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## The Etymology of Generosity-Related Terms A Presentation of the *EtymArab*<sup>®</sup> Project – Part II

### Abstract

This article is a presentation of the *EtymArab*<sup>®</sup> 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*<sup>®</sup> project.

This article continues from where part I, published in *FOr* 52 (2015): 171–201, had stopped.

After (1) a general introduction and (2) a description of the article’s structure, part I had started to discuss the etymology of generosity-related terminology with (3) the main terms for ‘generosity’, ‘liberality’, ‘magnanimity’, ‘open-handedness’ etc. themselves (1. *karam*, 2. *ġūd*, 3. *saḥāʔ*, 4. *qirā*, 5. *zakāʔ*, 6. *ṣadaqaʔ*). Part II will now conclude section (3) with the *EtymArab* entries on some *verbs* for ‘to give liberally, generously’, then continue with (4) the presentation of some ethical concepts under which we may subsume generosity as a sub-concept, such as ‘manliness’, ‘tradition passed on from the forefathers’, etc. In part III (*FOr* LIV, 2017) will follow section (5), to deal with some beneficiaries of generosity and hospitality, (6) with frequent ‘markers’ of hospitable places, (7) with rituals performed and objects magnanimously given, and (8) with a few metaphors that we often meet in generosity discourses.

### 3. Main terms for ‘generosity’ (cont.)

#### *Verbs for ‘to give liberally, generously’*

As already mentioned at the end of part I, the number of verbs expressing all kinds of generous giving is too large as to deal with all of them (if that were possible at all) in the present article. It is imperative to content ourselves with only a few, and we will do so with a focus on the three most common ones, which we think are 3.7 *ʔaʕṭā*, 3.8 *wahaba*, and 3.9 *ʔahdā*, dropping other items such as *baḍala* ‘(lit.) to make available (for the guest), spend from what is at one’s disposal, make efforts’, *ḥabā* ‘to give without compensation and without receiving any favour, benefit, or requital’ (Lane), *ʔaʕāna* ‘to help, support (by giving generously)’, *manaḥa* and *samaḥa* ‘to grant (mostly precious presents’, *rafada* ‘to give, give a gift; to aid, help, assist, esp. by a gift, or by a saying, etc.’ (Lane), *ʔafāda* ‘to give (property), to profit, advantage, or benefit s.o. (*fāʔidaī* being understood)’ (ibid.), *nāwala* ‘to give, present, offer’, and many more. For these verbs the interested reader is kindly asked to consult the respective *EtymArab* entries on the *Bibliotheca Polyglotta* platform (in preparation, cf. <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php> > Arabic Texts > Etymological Dictionary of Arabic).

#### 3.7. *ʔaʕṭā*

Curiously enough, the verb that is the most common rendering of ‘to give’ in MSA, *ʔaʕṭā*, does not seem to have more than one direct cognate in Semitic, and perhaps one in an ECh language. This, we think, is too scarce an evidence as to speculate (as Orel/Stolbova do) about a wider dispersal of this item beyond the narrower Arabic-speaking region (and even think of an AfrAs origin). Since MSA neither knows a corresponding verb in form I any longer, nor a noun from which the other related items could be regarded as denominative or some kind of derivations, the whole complex has to be treated in the root entry itself. And it is also here that we have to discuss the suggestion, to be found in earlier research, about the relatedness of the verb(s) that many Ar dialects have as their basic vocabulary item for ‘to give’. Due to the fact that these do not have direct (i.e., phonetically regular) cognates in MSA, there can be no corresponding lemma in *EtymArab*; rather, the dialect evidence has to be discussed in the root entry on *ʕṬW* too.

LEMMA *ʕṬW* عطو

GRAM “root”

ENGL ▪ *ʕṬW\_1* †‘to raise one’s head and hands to take s.th., seek to attain’

- $\zeta\text{TW}_2$  ‘to take; to swallow; to take over, or upon o.s., undertake, pursue’
  - $\zeta\text{TW}_3$  ‘to give, present, hand over, grant’
- CONCISE**
- The two main values in MSA,  $\zeta\text{TW}_2$  and  $\zeta\text{TW}_3$ , go probably back to the value, still found in ClassAr, ( $\zeta\text{TW}_1$ ) ‘to raise the head and the hands to take s.th.’.<sup>1</sup> [v2] ‘to take; to swallow; to take over, or upon o.s., undertake, pursue’ is still closer to this original ‘taking’ than [v3], a caus. in the sense of ‘to make s.o. raise his head and hands to take s.th.’
    - 1. Cf. the vn. I  $\zeta V\text{TW}$  which, according to Lane, is ‘applied to a gazelle, or a kid, stretching itself up towards the tree, to take therefrom’, and the PA I,  $\zeta\tilde{a}\text{TW}$ , def.  $\zeta\tilde{a}\text{TW}$ , is a gazelle ‘raising his head to take the leaves [of a tree].’
  - There is only little material to base a reconstruction on. But if Orel/Stolbova 1995 are right, the ancestor in Sem is to be reconstructed as  $*\zeta V\text{TW}$ - ‘to give (a present)’. In its turn, the Sem may go back to AfrAs  $*\zeta\text{atuw}$ - ‘to give, pay’. Given the values of Hbr and ClassAr, however, an original meaning of ‘to stretch out trying to reach or attain s.th.’ seems to be more likely.
  - The scarcity of direct cognates in Sem has led some scholars to assume overlapping with, or contamination by, or of, Ar  $\rightarrow \text{?at}\bar{a}$  ( $\sqrt{\text{?TW}}$ ) ‘to give, produce’.
  - The forms that express ‘giving’ in many Ar dialects (*?idda*, etc.) are probably not from  $\zeta\text{TW}$  (which would have afforded many irregular sound changes) but from a Sem  $*\text{NTN} \sim *\text{YTN}$ , a root that, with the exception perhaps of Ar  $\rightarrow \text{?add}\bar{a}$ , does not seem to have found its way into ClassAr and MSA.
- COGN**
- Hbr  $\zeta\tilde{a}\text{TW}$  ‘to grasp’
  - Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1076: cognates only outside Sem: *atùwe* ‘to pay’ in 1 ECh lang.
- DISC**
- Zammit 2002: 557: »The Hbr cognate meaning ‘to grasp’ is well within the semantic domain of Ar, as is attested in Ibn Fāris (*?ahd wa-munāwalāi*) and in Lane, who defines  $\zeta\text{TW}$  as “... the act of raising the head and the hands... to take a thing”.«
  - Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1076: From Ar  $\zeta\text{TW}$  the authors reconstruct Sem  $*\zeta V\text{TW}$ - ‘to give (a present)’, from the ECh form *atùwe* ECh  $*\text{?atuw}$ -. Taken together, the authors suggest AfrAs  $*\zeta\text{atuw}$ - ‘to give, pay’ as a common ancestor.
  - DRS 1 (1994) #?TW/Y-3 asks whether Ar  $\text{?at}\bar{a}$  (*w*) ‘to give, produce’ may not be related.

- While a number of Ar dialects show forms based on ʕṬW (MorAr *ʕṭa*, LevAr *ʕaṭa*, HiǧāzAr *ʔaʕṭā*, KuwAr *ʕaṭā*)<sup>1</sup>, others render the notion of ‘giving’ by verbs that seem to be akin to another Sem root rather than to ʕṬW, namely Sem \*NTN ~ \*YTN.<sup>2</sup> This root has no representative in MSA, but appears in<sup>3</sup> Akk *nadānu*, pret. *iddin*<sup>4</sup> (< \**yandin*) ‘to give, to make a payment, offer a gift, a sacrifice, to grant a share, to hand over (a document, an insigne), to entrust (a boat), to proffer (water, a goblet), etc.’,<sup>5</sup> Ug *ytn*, Hbr *nāṭan* ‘to give, put, set’, Phoen *ytn* (*n-tn*), EmpAram BiblAram *ntn*, Nab *yntn* (ipfv), chrPA *ntn*, Syr *netel* (ipfv), Mand *ntn*, Sab *ntn*, EgAr *ʔidda*, ipfv *yiddi*,<sup>6</sup> and as a reflex also in NAr/IrAr *niṭa*,<sup>7</sup> which, because it shows /t/, seems to be based on ʕṬW but influenced by the Aram forms with initial *n*.<sup>8</sup> It has been proposed that EgAr *ʔidda* developed from ʕṬW, but this seems – at least to Behnstedt and Corriente – as unlikely as a Copt origin (cf. note above).<sup>9</sup> – StarLing 2007 is not consistent in their etymologies. While #3143 assigns Akk *nadānu* (*iddin*) to a Sem \*NTN ~ \*YTN, the same *nadānu* is juxtaposed, in #865, with Ar √DYN (*dān-*, *i*) and attributed to a Sem \*dV̄yVn- ‘to give, grant’. The Sem evidence is then regarded as cognate with Eg (Pyr) *wdn* ‘offering’ and the word *tūn* ‘tuwo [sic!] as an offering’ in a WCh lang (< WCh \**dun-*), all deriving from a reconstructed AfrAs \*dV̄w/yVn- ‘to give, grant’.
- Corriente 2008: 63 is convinced that Sem \*NTN has found its way into ClassAr and MSA in the vb. II → *ʔaddà*, ipfv *yuʔaddī* ‘to deliver; to pay’.

1. Bennett 1998: 205, isoglosses. – 2. Reconstructed as in StarLing 2007 #3143. – 3. Forms given as in BDB 1906 and Bennett 1998. – 4. BDB: »rarely *ittan*«; CAD gives also *tadānu* as a variant. – 5. Values as in CAD. – 6. Said to be of Copt origin by Badawi/Hinds 1986, but this is rather unlikely, cf. Corriente 2008: 63 (who argues against Bishai 1964: 42 who proposed a derivation from Copt *ti* ‘to give’): »However, the first syllable is left phonetically unexplained, and the fact that this item exists in other Ar dialects, more impervious to oEg influence, such as SyrAr (according to Barthelemy), YemAr, as well as in ClassAr (*ʔaddà*, ipfv *yuʔaddī* ‘to deliver; to pay’), would require this borrowing, if it is such, to have taken place in much older times than the Copt period. This is also Behnstedt’s view in 1981: 89 and 1997: 37; as for Vittmann 219, while rejecting the Copt etymon, prefers to suppose an evolution of Arabic *ʔaʕṭā* which is, as Behnstedt states and we subscribe, unlikely and unnecessary.« – 7. In his remarks on EgAr *ʔidda*, Corriente 2008: 63, fn. 6, points also to Behnstedt 1992: 15–16, who lists some peculiar idioms »which preclude a recent borrowing from EgAr, as well as phonetic variants with /d/, suggesting contamination with oAr and EAr *ʔanṭa* ‘to give’, which can only have happened locally and in old times.« – 8. ...if not the other way round, i.e., basically Aram but influenced by Ar ʕṬW. We go for the reverse assumption, following the identification of *niṭa* as Ar, not Aram, in the map of isoglosses given in Bennett 1998: 2005. – 9. The Hbr verb forms the main part of Engl names like *Matthew*

(from Hbr *mattayyan* < \**mattan-yāh* ‘gift of Yahweh’, from *mattan*, bound form of *mattān* < \**mantan* ‘gift’, *yāh* ‘Yahweh’), *Nathan* (from *nātān* ‘he, i.e. God, gave’); *Jonathan* (from *yōnātān* ‘Yahweh has given’, from *nātān* ‘he gave’ and *yō* ‘Yahweh’), *Nathanael* (Hbr *natan-ʔel* ‘God has given’, from *natan*, reduced form of *nātān*, see above), while the pret. of Akk *nadānu* ‘to give’, *iddin* (< \**yandin*), forms the second part of the name *Esarhaddon* (Akk \**Aššur-aḫa-iddin* ‘Ashur has given a brother’, where \**aḫa* is ‘brother [acc]’, cf. Ar → *ʔah(ū)*) – Huehnergard 2011.

**SEMHIŠT** ▪ **IC6** *ʕAntarah* b. Šaddād 36,9 (PA I f. *ʕāṭiyāi*, pl. *ʕawāṭī*) *muršiqātin ka-ʔl-zibāʔi ʕawāṭiyā* ‘looking like the gazelles, stretching out (to reach the leaves of a tree)’ (Polosin 1995)

▪ **eC7** **ʔaʕṭā** (‘to give, grant; [without obj.] to give alms, to donate to appropriate causes) Q 92:5; – **taʕāṭā** (‘to commit; to take hold of; to give one another s.th.; to dare, become bold, rush’) 54:29 *fa-nādaw šāhibahum fa-taʕāṭā fa-ʕaqara* ‘but they called upon their companion and he grabbed [a sword/the she-camel] and hacked [at the camel] (or: and he rushed and hacked)’; – **ʕaṭāʔ** (‘gift, favour, bounty, donation’) 17:20 *wa-mā kāna ʕaṭāʔu rabbika maḫzūran* ‘your Lord’s bounty is not restricted’.

**WESTLANG** For the names Matthew, Nathan, Jonathan, Nathanael, Esarhaddon, cf. note 9 in section DISC above.

**DERIV** **ʕāṭā**, vb. III, to give: L-stem, associative.

<sup>BP#346</sup>**ʔaʕṭā**, vb. IV, to give; to present, hand over, offer; to grant, award, accord; to present, bestow (s.th. upon s.o.): \*Š-stem, originally caus. (\*‘to make s.o. raise his head and hands to take s.th.’)?; pass. *ʔuʕṭiya*, to get, obtain, receive | ~ *durūsan*, to give lessons; ~ *ʔaqwāla-hū*, to give evidence, give one’s testimony (*jur.*); ~ *lahū ʔl-kalimata*, to allow s.o. to speak; ~ *bi-yadi-hī*, to surrender or submit to s.o.; ~ *ḡahda-hū li-*, to devote one’s efforts to s.th.; ~ *maṭalan*, to give or set an example.

**taʕāṭā**, vb. V, to ask for charity, ask for alms; to beg: tD-stem, autobenef. caus. (\*‘to make s.o. give to one’s own benefit), specialization in the charity domain.

**taʕāṭā**, vb. VI, to take; to swallow, take (a medicine); to take over, assume, undertake, take upon o.s. (a task); to occupy o.s., be occupied or busy with, be engaged in, pursue, practice (an activity): tL-stem, expressing personal involvement (?).

**īstaʕṭā**, vb. X = V, requestative.

**ʕaṭan**, det. -ā, n., gift, present: could be regarded as etymon but is probably already a specialisation.

<sup>BP#2149</sup>**ʕaṭāʔ**, pl. *ʔaʕṭiyāi*, n., gift, present; (pl. -āṭ) offer, tender; bid (at an auction or on invitation of tenders); bid with cost estimate (*com.*); vn. I | *qaddama* ~an, vb. II, to make an offer or tender, submit a written bid.

**ʕaṭiyyāi**, pl. *ʕaṭāyā*, n.f., gift, present: nominalized quasi-PP.f.

**miṣṭāʔ**, adj.m/f., very liberal, generous (person); productive, yielding well (land):  
ints.

**muṣāṭāʔ**, n.f., exercise, practice, pursuit (of an activity): vn. III.

BP#2215 **ʔiṣṭāʔ**, n., donation; presentation, grant(ing), award(ing): vn. IV.

BP#3612 **taṣāṭin**, det. -ī, pursuit, practice (of an activity), handling: vn. VI.

**istiṣṭāʔ**, n., begging, mendicity: vn. X.

**muṣṭin**, det. -ī, n., giver, donor: nominalized PA IV.

BP#3030 **muṣṭan**, det. -ā, adj., given: PP IV; (pl. -āṭ), n., given quantity (*math.*);  
pl. *al-muṣṭayāt*, n., the given facts, data, factors: nominalized PP IV.

**mustaṣṭin**, det. -ī, n., beggar: nominalized PA X.

### 3.8. ʔahdā

Another frequent word for ‘to give away generously’, esp. as a present, is the form IV verb *ʔahdā*. Since in MSA there is also a corresponding form III, *hādā* (with the typical associative notion of *exchanging* presents *with s.o.*), and since both evidently draw on a basic meaning of which, however, no vb. I is attested, *EtymArab* treats the verb under the heading of the best-known word for ‘present, gift’, *hadiyyāʔ*, which can be interpreted as the feminine of a quasi-participle passive from the non-attested vb. I, ‘to give as a present’. All these items belong to a “root” HDY which, apart from ‘giving’, also displays the two basic notions of ‘leading, guiding’ and ‘toggling, staggering’. Though all of these may be etymologically connected (as we will soon see below), the semantic relation between them is no longer obvious, and this is why it is indicated to explain the situation in a disambiguation entry:

LEMMA HDY هدي

GRAM “root”

ENGL

- HDY\_1 ‘to lead, guide; (right) way, path, road; manner, mode’ → **hadā**
- HDY\_2 ‘to offer, give as present; present, gift’ → **hadiyyāʔ**
- HDY\_3 ‘to totter, stagger, reel (in walking)’ → **tahādā**

CONCISE [v1] and [v2] are most probably connected to each other, perhaps also [v3]. With Zammit 2002 it may be assumed that the meaning ‘to stretch out the hand’, preserved in Hbr, is possibly »more generic« than ‘to guide, lead, direct’ (but cf. below, section DISC). Thus, the meaning [v1] ‘to guide’ may have evolved from \*‘to stretch out the hand to s.o. *in order to guide him/her*’, while [v2] ‘to give, offer, present’ may be from \*‘to stretch out the hand *in order to give s.th. to s.o.*’ (unless dependent on ‘to guide’, as from \*‘to direct s.th./make s.th. find its way to s.o.’). [v3] ‘to totter, stagger, reel (in walking)’

is seen as an independent value in *DRS*, but may well be a tentative/conative \*‘to try to guide o.s., find the balance’.

- COGN**
- *DRS* 5 (1995) #HDY – **1.** Hbr *hādāh* ‘tendre (la main)’, Syr *haddī*, Mand *hda*, Ar *hadā* ‘conduire, diriger’, *istahdā* ‘mener la nouvelle mariée (à son époux)’, Palm *hdy*, Syr *hadāyā*, Ar *hadw* ‘guide, conducteur’, Sab *hdy* ‘guide, chef’, TargAram *ba-h<sup>a</sup>dē* ‘avec, chez’, *la-h<sup>a</sup>dē* ‘à, vers, en direction de’; Ar *hadā* (*li-*) ‘exposer, prouver à’, *ʔahdā* (*bi-*) ‘présenter, adresser’, *haddā* ‘offrir, séparer, disjoindre’; *hady-* ‘manière, façon, coutume; politesse, offrande’, EgAr *hada*, *hāda* ‘offrir’, EAr *hadā* ‘guider’, ChadAr SudAr *hidwe*, *hadi* ‘conseil’, MgrAr *hdā* ‘pousser, orienter vers; faire un présent; continuer, ne pas cesser de’, Mhr *hadū* ‘changer d’attitude, retrouver le droit chemin, tourner la page’, Jib *hédé* ‘faire changer d’attitude’. – Mhr *hōdi*, Hrs *hēd*, Jib *ohodi* ‘diviser, partager’, Jib *hede* ‘faire un présent’, Te *hadā* ‘se marier, prendre femme’, *tāhadda* ‘se marier (femme)’. – **2.** Ar *hādā* ‘se trainer lentement à côté de qn’, *tahādā* ‘marcher en chancelant, en se balançant’, SudAr ‘marcher seul, d’une démarche chancelante’. – **3.** Ar *hadin*, det. *hadī* ‘eau blanchâtre émise lors d’un accouchement’. – **4.** EAr *hadā* ‘s’inquiéter (de qn)’. – **5.** Hrs *shedō* ‘connaître’.
- DISC**
- *DRS* 5 (1995) distinguishes five values attached to the root in Sem, four of which are represented in Ar. Among these four, one (no. -4) is to be found in EAr only, and one (no. -3) has not survived into MSA. Thus, *EtymArab* has to deal with the first two only, i.e., according to *DRS*’ grouping, 1. ‘to stretch out the hand; to guide; to offer, present’, and 2. ‘to totter, stagger, reel (in walking)’.
  - Badawi/Abdel Haleem 2008 lists the following values for the root in ClassAr: ‘guide, vanguard, to guide, to rightly guide; to explain, to clarify; road; daylight; objective; piety; mode; manner; a present, to give a present; a sacrificial offering, to offer a sacrificial offering’. All of these seem to belong to *DRS*’ main value no. 1 (‘to explain, clarify’ = \*‘to guide s.o. to the solution’; ‘road’ = \*‘the way on which one is led/guided’; ‘daylight’ = \*‘the light that guides, shows the right way/direction’; ‘objective’ = \*‘what one is led/guided to’; ‘piety’ = the result of being led on, or following, the right path; ‘mode, manner’ = fig. use of \*‘way, road’; ‘present’ = \*‘what is presented/offered when stretching out the hand to s.o.’).
  - Although they are with all probability etymologically connected, *EtymArab* treats ‘to lead, guide’ and ‘to offer, give as a present’ as two individual items, for the mere sake of making the semantic variety within the root easier to handle and to account for the fact

that, from a modern perspective, the two do not seem to have much in common any longer.

▪ If Zammit 2002: 553 is right then »[t]he Hbr sense ‘to stretch out the hand’ might be more generic and neutral than the sense ‘to guide’ attested in Ar, SAr, Syr and which could have developed later«. Ar [v1] ‘to guide’ may thus properly be \*‘to stretch out the hand to s.o. in order to guide him/her’, while [v2] ‘to give, offer, present’ could be explained as having developed from \*‘to stretch out the hand in order to give s.th. to s.o.’. However, [v2] may also depend on ‘to guide’, the notion of ‘giving (as a present, or sacrifice)’ having evolved from \*‘to direct s.th./make s.th. find its way to s.o.’. An expression which could be seen as a semantic link between both is Ar *hadā-hā ?ilay-hi* ‘he led/guided her [sc. the bride] to him [sc. the bridegroom]’, an expression in which ‘leading, guiding’ and ‘giving, handing over, presenting’ overlap and cannot be separated, cf. also the meaning of → *hadiyyāi*, in ClassAr, not only as ‘present’ but also as ‘bride’ and ‘beast of sacrifice’ (to be led to Mekkah and presented there) (Freytag 1835; Steingass 1884; Wahrmund 1887). – [v3] ‘to totter, stagger, reel (in walking)’ is more difficult to relate to [v1] or [v2], but since it is unlikely that an Ar form VI stands there isolated both in its Ar and Sem “root environment”, and since also derivation from ‘to guide, lead, direct’ *does* seem possible, we may explain it as a tentative/conative \*‘to try to guide o.s., find the balance’, not uncommon with form VI.

▪ For HDY\_1, Huehnergard 2011 reconstructs WSem \*HDY ‘to lead, extend’.

The above disambiguation entry now leads us also to the entry that is especially concerned with the notion of ‘giving’:

LEMMA **hadiyyat** هَدِيَّة, pl. *hadāyā*

META SW – • BP 1438 • √HDY

GRAM n.f.

ENGL **1.** gift, present, donation; **2.** offering, sacrifice – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE The n. is a nominalized quasi-PP f. of \**hadā* ‘to give (as a present)’, which is not attested with this general meaning, neither in MSA nor ClassAr, but only as *hadā*, *i* (*hidā?*), vb. I, with the specialized meaning of ‘to bring, lead, conduct a bride to the bridegroom’ (which also shows the relation between ‘giving’ and ‘leading, conducting’, cf. → HDY and → *hadā*). The (hypothetical but quite likely) general

sense survived in derivatives such as *hādā* (III) ‘to exchange presents’, *tahādā* (VI) ‘to make each other presents, exchange presents’, or ClassAr †*inhadā*, vb. VII, ‘to be offered, given as a present’, reflecting a *general* giving (of presents). The items listed below in the DERIVATIVES section are, properly speaking, not from the lemma *hadiyyā* but from the hypothetical vb. I.

- COGN**
- Zammit 2002: Hbr *hādā* ‘to stretch out the hand’, Aram Syr *haddī*, SAr *hdy* ‘to lead, guide, direct’
  - Cf. also the cognates given in the entry on → *hadā*.
- DISC**
- Zammit 2002: 553 #HDY: »The Hbr sense ‘to stretch out the hand’ might be more generic and neutral than the sense ‘to guide’ attested in Ar, SAr, Syr and which could have developed later.«
  - Huehnergard 2011: from WSem \**hdy* ‘to lead, extend’.
  - The meanings ‘present; to give as a present’ etc. are either a development directly from a WSem \**hdy* ‘to stretch out the hand’ as an act performed *in order to* give s.th. to s.o. else, or from → *hadā* ‘to lead, guide, direct’ used with a metaphorical meaning, \*‘to direct s.th. (esp. a present) to s.o., to make s.th. find its way’. A semantic “bridge” where the notions of ‘guiding, conducting’ and ‘giving away’ overlap, or merge, is the specialized meaning of → *hadā*, i, vb. I, ‘to bring, lead, conduct a bride to the bridegroom’ (vn. *hidā*?). Accordingly, the quasi-PP I *hadiyyā* is properly \*‘s.th. that is brought (conducted, led) (to s.o., to a destination)’, whence developed the specialized values of ‘gift, present, donation’, ‘offering, sacrifice’ (Steingass 1884: ‘beast of sacrifice to be led to Mekkah and presented there’), and (attested until IC19) also †‘bride’.
- SEMHIST**
- eC7 *hady* (offering brought to the Sacred Mosque in Mecca in accordance with the teachings) Q 48:25 *hum-u ’llaḏīna kafarū wa-ṣaddū-kum ṣan-i ’l-masğidi ’l-ḥarāmi wa’l-hadya maṣkūfan* ‘These it was who disbelieved and debarred you from the Inviolable Place of Worship, and debarred the offering from reaching its goal’. – *hadiyyā* (gift) Q 27:35 *wa-ʔinnī mursilatun ʔilay-him bi-hadiyyatin* ‘but I am sending them a present’
  - *hadiyyā* : until IC19 also ‘bride’ (Freytag 1835; Steingass 1884; Wahrmund 1887).
- DERIV**
- hādā**, vb. III, to exchange presents (DO with s.o.): L-stem, associative.
- ʔahdā**, vb. IV, to bring, lead, conduct (-*hā* the bride *ʔilā* to the bridegroom); to give as a present, present, make s.o. (*li-* or *ʔilā*) a present of (DO): \*Ṣ-stem, from (hypothetical) vb. I, or denominative from *hadiyyā* ?; to dedicate

(s.th. to s.o.), confer, bestow, award (e.g., an order); to send, convey, transmit (s.th. *li-* or *ʔilā* to): fig. use.

**tahādā**, vb. VI, to make each other presents, exchange presents; to exchange among each other (s.th., also *al-tahīyyā*, to exchange greetings, greet or salute each other): tL-stem, recipr. – For other meanings see → *hadā* and → s.v.

**ʔihdāʔ**, n., presentation; donation, grant(ing); award, bestowal, conferment; dedication (of a book): vn. IV.

**muhdan**, det. *muhdā*, adj., presented, given: PP IV.

### 3.9. wahaba

In contrast to √HDY, the root √WHB is a more “straightforward” case where there is not much to discuss:

LEMMA	<b>wahab-</b> وَهَبَ, <i>yahabu</i> ( <i>wahb</i> )
META	SW 70/60 <sup>1</sup> • BP 4449 • √WHB
GRAM	vb., I
ENGL	<b>1.</b> to give, donate; <b>2.</b> to grant, accord; <b>3.</b> to present; <b>4.</b> to endow – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
CONCISE	From WSem * <i>wVhVb-</i> ‘to give’. – The vb. is quite common in Ar, but, as Kogan 2015 rightly observes, unlike Aram and Gz, »not as the basic vb. for ‘to give’ [... b]ut rather with a special emphasis on ‘giving as a free gift, disinterestedly’ (= <i>to grant</i> )«. »To reconstruct * <i>whb</i> as the main protWSem exponent of the meaning ‘to give’ would be somewhat far-fetched. One may rather suspect that the most archaic situation is preserved in Hbr and Soq, where the biconsonantal element * <i>hab</i> functions as a kind of exhortation particle or interjection. The subsequent generalization of the fully-fledged triconsonantal root * <i>whb</i> (at the expense of * <i>ntn?</i> [cf. Ar <i>idda</i> , dial. for → <i>ʔaʕtā</i> ]) was particularly strong in the Arabian area (Ar/SAr/protEthSem). The well-known paradigmatic syncretism in Aram apparently marks the utmost Northern limit of the progress of this isogloss.«
COGN	▪ DRS 6 (1996) #WHB / Kogan 2015: 70 : Hbr * <i>yahab</i> : <i>hab</i> , <i>hābā</i> (impér.) ‘donne!’, <i>yāhab</i> ‘fardeau, charge’, JP <i>yāhab</i> ‘donner, mettre, placer’, <i>yāh<sup>a</sup>bat</i> , <i>yāhābūt</i> ‘don, part’, <i>yāhābā</i> ‘charge’, Syr <i>y(h)ab</i> , <i>yihab</i> , Mand <i>ɛhab</i> , nAram <i>app</i> , <i>appi</i> , nSyr <i>yāwil</i> ‘donner’, Nab Palm <i>yhb</i> ‘déposer, placer’, <i>mwhbh</i> ‘don, donation’, Ar <i>wahaba</i> ‘donner’,

<sup>1</sup> The first number gives the item’s ranking in the original Swadesh list of 1973 (100 terms, arranged in se-mantic groups), the second to the extended list as given in Bennett 1998: 40 (200 terms, arranged alphabetically).

*hibāī*, *mawhab*, *mawhabāī*, *mawhibāī* ‘don’, *wāhib* ‘donateur’, *wahhāb* ‘donateur; généreux, libéral’, *ṣawhaba* (*li-*) ‘demeurer, rester (à qn)’, Ṣaf *hb*, Tham *hbn* (impér.) ‘donne!’, *whb*, *hb* ‘don’, Daṭ *habā* ‘donner’, HispAr *hiba* ‘dot’, Sab Min Qat *whb* ‘donner concéder’, *ythb* ‘recevoir’, *hbt*, *mwhbt* ‘don’, Soq *hābā* ‘donne!’, *weheb* ‘généreux’, Gz *wahaba* ‘donner’, *habt*, *habhab* ‘don’, Te *haba*, Tña *habā*, Arg *hawa*, Gaf Gur *wabā*, Tña *wāhabi*, Amh *wabi* ‘qui donne, généreux’, Gaf *yāb* ‘généreux’, Amh *habt* ‘bonne chance, fortune’, *habtam* ‘fortuné, riche’; ? *wub* ‘beau, gracieux’, *tāwabā* ‘être beau, gracieux’. – Outside Sem: En Cush, de nombreuses langues présentent, avec le sens de ‘donner’, des formes qui ont été rapprochées de celles du sémitique: Bed *hi(w)*, Ag Bil *uw*, Demb Qw *yuw*, Sa ṢAf *uw*. – Faut-il rapprocher aussi l’Eg qui atteste *h3b* dont le sens est ‘envoyer’?

▪ In addition to the Sem forms (as in *DRS*), the entry in StarLing (2007) mentions, as cognate outside Sem, (WCh) Sura *hwōp* ‘to borrow’, and perhaps also oEg *h3b* ‘to send’ (but this is doubtful since the function of -3- is not clear; rather < \**hrb*), and (Berb) Ahg *hub-ət*, Ayr *hub-ət* ‘to drag, pull along’.

**DISC** ▪ *DRS* 6 (1996) #WHB: En Ug, on relève la forme *mhbn* comme épithète du dieu Rašap. – Many consider the root √WHB to have developed from √ḤHB (cf. Ar *ḥuhbaī* ‘équipement’) [references given]. – Certain forms in modSAr (*weheb* ‘generous’) as well as Tña *wāhabi* seem to be borrowed from Ar.

▪ Militarev/Stolbova 2007 (in StarLing) reconstruct Sem \**wVhVb-* ‘to give’, from AfrAs \**hVwab-* ‘to give, send’, with initial \**hVw-*, not (as in Sem) \**wVh-*, evidently for no other reason than the possibility of a WCh parallel that is reconstructed as WCh \**hwab-* ‘to borrow’. Given that the latter is based on evidence in only 1 language (oEg *h3b* ‘to send’ and Berb \**hub-* ‘to drag, pull along’ are not necessarily related), the AfrAs reconstruction seems rather weak.

**SEM HIST** **eC7** Out of the 4 values the root WHB can take in ClassAr according to Badawi/Abdel Haleem 2008 – ‘1. gift, donation, to give freely, to bestow; 2. to last; 3. to possess; 4. small stream’ – the Koran shows only the first (‘to grant, to give freely, to bestow’, or ‘one who is given to bestowing favours’), as in Q 19:19 *li-ṣahiba la-ki gūlāman zakiyyan* ‘to grant you a pure boy’, and Q 3:8 *al-wahhāb* ‘the Ever-Giving’ (an attribute of God).

No other values given in Polosin 1995 either.

**DERIV** **ṣawhaba**, vb. IV, to give, present: ints. of vb. I, or denom. from *hibāī* ?

**īstawhaba**, vb. X, to request as a gift: requestative (denom. from *hibāī* ?)

BP#4067 **hibāṭ**, pl. -āṭ, n.f., gift, present, donation, grant. | *ṣaqd al-hibāṭ*, n., deed of gift.

**wahbāṭ**, n.f., tip, gratuity: n.un. of vn. I.

**wahhābī**, n., Wahabite; adj., Wahabi: nisba formation from ṣAbd al-Wahhāb, PN of the founder of the W. sect, from *wahhāb* ‘ever-giving’ (one of the attributes of God).

al-**wahhābiyyāṭ**, n.f.abstr., Wahabism: abstr. in -āṭ from ṣAbd al-Wahhāb, PN of the founder of the W. sect.

BP#3022 **mawhibāṭ**, var. *mawhabāṭ*, pl. *mawāhib<sup>u</sup>*, gift; talent: quasi n.instr.

**ṯihāb**, donation, grant(ing): vn. IV.

**wāhib**, n., giver, donor: PA I.

**mawhūb**, adj., given, granted; gifted; talented: PP I. | *mawhūb la-hū*, n., recipient of a gift or grant, donee.

### 3.10. saʔala

Generous giving is often the answer to being asked (by a widow, orphan, captive, etc. – see below, section ‘Beneficiaries’) to provide help, to give, or to sacrifice. ‘To ask’ is Ar *saʔala* which, from the etymological point of view, seems to be completely unproblematic (which is also the reason why I allow myself to drop the disambiguation entry in this case):

LEMMA **saʔal-** سَأَلَ, *a* (*suʔāl*, *masʔalaṭ*, *tasʔāl*)

META ID 374 • SW – • BP 325 • √SʔL

GRAM vb., I

ENGL **1.** to ask; to inquire; to ask, request, demand, claim; **2.** to pray to (God) | *yusʔal<sup>u</sup>* he is responsible, answerable – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE It is rather safe to assume that the vb. is ComSem. Militarev & Stolbova 2007 reconstruct Sem \*šVʔal- ‘to ask’.

COGN ▪ Bergsträsser 1928: Akk *išʔal*, Hbr *šʔl e,a*, Aram *šel nešal*, Gz *sʔl a,a* ‘to ask’

▪ Zammit 2002: Akk *šālu*, *šaʔālu*, Ug *šʔal*, Phoen *šʔl*, Pun *[y]sl[ym]* ‘to ask’, Hbr *šāʔal* ‘to ask, inquire’, BiblAram *š<sup>e</sup>ʔēl* ‘to ask’, Syr *šeʔl* ‘to ask, interrogate, ask counsel’, SAR *sʔl* ‘to ask, request, demand, lay claim’, Gz *saʔala* ‘rogare; petere, poscere, postulare, expetere’

DISC ▪ StarLing 2007 reconstructs Sem \*šVʔal- ‘to ask’ (on the evidence of Ar only).

▪ In form V, the vb. has taken the specialized meaning of ‘to beg’, attested already in the Q, overlapping with *tasawwala* (from “root” √SWL).

- SEM HIST** **eC7** more than 120 occurrences in the Qurʾān, all meaning ‘to ask, question, interrogate, inquire, query, seek clarification, etc; to beg; (pass.) to be taken to task, called to account’.
- DERIV** **sāʔala**, vb. III, **1.** to ask, question, interrogate; **2.** to call s.o. to account: L-stem, associative.
- ʔasʔala**, vb. IV: *ʔasʔalahū suʔlahū* to fulfill s.o.’s wish, comply with s.o.’s request.
- tasaʔʔala**, and **tasawwala**, vb. V, to beg: specialization, t-stem expressing ‘for o.s.’
- BP#1764 **tasāʔala**, vb. VI, **1.** to ask; **2.** to ask o.s., wonder, ponder; **3.** to ask one another: tL-stem, self-referential.
- suʔl**, n., demand, request, wish: pass. sense of \*‘what is asked for’.
- suʔlaʔ**, n.f., demand, request, wish: n.un., from *suʔl*.
- BP#267 **suʔāl**, pl. *ʔasʔilāʔ*, n., question; request; inquiry; demand, claim: lexicalized vn. I.
- saʔʔāl** and **saʔūl**, adj., given to asking questions, inquisitive, curious: ints.
- BP#738 **masʔalaʔ**, pl. *masāʔil*<sup>pl</sup>, n.f., question; issue, problem; affair, matter, case; request: lexicalized vn. I/n.loc.
- musāʔalaʔ**, n.f., questioning, interrogation: vn. III.
- tasawwul**, n., begging, beggary: vn. V., var. of *tasaʔʔul*.
- BP#2176 **tasāʔul**, pl. *-āt*, n., questions, doubts; self-questioning: vn. VI.
- BP#4273 **sāʔil**, pl. *-ūn, suʔʔāl, saʔalaʔ*, **1.** adj., asking: PA I; – n., **2.** questioner; petitioner; **3.** beggar: nominalized PA I.
- BP#354 **masʔūl**, adj. **1.** official; **2.** responsible, answerable, accountable: PP I; **3.** pl. *al-masʔūlūn*, n., the bearers of responsibility; **4.** the functionaries: nominalized PP I.
- C<sup>BP#794</sup> **masʔūliyyāʔ**, pl. *-āt*, n.f., responsibility, duty: abstr. in *-iyyāʔ*, from *masʔūl*.
- mutasawwil**, n., beggar: nominalized PA V, var. of *mutasaʔʔil*.
- BP#4116 **mutasāʔil**, adj., asking o.s., wondering: PA VI.

### Counter-concepts

As is well known since, at the latest, R. Koselleck, one of the most influential representatives of the fascinating discipline of the History of Concepts, the meaning of a concept is essentially co-determined by what is considered to be its antonym, its negative counterpart. I will treat in this essay the etymology of the two major counter-concepts of *karam*, namely *buhl* and *luʔm*.

### 3.11. buhl

How important *buhl* ‘niggardliness, stinginess, avarice’ was, and still is, as a negative counterpart of *karam*, *ḡūd*, *saḥāʔ*, etc., is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that the famous medieval *ʔadīb* al-Ġāḥiḏ (c. 776–869) dedicated a whole book, his *K. al-Buḥalāʔ* (Book of the Misers), to the subject and that this book has become a real classic, an immortal key work of Arabic literature and Arab *ʔadab*/culture. Etymologically, however, neither *buhl* nor *luʔm* are easy to treat, given the scarcity of inner-Sem cognates and (in the case of *luʔm*) the fact that the values that *can* be found are not easy to relate to each other.

- LEMMA** **baḥil-** بَخِلَ, *a* (*baḥal*), and **baḥul-** بَخُلُ, *u* (*buḥl*)
- META** C<sup>2</sup> • SW – • BP ... • √BḤL
- GRAM** vb., I
- ENGL** to be niggardly, be stingy (*bi-* with s.th., *ʕan* or *ʕalā* with regard to s.o.), scrimp (*ʕan*, *ʕalā* s.o., *bi-* for), stint (*bi-* in, *ʕan* or *ʕalā* s.o.), withhold (*ʕan*, *ʕalā* from s.o., *bi-* s.th.) – Wehr/Cowan 1979
- CONCISE** Etymology unclear. If regular, *baḥi/ula* should go back to a vb. (WSem?) \**baḥVI-*.
- COGN**
  - BDB 1906, Zammit 2002: Hbr \**bāḥēl* (pu.) ‘to get by greed’
  - DRS 2 (1994) #BḤL : ? Hbr *m<sup>e</sup>boḥālāt* (dans *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lā m<sup>e</sup>boḥālāt*) ‘(possession) obtenue par avarice (?)’; ? (Aram) Aysor *bāḥil* ‘envier’, *baḥilāna* ‘envieux’.
- DISC**
  - DRS 2 (1994) #BḤL : Hbr *m<sup>e</sup>boḥālāt* (Prov. 20, 21 Ketib): »interprétation (fort douteuse) de Gesenius«, many others against him. – See also BḤL?
  - Etymology unclear due to scarcity of evidence outside Ar. Some relate the root to BḤL or BḤL, but this is doubtful. The Hbr and Aram (Aysor) cognates given by BDB, Zammit and DRS do not provide sufficient evidence for reliable reconstruction. If regular, *baḥi/ula* should go back to a vb. (WSem?) \**baḥVI-*.
- SEMHIST** IC6 ʕAntara b. Šaddād 68,13 *al-dahru yabḥalu tāratan wa-yaḡūdu* ‘destiny is sometimes a miser, and gives generously (at other times)’, eC7 Ḥuṭayʔa 117,7 *lam yabḥal wa-lam yataʕallali* (Polosin 1995) eC7 Q 47:38 (to be or act in a niggardly or miserly way) *hā-ʔantum hāʔulāʔi tudʕawna li-tunfiqū fī sabīli ’llāhi fa-min-kum man yabḥalu* ‘here you are called upon to spend in the cause of God, but some of you will be niggardly’, 57:24 (miserliness etc.) *allaḏīna yabḥalūna*

<sup>2</sup> A “C” in the META section refers to cultural key concepts.

*wa-yaʔmurūna 'l-nāsa bi'l-buḥli* ‘those who are miserly and urge miserliness on others’

**DERIV** **tabāḥala**, vb. VI, to give reluctantly, grudgingly (*ʕan, ʕalà* to s.o., *bi-* s.th.): assoc., \*‘to behave in a niggardly way towards s.o.’

**buḥl**, n., avarice, cupidity, greed: vn. I.

**baḥīl**, pl. *buḥalāʔu*, adj., avaricious, greedy; n., miser, skinflint: quasi-PA/PP, ints.

**mabḥalaʔ**, n.f., cause of avarice, that which arouses avarice or greed: quasi-n. loc.

### 3.12. *luʔm*

Originally, the semantic range of *luʔm* is wider than that of *buḥl*, signifying an ignoble character and/or descent in general. It is however highly telling that the term also acquired a meaning that is very close to *buḥl*, in this way identifying niggardliness, greed, avarice etc. with a mean, ignoble character/behaviour. Unfortunately, the etymology of the term must remain somehow obscure, due to the scarcity of Sem cognates and the high degree of semantic divergence within the root. It is therefore imperative to discuss the overall picture first (in a disambiguation entry), and only then move on to an individual presentation of *luʔm*.

**LEMMA** **LʔM**  $\text{ل}^{\text{ق}}\text{م}$

**GRAM** “root”

**ENGL**

- LʔM\_1 ‘to dress, bandage (a wound); to repair, mend; to solder, weld; to suit, fit together, be adequate, appropriate; peace, harmony’ → **laʔama**
- LʔM\_2 ‘meanness, baseness, wickedness; niggardliness, miserliness; sordidness; iniquity’ → **luʔm**
- LʔM\_3 ‘cuirass, chainmail’ → **laʔmaʔ**

Other values, now obsolete, include:

- †LʔM\_4 ‘apparatus or gear of a plough, ploughshare’: *luʔ(a)maʔ*

**CONCISE** ▪ It is not clear whether we are dealing with one or more homonymous “roots” here. LʔM\_3 ‘cuirass, chainmail’ and †LʔM\_4 ‘ploughshare’ most probably belong to LʔM\_1 (ClassAr meaning: ‘to put s.th. together, fit together, connect, repair; to fit into one another, set on top of one another, esp. the feathers of an arrow’ – *WKAS*), both showing the overlapping of single elements, put together and/or on top of one another. Opinion differs however with regard to the question of relatedness, or non-relatedness, of LʔM\_1 and LʔM\_2.

▪ Those who do not exclude some kind of kinship between L?M\_1 and L?M\_2 are divided on the question which of the two may be the basic value from which the other should be derived. BDB 1906 implicitly suggests that the value ‘people’ (Hbr, Ug, and – as a loan – also in Akk) originally was \*‘common, vulgar people’, developed from the notion of ‘baseness, meanness, commonness’ of L?M\_2. But there is no further discussion that would try to answer the question how, if at all, the Ar value of ‘putting together, collecting, assembling’ (L?M\_1), that others usually see together with Hbr Ug (Akk) ‘people’, could be related to L?M\_2. As a secondary development, based on ‘people’, as the \*‘collective’ body, the \*‘assembled ones’ (< L?M\_1 ‘to put together, collect, assemble’)? A derivation of ‘baseness, meanness’ (L?M\_2) from ‘people’ (L?M\_1) would at least correspond to that of Engl *vulgar* from Lat *vulgus* ‘common people, crowd’.

▪ The value ‘people’ in Hbr and Ug may also not be the \*‘collective’ but rather \*‘those who have reached an agreement’ (cf. the notion of ‘to suit, fit, be adequate’ and ‘to make peace’, prominent esp. in the L-stem of L?M\_1). ‘People’ would then be a group who have ‘repaired’ internal conflicts and ‘dressed the wounds’ that had been open after disagreement.

▪ Militarev 2006 (in StarLing) reconstructs Sem \*L?M, \*LMM ‘to get together; to unite by common consent; peace treaty’, going back, together with extra-Sem cognates, to AfrAs \**li?am-* ‘to get together; to be relative, companion’.

▪ For further details, cf. section DISC below.

▪ For other roots containing L and M and expressing a ‘putting together, joining, connecting, assembling, uniting’, cf. → *lamma* ‘to gather, collect’ (√LM:/LMM, also *lamlama* ‘id.’), → *lahama* ‘to meld, patch, weld, solder’ (also *lahhama*, √LHM), → *lazima* ‘to cling, adhere, belong, accompany’ (√LZM). A distant relationship exists perhaps also between the \*L-M sequence and the one with the reverse order, \*M-L, often expressing a similar notion of ‘company’ (cf., e.g., → *zumlat* ‘party, company of people’, → *zamīl* ‘companion, associate, comrade; colleague; accomplice’ < √Z-ML), but also ‘inclusion’ and ‘completeness’ (→ *gamala* ‘to sum up’, → *gumlat* ‘totality, sum, whole; group’ < Ğ-ML; → *šamila* ‘to contain, enclose, include’ < √Š-ML; → *kamVla* ‘to be/become whole, entire, integral, perfect, complete’ < √K-ML; etc.).

COGN

▪ Militarev 2006 (in StarLing): Akk *līmu* (\**li?mu*) ‘one thousand’, (Kogan 2015: 71 : »presumably related to«:] Ug *lim* ‘people, clan’, Hbr *l?ōm*, *l?ūm*, pl. *l?ummīm* ‘people, nation’, Syr *lam* ‘to

collect', Ar *lʔm* 'to gather, put together', *liʔam-* 'accord, harmony (between people); peace, concord', *liʔamaī*, *liʔāmaī* 'equal, similar, corresponding counterpart'; *laʔīm* 'ignoble, mean; similar, equal, adequate'; *līm* (*liʔm*) 'peace, agreement, concord; resemblance betw. two people'; *lumaī* 'small group of people (3–10 persons); similar, identical; equal (age, form)'; *lām-* 'parenté'; *lummaī* 'compagnon; compagnons de voyage, qui participent aux provisions de route; troupe d'hommes (3–10 people); troupe de femmes', *lamūm* 'qui réunit dans son sein plusieurs personnes ou choses, et offre un rendez-vous', LMM 'ressembler, réunir en ramassant de tous côtés ce qui était dispersé', Sab *lʔm* 'to make a peace settlement', *lmw* (*\*lmm*) 'to come to an agreement with s.o.', Te *lāʔamā* 'to be attached, friendly', Tña cf. *lāʔamā* 'to be good, patient, docile'.

- Tropper 2008: Akk *liʔmu*, *līmu*, Ug *līm* /*liʔmu*/, Hbr *lʔōm*, *lʔōm* 'people'.

- Klein 1987: Akk *liʔmu*, *līmu* 'thousand', Ug *līm* 'people, crowd', Hbr *lʔōm*, *lʔōm* 'nation, people', Ar *laʔama* 'to gather together, assemble'

- BDB 1906: Ar *laʔuma* 'to be low, ignoble', *liʔām* (pl.) 'common ones', Hbr *lʔōm* 'people'

#### DISC

- Wehr/Cowan 1979 treats LʔM\_1–3 in *one* lemma, suggesting that they are semantically related. Militarev 2006 (in StarLing), too, does not separate the cognates of LʔM\_1 and LʔM\_2, not without adding, however, that the two values are quite far from each other and it therefore is legitimate to have serious doubts about their belonging together. According to the author, even the relation between Akk *līmu* (*\*liʔmu*) 'one thousand', Hbr *lʔōm*, *lʔōm* 'nation, people' and Ar *laʔama* 'to put together, gather together, assemble' – as put forward by Klein 1987 and Tropper 2008 – ('thousand' and 'people' as a larger number of things or persons, a \*'collective, assembly', held together by mutual agreement) cannot be taken for granted.<sup>1</sup>

- In contrast, BDB 1906 speculates that the notion of 'lowness, commonness' (LʔM\_2), expressed in Ar *laʔuma* 'to be low, ignoble', *liʔām* (pl.) 'common ones', may be the basic value of  $\sqrt{LʔM}$  from which Hbr *lʔōm* 'people', »prop. 'common, vulgar people'«, is derived. – It remains unclear, however, where BDB would place LʔM\_1 in this picture.

- Badawi/Hinds 1986 separate EgAr *lāʔam* (vb. III, tr.) 'to suit, be compatible with' (LʔM\_1) from *laʔam u* (vb. I, intr.) 'to behave with deceit or cunning' (LʔM\_2), treating them as two homonymous

roots. Interestingly enough, EgAr L?M\_2, in all its forms, shows variants based on  $\sqrt{L\dot{S}N}$  ( $\rightarrow$  *lašana* ‘to curse’).<sup>2</sup> It seems that *fušḥà* terminology is reinterpreted here by the vernacular to make better sense of the abstract moral concept of *lu?m* for the common people.

▪ Irrespective of due reservations as to the belonging of some values (‘thousand’, ‘wickedness’, etc.) to the same Sem root, the StarLing entry reconstructs Sem \*L?M, \*LMM ‘to get together; to unite by common consent; peace treaty’, \**li?ā/ām-* ‘union, fraternity, people’ and puts this together with Eg *rmṯ* ‘person’ (<\*IVm-Vk?, cf. Fay *lōm-i* ‘id.’), WCh \**lilim-* ‘assembly for special occasions’ (reconstructed from evidence in only 1 language), CCh \**luma* (?) ‘market’ (<\*‘gathering of people’?), ECh \**lamVm-* (based on forms like *lūm*, *lāmmà*, *lūmmè*) ‘to gather’ (intr., pile’; LEC \**lamm-* ‘companion, relative’ (cf. Som *lammaan* ‘to be companion’, Or *lammii* ‘(close) relations’<sup>3</sup>), HECush \**lamm-* ~ \**mVII-* ‘close relative; person’ (based on *moollo* ‘close relative’, *lāmmi* ‘person’), SCush \**lama(l)-* ‘age-set’ (*lama* ‘serpentine ochre marking on body’ in 1 lang). The common ancestor of all these is reconstructed as AfrAs \**li?am-* ‘to get together; to be relative, companion’.

1. Note that there are several *līmu* in Akk (cf. CAD): While *līmu* A ‘thousand’ seems to be genuine Akk, there is also *līmu* C ‘family, clan’, which accord. to CAD is a WSem loanword. – 2. Vb. I *la?am* ~ *lašan*; vn. I *lu?m* ~ *lušn* and n. *lu?umiyayā* ~ *lušuniyyā* ‘cunning’; adj./quasi-PP *la?im* ~ *lašin* ‘cunning, sly’; elat. *ʔal?am* ~ *ʔalšan* ‘more/most wicked or sly/abominable’; vb. VI *īlā?im* ~ *īlāšin* ‘to behave deviously or cunningly’; vb. X *īstal?im* ~ *īstalšin* ‘to consider cunning; to behave cunningly’. – 3. Perhaps from Ar.

Since much of the information given in the L?M disambiguation entry is repeated also s.v. *la?ama*, I confine myself here to close the first part of the current presentation with the entry specific to *lu?m*, although for systematical reasons there are also some references in it to *la?ama*.

LEMMA **lu?m**

META **C • SW – • BP ... •  $\sqrt{L?M}$**

GRAM n.

ENGL **1.** ignoble mind, baseness, meanness, vileness, wickedness. – **2.** niggardliness, miserliness. – **3.** sordidness. – **4.** iniquity – Wehr/Cowan 1979

CONCISE ▪ As also  $\rightarrow$  *buhl* ‘avarice, niggardliness, miserliness’, *lu?m* is a major antonym of the key concept of  $\rightarrow$  *karam*.

▪ Of obscure etymology. BDB 1906 evidently considers ‘baseness’ as the basic value of the root → LʔM to which also Hbr *lʔōm* ‘people’ belongs, suggesting that the latter properly is \*‘common, vulgar people’. But it could well be the other way round, given that the value ‘baseness’ seems to be a development peculiar to Ar, while ‘people’ etc. is more widespread in Sem (and possibly also AfrAs), cf. section COGN s.v. → LʔM (see above). If ‘baseness, meanness, wickedness’ is from ‘people, crowd’ then we are dealing with an etymology corresponding to that of Engl *vulgar* from Lat *vulgus* ‘common people’. In Ar, however, there is no word for ‘people, crowd’ from the root LʔM (unless we assume a “root shift” due to an attached article: \**al-luʔm(aī)* > *al-ʔummaī* ‘the nation’). Hbr and Ug terms for ‘people, crowd’ are often seen as derived from yet another value of LʔM, namely ‘to put together, assemble, join’ (people = \*‘collective, assembly’), which in its turn is absent from these languages. If *luʔm* ‘baseness’ is from ‘people’, and the latter from ‘to put together, assemble’, then one will have to compare entry → *laʔama* (and, for the whole picture, → LʔM).

## COGN

▪ BDB 1906 regards Ar *laʔuma* ‘to be low, ignoble’, *liʔām* (pl.) ‘common ones’ as akin to Hbr *lʔōm* ‘people’.

▪ In contrast, Klein 1987 connects Hbr *lʔōm*, *lʔōm* ‘nation, people’ (as well as Ug *lim* ‘people, crowd’ and Akk *liʔmu*, *līmu* ‘thousand’) with Ar → *laʔama* ‘to gather together, assemble’ (without mentioning *luʔm*).

▪ Militarev 2006 (in StarLing), though with strong reservations and without discussion of internal dependence, presents all the following items in *one* unit:

Akk *līmu* (\**liʔmu*) ‘one thousand’, Ug *lim* ‘people, clan’, Hbr *lʔōm*, *lʔōm*, pl. *lʔummīm* ‘people, nation’, Syr *lam* ‘to collect’, Ar *laʔama* ‘to gather’, *liʔm* ‘agreement, harmony (between people); peace, concord’, *liʔamaī*, *liʔāmaī* ‘equal, similar, corresponding counterpart’, *laʔīm* ‘ignoble, mean; alike, equal, adequate’, *liʔm* ‘peace, concord; resemblance betw. two people’; *lumaī* ‘small group of people (3–10 persons); similar, alike; equal (age, form)’; *lām* ‘similarity’; *lummaī* ‘companion; fellow-traveler who contributes to the travel provision; groupe of men (3–10 people), or women’, *lamma* ‘to pick up, collect s.th.’; Sab *lʔm* ‘to make a peace settlement’, *lmw* (\**lmm*) ‘to come to an agreement with s.o.’, Te *läʔamä* ‘to be attached, friendly’, Tña *läʔamä* ‘to be good, patient’.

## DISC

▪ See CONC above, and for more details → LʔM and *laʔama*.

- For the whole L?M complex, Militarev 2006 (in StarLing) reconstructs Sem \*L?M, \*LMM ‘to get together; to unite by common consent; peace treaty’, \*li?a/ām- ‘union, fraternity, people’ (implicitly relegating ‘ignoble, mean’ etc. to the position of a derivation from ‘to get together, unite’), from AfrAs \*li?am- ‘to get together; to be relative, companion’.
- SEM HIST** ▪ eC7 Ḥuṭay?a 19,21 *tarà 'l-lu?ma min-hum fī fiqābin*; 21,8 *?abliḡ Banī 'Absin bi-?anna niḡāra-hum lu?mun*; 118,3 *ḡamaṣta 'l-lu?ma... wa-?abwāba 'l-safāḥatī wa'l-ḡalāli* (Polosin 1995)
- ClassAr (as in *WKAS*): *la?uma* **1.** to be ignoble, base, mean, dishonourable; **2.** to be miserly, avaricious. – *lu?m*, n., **1.** low, base attitude or sentiments, lowness, baseness, vileness, infamy; **2.** miserliness. – *la?īm*: as in MSA. – Cf. also †*mal?amaī*, n.f., baseness, vile, mean attitude or sentiments, vile deed, ignominy. – For further attestations, cf. *WKAS* ii: 63, col. 2 f.; (*la?īm*) 67, col. 1 ff.
- DERIV** **la?uma** *u* (*lu?m*, *la?amaī*, *mal?amaī*), vb. I, to be ignoble, lowly (of character and birth); to be base, mean, vile, evil, wicked: denom?
- ?al?ama**, vb. IV, to act ignobly, behave shabbily: \*Š-stem, denom.
- talā?ama**, vb. VI, **1.** → *la?ama*. – **2.** to act meanly: tL-stem, denom.
- la?īm**, pl. *li?ām*, *lu?amā?u*, *lu?mān*, adj., **1.** ignoble, lowly, low, base, mean, evil, vile, wicked, depraved; **2.** sordid, filthy, dirty; **3.** niggardly, miserly: quasi-PP.

## 4. Parent ethical concepts

It goes without saying that the concept of generosity is embedded in a larger context of other concepts, some of which implied in the notions of *karam*, *ḡūd*, *sahā?* etc. themselves, others being a kind of parent ethical concepts which the latter can be regarded as subordinate to, or dependent on. Perhaps the most comprehensive of these ‘meta’-concepts are *murū?atī* (var. *muruwwatī*), *ḥurriyyatī*, *ḡiwār* (with *ḡiyāfatī*), as well as *sunnatī* and *?adab*.

### 4.1. murū?atī

According to the *Encyclopedia of Islam*,<sup>3</sup> the meaning of *murū?atī* is somewhat »imprecise« – which, however, is not unusual with ‘super’- or ‘meta’-concepts of comparable importance (cf., e.g., today’s *democracy*, *freedom*, *culture*, *civilisation*, etc.). »There is reason to believe,« *EP*<sup>2</sup> continues, »that *murū?atī* originally describes the sum of the physical qualities of a man and then by a process of spiritualisation and abstraction his moral qualities«.

<sup>3</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>, Index of Terms, online version, Brill (accessed 03Oct2014).

Etymologically, however, there can be no doubt that the word is dependent on *mar?* (indef. *imru?*). Since there are still other meanings attached to the root MR? than that of *mar?* (whence also the f. *imra?at̄*, def. *mar?at̄* ‘woman’) and *murū?at̄*, there will be, apart from the “root”/disambiguation entry MR?, entries on all of these. In the present contribution I will confine myself to MR?, *mar?* and *murū?at̄* and leave it to the interested reader to study the others (*mar?at̄*, *marV?a*, *marī?*) in the *EtymArab* test version on the *Bibliotheca Polyglotta* platform (see above, intro to section 3).

LEMMA	<b>MR?</b> مرء	
GRAM	“root”	
ENGL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ MR?_1 ‘man; manliness’, ‘woman’ → <b>mar?</b>, → <b>murū?at̄</b>, → <b>mar?at̄</b></li> <li>▪ MR?_2 ‘be wholesome, healthful, healthy’ → <b>marV?a</b></li> <li>▪ MR?_3 ‘esophagus, gullet’ → <b>marī?</b> (n.)</li> </ul>	
CONCISE	Any connection between the three values? MR?_2 not unlikely to be akin to MR?_3. Further research needed!	
COGN	See → <i>mar?</i> , → <i>marV?a</i> , → <i>marī?</i> .	
DISC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Badawi/Abdel Haleem 2008 lists three main values of the root in ClassAr: <b>a</b>) (of food) to be wholesome and palatable, to be digestible, food passage; <b>b</b>) a human being, man, woman, wife, one person; <b>c</b>) “chivalrous” character, generosity of nature, to be humane, humanity. According to this semantic grouping, MR?_3 ‘esophagus, gullet’ would belong to MR?_2 (healthy, palatable food being food that passes the esophagus), a relation that does not seem all too unlikely. In contrast, making “chivalrous” character, generosity of nature, to be humane, humanity’ a separate value does not seem to be entirely justifiable, since this is clearly a semantic development from MR?_1 ‘man’.</li> <li>▪ Since etymology is not clear yet, the variety of meanings of the “root” has been tentatively reflected in three separate values. Further research, however, may find that at least MR?_2 and MR?_3 are related, the meaning ‘to be wholesome, healthful, healthy’ originally referring to what passes the esophagus. But the <i>FaʿīL</i> form of the latter does not really fit this assumption. – In contrast, a relation between MR?_2 and MR?_3 on the one hand, and MR?_1 ‘man, male’ is hardly likely.</li> </ul>	

LEMMA **imra?** اِمْرَأ, **imru?** اِمْرُو, (with definite article) al-**mar?** المرء

META SW 17/94<sup>4</sup> • BP 2137 • √MR?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. note 1.



come to be the main word for ‘woman’ in Ar, while the more original term seems to have been Sem \**ʔant-at-* ‘id.’ (preserved in Ar as → *ʔuntà* ‘female, feminine’).

**C** *murūʔaġ*, var. *muruwwaġ*, n.f., the ideal of manhood, comprising all knightly virtues, esp., manliness, valor, chivalry, generosity, sense of honor: abstr. formation. See own entry → s.v.

**marīʔ**, adj., manly, virile: adj. formation, quasi-PA. – For other meanings see → *marVʔa* and → *marīʔ* (n.).

LEMMA **murūʔaġ** مُرُوَّةٌ, var. *muruwwaġ* مُرُوَّةٌ

META **C** • SW – • BP ... • √MRʔ

GRAM n.f.

ENGL the ideal of manhood, comprising all knightly virtues, esp., manliness, valor, chivalry, generosity, sense of honor – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE ▪ From → *marʔ* ‘man’.

▪ A key concept of pre-Islamic and Islamic culture. According to *EI*<sup>2</sup>, the meaning of *murūʔaġ* is somewhat »imprecise« – which, however, is not unusual with ‘super’- or ‘meta’-concepts of a comparable importance. »There is reason to believe that *m.* originally describes the sum of the physical qualities of man and then by a process of spiritualisation and abstraction his moral qualities.«<sup>1</sup>

1. *EI*<sup>2</sup>, Index of Terms, s.v.

▪ Related concepts: among others, cf. → *ʔadab*, → *ʔahlāq*, → *ḏiyāfaġ*, → *fahr*, → *ḥamāsaġ*, → *ḥilm*, → *ʕird*, → *karam*, → *samāḥaġ*, → *ṣabr*.

COGN See → MRʔ and → *marʔ*.

DISC See → *marʔ*.

SEMHIST »There is reason to believe that *murūʔaġ* originally describes the sum of the physical qualities of man and then by a process of spiritualisation and abstraction his moral qualities. After Islam, its meaning was extended thanks to the now pre-dominating moral focus. Broadly speaking, with the rightly-guided caliphs, *m.* means chastity, good nature and observance of Qurʔānic laws, with the Umayyads, *m.* implies politics, diplomacy, work, dignity and compassion, and with the early ʕAbbāsids, *m.* implies merit and is contrasted with abjectness; with the moralists, *m.* is identified with → *ʔadab* in the meaning of good conduct. Becoming more and more abstract, *m.* finally came to mean virtue. In law, *m.* indicates the fact of abstaining from any act capable of offending religion although not constituting an illicit act. In the spoken language of today, *m.* means ‘energy’ in Egypt

(*miriwwāi*) and Syria (*muruwwaī*), as in the expression ‘so-and-so has not the *miriwwāi/muruwwaī* to accomplish such a thing’.<sup>2</sup>

2. *EI<sup>2</sup>*, Index of Terms, s.v.

DERIV –

#### 4.2. ḥurriyyāṭ

*ḥurriyyāṭ* overlaps to a large degree with *murūʔāṭ* although it denotes first and foremost a social status – that of a free-born, as opposed to a slave – rather than certain manly virtues (often it is used here almost in the sense of ‘nobility’ of descent). But such a status easily gained also the qualities of a moral nobleness. It was in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century that this word was used to render the term for one of the key concepts of the French Revolution, *liberté*, and thus took on a political dimension. Etymologically, *ḥurriyyāṭ* is an abstract formation in *-iyyāṭ* derived from the adj. *ḥurr*. Since the latter belongs to a “root” with quite a variety of semantic values, we will need a disambiguation entry in order to locate this item in the larger context of other *HRR* items.

LEMMA **ḤR:** (**HRR**) حرّ/حرر

GRAM “root”

ENGL

- *HRR\_1* ‘heat, to burn’ → **ḥarr**
- *HRR\_2* ‘stony area, rocky terrain’ → **ḥarraṭ**
- *HRR\_3* ‘(to be born) free, freedom; purity; nobility; (fig.:) the best of anything; to write elegantly; to dedicate o.s. to the service of God’ → **ḥurr**
- *HRR\_4* ‘silk’ → **ḥarīr**

CONCISE

- From the seven values attached to the root \**HRR* in Sem (according to *DRS*), five are represented in ClassAr. Out of these five, four have survived into MSA. The values are all very different so that a relation even between individual values seems unlikely at first sight. However, it has been suggested that *HRR\_2* ‘stony area’ depends on *HRR\_1* ‘heat’ (\*‘the burnt area’), and *HRR\_4* ‘silk’ could be derived from *HRR\_3* ‘to be free’ (\*‘fabric/tissue free from unevenness’).

- With the notion of ‘heat, to burn’ (*HRR\_1*), the 3-radical root seems to be based on the 2-rad. sequence \*-*HR*- with a similar meaning, which appears also in other 3-rad. roots like → *HRQ* or → *HMR*.

COGN

- *DRS* 9 (2010) #*HRR*: – 1. Akk *erēru(m)* ‘être chaud, brûlant, sec’ [*CAD*: ‘to become moldy’ (bread, grain)], Ug *ḥrr* ‘brûler, rôtir’, Hbr *ḥārar*, JP *ḥ<sup>a</sup>rar* ‘brûler, flamber’, Mand *hrr* ‘être chaud’, Syr *ḥar* ‘être sec’, Ar *ḥarra* ‘être chaud, brûlant’, *ḥarr*, Liḥ *ḥarr*, Sab *mḥr* ‘fièvre’, Jīb *ḥar* ‘chaleur’, Mhr *ḥaráwrət*, Hrs *ḥarōrət* ‘chaleur, boutons de

chaleur; température’, – Mhr *ḥarāwrət*, Jib *ḥór*, *ḥárórt* ‘couche de brûlé au fond d’un récipient’, Jib *ḥerr* ‘gratter le brûlé du fond d’un récipient’, Soq *ḥrr* ‘être noir’, Gz *ḥarara*, *ḥarra* ‘être sec, brûlé par le feu’, Tña *ḥarārā* ‘brûler (feu), se brûler, être brûlé’, Te *har* ‘brûler’, *ḥārār wāda* ‘briller, étinceler’, Har *ḥarārā* ‘être chaud’, Amh Gur *ḥarrārā*<sup>1</sup> ‘être carbonisé’, Te *ḥarri* ‘maladie du grain’. – 2. Ar *ḥarraī*, Qat *mḥrr* ‘terrain rocheux, terre pierreuse’. – 3. \**ḥurr-* ‘né libre’: Hbr \**ḥor* (pl. *ḥorīm*) ‘libre, noble’; EmpAram *ḥr*, JP *ḥarā*, Syr *ḥērā* ‘libre’, bar *ḥorīn*, Nab Palm *br ḥry* ‘affranchi’, Syr *ḥr* ‘libre’, Ar *ḥurr* ‘libre, pur, franc’, SAra *ḥr* ‘noble, libre’, Mhr *ḥarr*, Soq *ḥor* ‘libre’, Gz *ḥarrāwī* ‘né libre, noble’, Amh *hurr*, *ḥara*, *ḥarənnāt* ‘condition de l’homme libre’; ? Gz *ḥarā* ‘armée, officiers’, *ḥarrāwī* ‘soldat’, Tña Te *ḥara* ‘armée, troupe’.<sup>2</sup> – 4. Ar *ḥir(r)* ‘vulve (de la femme)’.<sup>3</sup> – 5. Ar *ḥarīr*, Jib *ḥárír*, Soq *ḥárhír*, Gz *ḥarūr*, Te Tña *ḥarír*, Te *har*, Amh *harír*, *har* ‘soie’.<sup>4</sup> – 6. Sab Qat Min *ḥrt* ‘canal d’irrigation, digue’, *mḥrt* ‘système d’irrigation’, Qat *ḥrt* ‘aqueduc’. – 7. Mhr *ḥər*, Jib *ḥəhr* : abri pour les chevreux, Mhr *ḥər*, Jib *ḥerr* ‘mettre à l’abri (des chevreux)’.

1. Alongside with Gur *arrārā*, Leslau EDG gives also Gur *ar-ən*. – 2. Note DRS: Selon Leslau CDG 240, le lien de ‘né libre’ avec ‘armée’ est possible mais non certain. – Amh *ḥara* ‘armée, troupe’ est un emprunt au Gz. Faut-il rapprocher le Te *kārayi* ‘armée’ ? [Kogan 2015: 211, remarks that »[t]he Gz form is often quoted with a geminated r, but this is not accepted by Leslau«. He further thinks that Leslau probably is »correct to suspect that the meanings ‘army’ and ‘freeborn, noble’ are probably unconnected (note, moreover, the formal difference between Gz *ḥarā* and protComSem \**ḥurr-*). It lies at hand to suppose that the meaning ‘free’ in Gz is due to a late Arabic infiltration.«] [DRS does not mention Te *ḥər* ‘free’, Tña *ḥarrārā* ‘to liberate’, Amh *hurr* ‘free’, Wol *hurr balā* (Leslau 1990: 343), obviously because these are »(c)learly borrowed from Ar«, as Kogan, *ibid.*, n. 631, observes.] – 3. Aussi *ḥir-* et *ḥirat-*, voir sous HR. – 4. Les formes éthiopiennes sont des emprunts à l’arabe.

- DISC**
- The variety of meanings within the root in ClassAr as given by Badawi/Abdel Haleem 2008 matches *EtymArab*’s assessment very well (numbering as in disambiguation above): [ḤRR\_1] ‘heat, thirst, to become hot, to intensify’; [ḤRR\_2] ‘volcanic rocky land’; [ḤRR\_3] ‘free person, to liberate, to set free; the best of anything; to set right; to dedicate to the service of God’; [ḤRR\_4] ‘silk’. The additional meanings under ḤRR\_3 (‘the best of anything; to set right; to dedicate to the service of God’) are metaphorical extensions and will be treated under → *ḥurr*.
  - DRS 9 (2010): »Pour la notion de chaleur, on rapprochera les rac. ḤRR, ḤRQ, et, pour ‘brûler’, les rac. ḤRQ, ḤLQ. Voir les renvois sous -ḤR-.« There we find: »La séquence -ḤR- est, avec des élargissement

divers, à la base de plusieurs racines trilitères dont le sens fondamental paraît être celui de ‘être chaud, brûlant, brûler’, une valeur dérivée étant ‘être animé de colère, de haine’ et autres sens équivalents ou apparentés. Les élargissements apparaissent, comme W- initial: WĤR, comme -W final: ĤRW, dans la gémination de la seconde consonne radicale: ĤRR, dans le redoublement de la séquence: ĤRĤR. [...] Des valeurs similaires se trouvent dans d’autres racines comportant cette séquence: par exemple → ĤRB, → ĤRW/Y, → ĤRK, [...] → ĤRD, → ĤRQ, → ĤMR. Voir aussi la remarque sous → ĤWR.«

▪ Ġabal 2010, I: 395–6, assumes the basic value of ĤRR to be *ḥulūs al-šayʿ min al-ġalīz alladī yašrū-hu ḡaw yuḥālīḡu ḡatnāḡa-hū (bi-ḡan yaḡruḡa minhā) fa-yašfū wa-yanqā*. Consequently, in his view, *ḡarīr* ‘silk’ depends on *ḡurr* ‘free’ (\*the fabric/tissue free from unevenness).

We will now have a closer look only into the ‘freedom’ complex, since neither ‘heat’, nor ‘stony terrain’, nor ‘silk’ are relevant in the context of generosity. (Preliminary entries on these items do however already exist on the *Bibliotheca Polyglotta* platform.)

LEMMA **ḡurr** حُرٌّ, pl.m. *ḡaḡrār*, pl.f. *ḡarāḡir*“

META ID 199 • C • SW – • BP 793 • √ĤR: (ĤRR)

GRAM adj.

ENGL **1.** noble, free-born; **2.** genuine (jewels, etc.), pure, unadulterated; **3.** free; living in freedom; freeman; independent; free, unrestrained; **4.** liberal (*pol.*; *al-ḡaḡrār* the Liberals); **5.** frank, candid, open; **6.** free, available, uninvested (money) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE ▪ From Sem \**ḡurr*- ‘free-born’.

▪ Relations between *ḡurr* and other values of √ĤRR have been suggested (esp. ‘stony area’ and ‘silk’), while ‘heat, to burn’ definitely does not seem to be akin, cf. → ĤRR.

▪ The abstract notion of ‘freedom, nobility’ may be based on a primary meaning \*‘free from defects or default, pure, unadulterated’, which is close to [v2].

▪ The notions of ‘the best of anything’, ‘to write elegantly’ and ‘to dedicate to the service of God’ etc. are explainable as extensions through figurative use: ‘the best of anything’ = lit. \*‘free from defects’; ‘to write elegantly’ = lit. \*‘to make a writing free from defects, by forming its characters rightly and rectifying its faults’ (Lane); and ‘to dedicate to the service of God’ = \*‘to make o.s. (or s.o.) free for the service of God’.

- From *ḥurr* is derived the abstr. n.f. → *ḥurriyyat* which in ClassAr means ‘the state, or condition, of freedom’ as opposed to slavery, but from eC19 became the equivalent of one of the ideals of the French Revolution, Fr ‘liberté’, see → s.v.
- COGN**
- *DRS* 9 (2010) #HRR-3. Hbr \**ḥor* (pl. *ḥorīm*) ‘libre, noble’; EmpAram *ḥr*, JP *ḥarā*, Syr *ḥērā* ‘libre’, bar *ḥorīn*, Nab Palm *br ḥry* ‘affranchi’, Syr *ḥr* ‘libre’, Ar *ḥurr* ‘libre, pur, franc’, SAr *ḥr* ‘noble, libre’, Mhr *ḥarr*, Soq *ḥor* ‘libre’, Gz *ḥarrāwī* ‘né libre, noble’, Amh *hurr*, *ḡara*, *ḡarənnāt* ‘condition de l’homme libre’; ? Gz *ḥarā* ‘armée, officiers’, *ḥarrāwī* ‘soldat’, Tña Te *ḥara* ‘armée, troupe’.<sup>1</sup>
    - 1. Note *DRS*: Selon Leslau CDG 240, le lien de ‘né libre’ avec ‘armée’ est possible mais non certain. [Kogan 2015 subscribes to this opinion.] – Amh *ḥara* ‘armée, troupe’ est un emprunt au Gz. Faut-il rapprocher le Te *kārayi* ‘armée’?
  - Zammit 2002: Ar *ḥurr* ‘a free-man’: Hbr (late) *ḥōr* ‘noble’, Aram *ḥ<sup>a</sup>rar* ‘to set free’, *ḥōrā* ‘free man’, Syr *ḥarar* ‘to set free’, SAr *ḥr* ‘free man, free-born man’, Gz *ḥarā* ‘liber homo, ingenuus’
- DISC**
- *DRS* 9 (2010) reconstruct Sem \**ḥurr-* ‘né libre’.
  - Some ClassAr dictionaries assume that the primary meaning of the adj. refers to earth or sand, as, e.g., in *ramlat ḥurraī* ‘sand in which is no mixture of any other thing’, or *ḡarḡ ḥurraī* ‘land in which is no salt earth’ (i.e., good earth, earth that has good herbage, etc.) (akin to, or identical with, → *ḥarraī* ‘stony area, rocky terrain?’), and that the abstract meaning ‘free’ is a metaphorical use of [v2]. This would explain vb. II in the sense of ‘to write accurately’ better (as a direct caus.) than by “deviation”. But the meaning ‘free-born’ (as in [v1]) throughout Sem as the primary value does not corroborate this explanation.
  - Ğabal 2010-I: 395 assumes the basic value of HRR to be *ḥulūs al-ṣayʔ min al-ḡalīz alladī yaṣrūhu ḡaw yuḥālītu ḡatnāʔahū* (*bi-ḡan yaḥruḡa minhā*) *fa-yaṣfū wa-yanqā* (≈ [v2]). Should this be true then also *ḥarīr* ‘silk’ could be seen as derived from here (the tissue/fabric ‘free from unevenness, or faults’).
- SEMHIST**
- eC7 (a free man as opposed to a slave) Q 2:178 *kutiba ṣalay-kumu ‘l-qiṣāṣu fī ‘l-qatlā ‘l-ḥurru bi‘l-ḥurri wa‘l-ṣabdu bi‘l-ṣabdi wa‘l-ḡunṡā bi‘l-ḡunṡā* ‘Retaliation is prescribed for you in the matter of the murdered; the freeman for the freeman, and the slave for the slave, and the female for the female’, (liberating, setting free) 4:92 *wa-man qatala muḡminan ḥaṡaḡan fa-taḥrīru raqabatīn muḡminatīn wa-diyatun musallamatun* ‘He who hath killed a believer by mistake must set free a believing slave [lit. liberate a neck], and pay the blood-money to his

[the latter's] family'. ▪ (person dedicated, or consecrated, to the service of God) Q 3:35 *rabb-i ʔin-nī naḡartu la-ka mā fī baṭn-ī muḡarraran fa-taqabbal minn-ī* 'My Lord! I have vowed unto Thee that which is in my belly as a consecrated (offering). Accept it from me.'

▪ **1875 1.** Libre, de condition libre, non esclave. – **2.** Bien né, de parents libres et qui n'ont pas été esclaves. – **3.** Pur, bon, de bon aloi, franc (se dit de diverses choses sans mélange d'un corps étranger). – **4.** Pur, vertueux (syn. *birr*). – **5.** Généreux, de race (cheval). – **6.** Belle action, belle conduite. | *mā hāḡā min-ka bi-ḡurrin* Ce n'est pas bien de ta part. – **7.** Milieu, intérieur. (Kazimirski 1875)

## DERIV

**ḡarrara**, vb. II, **1.** to liberate; to free, set free, release; to emancipate: caus.; **2.** to consecrate (s.o.) to the service of God: lit., \*'to make o.s. free for...'; **3.** to draw up, make out accurately (an account, a calculation); **4.** to adjust, render accurate (a weight, a measure); **5.** to point or direct (a gun at s.o.); **6.** to revise (a book); **7.** to edit, redact (a book, a periodical); **8.** to write, pen, indite, compose (s.th.): explained by ClassAr lexicographers as \*'to make a writing free from defects, by forming its characters rightly and rectifying its faults' (Lane). – For other meanings see → *ḡarīr*.

**taḡarrara**, vb. V, to become free; to be freed, be liberated; to be emancipated; to be written, be composed: tD-stem, intr./quasi-pass. of II.

<sup>BP#529</sup>**ḡurriyyāṭ**, pl. *-āṭ*, freedom, liberty; independence, unrestraint, license (e.g., poetic): abstr. formation in *-iyyāṭ* | ~ *al-ḡibādaṭ*, n.f., freedom of worship; ~ *al-fikr*, n.f., freedom of thought; ~ *al-kalām*, n.f., freedom of speech; ~ *al-naṣr* / *al-ṣaḡāfaṭ*, n.f., liberty of the press; ~ *al-taṣarruf*, n.f., free disposal, right of disposition; authority, free hand: neologisms.

<sup>BP#906</sup>**taḡrīr**, n., **1.** liberation; release; emancipation; **2.** record(ing), writing; **3.** editing, redaction; **4.** editorship (of a newspaper, a periodical): vn. II; **5.** (pl. *-āṭ*, *taḡārīr*<sup>u</sup>) piece of writing, record, brief, document: resultative, lexicalized. | *raḡīs al-*~, n., editor-in-chief; *ʔidāraṭ al-*~, n.f., board of editors, editorial staff: neolog.; ~*an fī*..., adv., issued, made out on (with the date; on documents and certifications).

**taḡrīrī**, adj., **1.** liberational; emancipational; **2.** liberal; **3.** recorded in writing, written, in writing: nisba formation from *taḡrīr*.

<sup>BP#3623</sup>**taḡarrur**, n., liberation, emancipation (intr.): vn. V, refl. of II.

**muḡarrir**, pl. *-ūn*, n., **1.** liberator, emancipator; **2.** writer, clerk; **3.** issuer (of a document); **4.** editor (of a newspaper, of a periodical): lexicalized PA II.

**muḡarrar**, adj., **1.** consecrated to God; **2.** set down in writing, recorded in writing, written; **3.** booked; pl. *-āṭ*, bookings, entries: PP II.

**mutaḡarrir**, **1.** adj., emancipated; **2.** n., an advocate of emancipation: lexicalized PA V.

- LEMMA** **ḥurriyyāṭ** حُرِّيَّة
- META** ID 200 • C • SW – • BP 529 • √HR: (HRR)
- GRAM** n.f.
- ENGL** **1.** freedom, liberty; **2.** independence, unrestraint, license (e.g. poetic) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
- CONCISE** The word is an abstract formation in *-iyyāṭ* from → *ḥurr*. In ClassAr it denotes the status of a free-born, as opposed to a slave. During C19 it came to express the modern concept of ‘freedom’, as a translation of one of the slogans of the French Revolution, *liberté*. By the early 1880s, at the latest, *ḥurriyyāṭ* had become a key concept of political discourse, as documented by the fact that al-Marṣafī mentions it as one of the words that were »on everybody’s tongue« during those days.
- COGN** Cf. → *ḥurr*.
- DISC** See → *ḥurr*.
- SEM HIST** ▪ **1875** »**1.** État d’homme libre, non esclave. – **2.** Pureté (de ce qui est sans mélange). – **3.** Bonne maison, origine noble et pure. – **4.** Affranchissement des passions et des affections de l’âme. – **5.** Libre examen de la vérité. – **6.** [!] *mod.* Liberté politique. [!] – **7.** *pl. de* حُرٌّ Hommes libres, nobles (ce mot s’applique aux Arabes purs, sans mélange d’autre race).« (Kazimirski 1875)
- »La devise de la Révolution française, *ḥurriyyāṭ*, → *musāwāṭ*, → *ḥihā?*, est adopté par *Miṣr al-Qāhirāṭ*, le journal d’ʿAdīb ʿIshāq exilé à Paris. Le Docteur Šiblī Šumayyil publie un article enthousiaste sur cette révolution, *Al-Ṭawraṭ al-firansiyyaṭ wa ‘l-ḡumhūriyyaṭ al-ʿulā*, dans *Miṣr*, 9 mai **1879**. Son frère, ʿAmīn Šumayyil, commence dans *al-Tiḡāraṭ*, quotidien d’ʿAdīb ʿIshāq, à partir du 2 mai 1879, une série d’études sur *al-Niḏām al-šūrawī* ‘Le régime parlementaire’ [→ *šūrā*], se référant surtout aux règles du parlement britannique. En **1882**, *Miṣr*, alors dirigé par ʿAwn ʿIshāq, frère d’ʿAdīb, donnera, sous le titre *al- qānūn al-ʿasāsī*, la traduction de la Déclaration des Droits de l’Homme et du Citoyen de 1789 (23 mars 1882). Cependant le vocabulaire politique est encore incertain à cette époque, puisqu’on désignait tantôt par *qānūn ʿasāsī*, tantôt par → *lāʿihāṭ ʿasāsīyyaṭ* le projet de constitution élaboré par Šarīf Pacha en 1882 (cf. Rāfiʿī, *Ṭawraṭ*, 185).« (Delanoue 1963: 9–10, fn. 2).
- **1881** *ḥurriyyāṭ* is one of Ḥ. al-Marṣafī’s *al-Kalim al-ṭamān*, i.e., the eight key concepts that were »on everybody’s tongue« these days.

DERIV

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### 4.3. ḡiwār

While *murūʔat* denotes a character disposition and, as such, the moral basis of the virtue of generosity, and while *ḥurriyyat* in a way is a genetic-social term, there are also legal aspects to generosity: a guest has a *right* to be protected by whom he asks to do so, and a host has the *duty* to grant this protection and hospitality. The term for the correspondent institution of customary law is *ḡiwār*, i.e. ‘treating s.o. (or being treated) as a *ḡār*’. Since *ḡiwār* is a vn. III based on the noun *ḡār* (mostly ‘neighbour’ in MSA) it will be discussed below in the section on the beneficiaries of hospitality and generosity (see 5.2).

### 4.4. diyāfat

The same applies to the concept of ‘treating s.o. (or being treated) as a guest, *dayf*’ that to a large extent overlaps with *ḡiwār*. Like the former, *diyāfat* is discussed below (see 5.1).

### 4.5. sunnat

Another parent concept of generosity is Tradition: generosity is embedded in beliefs and practices of the social group one belongs to and as such refers to the past, to remembered history, to group identity. However, new acts of generosity, particularly extraordinary, spectacular ones, are also recorded and integrated into this tradition; as such, they assert the latter as something that shall continue to have a value in the future.

There are many words in Arabic for ‘tradition’: → *ʕurf* (want, custom, convention, ‘known’ practice), → *ʕādāt* (custom, habit), → *taqlīd* (imitation), → *turāṭ* (heritage, legacy), → *naql* (transmission), ... The two most important concepts in our context however are probably *sunnat* and *ʔadab* (or better, *ʔādāb*, in the pl.). Both were very close in meaning for a long time, and it seems that it was only after the advent of Islam that they came to take on more specific meanings.<sup>5</sup> In MSA, *sunnat* often, if not in most cases, stands as an abbreviation for *sunnat al-nabiyy*, ‘the Prophet’s tradition,’ and thus refers to a religious context, while *ʔadab* is generally understood as the *sunnat*’s non-religious, ‘secular’ counterpart; it covers a large variety of ideas, the most general among which probably being ‘culture’. However, both signify also a body of *written* traditions, collected in voluminous compilations of narratives about noteworthy and exemplary events, among which we also find reports about ‘generosity events.’

*Sunnat* ‘established, habitual practice, modes or manners or customs of life and living, norms, (usage sanctioned by) tradition’ is a key concept of Arab culture already long before Islam and the association of the term with the sayings

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hämeen-Anttila [2016].

and doings of the Prophet Muḥammad that developed into a normative tradition for the followers of the new religion (to the degree that the word often is used almost synonymous with ‘orthodoxy’ today). As a vocabulary item, it may be a bit challenging for beginners of Arabic to locate it in a dictionary since there are two other words that, when unvoveled, look identically (i.e., have the same *rasm*): سنة can be read *sunnāṭ*, or *sināṭ* ‘slumber, doze’, or *sanāṭ* ‘year’ in MSA. In dictionaries of ClassAr the ambiguity is still bigger. For the time being, *EtymArab* uses transliteration and therefore avoids this ambiguity. But it is clear that in a version that allows searching for a word in Arabic characters a disambiguation entry will be needed to clarify that سُنَّة *sunnāṭ* belongs to √SN: (SNN), سِنَةٌ *sināṭ* to √WSN, and سَنَةٌ *sanāṭ* to √SN(W).

The “root” √SN: (SNN) itself, however, is not without ambiguity either. It shows three major values: (1) ‘tooth; to sharpen’, (2) ‘age’, and (3) ‘to prescribe; custom, norm’. Wehr’s dictionary is perhaps right in grouping all three together under the same lemma since, etymologically, they may be connected: dictionaries of ClassAr, at least, derive values (2) and (3) both from value (1). Yet, for practical reasons and in order to get a better idea about which derivatives depend on which of the three “sub-etymons”, I decided to organize the √SN: (SNN) “root” entry, too, as a disambiguation entry, giving all derivatives in the unsorted form we find in Wehr, while arranging them according to the three semantic subfields within the entries on *sinn* ‘1. tooth; 2. age’ and *sunnāṭ*. Thus, we have:

LEMMA SN: (SNN) سنّ / سنن

GRAM “root”

- ENGL
- SN: (SNN)\_1 ‘tooth; to sharpen’ → **sinn (1)**
  - SN: (SNN)\_2 ‘age’ → **sinn (2)**
  - SN: (SNN)\_3 ‘to prescribe; old custom, norm; Sunna’ → **sunnāṭ**

ClassAr shows many more values (cf. Lane):

- †SN: (SNN)\_4 ‘spearhead, iron head, to pierce with a spear’ (*sinn*, *sinān*)<sup>1</sup>
- †SN: (SNN)\_5 ‘ploughshare, iron thing with which the ground is ploughed up’ (*sinnāṭ*)<sup>2</sup>
- †SN: (SNN)\_6 ‘alike, equal, matching, in age’ (*sinn*)<sup>3</sup>
- †SN: (SNN)\_7 ‘to tend well, pasture, render fat (camels, cattle); to send to the pasturage, make run quickly’ (*sanna*, vb. I)<sup>4</sup>
- †SN: (SNN)\_8 ‘to pour (e.g., water on s.o.)’ (*sanna*, vb. I; *ṣṭanna*, vb. VIII, ‘to pour forth’, e.g., with tears, etc.)
- †SN: (SNN)\_9 ‘to throw down on the face’ (*sanna*, vb. I)<sup>5</sup>
- †SN: (SNN)\_10 ‘to form, fashion, shape, make long; to plaster (pottery with clay)’ (*sanna*, vb. I)<sup>6</sup>

- †SN: (SNN)\_11 ‘to become altered for the worse, or stinking’ (*sunna*, vb. I, pass.)
- †SN: (SNN)\_12 ‘nature, natural disposition, temper’ (*sunnaï*)
- †SN: (SNN)\_13 ‘(handsome long) face’ (*sunnaï*)<sup>7</sup>
- †SN: (SNN)\_14 ‘black line, or streak, on the back of the ass’ (*sunnaï*)
- †SN: (SNN)\_15 ‘sort of Medinan dates’ (*sunnaï*, *sinnaï*)
- †SN: (SNN)\_16 ‘(middle part of) way, road’ (*sanan*)
- †SN: (SNN)\_17 ‘camels lifting the front legs simultaneously, leaping, springing, or bounding, in their running’ (*sanan*; cf. also *istanna*, vb. VIII, ‘to frisk, be brisk, lively, sprightly, to run (in such a fashion)’<sup>8</sup>)
- †SN: (SNN)\_18 ‘elevated sands, shaped like a rope’ (*sanīnaï*)
- †SN: (SNN)\_19 ‘(gentle) wind’ (*sanīnaï*)
- †SN: (SNN)\_20 ‘wild bull’ (*sinn*)
- †SN: (SNN)\_21 ‘she-bear, she-lynx’ (*sannaï*, *sinnaï*)
- †SN: (SNN)\_22 ‘swallow’ (*sunna*)
- †SN: (SNN)\_23 ‘flies’ (*sinān*)

**CONCISE**

▪ According to ClassAr dictionaires, all three values that are still to be found in MSA are connected, with [v2] ‘age’ and [v3] ‘to prescribe; old custom, norm; Sunna’ being based on [v1] ‘tooth; to sharpen’ as the primary value (for details, see “Discussion” below).

▪ Within SN: (SNN)\_1, we assume (with Huehnergard) the vb. ‘to sharpen’ to be denominative from ‘tooth’, as the main etymon of the semantic field. (BDB 1906 thought ‘tooth’ was deverbal, from ‘to whet, sharpen’.)

▪ SN: (SNN)\_1 and, if dependent on this, also the other two, go back to Sem \**šinn*- ‘tooth’, ultimately probably from AfrAs \**šin*- ‘tooth’.

▪ Not to be confused with → *s anaï* ‘year’ (√SN(W)) or → *sinaï* ‘slumber, doze’ (√WSN).

**COGN**

→ *sinn*, → *sunnaï*

**DISC**

▪ The semantic variety within the “root” in ClassAr is confusing, not the least because there seems to be much overlapping with → SNH and → SNW (and perhaps also → TNY?). Badawi/Abdel Haleem 2008, who also mention this overlapping, reduce the values to »tooth, teething; age, year; blade, sharpening; handsome face; legislating; method of doing things; precedent«. Within this list, ‘blade, sharpening’ belongs to the sub-field of ‘tooth’ (as ‘sharp edge’), ‘age, year’ and ‘handsome face’ each form a sub-field in their own right, while the last three all belong to the idea of ‘(setting, establishing, following)

a norm'. Rearranged according to the groups that are still to be found in MSA, as listed in the disambiguation section above, we get: [v1] 'tooth, teething; blade, sharpening', [v2] 'age, year', [v3] 'legislating; method of doing things; precedent', and †[v13] 'handsome face'. The latter is explained as derived from the idea of 'polish, smoothness, evenness' by the ClassAr lexicographers and thus made dependent on 'tooth, sharpening, whetting'.

- According to ClassAr lexicographers, [v2] 'age' depends on [v1] 'tooth' as a metaphor, »for the teeth vary with the length of life« so that they came to mean 'measure, or extent, of life; age attained'.

- Also from the same etymon, according to the dictionaries, is the semantic complex 'to prescribe; old custom, norm; Sunna' treated under → *sunnā*. Nişanyan (31Mar2013) explains the latter as going back to the pre-Islamic custom, practised by Arab tribes, of whetting/filing young boys' teeth at a certain age in order to sharpen them. In the same way as this explanation links 'custom, habit, norm, prescription' to the 'teeth', it also connects 'teeth' with 'age' and could therefore serve as another hypothesis about the relation between [v2] and [v1].

**DERIV** The vocabulary pertaining to √SN: (SNN) will be arranged separately, corresponding to [v1] to [v3], in the more specific entries, cf. → *sinn* (with *sinn\_1* 'tooth' and *sinn\_2* 'age') and → *sunnā*.

**LEMMA** **sinn** سِنَّ, pl. *ʔasnān*, *ʔasinnā*, *ʔasunn*

**META** ID 424 • Sw 43/173 • BP 2441, 1083 • √SN: (SNN)

**GRAM** n.m./f.

**ENGL** Two main semantic subfields can be distinguished (Wehr/Cowan 1979):

BP#2441 [v1] (pl. *ʔasnān*, *ʔasinnā*, *ʔasunn*) n.f., tooth (also, e.g., of a comb; of a saw blade); jag; cog, sprocket, prong; tusk (of an elephant, of a boar, etc.); fang (of a snake, etc.); point, tip (of a nail), nib (of a pen)

BP#1083 [v2] (pl. *ʔasnān*) n., 1. age (of a person). – (belonging here?)  
2. (eg.) coarse flour, seconds.

**CONCISE** ▪ From Sem \*šinn- 'tooth', probably from AfrAs \*sin- 'id'.

- According to ClassAr dictionaires, [v2] 'age' depends on [v1] 'tooth' as a metaphor, »for the teeth vary with the length of life« so that they came to mean 'measure, or extent, of life; age attained' (Lane, s.v. *sinn*).

- Also from the same etymon, according to the dictionaries, is the semantic complex 'to prescribe; old custom, norm; Sunna' treated

under → *sunnat*. Nişanyan (31Mar2013) explains the latter as going back to the pre-Islamic custom, practised by Arab tribes, of whetting/filing young boys' teeth at a certain age in order to sharpen them. In the same way as this explanation links *sunnat* 'custom, habit, norm, prescription' to *sinn* 'tooth', it also connects 'tooth; sharpening, whetting' with 'age' and could therefore serve as another hypothesis about the relation between [v2] and [v1].

- [v2]-2 'coarse flour, seconds', a value attested only in EgAr, does perhaps not belong here at all and should be treated separately. More research needed.

## COGN

## [v1]

- Zammit 2002: Akk *šinnu*, Ug *šnt* 'tooth/teeth', Hbr *šēn* 'tooth; ivory', BiblAram *šēn* 'tooth', Syr *šennā* 'tooth, tusk', Gz *senn* 'tooth'
- Militarev/Kogan 2000 (SED-I) #249: Akk *šinnu*, Ebl *si-nu-u[m]*, *si-na-tum* /šinnum/, /šinnātum/, Ug *šn*, Hbr *šēn*, BiblAram *šinnayin* (du.), JA *šinnā*, *šn*, det. *šännā*, Syr *šennā*, Mnd *šina*, Gz *sənn*, Tña *šənni*, Arg *sən*, Gaf *sənā*, Ar *sən*, *sin*; Sel *isn*, Wol *əsən*, Zwy *sən*, Cha *sən*, Eža Muh Msq Gog Sod *sənn*, Enn End Gye *šən*, Jib *šnin* 'tooth'.
- Orel/Stolbova 1994 #2250: Akk *šinnu*, Ug *šn*, Hbr *šēn*, Syr *šennō*, Gz *sənn*, Tña *sənni*, Arg Har Gur *sən*, Gaf *sənā* 'tooth'. – Outside Sem: (Berb) Ahg *esin*; (WCh) *šin*, *šiŋ*, *šan*, *šen* in several langs; (CCh) *šena*, *šene*, *šana*, *šəŋ*, *šine*, *šəini*, *šəne*, *šəŋ*, *šliŋ*, *šenne*, *sina*; (ECh) *san-dē*, *hiin*, *han*, *k-song*, *ga-sena*, *saŋo*, *sa:nu*, *saŋo*, *seenō*, *siŋaŋu*, *sən*; (Rift) *sihino* in 3 idioms.

## [v2]-1

- Apparently no direct cognates in other Sem langs.
- Any connection to the notion of 'change' lying at the basis of → *sanat* 'year' ?

## DISC

## [v1]

- BDB 1906 considers Hbr *šēn* 'tooth' as deverbal, from Hbr *šānan* 'to whet, sharpen'.
- Militarev/Kogan SED-I #249: Sem *\*šinn-* ≈ *\*sinn-* 'tooth'.
- Huehnergard 2011 reconstructs a ComSem n. *\*šinn-* 'tooth' and says that the vb.s for 'to sharpen' are denominative from this *\*šinn-*.
- Orel/Stolbova 1994 #2250 reconstruct Sem *\*šinn-* 'tooth', Berb *\*sin-*, WCh *\*sin-*, CCh *\*šin-* (< *\*ha-sin-*), ECh *\*siHan-* (< *\*Ha-sin-*), Rift *\*sihin-* (from *\*hV-sin-*; metathesis), all from AfrAs *\*sin-* 'tooth'.

- In ClassAr, a number of additional values are attested for *sinn* and related items. Those that with all likelihood depend on [v1] ‘tooth; to sharpen’ are: †‘spearhead, iron head, to pierce with a spear’.<sup>1</sup> ▪ †*sinnat* ‘ploughshare, iron thing with which the ground is ploughed up’.<sup>2</sup>
- †*sanna*, vb. I, ‘to tend well, pasture, render fat (camels, cattle); to send to the pasturage, make run quickly’ (from †*sinn* in the fig. meaning of ‘[portion of] herbage upon which camels pasture’, i.e. which they can “polish, smoothen, make even” with their teeth?).
- †*sanna*, vb. I, ‘to throw down on the face’ (dependence on ‘tooth’ is more evident in the corresponding vb. III, as in *sānna* *’l-nāqaā* ‘he [the stallion-camel] bit the she-camel with the fore-part of the mouth’).
- †*sanna*, vb. I, ‘to form, fashion, shape, make long; to plaster (pottery with clay)’ (extended meaning, based on ‘to sharpen, whet’, hence ‘to give a form, shape’; cf. also †*sannana*, vb. II, ‘to polish, make smooth, make beautiful’).
- †*sunna* ‘(handsome long) face’ (explained in ClassAr dictionaries as ‘the polished, smoothened one’, a face that looks as if it was beautifully polished). – For more values and the whole picture, cf. disambiguation entry → SN: (SNN).

### [v2]-1

- The explanation, put forward by ClassAr lexicographers (see above, section CONCISE), of [v2] ‘age’ as depending on [v1] ‘tooth’ because the length of the teeth indicates the age does not sound very convincing. Compared to this etymology, the idea, quoted in Nişanyan’s *Sözlük*, of *sunna* ‘custom, habit’ going back to the Arab tribes’ custom/habit of sharpening young boys’ teeth at a certain age, looks as if there could be some truth to it. If so, it can serve as a semantic link not only between ‘custom, habit’ and ‘tooth’, but also between ‘age’ and ‘tooth’. – Further research needed.
- Kogan 2015: 316 rejects a relation, as suggested by Tropper 2000, between Ar ‘to grow old, old age’ and Ug *ytn* ‘to be(come) old, wear out’, *ytn* /*yaṭanu*/ ‘old, rancid’, Hbr *yšn* ‘to grow old,’ *yāšān* ‘old’ (< protCan \**ytn* ‘to wear out, grow old’), »albeit semantically attractive«, because of »irregular phonological correspondence«.

### [v2]-2

- The value given as ‘coarse flower, seconds’ by Wehr/Cowan 1979 is said to mean ‘bran’ in Badawi/Hinds 1986 and listed as a completely separate item, distinguished from all other values (‘tooth’, ‘age’, ‘custom, habit; sunna’). It is not clear whether it belongs to the notion of ‘(advanced) age’ (coarse flower = old flower?; cf. also *šzš il-sinn* ‘bran bread (prescribed for diabetics)’: = bread for people

of advanced age?) or has an etymology and semantic history in its own right.

1. Also *sinān*. Calice 1936 #84 puts *sinān* ‘spearhead’ together with Eg *sn* ‘Zweizack’ (two-pronged spear) and Berb *asennan* ‘thorny’. – 2. Probably from *sinn* [v1] ‘tooth; to sharpen’. But cf. Corriente 2008: 86 who mentions the word, for EgAr, in the ʔiḏāfa *sinn il-muḥrāt* ‘ploughshare’ as a possible borrowing from Copt: »contributed by Behnstedt 1981: 91, who considers likely a derivation from Copt *sine* of the same meaning (Crum 343), in spite of the phonetic likeness to Ar *sinn* ‘tooth; point’, possibly contributing to maintain the Copt item in use. In their unp[ublished] article, however, Behnstedt & Woidich concede the same likelihood to both possibilities.«

**SEMHIŠT** ▪ [v1] eC7 Q 5:45 *waʾl-sinna biʾl-sinni* ‘and a tooth for a tooth’.

**WESTLING** ▪ Not the Ar word *sinn* but Hbr *šīn* is the name for the letter *שׁ* *š*, spelt **shin** in Engl. The Hbr name goes back to Phoen \**šinn* ‘tooth’, which is the twenty-first letter of the Phoen alphabet. It is called ‘tooth’ as a result of folk etymology »based on the shape of the letter, which resembles a row of pointed teeth. The letter originally depicted a composite bow, a powerful kind of bow that is made of layers of different materials such as horn and wood and usually has the tips curving away from the archer when unstrung. The earlier name of the letter was \**šann* < \**tann* ‘composite bow’« – Huehnergard 2011.

**DERIV** For the sake of clarity, [v1] and [v2] are separated here although they may be related (among each other, as well as to → *sunnaʾ*). For an overview of all items, cf. → SN: (SNN).

Belonging to [v1] ‘tooth; to sharpen’

**sinn al-fīl**, n., ivory.

**sanna**, *u* (*sann*), vb. I, 1. to sharpen, whet, hone, grind; 2. to mold, shape, form: denom. from *sinn* ‘tooth’. – For other meanings see → *sunnaʾ*.

**sannana**, vb. II, 1. to sharpen, whet, hone, grind; 2. to indent, jag, notch: caus. denom. (\*to make sharp like teeth, make look like teeth): D-stem, denom., caus.

**ʔasanna**, vb. IV, to grow teeth, cut one’s teeth, teethe: \*Š-stem, denom. – For other meanings see below, [v2].

**īstanna**, vb. VIII, to clean and polish one’s teeth with the → *siwāk*: Gt-stem, denom., autobenef. – For other meanings see → *sunnaʾ*.

**ʔasnānī**, adj., dental (phon.): nisba formation, from *ʔasnān*, pl. of *sinn* ‘tooth’.

**sinān**, pl. *ʔasinnāʾ*, n., spearhead: cf. notes to section DISC above.

**sanūn**, n., tooth powder.

**sannān**, pl. *-ūn*, n., grinder, sharpener (of knives, shears): n.prof.

**misann**, pl. *-āt*, *masānn<sup>u</sup>*, n., whetstone, grindstone; razor strop: n.instr.

**tasnīn**, n., clothing of teeth (children), teething: vn. II, used as techn.term.

**masnūn**, adj., 1. sharpened, whetted, honed; tapered; pointed (e.g., mustache, features): PP I. – (belonging here?) 2. stinking, fetid (mire): lit., \*‘sharp, biting’ odour? – For other meanings see → *sunnā*.

**musannan**, adj., toothed, serrated, dentate, denticulate, indented, jagged; pointed, sharp; sharp-featured (countenance): PP II. | *ṣaġalā* ~*at*, n.f., cogwheel; ~ *al-ṣaṭrāf*, adj., deckle-edged (paper).

**misannanāt**, pl. -*āt*, cogwheel: PP II f., used as term.techn. in mechanics.

[v2] ‘age, to grow older’

**sinn al-ruṣd**, n., legal age, majority.

**sinn al-murāhaqāt**, n., age of puberty.

**sinn al-ṭufūlat**, n., early childhood.

**ṣaġīr al-sinn**, adj., young.

**kabīr al-sinn**, adj., old.

**ṭaṣana fī ’l-sinn**, vb. I, to be advanced in years, be aged.

**taqaddamat bihī ’l-sinn**, vb. V, to grow older, to age; to be advanced in years.

**ṭasanna**, vb. IV, to grow old, to age; to be advanced in years: \*Ṣ-stem, denom. from *sinn* ‘(old, advanced) age’. – For other meanings see above, [v1].

**ṭasann**, adj., older, farther advanced in years: elat. formation.

**musinn**, pl. -*ūn*, *masānn*, adj., old, aged, advanced in years: PA IV. | *dār al-~īn*, n.f., home for the aged, old folks home.

LEMMA **sunnā** سُنَّة, pl. *sunan*

META ID 425 • C • SW – • BP 1725 • √SN: (SNN)

GRAM n.f.

ENGL habitual practice, customary procedure or action, norm, usage sanctioned by tradition; *al-sunnā*, or *sunnā al-nabiyy*, the Sunna of the Prophet, i.e., his sayings and doings, later established as legally binding precedents (in addition to the Law established by the Koran) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE ▪ Probably deverbative from *sanna* ‘to sharpen, whet, grind’, hence also ‘to polish’ and ‘to shape, give a form’, from → *sinn* ‘tooth’. The proper meaning of *sunnā* is thus probably ‘s.th. that has been given a shape, a form, a frame’, understood as the customary rules and norms, established through tradition, that give life a shape and uphold public order.

▪ Nişanyan (02Feb2014) gives the same etymology (*sunnā* < *sanna* ‘to sharpen, whet’ < *sinn* ‘tooth’) but has a specific explanation as to how the new meaning derived from the older ones: »The ultimate source

of the Ar word is the old Arab tribes' habit of filing the teeth of male children who had reached a certain age, in order to sharpen them«. (Cf. the fact that another ritual performed on children, circumcision, is termed *sünnet* in Turkish – but this may be a secondary phenomenon.) From that specific custom, then, would have emerged the meaning 'custom, habit' in general. This explanation provides also a link between the two main values of *sinn*, namely 'tooth' and 'age' (cf. → *sinn*).

▪ *sunnāṭ* is not to be confused with words that have the same *rasm*, سنة, such as → *sanāṭ* 'year' ( $\sqrt{SN(W)}$ ) or → *sināṭ* 'slumber, doze' ( $\sqrt{WSN}$ ) and some other ClassAr words.

**COGN** ▪ Zammit 2002: (for *sunnāṭ* 'law; conduct; punishment'): SAr *snt* 'rule, code, customary law', Gz *tasnān* 'judicium'.

▪ No immediate cognates in other Sem langs other than those listed by Zammit. But since the word with all probability depends on *sanna* 'to sharpen, shape', which is from *sinn* 'tooth', cf. the cognates given in the entry on → *sinn*.

**DISC** ▪ Huehnergard 2011 #snn states that *sunnāṭ* is (deverb.) from < *sanna* 'to sharpen, shape; to prescribe', which is (denom.) from *sinn* 'tooth' < ComSem \**šinn*- 'tooth'.

▪ Nişanyan (02Feb2014): *sunnāṭ* is from Ar *sanna* '1. to bite, nibble, gnaw; to sharpen, whet, grind; 2. to set up a rule or norm', from Ar *sinn* 'tooth'. »The ultimate source of the Ar word is the old Arab tribes' habit of filing the teeth of male children who had reached a certain age, in order to sharpen them«.<sup>1</sup>

▪ In ClassAr, a number of additional values are attested for *sunnāṭ* and related items. Those that with all likelihood belong to the same semantic group are: ▪ †*sanna*, vb. I, 'to form, fashion, shape, make long; to plaster (pottery with clay)' (having the idea of 'shaping, forming, fashioning' in common with *sunnāṭ* in the sense of 'norm').

▪ †*sunnāṭ* 'nature, natural disposition, temper' (lit., \*one's habit?).

▪ †*sunnāṭ* '(handsome long) face' (lit., \*the well-formed, beautifully shaped one?). – More doubtful: ▪ †*sunnāṭ* 'black line, or streak, on the back of the ass'. ▪ †*sunnāṭ*, *sinnāṭ* 'sort of Medinan dates'. ▪ †*sanān* '(middle part of) way, road'.

▪ In ClassAr, there are not only *sanāṭ* 'year' and *sināṭ* 'slumber, doze' that have the same *rasm* سنة as *sunnāṭ*, but also †*sannaṭ* 'she-bear; she-lynx' and †*sinnāṭ* 'double-edged axe; ploughshare; coin, money' (values given as in Steingass 1884 / Wahrmund 1887).

<sup>1</sup> Arapça sözcüğün nihai kaynağı eski Arap aşiret töresi uyarınca belli bir yaşta gelen erkek çocukların dişlerinin yontularak keskinleştirilmesidir.

- SEMHIŠT** ▪ **eC7** (modes or manners or customs of life and living, norms, established practices) Q 3:137 *qad ḥalat min qabli-kum sunanun* ‘systems have passed away before you’. ▪ (practice, law, way) Q 33:62 *wa-lan tağida li-sunnatī ‘llāhi tabdīlan* ‘thou wilt not find for the way of Allah aught of power to change’ – (Badawi/Abdel Haleem 2008).  
 ▪ The specific use of *sunnatī* in the sense of ‘the Prophet (Muḥammad)’s tradition’ is attested from early Islamic times.
- WESTLING** ▪ Engl **Sunna**, from Ar *sunnatī*; **Sunni**, **1620s**, from Ar *sunnī* ‘adherent of the Sunnah; Muslim who accepts the orthodox tradition as well as the Quran,’ from *sunnatī* ‘traditional teachings of Muhammad’, lit. ‘way, custom, course, tradition, usage,’ from *sanna* ‘to sharpen, shape, prescribe’. – Related: **Sunnite**. (etymonline.com / Huehnergard 2011).  
 ▪ Tu *sünnet* ‘circumcision’ (*Muḥaddimetü’l-ʔEdeb*, <**1300**), from Ar *sunnatī* – (Nişanyan 02Feb2014).
- DERIV** **ʔahl al sunnatī**, n., the Sunnites, the orthodox Muslims.  
**sunnatī al-ṭabīʕatī**, n.f., law of nature.  
**sanna**, *u* (*sann*), vb. I, to prescribe, introduce, enact, establish (a law, a custom): denom. from *sunnatī*, or is the latter deverb. from *sanna* ? | ~ *qānūnan*, vb., to enact, or pass, a law. – For other meanings see → *sinn* [v1].  
**īstanna**, vb. VIII, to take, follow (a course or way); to prescribe, introduce, enact, establish (a law, a custom): Gt-stem, denom. from *sann* or *sunnatī*. | ~ *sunnatīa Muḥammad*, vb., to follow the Sunna of Mohammed. – For other meanings see → *sinn* [v1].  
**sann**, n., prescription, introduction, enactment, issuance (of laws): vn. I.  
 BP#1811 **sunnī**, adj., Sunnitic; (pl. *-ūn*), n., Sunnite, Sunni: nisba formation, from *sunnatī*.  
**sanān**, n., customary practice, usage, habit, rule.  
**masnūn**, adj., prescribed (as Sunna), sanctioned by law and custom: PP I. – For other meanings see → *sinn* [v1].

#### 4.6. ʔadab

Unlike *sunnatī* which, as Dévényi rightly points out, always meant »the inherited and compulsory ‘custom’ for all«, the term *ʔadab* (in its classical semantic spectrum) referred to a set of »received and differentiating habits of small minorities of the society«, i.e., it was a more elitist concept.<sup>6</sup> However, like all cultural key concepts, it has never been a fixed term in classical Arab-Islamic culture; rather, it »evolved along with societal development. It might

<sup>6</sup> Dévényi 2015: 107 (my emphasis – S.G.).

generally be defined as ‘suitable things to know and to act upon,’ and, when the subject matter that a proper education should contain changed, the meaning of the word changed as well; it may be compared with *urbanitas* and *humanitas* (bearing in mind the problems associated with such cross-cultural comparisons). [...] Ignorance (*ğahl*), solecism (*lahn*), and blunder (*hafwat*) are opposite concepts to *ʔadab*. In al-Ğurğānī’s (d. 816/1413) later definition (*al-Taʔrīfāt*, 14), *ʔadab* is “an expression for that with which one guards himself from all kinds of mistakes.”<sup>7</sup>

However, in spite of the term’s enormous cultural importance, or perhaps rather because of it, the etymology of the word *ʔadab* itself has remained rather obscure so far. The root √ʔDB is scarcely attested in Semitic. *DRS* 1 (1994) #ʔDB mentions three values, of which two neither are represented in Ar, nor seem to have anything to do with Ar ʔDB.<sup>8</sup> The latter, listed s.v. #ʔDB-1, comprises the two basic items *ʔadaba* ‘inviter à un festin’ and “our” *ʔadab* ‘savoir-vivre, belles manières, coutume, pratique’, together with »Soq *ʔdb* ‘inviter’, Te *ʔadab* ‘habitude, caractère, genre’; ʔAmh *ağğäbä* ‘faire escorte à qn. pour lui rendre honneur’«. Given that the Te word without doubt is a borrowing from Ar (as also *DRS* says) and Amh *ağğäbä* is, if at all, a rather doubtful cognate, Ar *ʔadaba* and *ʔadab* seem to have only Soq *ʔdb* ‘to invite’ as their direct relative. Semantically, this Soq *ʔdb* corresponds to Ar *ʔadaba* more than it does to *ʔadab*. As we shall see, this may be due to the fact that, contrary to what the grouping in *DRS* suggests, Ar *ʔadaba* and *ʔadab* perhaps have different origins. For the sake of convenience, I skip the disambiguation entry ʔDB here and move immediately on to *ʔadab* proper:

**LEMMA** ʔadab

**META** ID 014 • C • SW – • BP 1195 • √ʔDB

**GRAM** n.

**ENGL** 1. culture, refinement; 2. good breeding, good manners, social graces, decorum, decency, propriety, seemliness; 3. humanity, humaneness; 4. the humanities; 5. belles-lettres | *ʔādāb*, n.pl., rules, rules of conduct, e.g., *ʔādāb al-sulūk*, rules of decorum, etiquette; *al-ʔādāb*, n.pl., decency, morals – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

**CONCISE** ▪ A key concept of Ar-Isl culture and civilisation with a long and rich semantic history. In many contexts, it serves as the secular counterpart of the (more religiously connotated) → *sunnaʔ*. Based on pre-Isl manners, customs and tradition (which however should not be seen

<sup>7</sup> Hämeen-Anttila [2016] (transliteration of Arabic terms and titles adjusted to system used in *EtymArab* – S.G.).

<sup>8</sup> *DRS* 1 (1994) #ʔDB – 2. Hbr *ʔādāb* ‘faire languir, faire dépérir’. – 3. Soq *ʔidbeh* ‘pied de devant’.

in isolation but in the wider context of Late Antiquity), it developed, after the spread of Islam into the Iranian sphere, under the influence of Pers court culture and was subsequently ‘codified’ in manuals and encyclopedias. In post-classical times, it came to signify ‘culture’ and ‘humanity’ in general. While the sg. today mostly means ‘literature’ (e.g., *al-ʔadab al-ʕarabī*), the pl. is frequently met in the Ar equivalent of Fr ‘Faculté des Lettres’ or Engl ‘Faculty of Humanities’, *kullīyyat al-ʔādāb*.

- Etymology unclear, no obvious cognates in other Sem langs (those in Te are borrowed directly from Ar); the most common theory is that the sg. is a back-formation from an (unattested) *\*ʔādāb* < *\*ʔadʔāb*, thought to have been the pl. of *daʔb* ‘custom, habit, wont’, and that it originally meant ‘praiseworthy customs, habits, inherited from the forefathers’. Rolland 2014, however, gives Sum *DUB* > Akk *tuppu* ‘tablet, sacred text’ or oPers *dipi* ‘to write’ as the most plausible alternatives.

- Against Ar lexicographers *EtymArab* thinks that there is hardly any relation to the vb. I → *ʔadaba* ‘to invite to a banquet’.

**COGN** See below, section DISC.

**DISC** The question of the cultural origins, and hence also the etymology, of *ʔadab* is still unsolved. While Arab lexicologists are eager to derive the term from *ʔadaba*, impf. *yaʔdubu*, ‘to invite (to a repast, a banquet, i.e. a *maʔdubai*)’ ‘because it invites men to the acquisition of praiseworthy qualities and dispositions, and forbids them from acquiring such as are evil’ (as Lane I-1863: 35 summarizes the classical positions in English), a common theory in Western scholarship is that the word is a back-formation from the pl. *ʔādāb*, from an (unattested) *\*ʔadʔāb*, pl. of *daʔb* ‘custom’ (first put forward by Nallino, cf. Gabrieli 1960/2008). Ilse Lichtenstädter (1974, quoted by Horst 1987: 208) thought it could be an idea to trace it back to a Sum *é-dub-ba*, signifying ‘school’ or ‘university’,<sup>1</sup> while Asbaghi 1988 – probably motivated by Iranian national pride – proposed a confluence, in Ar (and Pers) *ʔadab*, of two mPers ancestors: the first, meaning ‘gute Sitten, Anstand, Höflichkeit’ (good manners, consideration, politeness), is traced back to mPers *aīvēn* (which in turn, the author says, goes back to an oIr *\*abi-dagna*); the second, meaning ‘literarische Bildung’ (literary formation, knowledge of/from literature), has its root, according to Asbaghi, in mPers *dipi* ‘Inscription’ (inscription) (from oIr *\*dipi-vara*).<sup>2</sup> In contrast, recent research tends to look at the region where the Ar term emerged, as a multicultural space, the Middle East of Late Antiquity (cf. Neuwirth 2010), where it is difficult, or impossible,

to identify one single origin and where one rather has to assume the influence of several ‘national’ traditions, among which also the key concepts of Pers *frahang* and *ēwēn/āyīn* as well as the Grk *paideia*.<sup>3</sup>

1. Halloran 3.0: »‘archive; school’ (‘house’ + ‘tablet’ + genitival *a(k)*)« – 2. The Sum or oPers origin are given by Rolland 2014 as the only options: »Du Sum DUB ‘tablette, texte sacré’, via Akk *tuppu* ‘id.’, ou oPers *dipi* ‘écrire’ (Nourai). Le Sogd a *dyb-yy* ‘lettre’.« – 3. On *frahang* and *ēwēn/āyīn*, cf., briefly, Khaleghi-Motlagh 1983 who says that »*Adab* is the equivalent of the Middle Persian *frahang* and New Persian *farhang* [...]; it is also very close to another Pahlavi word, *ēwēn*, Persian *āyīn*, meaning custom, rule, correct manner, and the like. Thus in certain Arabic works of the early Islamic centuries, *ēwēn* is rendered either by *adab* and its pl. *ādāb*, or by *rasm* and its pl. *rosūm*; but sometimes the original word, in its Persian form *āyīn*, is retained.« – For *paideia*, the standard reference is Jaeger 1933–47. The main traits of the conceptual history of this term are summarized also in *The New Pauly*: *paideia* »is the main Grk term for the education [...] of a child (*país*, παις) and above all of a young person [...]. The prerequisite for *paideia* that goes beyond unconscious sozialisation [sic!] is the concept that if *phýsis* (‘talent’) exists, then *areté* (‘being good’) can be acquired by means of the contemplation and practical imitation of models, for which the *téchnai* (‘arts and handicrafts’) provide the model. *Paideia* which consists of gymnastic and musical elements, serves to mould the child according to the (originally aristocratic) ideal of *kalokagathia* (‘external and internal excellence’).« The concept received its ‘classical’ shape through Isocrates [436–338 BC], whose *paideia* programme that »geared towards the cultivation of the human capacity for communication and at the same time – as it was believed – towards ethical moulding, [was] also useful in its humanistic orientation as a resource for the individualistically shaped ideal of personal development in the Hellenistic period. [...] To the Greeks of the Hellenistic period, *paideia* [...] was considered to be ‘the most precious good that is given to mortals’ [...]; in it they see their cultural identity defined [...]. The Romans appropriated the term *paideia* as *humanitas* [...]. The ideas of *paideia* survived through their appropriation by the Romans, and it is this form that can be regarded as the first Humanism« – Christes 2006. A good idea of the similarity of concepts in the ‘globalized’ Middle East of Late Antiquity can be gained, for example, from the entry on “Gastfreundschaft” (hospitality) in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, see Hiltbrunner / Gorce / Wehr 1972.

**SEM HIST** ▪ The term is neither attested in the Qurʾān nor mentioned as such by Polosin 1995 as forming part of the pre- and early Isl poetic vocabulary. Polosin only gives vb. II, *ʔaddaba* in the sense of ‘to educate, instruct’ (воспítывать, наставля́ть).

▪ Horst 1987: 208 sums up the development of the concept (after Nallino) as follows: “Tradition → traditionelle (Herzens- und Verstandes-) Bildung → Bildung → Bildungsliteratur → Literatur.”<sup>74</sup>

4. In my own (approximating) translation: ‘tradition → formation (of the heart and mind) according to tradition → formation, learning, cultivation of one’s self (in general) → the literature of formation, learning, culture (in general) → literature, belles-lettres’.

- DERIV** **bayt al-ʔadab**, n., toilet, water closet
- qaḷīl al-ʔadab** and *ṣadīm al-ʔadab*, adj., ill-mannered, ill-bred, impolite, uncivil
- al-ʔadab al-ṣāmmī**, n., popular literature
- riḡāl al-ʔadab**, n.pl., literati, men of letters
- kulliyyāʔ al-ʔadāb**, n., college of arts: calqued from Fr *faculté des lettres*
- ʔaduba**, u (*ʔadab*), vb. I, to be well-bred, well-mannered, cultured, urbane, have refined tastes: denominative from *ʔadab* ?
- ʔaddaba**, vb. II, **1.** to refine, educate; **2.** to discipline, punish, chastise: D-stem, caus. of I.
- taʔaddaba**, vb. V, **1.** to receive a fine education; **2.** to be well-bred, well-educated, cultured, have refined tastes; **3.** to show o.s. polite, courteous, civil, urbane; **4.** to behave properly or decently, maintain good manners; **5.** to educate o.s., refine one's tastes; **6.** to let o.s. be guided: tD-stem, refl./intr. from vb. I, or denom. from *ʔadab*.
- <sup>BP#2030</sup> **ʔadabī**, adj., **1.** moral, ethic(al); **2.** literary: nsb-adj | *šaḡāṣaʔī ~aʔī*, n.f., moral courage; *wāḡīb ~*, n., moral obligation; *~an wa-māddiyyan*, adv., morally and physically, *al-falsafaʔī al~aʔī*, n.f., ethics, moral science; *al-qism al~*, n., humanities division (higher education)
- ʔadabiyyāt**, n.f.pl., **1.** literature, belles-lettres; **2.** the humanities: pl. of n.abstr. in *-iyyaʔī* from *ʔadab*.
- ʔadabḡānaʔ**, pl. *-āt*, n.f., toilet, water closet: from *ʔadab* and *ḡānaʔī* (< Pers).
- C** <sup>BP#3204</sup> **ʔadīb**, pl. *ʔadabāʔī*, adj./n., **1.** cultured, refined, educated; **2.** well-bred, well-mannered, civil, urbane; **3.** a man of culture and refined tastes; **4.** man of letters, writer, author: quasi-PP/adj. formation from *ʔadab*.
- ʔadībaʔ**, pl. *-āt*, n.f., authoress, writer: f. of *ʔadīb*.
- maʔdubaʔ**, pl. *maʔādīb*, n.f., banquet, formal dinner: vn. of →*ʔadaba* 'to invite, entertain' rather than from *ʔadab*.
- C** **taʔdīb**, n., **1.** education; **2.** discipline; **3.** punishment, chastisement; **4.** disciplinary punishment: vn. II | *maḡlis al~*, n., disciplinary board.
- taʔdībī**, adj., **1.** disciplinary; **2.** punitive, retaliatory: nsb-adj. from *taʔdīb*, vn. II.
- taʔaddub**, n., good breeding, good manners, civility, politeness, courteousness, tact: vn. V.
- ʔādīb**, n., host: lexicalized PA I from the vb. → *ʔadaba* 'to invite, entertain' rather than from *ʔadab*.
- muʔaddīb**, pl. *-ūn*, n., **1.** educator; **2.** teacher in a Koranic school (*Tun.*): nominalized PA II.
- muʔaddab**, adj., well-bred, well-mannered, civil, urbane: PP II.
- mutaʔaddīb**, adj., polite, well-bred: PA V; pl. *-ūn*, n., educated people: nominalized PP V.

(To be continued)

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