *FaʿīL*, a quasi-PP, can have the function of a PP (as in *'the diverted one') or express the intense presence of a quality in s.th. (as in *'the curved one').

DERIV al-**Ḫalīǧ**, n.topogr., name of Cairo's ancient city canal which was abandoned and leveled at the end of the 19th century

al-**Ḫalīǧ** al-**fārisī**, n.topogr., the Persian Gulf

BP#1371**ḫalīǧī**, adj., of the Persian Gulf: nisba formation.

8.5. maṭar

Like 'sea' or 'river', 'rain' is another metaphor that is frequently used to liken a host's generosity to huge amounts of refreshing water pouring down on the guest. Etymologically, the term is entirely unproblematic. Although there are no cognates of Ar *maṭar* in EthSem and attestations in Akk probably cannot count as genuine parallels, and although in Hbr the corresponding *māṭār* is not the standard word for 'rain', the overall evidence in Sem is broad enough to safely assume at least a CSem **maṭar-*.

LEMMA **maṭar** مَطَر, pl. *ʔamṭār*

META **SW** 76/115 • **BP** 1468 • √MṬR

GRAM n.

ENGL rain – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE From CSem **maṭar-* 'rain' (Kogan 2011), (perhaps) from AfrAs **maṭar-* 'water' (Orel/Stolbova 1994).

COGN ▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1747: Akk *miṭirtu* 'streaming water'; Ug *mṭr*, Hbr *māṭār*, Syr *meṭrā* 'rain'. – Outside Sem: Eg *mtr* 'water' (Amarna).

▪ Kogan 2011: Ug *mṭr*, Hbr *māṭār*, Syr *meṭrā* 'rain'; Sab Min *mṭr* 'rain-watered field'. »Akk *miṭirtu*[1] appears more problematic.«[2]

1. A type of field or orchard, characterized by a special irrigation system; a type of canal or ditch; cf. also *miṭru* 'a small canal or ditch'. – CAD. **2**. CAD has also *miṭar* 'field irrigated by rain', but this is thought to be a »WSem word«.

▪ ? For outside Sem, cf. also the Berb forms given by Bennett 1998: 228: Jebel Nafusa *anẓar*, Ghadamsi *anaẓar*, Wargla *amẓar*, Ayt Seghrouchen and Shilḥa *anẓaṛ* 'rain'.

DISC ▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1747: Sem **maṭar-* 'rain; water', from AfrAs **maṭar-* 'water'.

▪ Kogan 2011: CSem **maṭar-* 'rain'.

▪ The Berb forms given by Bennett 1998 seem to be loans from the Ar pl., *ʔamṭār*.

DERIV Most items in the list of derivatives can be dropped here – they do not show any surprises. A value that *does* seem worth noticing, however, is [v2] in the vb. I, *maṭara:*

maṭara, *u*, vb. I, **1**.**a** to rain (*maṭarat il-samāʔ* it rained); to shower with rain (of the sky); to pour out, shower, douse (s.o. *bi-* with): denominative; **b**. to do, render (*bi-ḫayr* a good turn, a favour): fig. use of [1a]; **2**. to run swiftly (horse), speed away: explained by Arab lexicographers as a fig. extension of [1a]: »*marra 'l-farasu yamṭuru*, vn. *maṭr* and *muṭūr*, and *yatamaṭṭaru* [vb. V] 'The horse passed, or went, running vehemently, *like the pouring of rain*'« (Lane vii-1885; my italics, SG).

8.6. rabīʿ

The Arabic "root" √RBʿ to which belongs the 'spring' that often serves as a metaphor for all the refreshing and rejuvenating aspects of a host's generosity is, for the time being, too complex to allow for a satisfactory, convincing disentanglement. *EtymArab*©'s corresponding entry (still work in progress at the time I am writing this article) will have to try to sort out a semantic variety

the main values of which have been summarized, for ClassAr, by Badawi/AbdelHaleem 2008 as

> »four, fourth, to happen fourth a day, foursome; square, quarter; living quarters, neighbourhood; a well-built, medium-height person; spring, to become fertile, spring rains, to be in o.'s prime, lushness«

and which can be sketched, for MSA, in a preliminary draft for the *EtymArab*© "root" entry RBʕ as follows:

RBʕ_1	'four'	→ **ʔarbaʕ(aẗ)**
	Here belong also 'quartan (fever)' (*ḥummà al-*)	→ **ribʕ**
	'fourth part, quarter' etc.	→ **rubʕ**
	'forty; Ascension Day'	→ **ʔarbaʕūn**[a]
	'Wednesday' (*yawm*) *al-ʔarbiʕāʔ* or *al-*	→ **ʔarbaʕāʔ**[u]
	as well as items like *tarbīʕ* 'lunar quarter; quadrangle; square, plaza', *tarbīʕaẗ* 'tile, floor tile', *murābiʕ* 'partner in an agricultural enterprise (sharing one quarter of the gains or losses)'	
RBʕ_2	'to gallop (horse), jump high (jerboa)'	→ **rabaʕa**
	'jerboa' (a hopping desert rodent)	→ **yarbūʕ**
RBʕ_3	'to sit, stay, live; living zone, inhabited area, territory; large group of people, clan'	→ **rabʕ**
RBʕ_4	'of medium height, medium-sized, well-built (of people)'	→ **rabʕaẗ**
	(also *marbūʕ* [*al-qāmaẗ*]); here belongs also the *rabbāʕ* 'athlete (boxer, wrestler, weight lifter, etc.)'	
RBʕ_5	'spring, vernal season; Rabia I and II (name of the third and fourth months of the Muslim year'	→ **rabīʕ**

From the evidence in ClassAr dictionaries, one may also want to add the value 'to raise, lift (a stone)' (†*rabaʕa*), which, however, is probably already covered by RBʕ_4 (where we find the *rabbāʕ*, a noun that can designate, among other things, a 'weight lifter'). As for MSA *marbaʕ* 'meadow; pasture; place of entertainment' and *tarabbaʕa* 'to sit crosslegs', it is not clear, for the time being, where they should be placed: Should the 'meadow; pasture' be interpreted as pertaining to the 'living zone, inhabited area' (RBʕ_3) or rather as s.th. connected with the 'spring' season (RBʕ_5)? And should 'sitting crosslegs' be made dependent on 'four' (RBʕ_1, cf. the items containing the notion of 'square' in this group) or rather on 'sitting, staying' (comfortably in the 'living zone', RBʕ_3)?

The latter three items point to interesting overlappings, or blurrings, which, for the moment, seem to obscure the etymological situation; in the long run, however, they may be helpful to see things more clearly and collect arguments for the plausibility or non-plausibility of hypotheses about the relation or non-relation among the assumed main values and, perhaps, for the necessity of a revision of the draft. As for now, and given the scarcity of attestations of the "root" in Sem that would go beyond the numeral 'four' (which is common Sem), we can hardly do anything but collect some opinions that have been put forward so far.

As for the numeral (RBʕ_1), cognates of Ar *ʔarbaʕ(aï)* 'four' are so widely attested in Sem that it is unproblematic to assume a ComSem **ʔarbaʕ(-at)-* 'four' (Bennett 1998, Huehnergard 2011). – Other derived forms of various patterns are not exactly as widespread as the cardinal number itself, but one has, e.g., also reconstructed the n. **rubʕ-* 'fourth, quarter' for CSem (Huehnergard 2011).

But is the numeral related to any of the other values, and if so how? In most dictionaries of Sem languages that *do* have other values of √RBʕ than 'four' (Ug, Hbr, Gz, Sab), the authors keep these apart from 'four' (Tropper 2008, *BDB* 1906, Leslau *CDG*), in this way corroborating the opinion, reported and supported also by Landberg, that »*ʔarbaʕ* 'quatre' est formellement isolé, on ne saurait en préciser la derivation« (1923: 1109). In contrast, Vollers (1895: 510) had tried to make 'four' dependent on 'living zone, inhabited area' (RBʕ_3) via the idea that a Bedouin household allegedly was considered more complete and solid when the tent was built on four rather than only three poles – an idea that obviously (and probably rightly so) nobody else regarded worth taking up and developing. Meanwhile, Stein 2012 lists Sab *ʔrbʕw* '"quarter", fraction' – an item that seems to be cognate to Ar *rabʕ* 'large group of people, clan' – immediately after Sab *ʔrbʕ(t)* 'four', implying that RBʕ_3 in Sab is dependent on RBʕ_1 (in his further explanation, he also translates *ʔrbʕw* as »Viertel[stamm]«, i.e., quarter of a clan). A short notice in Brockelmann's *Grundriss* makes clear that also this author had tacitly assumed for a long time, for Ar at least, that *rabaʕa* 'to sit, stay, live' (RBʕ_3) was based on *ʔarbaʕaï* 'four' (from 'quarter' in the sense of 'living quarter', or from 'to come to the water on the fourth day, etc.', see below). With a great deal of reservation, however, Brockelmann then goes on saying that this idea might be wrong and that 'living area, to stay' etc. could possibly be a loan from Aram *RBʕ* (Targ *rbaʕ* 'to lie stretched out', Syr *rbaʕ*, ChrPal *rbʕ* 'to recline at meals'), an item that, in accordance with the familiar Sem *ṣ*/*ḍ* ≙ Aram *ʕ* correspondence, would have cognates in Akk *rabāṣu* 'to lie, dwell', Hbr *rābaṣ* 'to stretch o.s. out, lie down, lie stretched out', *rēḇäṣ* 'place of lying down, resting- or dwelling-place', as well as in Ar itself, cf. *rabaḍa* 'to lie down on the breast, stretch o.s. out'.[13] While Vollers' idea to derive RBʕ_1

[13] Cognates given as in *BDB* 1906 s.r. √RBṢ. – *BDB* also lists a Sab *mrbṣn*, allegedly cognate to Ar *marābiḍ* (pl. of *marbiḍ* 'place where animals lie down to rest; sheep pen, fold' – Wehr/Cowan

from RBʕ_3 has found no followers, Brockelmann's speculation about an Aram origin of RBʕ_3 is echoed in *BDB* where Hbr *rābaʕ* 'to lie stretched out, lie down' is said to be an Aramaism (»Aram. form of *rābaṣ* [q.v.]«) that should be compared to Sab *rbʕ* 'to abide, encamp, settle' and Ar *rabaʕa* 'to abide, dwell'. Judging from the references quoted in <sabaweb> for the discussion about the interpretation of Sab *rbʕ*, the majority of Sabaists reject this reading; rather, it seems to be common opinion to interpret *rbʕ* as 'Viertel(stamm)' and thus assume RBʕ_3 < RBʕ_1.[14]

"Our" *rabīʕ* 'spring' (RBʕ_5) does not feature in any of the above discussions, and given the non-attestation of cognates outside Ar it would thus seem that it is the result of an exclusively Ar development (Gz *rabiʕ* 'spring' is from Ar *rabīʕ* – Leslau *CDG*).

There are theories that derive *rabīʕ* directly from *ʔarbaʕ(aẗ)* 'four'. Landberg, for instance, defying Wellhausen who held that *rabīʕ* had no etymology in Ar at all,[15] concludes his extensive (40 page!) discussion with the statement that the primary meaning of *rabīʕ* must have been 'the fourth season' (»… a d'abord désigné la quatrième saison« – 1923: 1104) and that it was only from there that it came to mean 'vernal season; spring herbage; spring rain' (»saison printanière, l'herbage printanier et la pluie printanière«, ibid.).

While Landberg thus makes 'spring' dependent on 'four' (RBʕ_5 < RBʕ_1), he has his own theories about the other values. Apart from 'four', he says, Ar √RBʕ has three other basic meanings:

a) (≙ our RBʕ_3) 'être fixé ou se fixer dans un endroit; s'arrêter quelque part'; he thinks that √RBʕ here is overlapping with, and perhaps/probably related to, √MRʕ (so also Růžička 1911: 137)[16] and √RYʕ √RʕY, all conveying the notion of 'to be fertile, pasture, spring pasture';
b) (≙ our RBʕ_2) 'sauter; courir, galoper', cf. esp. *yarbūʕ* 'jerboa', a hopping desert rodent;
c) (≙ our RBʕ_4) 'lever, soulever, soupeser'; for Landberg, the value of this √RBʕ is akin to 'be high' as in other "roots" with initial **RB*-, like √RB:(RBB), √RBW, or √RBʔ. Here, Landberg comes close to Tropper

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1979), but such a *mrbṣn* does not figure in recent literature on Sabaic and dictionaries anymore (Müller 2010, <sabaweb.uni-jena.de>); a search in the last-mentioned tool for items from √RBṢ does not yield any results at all, and for √RBḌ only the participle from the causative *Š-stem, *mhrbḍ*, meaning 'favourable season for crops' (Jamme 1962), 'was beruhigt, was sättigt > reichlich' (sabaweb).

[14] Only Beeston confessed to be, like myself, »inclined to wonder whether the [Sab] term *rbʕ* ought to be equated with Arabic *rabʕ* 'dwelling place' rather than with *rubʕ* 'one-fourth'« – Beeston 1975: 189.

[15] »… lässt im Arabischen keine Etymologie zu« – Wellhausen 1897: 97, n.3.

[16] For Růžička, Ar *tarabbaʕa* and *ĭrtabaʕa* (vbs. V and VIII) in the sense of 'to be well nourished, fat,' and *rabāʕ*, *rabāʕaẗ*, *ribāʕaẗ* 'pleasant life,' as well as vb. I *rabaʕa* in the sense of 'to be rich in fresh grass and herbage' are the result of a shift MRʕ > RBʕ (with metathesis and M > B) – Růžička 1911: 135–6.

2008 who compares Ug *rbʕ*, in one of the possible readings of its Š-stem – 'hoch erhoben tragen' – to Ar *RBʔ* 'hochsteigen (auf eine Aussichtswarte) und spähen; aufheben, erheben; hoch, erhaben sein').[17]

In contrast to these theories, ClassAr lexicography regards many items of the "root" as derivations based on a primary *'rain watering the earth and making it to produce herbage' in the season called *rabīʕ*, in this way making larger parts of the complex RBʕ_3 'dwelling place, to settle and stay' dependent on RBʕ_5 'abundant rain (falling in the *rabīʕ* season),' as *'place where one draws to, and remains, due to the abundance of herbage (arising from the season, *or* rain, called *rabīʕ*)'. No less a scholar than Theoder Nöldeke found this convincing and thus adhered to the theory, thinking that *rabīʕ* originally *was* this copious rain (while 'spring,' the season in which this rain used to pour down, for him was secondary – Nöldeke 1910: 81).

While also RBʕ_4 can be derived from RBʕ_5 – a well-nourished, athletic body being likened to flourishing nature after refreshing, rejuvenating rain-falls – the only value (apart from 'four') that can hardly be linked to RBʕ_5 in this theory is RBʕ_2 'to gallop, jump; jerboa'.[18]

Meanwhile, for a number of items that we, for the time being, would group under RBʕ_3, it looks as if also ClassAr lexicography would assume a primacy of RBʕ_1 'four'. The expression *rabaʕat al-ʔibl*, for instance, is explained as »The camels, having been kept from the water three days […], came to the water on the forth day« [Lane iii (1867): 1015, col. 1], a reading that makes an activity of nomadic life, the watering of camels (and, hence, the corresponding place), dependent on 'four'. An item from the sphere of RBʕ_3 like 'watering place' is thus derived once from RBʕ_5 'spring' (see above), once from RBʕ_1 'four'. Such "contradiction" can only be removed if one, like Landberg, makes also 'spring' dependent on 'four'… – but all this is mere speculation.

Future research on the topic will not only have to take into account the data provided by the Arab lexicographical tradition but also the fact, not taken into consideration by this tradition at all, that Ar *rabīʕ* is without cognates in Sem (or is Syr *rbīʕā* a genuine parallel?); that a derivation *rabīʕ* < *rabʕ* 'encampment' (which perh. is of Aram origin) is rather unlikely; and that, as far as I can see, no specific attention has been given so far to the formal aspect, i.e., the fact that *rabīʕ* is a noun of the *FaʕīL* pattern which in Ar derivational morphology is mostly used to express adjectives, passive participles, or abstracta (Brockelmann 1908: 354–56, §138: *qatīl*).

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[17] Alternative readings are 'als Geschenk bringen' (which would be comparable, assuming metathesis RBʕ > BRʕ, to Ar *tabarraʕa*, vb. V, 'freimütig geben, schenken'), or 'vervierfachen' (which, of course, would be from RBʕ_1 'four') – Tropper 2008: s.r. √RBʕ.

[18] *yarbūʕ* 'jerboa' is an old word with cognates in Akk, Ebl, Syr and perh. even a WChad language. Militarev/Kogan 2005 #251 reconstruct Sem **yarbVʕ-* 'kind of rodent'. For textual attestations in Ar, cf. Hommel 1879: 338.

8.7. kaff

Compared to *rabīʕ*, the etymology of the generously giving ‘(palm of the) hand’ is rather uncomplicated. It is true, the disambiguation entry will have to address the derivational relations within a root to which also notions of ‘bending, curving, encircling, surrounding’, ‘ceasing, fending off’, ‘losing one’s eyesight, blindness’, and ‘asking for alms’ are pertinent and where, etymologically, some overlapping between KF:(KFF) and KNF can be observed (cf. Militarev/Kogan *SED* I: lxiv-lxv). But this is less complicated than it might look at first sight – a first hint is given already by Fronzaroli who translated Sem **kapp-* as ‘mano *incurvata*’ (!) –, and the main item itself, *kaff*, can therefore be treated more or less independently:

LEMMA **kaff** كَفّ, pl. *kufūf*, *ʔakuff*

META **SW** –/66 • BP 2476 • √KF: (KFF)

GRAM n.f.

ENGL palm of the hand; glove; paw, foot, claw (of an animal); slap; scale (of a balance); handful; quire; bar (of chocolate) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE From ComSem **kapp-* ‘palm of the hand’ – Kogan 2011, Huehnergard 2011.

COGN ▪ Zammit 2002, *DRS* 10 (2012)#KPP–**3**: Akk *kapp-* ‘palm (of the hand)’, Ug **kp* ‘palm(s), hand(s)’, Hbr *kap* ‘hollow, flat of the hand, palm, sole of the foot’, Pun *kpp* ‘to put away, take away’ (?), Deir ʕAlla *kp*, Aram *kappā* ‘palm, hand’, Syr *kappā*, Mand *kapa*, ‘palm, hollow of the hand’, Mhr *kaf* ‘palm’, *kəff* ‘back of the hand’, Ḥrs *kəf* ‘palm’, Jib Ḥrs *keff* ‘palm, back of the hand’, Jib *keff* (vb.) ‘to hold back, stop’, Ar *kaff* ‘(palm of the) hand’, *kaffa* ‘to withhold, restrain, keep back, (*ʕan*) abstain (from)’, Gz *kāf* ‘palm of the hand; sole of foot’ (< Hbr), Amh *kaf* ‘palm of the hand; sole of foot; heel’

DISC See section **CONCISE**.

WESTLANG Not directly from Arabic, but ultimately from the related Phoenician **kapp* ‘palm of the hand, eleventh letter of the Phoenician alphabet’ are Engl *Kaph* (via Hbr *kap* ‘kaph’) and Engl *Kappa* (via Grk *kappa* ‘kappa’) – Huehnergard 2011.

DERIV **kaff Maryam** (*eg.*), n.f., agnus castus, chaste tree (Vitex agnus-castus; *bot.*); rose of Jericho, resurrection plant (Anastatica hierochuntica L.; *bot.*)

kaff al-**ʔasad**, n.f., lion’s-leaf (*bot.*)

al-**kaff** al-**ǧaḏmāʔᵘ**, n.f., star *α* in the constellation Cetus

al-**kaff** al-**ḫaḍīb**, n.f., star *β* in Cassiopeia

waḍaʕa ḥayātahū ʕalà kaffih, expr., to risk one’s life

ĭstadarra ’l-**ʔakuffa**, expr., to secure generous contributions

8.8. Under preparation / partly finished…

… are also entries on other metaphors that have the pouring down or abundant flow of water as their basic, concrete meaning (**nadà** 'dew', **ġayṯ** 'abundant rain', **sayb** 'flood, stream', as well as verbs like **ʔasbala** or **haṭala** 'to flow in torrents, pour down (rain)'). For work in progress cf. *EtymArab*© online, in *Bibliotheca Polyglotta.*

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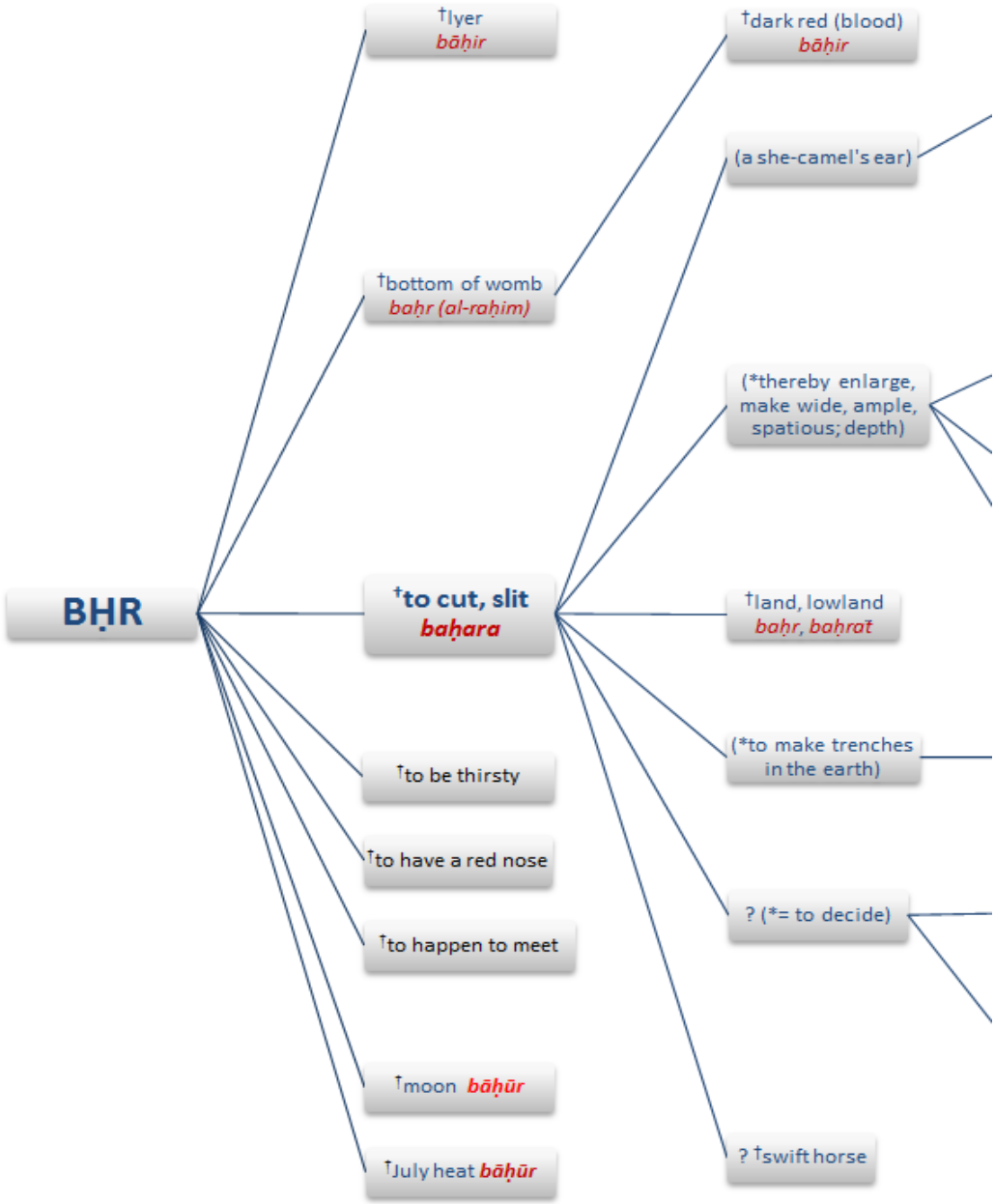
Appendix

The derivational system of the root √BḤR according to ClassAr lexicographers (figure based on entries in Lane and de Biberstein Kazimirski)



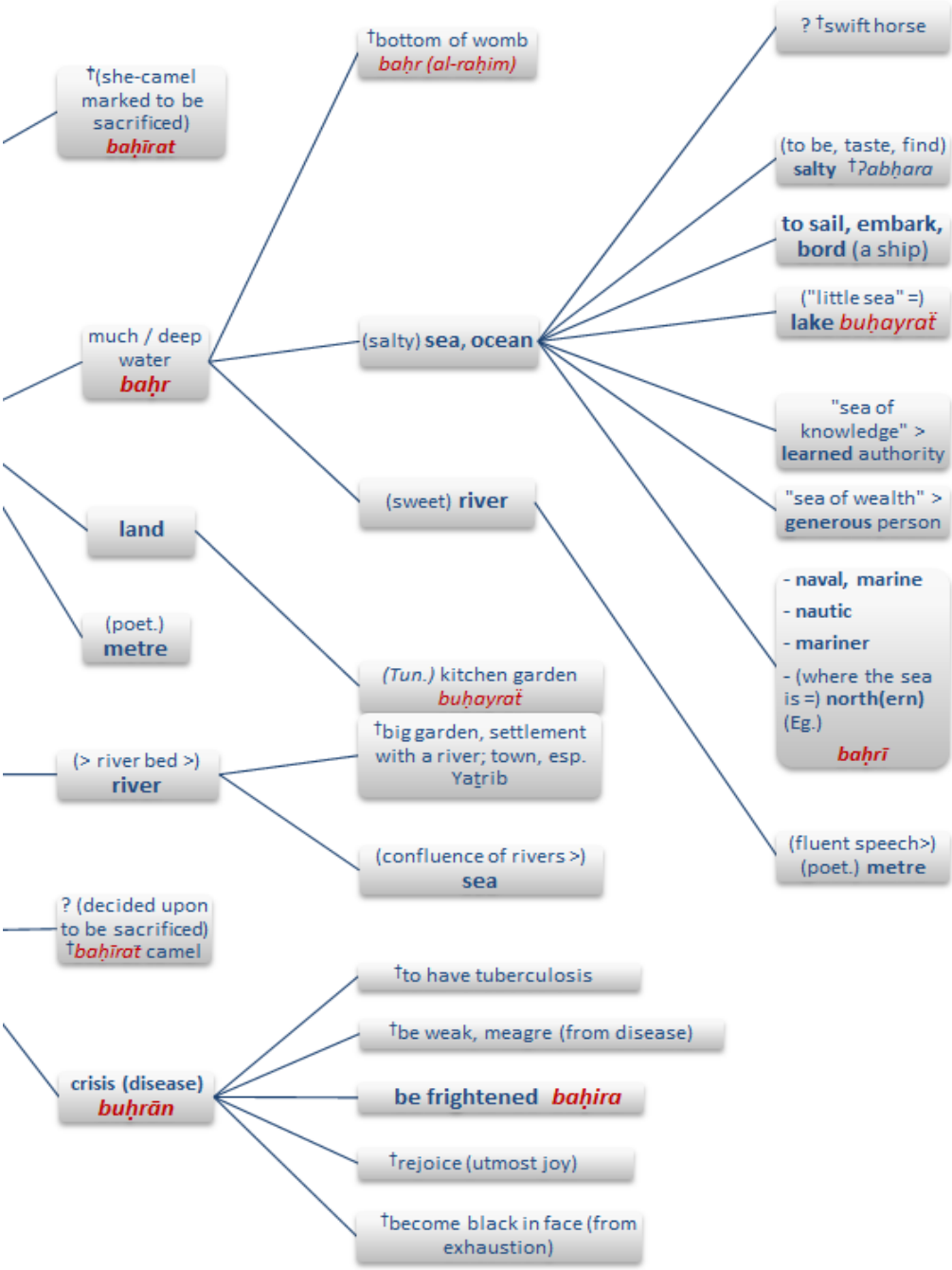

†(she-camel marked to be sacrificed) baḥīrat
much / deep water baḥr
land
(poet.) metre
(> river bed >) river
? (decided upon to be sacrificed) †baḥīrat camel
crisis (disease) buḥrān
†bottom of womb baḥr (al-raḥim)
(salty) sea, ocean
(sweet) river
(Tun.) kitchen garden buḥayraẗ
†big garden, settlement with a river; town, esp. Yaṯrib
(confluence of rivers >) sea
? †swift horse
(to be, taste, find) salty †ʔabḥara
to sail, embark, bord (a ship)
("little sea" =) lake buḥayraẗ
"sea of knowledge" > learned authority
"sea of wealth" > generous person
- naval, marine
- nautic
- mariner
- (where the sea is =) north(ern) (Eg.) baḥrī
(fluent speech>) (poet.) metre
†to have tuberculosis
†be weak, meagre (from disease)
be frightened baḥira
†rejoice (utmost joy)
†become black in face (from exhaustion)

Table of Contents (Overview over Parts I–IV)

Part I – *FOr* 52 (2015): 171–201 *FOr* 52 (2015): page

1. Prolegomena 171
2. Article structure and items discussed 173
3. Main terms for ‘generosity’ 174
   3.1. *karam* 174
   3.2 *ǧūd* 180
   3.3. *saḫāʔ* 183
   3.4. *qirà* 186
   3.5. *zakāẗ* 192
   3.6. *ṣadaqaẗ* 196

Part II – *FOr* 53 (2016): 59–104 *FOr* 53 (2016): page

   Verbs for ‘to give liberally generously 60
   3.7. *ʔaʿṭà* 60
   3.8. *ʔahdà* 64
   3.9. *wahaba* 68
   3.10. *saʔala* 70
   Counter-concepts 71
   3.11. *buḫl* 72
   3.12. *luʔm* 73
4. Parent ethical concepts 78
   4.1. *murūʔaẗ* 78
   4.2. *ḥurriyyaẗ* 82
   4.3. *ǧiwār* 88
   4.4. *ḍiyāfaẗ* 88
   4.5. *sunnaẗ* 88
   4.6. *ʔadab* 97

Part III – *FOr* 54 (2017): 149–180 *FOr* 54 (2017): page

5. The beneficiaries of generosity and hospitality 150
   5.1. *ḍayf* 150
   5.2. *ǧār* 153
   5.3. *ʔasīr* 157
   5.4. *ʔarmalaẗ* 159
   5.5. *yatīm* 162
   5.6. *muqtarī* 163
   5.7. *ḫalīl* 164

6. Markers of hospitable places 164
6.1. *nār* 164
6.2. *duḫḫān* 166
6.3. *ramād* 169
6.4. *kalb* 171
6.5. *qidr* 173
6.6. *samn* 175

Part IV – *FOr* 55 (2018): 99–141 *FOr* 55 (2018): page
7. Rituals performed and objects magnanimously given 100
7.1. *ǧamal* 100
7.2. *nāqaẗ* 102
7.3. *baʿīr* 103
7.4. *ʔib(i)l* 103
7.5. *faras* 104
7.6. *ḫarūf* 105
7.7. *ḏabaḥa* 106
7.8. *munāḥaraẗ* 108
7.9. *ʔahlaka* 110
7.10. *ʔakala* 112
7.11. *laḥm* 113
7.12. *saqà* 115
7.13. *šariba*, *sakar*, *qahwaẗ*, *ḫamr*, etc. 116
7.14. Under preparation / partly finished 117
8. Common metaphors etc. 117
8.1. *baḥr* 117
8.2. *furāt* 121
8.3. *nahr* 124
8.4. *ḫalīǧ* 126
8.5. *maṭar* 127
8.6. *rabīʿ* 128
8.7. *kaff* 133
8.8. Under preparation / partly finished 134

References 134

Appendix: The derivational system of √BḤR 138

Table of Contents (overview over Parts I–IV) 140