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The Etymology of Generosity-Related Terms A Presentation of the *EtymArab* Project – part I

Abstract

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

Keywords

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

1. Prolegomena

In an article I recently wrote for the Jan Retsö Festschrift,¹ I dealt with the Arab ‘national virtue’ of generosity from a socio-cultural and at the same time a literary historian’s perspective. I attributed the longevity of the concept and the iconic esteem in which it has always been held – today, generosity forms part of modern Arabs’ ‘national’ identity – among other factors, to a process of *adab*-tation of a social practice, i.e., its aestheticization, first mainly in poetry, later also in prose. The literarization of generosity, I believe, contributed to the emergence of ‘generosity discourses’ and the formation of a literary tradition – *ʔadab*, after all, is also a kind of *sunna* – that together with the social practice constitutes what we might address as a ‘culture of generosity’. While writing this article, I was at the same time continuing preparations, screening data and experimenting with digital solutions and entry templates in connection with the *EtymArab* project, a 1000-lemma pilot version of an etymological dictionary

¹ Guth 2015.

of Arabic that takes Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as its point of departure and will hopefully be able to serve as a prototype to build on for the more comprehensive reference tool that is the dream of the more distant future. As always when one is sketching a project and tries to foresee all kinds of eventualities, it is good to have some concrete cases at hand that can serve as touchstones on which certain models can be tested and ideas simulated. Ever since an exploratory workshop on the *EtymArab* project was held in Oslo in June 2013,² I have seized invitations to lectures or my attending a conference as welcome occasions to do exactly this: to prepare, present and discuss a limited set of lexical items from my (provisional) lemma list.³ The choice of test items was mainly governed by chance or, rather, the time of the year into which such a presentation fell. Thus, for a guest lecture in Germany just a week before Christmas, for instance, I prepared some sample entries based on (in the widest sense) X-mas related German words that have an Arabic etymology,⁴ and on another occasion it was Easter that suggested a set of words that could be taken as a starting point for etymological considerations.⁵ After I had started out

² The workshop was organized by L. Edzard, C. Pennacchio, and myself and was funded by the European Science Foundation and the Dept. of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages (IKOS), University of Oslo. A scientific report is available from the ESF website: <<http://www.esf.org/coordinating-research/exploratory-workshops/workshops-list.html?year=2013&domain=>>>.

³ The choice of items in this list is meant to be somehow representative of Arab cultural history and at the same time to be appealing to a larger general public. It includes most items of the Swadesh basic vocabulary list (cf. SWADESH 1971; for its 200-word version see, e.g., BENNETT 1998: 40), almost all terms discussed in Arthur Jeffery's seminal study on the Qur'anic vocabulary (JEFFERY 1938), many Islamic "key concepts" (as identified by ALI & LEAMAN 2008), a certain percentage from the thematic lists in BUCKWALTER & PARKINSON'S *Frequency Dictionary* (2011), collated with a selection from *The World Loanword Database* (WOLD) compiled by HASPELMATH & TADMOR. The list further filled up according to pure frequency considerations and, last but not least, my own personal preferences.

⁴ Such as *camel* (from *ġamal* 'id.'), *myrrh* (from *murr* 'bitter; myrrh' – unless from Hbr *mōr* 'id.'), *sugar* (from *sukkar* 'id.'), *candy* (from *qand* 'cane sugar'), *marzipan* (probably from *martabān* 'receptacle made of porcelain for keeping medicine, confiture, spices, or ink'), *orange* (from *nāranġ* 'id.'), *ginger* (from *zanġabil* 'id.'), *saffron* (from *zaṣfurān* 'crocus'), *curcumin* (from *kurkum* 'saffron, tumeric'), *gala* (perhaps from *hilsai* 'fine garment given as a presentation'), *coffee* (from *qahwāi* 'do.; earlier: wine'), *alcohol* (from *al-kuḥl* 'antimon, fine powder; then also: essence, spirit of s.th.'), *lute* (from *al-šūd* 'wood; lute'), *guitar* (perhaps from *qīṭarāi* 'lyre, zither'), *jacket* (from *šaqq* 'breastplate'), *sofa* (from *suffai* 'bench of stone or wood; a couch').

⁵ *paschal*, Fr *pacques* [from Hbr *pāsaḥ* 'to pass over' or *pāsaḥ* 'sacrifice of passover', cf. Ar *fasaḥa* 'to make room, clear a space', *fasuḥa* 'to be or become wide, spacious, roomy' (both with non-emphatic *s*), but also (with emphatic *š*!) *šīd al-fiṣḥ* 'Pesach, Passover (Jud.); Easter (Chr.)' and *√fšh* '(to be, or become) pure', originally perhaps, as in ClassAr, 'to become divested of the froth' (milk), from Sem **PŠH* '(to be, or become) clear, bright', cf. also *fašāḥāi*, *fušḥāi*], *šumraū* 'minor hadj' (cf. *šamura* 'to be full, prosper', *šamara* 'to live long', names *šUmar*, *šAmr*, *šĀmir*, *šImrān*, etc., ? all akin to Hbr *šōmār* 'heap/sheaf of grain; cupfull of barley, sacrificed during Pesach'), *ḥarūf* 'lamb' (related to *ḥarīf* 'autumn, fall', but not to *ḥarīfa*, *ḥarrafa* 'to talk foolishly'), *qiyāmaū* 'ascension; resurrection (from ChrPal *qyāmtā*, *qayyāmtā* 'do.', calqued from Grk ἀνάστασις), *masīḥ* 'Christ, the

with a closed Wikipedia as a working tool for making the material accessible on the Internet, most of the sample entries have now been transferred to the platform of the *Bibliotheca Polyglotta* project.⁶ When writing the article on generosity for the Retsö Festschrift, mentioned above, I was always tempted to add some etymological information on the terms that came up there but had to abandon the option for the sake of the contribution's conciseness. So I put the etymological material I had begun to gather on generosity-related terminology aside, waiting for the next occasion to present it as another set of samples on which to try out both the possibilities offered by the *EtymArab* project and the challenges and limitations it meets. The kind invitation by the late prof. Andrzej Zaborski to submit a piece of work to the distinguished *Folia Orientalia* was a welcome opportunity to complement the literary-cultural-historical approach by an etymological essay – the present article.

2. Article structure and items discussed

Generosity being a key concept of the cultures we are dealing with, it goes without saying that the related vocabulary is immense and any attempt to try to cover it in a *comprehensive* manner would be doomed to failure from the very beginning, testifying to nothing but megalomania on the author's side. It was therefore imperative for the present article to limit the items that can be discussed down to a manageable number. Since generosity often appears in connection with hospitality and food, there will be a focus, though not completely exclusive, on words falling in this semantic domain. Of course, also here a selection was unavoidable.

My discussion of the etymology of generosity-related terminology will start with (section 3) the main terms for 'generosity', 'liberality', 'magnanimity', 'open-handedness' etc. themselves, treating also some corresponding verbs as well as counter-concepts like 'niggardliness'. From there I will move on (in part II, following in the next issue of *FolOr*) to the presentation of (4) some ethical concepts under which we may subsume generosity as a sub-concept, such as

Messiah' (from Hbr *māšî'ah*, Syr *māšîhā*, but not akin to *timsāh* 'crocodile'; cf. also *massa* 'to touch slightly', perhaps the origin of our *massage*, and *masaka* 'to grab, grasp, seize, hold', the latter neither related to *misk* 'musk' nor to *miskīn* 'poor, miserable'), *ṣalīb* 'cross' (from Aram *šlibā*, Syr *šlībā*, probably from an Iranian source, cf. Pers *calīpā*), *ṣawm* / *šiyām* 'fasting' (from Syr *ṣawmā* or Hbr *šôm*), *ʔarnab* 'hare' (according to Diakonoff composed of two elements, *ʔarn-ab-, *-b signifying wild, hence also 'strong' animals), associated with Easter, as also *bayḏ* 'eggs' (to which, inspite of the diverging third root consonant, also *bḥat* 'church' is akin, as it is from Aram *bēštā* 'dome', properly 'the egg-shaped one', with regular *ṣ* < **ḏ* in Aram).

⁶ Start from the *BP* home page, <<http://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/>>, choose "Arabic Texts" > "Etymological Dictionary of Arabic", then click on "EtymArab" or "Go to the first sentence" to get an overview over some recommended sample entries.

‘manliness’. Section (5) deals with the beneficiaries of generosity and hospitality, (6) with some ‘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.

The first entries will be accompanied by commentaries and explanations that are meant to make the reader familiar with the theoretical-methodological considerations that govern the approach taken by *EtymArab* as well as the structure of the entries. The farther we proceed in the article the less commentaries of this kind will be necessary, and the entries will be limited to their ‘essence’.

3. Main terms for ‘generosity’

3.1. karam

Since *EtymArab* starts, as etymological dictionaries of living world languages usually do, from the current usage of a word in today’s standard language, work on an entry in *EtymArab* begins with an overview of the situation in MSA (as reflected in Wehr’s dictionary⁷). ‘Overview’ means a screening of the *whole root* under which the word is listed in Wehr/Cowan. Probably more often than not, the root does not only have one single basic idea attached to it but displays a number of semantic values. For $\sqrt{\text{KRM}}$, for instance, we find two such values that, at first sight at least, do not seem to have much in common: KRM_1 ‘vine(yard), grapes’ and KRM_2 ‘(to be) noble, generous’. While it is a principle in *EtymArab* that each item of the MSA lexicon should be treated as an individual and therefore also have an entry of its own, it is another principle that the etymology of grammatical *derivations* should not be doubled in the respective entries but feature only once, in the entry on the etymon proper (if the latter is identifiable). In the case of KRM_1, all items seem to be denominative from *karm* ‘vine, grapes, grapevines; vineyard; garden, orchard’, while for KRM_2 the most ‘basic’ forms seem to be either the noun *karam* or the verb *karuma*. Grammatically, *karam* is one out of several other verbal nouns of *karuma*, but given that the latter is intransitive and signifies a ‘being *x*’ or ‘having (the quality of) *x*’ it seems legitimate to regard this *x* as the etymon proper. In order to avoid drawing premature conclusions from the MSA evidence it is of course mandatory to double-check in dictionaries of Classical Arabic (ClassAr) whether there is anything that would require a rejection of our first MSA-based assumptions. A look into Freytag 1835, Lane 1893 (Suppl.), Dozy 1881, and *WKAS* shows that this is evidently not the case, neither for value

⁷ The default version is the fourth edition (Arabic-English), edited by J. Milton Cowan, “considerably enlarged and amended by the author”, of 1979. For more modern usage, the fifth Arabic-*German* version as well as a variety of other dictionaries are consulted where appropriate.

1 ‘vine(yard), grapes’ nor value 2 ‘(to be) noble, generous’.⁸ Having in this way identified two etymon candidates for what seem to be two major values the remaining question is whether or not these two might be etymologically related. As neither MSA nor ClassAr provide any clue to answer this question the next step is to look into Semitic (Sem). Here, we are in the lucky situation that the volume of the *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* (DRS) that covers roots with initial “K” is already published. The entry on KRM lists seven (!) values that seem to be distinct from each other in Semitic. Of these, however, only three are represented in Arabic. The one in which Ar ‘vine, vineyard, grape(s)’ figures, is listed as different from the one that contains Ar ‘(to be) noble, generous’, so our initial hypothesis of a KRM_1 to be kept apart from KRM_2 is substantiated by the wider Sem evidence.⁹ The irritation produced by ClassAr *karm(-at)-* and its two meanings ‘necklace’ and ‘head of thigh bone’ (see preceding footnote) is removed by the fact that cognates with the same or a closely related meaning to the latter can be found in Akk(adian), Amh(amic), Gur(age) and perhaps Har(ari), so that it seems probable that ClassAr ‘head of thigh bone’ (obsolete in MSA) is a value in its own right that has nothing to do with ‘vine(yard), grapes’ and ‘(to be) noble, generous’.¹⁰ The other value of *karm(-at)-* in ClassAr, ‘necklace’, is not mentioned in DRS; however, given the meanings ‘vertèbre; cou, nuque; maillon d’une chaîne’ that MgrAr *krūma* can take (see previous footnote) it seems to make more sense to connect ‘necklace’ to this complex rather than to assume an extension from ‘grape’.¹¹

⁸ There are only the values ‘necklace’ (*WKAS*) and ‘head of thigh bone (femur turning in the hip bone) (Freitag 1837-IV: ‘caput ossis femoris quo in acetabulo coxae vertitur’) attached to the n. *karm* and/or the f./n.un. *karmat* in addition to ‘vine(grapes), vineyard’ that have a certain disturbing potential. One is tempted to explain both as mere metaphorical extensions of the original ‘vine, grapes’: a ‘necklace’ could be regarded as a *(chain of) grapes round the neck; and the ‘round head of the thigh bone’ (*raʿs al-fahḍ al-mustadīr*, *WKAS*) could be called so on account of its similarity to a grape hanging from a vine. But conform the Semitic evidence provided soon in the main text above. – The meaning ‘to give plenty of rain’ (said of clouds, or the sky) of the vb. *karuma* seems to be clearly figurative use. Cf., however, the discussion below on *karam* proper.

⁹ *BDB* 1906 (s.v. *kārām* ‘vineyard’) mentions that Gesenius (in his *Thesaurus Linguae Hebraicae*) compares Hbr *kārām* also to Ar *karuma* ‘be noble, generous, fertile’, but *BDB* is eager to add that this seems “precarious”.

¹⁰ *DRS* 10 (2012), KRM-1: Akk *kirimm-* ‘flexion des bras; relâchement, détente’, Ar *karmat-* ‘tête de l’os du fémur qui tourne dans l’os de la hanche’, MgrAr *krūma* ‘vertèbre; cou, nuque; maillon d’une chaîne’, Amh *kʾərma*, Gur (Selti) *kirmāyo*, ? Har *kurumbāy* ‘coude’.

¹¹ In the comment section on KRM-1, *DRS* also supplies the information that MILITAREV/KOGAN 2000 (SED-I) reconstruct Psem **kVr(V)m-* ‘jointure de membres; flexion, courbure de membres’. This reconstruction is kept, and supplemented with further evidence, also in Kogan 2011: 215, where the author says [abbreviations for languages harmonized with those used in the present article, S.G.]: “A special term for ‘articulation, joint’ can probably be reconstructed as Psem **kVrm-* (SED I No. 149) on the basis of Akk *kirimmu* ‘crooked arms’, Ar *karmat-* ‘upper part of the thigh where the socket turns’ (LA 12 608), Amh *kurma* ‘elbow’, *tākʾärämmätä* ‘to be flexed, folded up (limbs, fingers)’.

These are the considerations that (the current version of) *EtymArab* gives in a ‘disambiguation’ entry **KRM**. From here the user is referred to the two etymons, now established for MSA:

- KRM_1 ‘vine(yard), grapes’ → **karm**
- KRM_2 ‘(to be) noble, generous’ → **karam**

Since *karm* is not – or, at least, not immediately – relevant for the ‘generosity’ topic of the present article, I drop it here¹² in order to follow the *karam* thread. Like any other

- **LEMMA**, the lemma **karam** too is given in Arabic script كَرَم and has a line with some
- **META(data)**: **ID** = lemma identification number; **Sw** = number in the Swadesh list; **BP** = ranking in Buckwalter & Parkinson’s *Frequency Dictionary*;¹³ **Aut** = author/s (of this entry). Users will also be able to click on the “**root**” √KRM (which leads to the ‘disambiguation’ entry that gives the wider picture). In a later stage, this section (or the one on semantic history, see below) may include references to textual databases such as *al-Muṣṣaḡam al-tārīḡi li’l-luḡa’i al-ṡarabiyya’i* / *The Historical Dictionary of the Arabic Language* (Qaṡar), the *Arabic Papyrology Database* (Zurich/Munich), etc.
- The **GRAM(mar)** line gives grammatical information – in our case: n(oun) – which is followed by the value(s), rendered in
- **ENGL(ish)**, that the word takes in MSA according to the default dictionary, WEHR/COWAN 1979: “noble nature; high-mindedness, noble-mindedness, noble-heartedness, generosity, magnanimity; kindness, friendliness, amicability; liberality, munificence”.

perhaps Mhr *ṡākərmōt* and Jib *ṡakərūt* ‘pelvis’. A similar meaning can be proposed for P_{Sem} **kVm-* (SED I No. 143): Akk *kimkimmu* ‘wrist’, Tgr *kəm* ‘joint, articulation’, Sod *kumma* ‘heel, elbow’ and, possibly, Ar *kumm-* ‘sleeve’.”

¹² Cf., however, the cognates given in *DRS* (#KRM-2): Ug *krm*, Hbr *ķeṡem* ‘vignoble’, *korem* ‘vigneron’, Ph(oenician) Emp(ire)Aram(aic) *krm*, J(udeo)P(alestinian) *karmā* ‘vignoble’, Syr(iac) *kʿram* ‘tailler’, Ar *karm* ‘cep de vigne’, E(astern)Ar ‘terre plantée en vignes, en pistachiers ou en figuiers (qui n’ont pas besoin d’irrigation)’, *karma’i* ‘vigne’, Mor(ocan)Ar *ķəṡm* ‘figuiers’. KOGAN 2011 thinks that also Akk *karmu* ‘mound, heap’ and Mhr *ķərmáyym* ‘mountain’ are related. He reconstructs C_{Sem} **karm-* ‘vineyard’ and assumes a connection to P_{Sem} **kVm-* ‘hill, mound’. – Outside Sem, one may also have to compare, according to *DRS*, Eg(yptian) *kʷm* ‘vigne, jardin, avec des arbres, des fleurs, des légumes’; m(iddle)Eg *kʷmw* ‘verger, vignoble’, *kʷmw* ‘vignoble’, Dem(otic) *kʷm* ‘jardin, *kʷm ʔrny* ‘vigne’. Unless the Eg parallels are borrowed from Sem, or vice versa, one could also assume an Afr(o)As(iatic) dimension.

¹³ The idea behind giving the number the item has in the Swadesh list and in Buckwalter/Parkinson 2011 is to let the user know whether or not the item forms part of the most basic vocabulary and which ranking it had in a representative selection of texts in MSA at the beginning of the 2010s. In the future, also the ID no. in Haspelmath/Tadmor’s WOLD can be given.

- The last section, **DERIV(ations)**, lists all the lexical items that are derived from the lemma item, preferably with a short characterisation of the kind of relation they have with it – e.g., denom(inative) from *x*, nisba formation from *x*, v(erbal)n(oun) of *x*, etc. This is how the **DERIV** section looks for **karam** (arrangement follows the one in Wehr/Cowan; superscript “BP” = ranking in Buckwalter/Parkinson 2011; C = a key concept):

karuma, *u* (*karam*, *karamāi*, *karāmāi*), vb. I, **1** to be noble, high-minded, noblehearted, magnanimous, generous, liberal, munificent; **2** to be precious: probably denominative from *karam* (or *karīm*?).

karrama, vb. II, to call noble and high-minded; to honor, revere, venerate, treat with deference; to exalt, bestow honour upon: denom.appellative/declarative; denom.caus.

kārama, vb. III, to vie in generosity; to meet reverentially, with deference, politely: denom.associative.

^{BP#3917}**ʔakrama**, vb. IV, to call noble and high-minded; to honour; to treat reverentially, with deference, politely, hospitably, bestow honours upon; to prove o.s. to be high-minded and generous; to honour, present (s.o. with): denom. appellative/declarative; denom.caus.

takarrama, vb. V, to feign generosity; to show one’s generous side; to be noble; to be friendly, kind, kindly; to be so kind, have the kindness (*bi-* to do s.th.); to present, graciously bestow: denom.refl.

kurmatan laka, **kurmānan laka**, adv., for your sake, as a favour to you, in your favour: *maʔʔūl min ʔaġlih* of obsolete vn.s *kurmaʔ* and *kurmān*.

^{C BP#1822}**karāmāi**, n., → s.v.

^{BP#556}**karīm**, pl. *kuramāʔu*, *kirām*, adj., noble; generous; precious: adj. formation/pseudo-PP.

karīmāi, pl. *karāʔim^u*, n.f., precious thing, object of value, valuable; vital part (of the body; esp. eye); daughter: f. of nominalized adj. *karīm*.

ʔakram^u, pl. *ʔakārim^u*, adj., nobler, more distinguished; more precious, more valuable; most honorable; very high-minded, very noblehearted, most generous: elat.

makram and **makramāi**, pl. *makārim^u*, n., noble trait, excellent quality | *makārim al-ʔahlāq* noble characteristics, noble traits of character.

makrumāi, pl. *makārim^u*, n.f., noble deed.

^{BP#2670}**takrīm** and **takrimāi**, n., honoring, respecting, tribute, honour (bestowed on s.o.): vn. II.

ʔikrām, n., honour, respect, deference, tribute; hospitable reception, hospitality; kindness; honorarium: vn. IV, resultative.

ʔikrāmiyyāi, pl. *-āi*, n.f., honorarium; bonus: nisba formation from *ʔikrām*.

^{BP#3125}**mukarram**, adj., honoured, revered, venerated; venerable: PP II.

Each of these items are potential lemmata in their own right in order to allow, as the case may be, for a closer look at semantic history, including

textual attestations. For the time being, there is only *karāmaī* that is thought to get a longer entry in its own right, not the least because it is a cultural key concept (marked “C”), especially due to the importance the term has acquired in Sufism – “miracle that God works through a saint or allows to happen to him (Islamic popular belief)”, as Wehr/Cowan has it, or “divine act of grace, charisma, esp. ability to work wonders, thaumaturgy, (act of) wonder of a saint”, as *WKAS* renders the meaning the term can have in *ClassAr*, in addition to “nobility, magnanimity, honour, esteem; tribute, show of favour, act of grace, generosity”, in which it overlaps with *karam* to a large degree.

The etymological sections proper are **COGN**(ates) (in Semitic and outside Sem) and the **DISC**(ussion) of the material:

- **COGN**: *DRS* 10 (2012) #KRM-4 gives the following cognates for the value ‘generosity’: n(eo)Pun(ic) *ʔkrmʔ* ‘rivaliser de générosité’, M(a)gr(ebine) Ar *krāma* ‘banquet offert par un groupe pour remercier et honorer un de ses membres ayant accompli un acte louable’; M(e)hr(ī) *kōrem*, Šh(awrī) *kurum*, Ḥ(a)rs(ūsī) *kērem* ‘être généreux envers’.¹⁴ In addition to the value ‘être noble, généreux’ for the Ar vb. *karuma*, *DRS* gives also ‘donner beaucoup d’eau (ciel, nuages)’ here, suggesting, through the grouping together with the ‘generosity’ cognates, figurative use (cf. fn. 8 above). The notion of ‘rain’, however, makes it worth to consider also the items of *DRS* #KRM-5, all from the Eth(iopic) branch: G(əʕə)z *kərāmt*, T(igrī) *ña krāmti*, T(igr)je *kārām*, Amh(aric) Arg(obba) *kərāmt*, Gaʕ(at) *krāmtä*, Har(ari) *kirmi*, Gur(age) *kārm*, *ḥərəm*, *hənəw* ‘saison des pluies’. This value is particularly noteworthy because the root KRM does not seem to display an additional, more general value ‘generosity’ of which ‘(plenty of) rain’ > ‘(season of) rain’ could be a specialisation. Given the fact that for this value there seem to be cognates in Cush(itic),¹⁵ and perhaps also in Berb(er),¹⁶ one might think that ‘plenty of rain’ is the more original value, making ‘to be generous’ the secondary, figurative use (*‘to be like the sky/clouds that give plenty of rain’ > ‘to be generous’).
- **DISC**: The etymological options that the wider Sem and AfrAs evidence open up for are summarized in *DRS*: “Le nom de la saison des pluies a été rapproché de l’arabe *karuma* dont une valeur est ‘donner beaucoup d’eau’, *DILLMANN LEX.* 834, *M. COHEN ESSAI* n° 185; *LESLAU EDG* III/349 fait valoir,

¹⁴ I am dropping T(igr)je *kāramāt* ‘aumônes’ from the cognates mentioned in *DRS* because this is explained as a loan from Ar a few lines later.

¹⁵ Sa(ho) *karma*, Bedja *kerinti*, Som(alī) *keran*, Qabenna *kārmī* ‘saison pluvieuse’ – *DRS* 10 (2012) #KRM-5.

¹⁶ Cohen 1969 #185 lists also Berb (Sous) *kʷrəm* ‘être froid’ – as indicated *ibid.*

contre ce rapprochement, qu'il s'agit en arabe d'un emploi manifestement métaphorique et secondaire." It seems difficult to decide who is right here. For a non-specialist of AfrAs linguistics like myself, the Cush evidence looks as if the respective items could be loans from the Eth languages, and the Berb one (which apparently is an isolated case within the whole Berb family) does not really belong here. Should that be the case then we were back to Sem alone where 'rain season' is specific to Eth, while the notion of 'generosity' is found in Can(aanite), Ar, and the modSAr (modern South Arabian) languages, with Ar holding a 'middle position' in that the ClassAr usage shows both. Personally, I tend to follow Leslau. But we will have to wait for more material and/or more studies in order to make a final decision. – The result of this discussion is summarized in the section I called, for want of a better term, the **CONCISE** section. In *Bibliotheca Polyglotta*,

- the **CONCISE** section of the *karam* entry could look like this:
 - Grammatically, the word is a vn. I of the vb. *karuma*, which however probably is denominative from *karam* (or *karīm*?).
 - On account of the EthSem evidence where the main value of KRM is 'rain season', but also because of the meaning '(to give) plenty of water' that the vb. *karuma* can take in ClassAr, there is a theory that derives the notion of 'generosity' from the "generosity" of a sky/clouds giving plenty of rain. But it may also be the other way round, 'generosity' being the primary value of which '(to give) plenty of water/rain' is a metaphorical extension.
 - A key concept of Arab culture and civilisation that comprises a number of virtues such as: "generosity, forgiveness, patience, reliability, caring for the neighbours, protection of honour, prevention of injustice, courage/braveness".¹⁷ Related concepts: → *saḥā?*, → *ḡūd*; counter-concepts: → *buhl*, → *luʔm*.

As the last line demonstrates, the **CONCISE** section also fulfils the function of supplying some cultural notes (still rather coarse and deficient here) on the importance of the concept in Arab culture.

The meaning of *karam* does not seem to have changed much from the earliest attestations until our times. Quite often, however, the next section,

- **SEM(antic)HIST(ory)**, has the important task to provide textual attestations for the first occurrence of the new meanings a term may have taken in the

¹⁷ Approximative translation of what Nanah 1987: 24 lists as "Freigebigkeit, Verzeihung, Geduld, Verlässlichkeit, die Sorge um die Nachbarn, Schutz der Ehre, Verhindern von Ungerechtigkeit und Tapferkeit".

course of history. A comparison of the semantic field covered by words derived from, or akin to, *karam* in MSA (see DERIV section above) with the values attached to the root in ClassAr shows that these values obviously have remained extraordinarily stable – here are the main values Badawi/AbdelHaleem 2008 gives for ClassAr: ‘to be generous, to be high-minded, to be noble-hearted, to honour, to do favours, to treat with hospitality, obliging, beneficent, precious; (of land) to be fertile; thoroughbred, noble’. It suffices therefore to reproduce only the very earliest attestations (as given, for instance, by Ullmann in *WKAS*):

- <C7 ʕAmr b. Q. 5,9 *ʕalà karamin wa-ʕalà nağdatin*, Hud. 108,6 *dawū karamin wa-ʕidqin* [etc.]

Wherever possible, the sources should be dated (in our case here it suffices to mark the quotations “<C7”, i.e. earlier than 7th c. CE). Had there been a semantic development (apart from the metaphorical use ‘give plenty of water/rain’, mentioned above), the new values should have been documented and an explanation of the changes been suggested.

In a later stage, this section (and/or the metadata, see above) may include references to textual databases such *al-Muʕğam al-tārīḫī li’l-luğat al-ʕarabiyyatī* / *The Historical Dictionary of the Arabic Language* (Qatar), the *Arabic Papyrology Database* (Zurich/Munich), and others.

The example of the lemma *karam* having served as a first introduction into the structure of an *EtymArab* entry, we can proceed now with the etymology proper of other generosity-related terminology, adding explanatory remarks only where we meet features that have not been addressed so far.

3.2. ġūd

The word that Lane ii (1865) gives as the vn. of the vb. *ğāda ū* ‘to be liberal, bountiful, munificent, generous, etc.’ has obviously what we are used to call a weak root consonant. Given that the adj. *ğayyid* ‘good, etc.’ evidently belongs to the same semantic unit, one could be in doubt, for a moment, whether R₂ is *w* or *y*. But a look into Sem makes clear that only ‘neck’ (Ar *ğīd*) is a “genuin” ĞYD word,¹⁸ while the values ‘good, excellent; generous, copious’ (Ar *ğayyid*) and ‘racing horse’ (Ar pl. *ğiyād*) should be treated as ĞWD items, irrespective of the appearance of *y* in them. Furthermore, although the latter

¹⁸ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #924, DRS 2 (1994), and Kogan 2011 agree in reconstructing a PSem **ğīd-* (Orel/Stolbova: ‘tendon; muscle; nerve; neck’, DRS: ‘nerf, tendon’, Kogan: ‘tendon, sinew’). According to Orel/Stolbova, *ibid.*, the Sem form goes back, via contraction (**ğīd-* < **giyVd-*), to AfrAs **giyad-* / **giHad-* ‘neck’.

two look as if they were distinct items a closer examination suggests that they probably are semantically related. Thus, we have a ‘disambiguation’ entry:

- ĞYD_1 ‘neck’ → **ğ̣īd**
- ĞYD_2 ‘good, excellent; generous, copious’ → **ğ̣āda** (→ ĞWD)
- ĞYD_3 ‘racing horse’ → **ğ̣āda** (→ ĞWD)

Within Sem √GWD itself, *DRS* 2 (1994) distinguishes three values with manifestations in Ar: **1.** Ar *ğāda* ‘être excellent, généreux’; *ğawād-*; SAR *gwd* ‘cheval de course’; Mhr *gid* ‘bon, habile’.¹⁹ – **2.** Syr *gād* ‘être chaud’, Ar *ğāda* ‘consumer, épuiser qn.’, *ğūd* ‘flamme, passion, soif’. – **3.** Akk *gūd-*, nHbr *god*, JP *gōdā*, Syr *gawdā* ‘outré’; Mand *guda* ‘sac de cuir, bourse’; SyrAr *ğūd* ‘utricule, gourde’. Out of these three basic values, however, only the first one seems to have survived into MSA, the others either having become obsolete or never having formed part of the standard Ar lexicon.²⁰ Since *EtymArab*’s point of departure is MSA, we can thus go on with a focus on ĞWD_1 only. This latter, again, shows quite a variety of diversifications and specialisations, such as ‘to be good, excellent’, ‘generosity, liberality, openhandedness’, ‘racing horse’, (the latter are mentioned in *DRS*; but there are also) ‘the art of Qurʾān recitation’, and ‘heavy rain’ that probably should be mentioned in a disambiguation entry, since their belonging to the same group may not be immediately obvious. For the disambiguation entry √ĞWD, I therefore suggest:

- ĞWD_1 ‘(to be) excellent, generous; racing horse; heavy rain; art of reciting the Qurʾān’ → **ğ̣āda**
Cf. the main values of the root in ClassAr as given by Badawi/AbdelHaleem 2008: ‘horses, to seek a horse; generosity, generous person; goodness, excellence, nobility; rain-laden clouds’
- ĞWD_2 †‘to be warm; flame, passion, thirst; to consume, destroy, kill’
- ĞWD_3 ‘waterskin, gourd’: only SyrAr.

Having chosen to treat the vb. *karuma* under the main lemma *karam*, one could probably do the same with *ğāda* and *ğūd*. But since any decision seems to be rather arbitrary here, I will treat the etymology of the n. under the vb.

¹⁹ Syr *gʿwād* ‘noble horse’ is believed to be from Ar *ğawād*.

²⁰ In ClassAr, one still finds (Lane II-1865) the pass. vb. †*ğ̣īda*, ipfv. *yuğ̣ādu* ‘to become affected by thirst, be at the point of death or destruction; to become affected, or overcome, or distressed, by drowsiness, or slumber’, †*ğ̣āda* (vb. IV) ‘to slay, kill’, †*ğawdāi* ‘a single affection with thirst, a thirsting’, †*ğuwād* ‘thirst; drowsiness, slumber’, belonging to DRS #ĞWD-2. – No traces of DRS #GWD-3 in standard Ar, neither ClassAr nor MSA. The occurrence in Syriac Ar is probably a regional Aramaism.

this time. *ḡūd* itself will then get an entry in its own right in which only its semantic history (if applicable) and cultural significance are presented, while for the etymology proper the entry will ask the user to follow the cross-reference leading to *ḡāda*.

- LEMMA** ḡād-, ḡud- جَاد/جُدْ, ū (*ḡūdai*)
META ID ... • SW – • BP – • √ḠWD
GRAM vb., I
ENGL 1. to be or become good, become better, improve. – 2. †to be swift (horse). – 3. (*ḡūd*) to grant generously (*bi-* s.th.), be so generous as to do s.th.; to be liberal, openhanded, bestow liberally, grant, give lavishly, shower (*ḡalà* s.o. *bi-* with). – 4. to donate – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
COGN DRS 2 (1994) #GWD-1: Ar *ḡāda* ‘être excellent, généreux’; *ḡawād-*, SAr *gwd* ‘cheval de course’, Mhr *gid* ‘bon, habile’.*

*Syr *g^wwād* ‘noble horse’ is believed to be from Ar *ḡawād*. “Faut-il rapprocher Tña *gado* and Te Amh *gud* ‘merveilleux’? En Amh le sens est souvent péjoratif: ‘monstreux’.” – DRS 2 (1994)

- DISC** Both vn.s, *ḡūd* ‘generosity’ and *ḡawd* ‘copious rain’, have an abundance, an affluence, a copiousness in common (be it in quantity or in quality) that is identified as s.th. ‘good, excellent’. Hence it is difficult to decide whether the one was prior to the other (in terms of semantic history/hierarchy), and if so, then which one, or whether both are secondary specialisations of an earlier ‘goodness, excellency’ in general. Both corresponding adjectives, *ḡawād* ‘generous’ and *ḡayyid* ‘good, excellent’, seem to be secondary intensive formations (patterns *Faḡāl* and *Fayḡil*), so none qualifies as the etymon proper. In any case, ‘generosity’ as an ethical concept builds on ‘giving in abundance, openhandedly’. – The meaning ‘race horse’ is probably a specialisation, denoting a horse that unites in itself all the ‘excellent’ qualities needed to compete in a horse race. Similarly, ‘the art of beautiful Qurʾān recitation’ (D-stem, see section DERIV below) is a specialized term applied to ‘excellent performance’ of the holy text.
SEMHIST 1. ‘be good, of high quality’: IC6²¹ ḡAntara b. Šaddād 70,7 *ḡannī miḡlu* ‘l-ḡusāmi *ḡiḡā mā zāda ḡaqlan ḡāda yawma ḡilādi* ‘I am like a sword: the better polished/sharpened it is the better it is in the battle’

²¹ Abbreviations in the SEMHIST sections: e = early, m = mid-, l = late, C = century. Thus, IC6 means “late 6th c. CE”, and eC7 is “early 7th c. CE”.

– 3. ‘be generous’: id., 1,16,48; 68,5 *kāna ḡafnuki bi-’l-dumūʿi yaḡūdu* ‘your eye shed tears in abundance’; 68,13 *al-dahru yabḥalu tāratan wa-yaḡūdu* ‘time/destiny is sometimes a miser, and (sometimes) it is generous’ (Polosin 1995).

CONCISE Difficult to decide what should be considered as the etymon proper – ‘good, excellent’ or ‘bounteous, copious’. In any case, the basic notion is an abundance, generosity, or excellence in quantity or quality.

DERIV **ḡawwada**, vb. II, 1. to do well; to make better, improve: denom. from *ḡayyid* (?); 2. to recite (the Koran): specialisation of meaning, originally *‘to do it [sc. the recitation of the Qurʾān] well, correctly, beautifully’.

BP#4443 **ʔaḡāda**, vb. IV, to do well, do excellently; to master, be skilled, proficient; to ameliorate; to accomplish or say good, excellent things; to achieve excellent results; to be excellent, outstanding, distinguish o.s. (e.g., as a poet): denom./caus. from *ḡayyid* (?).

istaḡāda, vb. X, to think good or excellent, approve of; to consider suitable for or appropriate: denom. from *ḡayyid* (?), t-stem of IV, declarative.

ḡūd, n., openhandedness, liberality, generosity: an important cultural concept, see →s.v. – Perhaps the etymon proper?

ḡawd, n., heavy rains: another candidate for the position of the etymon proper.

BP#2378 **ḡūdat**, var. *ḡawdat*, n.f., goodness, excellence; good quality (of commodities, products): vn. I.

BP#488 **ḡayyid**, pl. *ḡiyād*, adj., good, perfect, faultless; outstanding, excellent, first-rate; good (as an examination degree): explained by some as a *fayʿil* form, i.e., from **ḡaywid*.

ʔaḡwad^u, adj., better: elat.

BP#5414 **ḡawād**, pl. *ʔaḡwād*, *ʔaḡāwid*^u, *ʔaḡāwīd*^u, *ḡūd*, adj., openhanded, liberal, generous, magnanimous: ints. | *ibn al-ʔaḡwād*, n., noble man.

ḡawād, pl. *ḡiyād*, *ʔaḡyād*, *ʔaḡāwīd*^u, n., horse; race horse, racer; charger, steed: nominalization of the preceding, or an item in its own right?

taḡwīd, n., art of reciting the Koran, Koran reading (in accordance with the established rules of pronunciation and intonation): vn. II. See also → s.v.

ʔiḡādat, n.f., good, excellent performance or accomplishment, etc.; improvement, amelioration: vn. IV.

muḡawwid, n., Koran reciter: PA II.

muḡīd, n., adept, efficient, proficient: PA IV.

3.3. saḥāʔ

Another word for ‘generosity, liberality, etc.’, *saḥāʔ*, can serve as a good example of a case that, due to its “uniformity” in MSA, looks as if it was quite easy to handle, but where a look into dictionaries of ClassAr makes clear

that the situation in MSA is only the visible part of a “dangerous iceberg”. In modern usage, *saḥāʔ* is ‘liberality, munificence, generosity’, and it belongs to a root √SHW/Y. The fact that there are three verbs with identical meaning ‘to be liberal, generous’ and that it is impossible to decide whether one of them should be prioritized, for etymological reasons, before the other, lets me choose the path of the least resistance and make the vn. *saḥāʔ* the main lemma under which to treat also the verbs, “rolled into one”. The situation in MSA would thus present itself in the LEMMA, META, ENGL, GRAM, and DERIV sections as follows:

LEMMA	saḥāʔ سَخَاء
META	ID ... • SW – • BP – • √SHW/Y
GRAM	n.
ENGL	liberality, munificence, generosity – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
DERIV	<p>saḥā, <i>saḥaw- ū</i>; saḥiy- à (<i>saḥāʔ</i>); saḥuw- ū (<i>saḥāwaʔ</i>), vb. I, to be liberal, generous (<i>bi-</i> with s.th. <i>ʕalā</i> toward s.o.); to grant, award, confer, bestow (s.th. on s.o.); is the vb. denom., or the n. deverbative?</p> <p>tasāḥḥā, vb. V, 1. to show o.s. generous, display liberality: declar.; 2. to endeavour to be liberal or generous: conat.</p> <p>tasāḥḥā, vb. VI, = V.</p> <p>saḥiyy, pl. <i>ʔaḥḥiyāʔ</i>ⁿ, adj., liberal, openhanded, generous; giving generously, being lavish: ints./pseudo-PP.</p> <p>saḥāwaʔ, n.f., generosity: vn. I (of <i>saḥuwa</i>, ū).</p>

As for the etymology of this semantic complex, the reference tools I was able to consult failed to give any hints. A look into the situation in ClassAr suggests that the ‘openhandedness’ might be a metaphorical use of a more original meaning ‘to give/make room, space’. Given that this value is still observable in ClassAr, *EtymArab* would give this kind of information in the SEMHIST section:

SEMHIST	<p>The notion of ‘liberality’ may be figurative use of a more general ‘to give/make room, space (for s.th.)’, as appearing in ClassAr where the vb. is often combined with <i>nafs</i> ‘o.’s mind’, e.g., (Lane iv-1872:) <i>saḥat naḥḥu</i> ‘he be(came) liberal’ [lit. perhaps *‘his mind became open, he made room in his mind, freed it’ (from sticking to the things), *‘he freed himself (and thus became able to give away openhandedly)’, S.G.], hence also <i>saḥiyat naḥḥu ʕan al-šayʔ</i> ‘to leave, relinquish, give up s.th.’ or <i>saḥā bi-naḥḥihī</i> ‘do., to hold o.s. far (<i>ʕan</i> from s.th.), to withdraw o.’s heart (<i>ʕan</i> from s.th.)’. MSA has preserved this use in the expression <i>saḥiyy al-naḥḥ ʕan al-šayʔ</i> ‘only too glad to relinquish or give up s.th.’ (Wehr/Cowan 1979). Without object, <i>saḥā ū</i> (<i>saḥw</i>) can also mean (Lane iv-1872) ‘to rest (from a state of motion)’.</p>
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Used with *al-nār* as an object, the vb. means ‘to make an opening in the live and extinct coals of the fire which have become collected together after it has been kindled, to make a way, or vent, for the fire, beneath the cooking-pot (in order that it might burn up well)’, and with *al-* → *qidr* ‘to make a way [or vent] for the fire beneath the cooking-pot’.

Cf. also the n.s (nominalized adj.s) *saḥwāʔ^u*, *saḥāwiyy*, *saḥāwiyyat* indicating (land) ‘soft in the earth’, ‘wide, ample, plain’, *saḥāwiyy^u* ‘land(s) in which is nothing’ (Wahrmund 1887: ‘weite Strecke weichen Bodens’) – but these may be related otherwise.²²

COGN ???

DISC ???

CONCISE Etymology unclear. A connection to other (obsolete) items of →√SHW/Y seems unlikely.

The latter remark in the CONCISE section can be made because ClassAr still displays two other values attached to √SHW/Y in addition to ‘to give room, make space for; be generous’, namely the ‘limping’ of a camel and a certain type of cabbage (unless this is from √SHW/Y rather than √SHW/Y). Details of this situation will figure in a disambiguation entry, which, for lack of any other etymological data, for the moment contains nothing but:

LEMMA SHW/Y سخي / سخو

META ID ... • SW – • BP – • √SHW/Y

GRAM “root”

ENGL

- SHW/Y_1 ‘to be generous; †to give room, make space for’ → **saḥāʔ**
- SHW/Y_2 †‘to limp’ obsolete
- SHW/Y_3 †‘kind of cabbage’ obsolete

CONCISE Etymology unclear.

COGN ??? – See DISC.

DISC

- Should one connect ClassAr *saḥwāʔ^u*, *saḥāwiyy(-at)* to an Ar †*saḥāḥ* ‘bon terrain’, listed by Cohen 1969 (Freitag 1837: ‘terra mollis, optima, humus’; cf. also ibid. †*saḥḥāʔ*, pl. *saḥāḥiyy*, ‘locus, in quo est mollis terra’), and, together with the latter, to Akk *saḥḥu* ‘prairie’ (CAD: ‘meadow, waterlogged land’)? If so, one would also have to

²² Cohen 1969 mentions an Ar *saḥāḥ* ‘bon terrain’ (not to be found in Lane or Dozy), which he connects to Akk *saḥḥu* ‘prairie’ (CAD: ‘meadow, waterlogged land’) and, outside Sem, to Eg *sh.t* ‘champ, campagne’. Should these be related to ClassAr *saḥwāʔ^u*, *saḥāwiyy*, *saḥāwiyyat* instead of considering the latter a nominalized adj.?

compare, with Cohen, Eg *sh.t* ‘field, meadow’. – Any relation to $\sqrt{\text{SWH}}$ *sāḥa ū* (*sawḥ*) ‘to be or become doughy, soft, slippery (esp. ground), yield like mud; to sink (in the ground)’ and/or $\sqrt{\text{SYH}}$ *sāḥa ī* (*sayḥ, sayḥān*) ‘to sink into the ground or mud’?

▪ In addition to the notion of ‘generosity’ (the only one preserved in MSA) and ‘to give room, make space for’ (which seems related to the former and is attested in ClassAr), ClassAr shows two other semantic values attached to the root (Lane iv-1872):

- ‘to limp’: *saḥiya à* (*saḥan, -ā*) ‘to become affected with limping, or halting, having leaped with a heavy load, in consequence of which a flatus has intervened between the skin and the shoulder blade’ (said of a camel)
- ‘kind of cabbage’: *saḥāʔatī*, pl./coll. *saḥāʔ*, ‘a certain plant of the [season called] *rabīʿ*, herb or leguminous plant, rising upon a stem, having what resembles in form an ear of wheat, in which are grains like those of the *yanbūt*, and a heart, or kernel, the grain of which is a remedy for wounds’ (Freitag 1837: ‘oleris species’ [a kind of cabbage]). Lane reports that some Ar lexicographers say that this word sometimes also appears as *ṣaḥāʔatī* (with *ṣ*).

No cognates in Sem reported so far.

3.4. qiran (det. qirā)

Other frequently recurring words in the context of hospitality are *qiran* ‘entertainment for a guest’ (the vn. of the vb. I *qarā* ‘to receive hospitably, entertain’ a guest), the vb. IV *ʔaqra* ‘to ask for hospitality’ (with its PA *muqrin*, det. *muqrī*) and the vb. VIII *īqtarā* ‘to receive hospitably; (in Class Ar also: to ask for a hospitable reception)’ (with its PA *muqtarin*, det. *muqtarī*). In MSA, the entry under the corresponding root QRY looks rather homogenous at first sight: apart from the ‘hospitality’ complex there are only *qaryatī* ‘village’ (and derivatives), which however can easily be thought to be akin to ‘hospitality’, and the isolated item *qariyyatī*, indicating a ship’s ‘yard’. Together with the fact that, as we learn from Jeffery, *qaryatī* with all probably is not directly from *qarā* but borrowed from Syr,²³ and that, as we learn from Zimmern, *qariyyatī*

²³ Although the root QRY exists in Ar, the common opinion (based, e.g., on Jeffery 1938) is that *qaryatī*, like other administrative terms (as, e.g., *bāb, madīnatī, ḥiṣn, sulṭān*), is borrowed from Aram (Syr *qʾrītā* ‘town, city’). The word is found also in other WSem languages where it signified a fortified settlement as opposed to a ‘village’ in the countryside (ComSem **kapar-*, see Ar → *kafr*). – According to Huehnergard 2011, the WSem root **QR(Y)* to which the etymon of Ar *qaryatī* belongs, meant ‘to meet’. So that the proper meaning of the WSem n. **qart-*, **qary(at)-*, **qiryat-* ‘village, town’ was probably **‘meeting place’* (as suggested in *BDB* 1906 as a possible etymology of Hbr *qiryāh*). – Meanwhile, Orel/Stolbova 1995/2007 reconstructed Sem **kary-* ‘town, village’ and suggested a derivation

is likely to be a loan, via Syr, from the Akk,²⁴ the situation in MSA therefore suggests that we deal with the material in three main entries – *qarà*, *qaryāṭ*, and *qariyyāṭ* – irrespective of a possible interrelatedness of these items. The fact that, ultimately, all three may indeed be akin to each other via the notion of ‘meeting’ makes it necessary, in the disambiguation entry, to take account of the semantic complexity in ClassAr and try to shed some light on the interdependence, or non-dependence, of the many values.

LEMMA	QRY	قري	
META	ID ...	• SW – • BP – • √QRY	
GRAM		“root”	
ENGL	▪ QRY_1	‘to receive hospitably, entertain’	→ qarà
	▪ QRY_2	‘village, small town’	→ qaryāṭ
	▪ QRY_3	‘yard (naut.)’	→ qariyyāṭ

In addition to these values, ClassAr has also:

- †QRY_4 ‘to flow together; place where water (or juice etc.) flows together; bassin, reservoir, pool, trough, cup’
 - †QRY_5 ‘(kind of auspicious bird); hence good omen; generous person’
 - †QRY_6 ‘to collect, store’
 - †QRY_7 ‘to travel across the country, perambulate (in search or pursuit of s.th.)’
 - †QRY_8 ‘to follow with o.’s eyes, observe’
- There is also partial overlapping with → **QRW**
- Not related but loanword: → **qayrawān** ‘caravan’²⁵

of the latter from AfrAs **ker-* ‘dwelling’ ~ **kor-* ‘house, place’. Cohen 1969 (#240) viewed (Sem) Hbr *qiryā(h)* ‘ville’ and Ar *qiryāṭ* ‘hameau, bourg’ (and also modSAr *qaṣar* ‘maison’) together with (Cush) Ag Bil Sa *qaṣrat*, Bed *gaṣra* ‘enclos, cour’, Som *gūri* ‘maison, hutte’ (*gār* ‘maison’ in some SEth languages), as well as (Chad) Ha *gari* ‘ville’.

²⁴ Probably via Syr *qarītā* ‘beam, plank’ from Akk *qarītu* ‘storeroom, granary’ (properly ‘beams, woodwork’). The term seems to have come out of wider use in the course of time, surviving into MSA only in the specialized meaning of a nautic technical term.

²⁵ Neither related to QRW nor to QRY but a loan from Pers *kārbān* ~ *kārvān* ‘caravan’ or < mPers *kārvān* ‘id.’, which perhaps is from Akk *ḥarrānu* ‘highway, road, path; trip, journey, travel; business trip; caravan; business venture; business capital; military campaign, expedition, raid; expeditionary force, army; corvée work; service unit; (etc.)’ – NişanyanSözlük (as of 15Sept2014). The fact that the spectrum of meanings in ClassAr (1. caravan, 2. army, camp, 3. market, fair) resembles very much the one in Akk, lets also a direct loan seem not impossible. Lokotsch1927 #1075, while supporting a Pers background (*kārvān* ~ *kārvān*), tends to make the latter dependent on Skr *karabha* ‘(young) camel’ (prop. ‘possessing celerity’). – In Engl. the word *caravan* is attested since the 1580s. According to <etymonline.com>, it came in via mFr *caravane*, from oFr *carvane*, *carevane* ‘caravan’ (C13) or mLat *caravana*, picked up during the Crusades.

CONCISE With Huehnergard 2011 we tend to trace [v1] through [v6] back to a WSem $\sqrt{*QR(Y)}$ ‘to come together, meet’, while [v7] and [v8] seem to depend more on Ar \sqrt{QRW} ‘to approach, turn to, follow’. But given the many overlappings of QRW and QRY, the situation is not clear at all.

COGN ▪ *BDB* 1906: Hbr *qārā* ‘to encounter, meet, befall’, cf. also *qārāh* ‘chance, accident’, *qārī* ‘misfortune, (specif.) (nightly) pollution’ (so also Aram *qiryūā*, Syr *qeryā*).

DISC ▪ Previous research regards both Ar *qaryāi* ‘village, small town’ [v2] and *qariyyāi* ‘yard (naut.)’ [v3] as loans from Syr, while it remains silent on the complex of ‘treating a guest, receiving hospitably’ [v1].

▪ A look into dictionaries of ClassAr makes clear that given the large semantic variety within \sqrt{QRY} (and its partial overlapping with $\rightarrow\sqrt{QRW}$), we are obviously dealing with a very old root and therefore have to reckon with a high degree of diversification and complexity.

▪ Treating items of [v2], Huehnergard 2011 suggested the meaning ‘to meet’ as the basic value of a WSem vb. **qr* or **qry*, cf. Hbr *qārā* ‘to encounter, meet, befall’. *BDB* connects the latter to ClassAr $\dagger qarā$, *u*, ‘to go, seek earnestly’ ($\rightarrow QRW$, $\rightarrow taqarrā$, $\rightarrow istaqrā$) as well as to *qarā*, *i*, ‘to receive hospitably (as a guest)’ (and also Gz *ʔaqārāya* ‘to present, offer as a sacrifice’). Should this be correct, then both [v1] and [v2] would derive from this notion of ‘meeting, coming together’: ‘hospitality’ as s.th. that is (to be) applied when people ‘meet’, and ‘village, town’ as a place where people come together. [v3] ‘yard’ (of a sailship), too, has been interpreted as ultimately going back to the idea of beams or planks ‘meeting’ each other ($\rightarrow qariyyāi$).

▪ ClassAr also has the notion of ‘to meet’, though only in the specialized value [v4] ‘water running down a hill and collecting (= meeting) in a meadow’, or ‘hole in the root of a palm tree where the sap collects (i.e., meets)’. Cf. also:²⁶ $\dagger qarā$, *i*, ‘to collect water in a reservoir’; $\dagger qiran$ (det. -à) ‘eau recueillie et ramassée dans le réservoir’; $\dagger muqtarin$ (det. -ī) ‘s.o. who collects water in a reservoir’;²⁷ $\dagger qariyy$ (pl. *quryān*) ‘endroit au bas d’une hauteur où s’amasse l’eau qui descend des hauteurs; canal, ruisseau par lequel l’eau descend des collines’;²⁸ $\dagger maqran$ (det. -à) ‘lieu où l’on ramasse l’eau, réservoir’;

²⁶ French as in Kazimirski 1860, Engl as in Steingass 1894 and Badawi/AbdelHaleem 2008.

²⁷ ‘человек, собирающий воду в водоём’ – *Ḥuṭayʔa* 28,1 *yā ǧafnatan... malʔà... ka-ḥawḍi* *ʔ-l-muqtarī* (Polosin 1995).

²⁸ Cf. Polosin 1995: ручей, стекающий с возвышенности на луг (brook flowing down from a hill to a meadow), eC7 *Ḥuṭayʔa* 2,2 *bi-mustaʔsidi ʔ-l-quryāni ḥuwwin nabātuḥū*.

†*miqrāī* ‘grand réservoir d’eau’. To this complex belongs also (usually assigned to →QRW, not QRY) the n. †*qarw* (pl. *ʔaqrāʔ*, *ʔaqrin* / det. -ī, *ʔaqruwaī*, *quriyy*) ‘abreuvoir, bassin; long water vessel approached by camels / for camel foals;²⁹ tuyau ou conduit par lequel s’écoule le suc du raisin exprimé dans le pressoir / outlet of a wine-press; tronc de palmier creusé dans lequel on fait du vin; *espèce d’auge* faite d’un tronc de palmier; vase à boire, coupe; petite auge dans laquelle on donne à boire aux chiens / trough to feed dogs’, and perhaps also [v5] †*qāriy(y)ai* ‘sorte d’oiseau aux jambes courtes, au bec long et au plumage du dos vert, qui présage la pluie’ (= *‘the one making the clouds meet and rain?’).³⁰ As another kind of ‘flowing together’ (= meeting) could be conceived the n. †*qarw* ‘gonflement du scrotum / hydrocele, hernia, orchiocele/scrotal hernia’.³¹

▪ From the intr. ‘flowing together / meeting’ may be the more general trans. [v6] *‘to collect, store’, as in the vb. †*qarà*, *i*, ‘to chew the cud, have an inflated cheek from storing the cud in the mouth (camel)’, and the n. (usually derived from QRW) †*qaran* (det. -ā, pl. *ʔaqrāʔ*) ‘courage vidée dans laquelle on conserve des mets’.

▪ ClassAr also has the PA I f. †*qāriyai* with the meaning ‘settlement’ and this is explained as *al-miṣr al-ḡāmiʕ* ‘the city/town that brings together, collects, unites (sc. people)’, i.e., derived from [v6]. Should this be, against all previous assumptions, the etymon of *qariyai* (*qāriyai* > **qāriyai* > *qariyai*)? The same would of course be thinkable if *qāriyai* was not *‘the one (sc. settlement) that brings together’ but (from [v1]) *‘the hospitable one, (settlement) that receives strangers hospitably’.

▪ [v1] ‘hospitality’ itself is perhaps not from [v4] *‘to meet’ but from *qarw* ‘bowl’ (i.e., *‘to entertain a guest with s.th. to drink, offered to him in a bowl’).

▪ [v7] and [v8] are treated as belonging to →√QRW_3 rather than to √QRY.

For the generosity-related *qarà* itself, we have then:

LEMMA *qarà* قَرَى, *qaray-* قَرِيْ-, *i* (*qiran*, det. *qirā*)

²⁹ Hence (?) also: ‘wide land that is difficult to cross’.

³⁰ Hence also ‘précurseur (du bien), et homme généreux dont l’arrivée présage des dons, comme l’apparition de l’oiseau *qāriy(y)ai* présage la pluie’.

³¹ Usually grouped under →QRW. – Cf. also the denom. vb.s †*qarā*, *u*, ‘se gonfler / to swell, être enflé (se dit du scrotum affecté d’un hydrocèle ou d’un sarcocèle)’, and vb. X †*īstaqrà* ‘être rempli, gonflé de pus (se dit d’un abcès)’.

- META** ID ... • SW – • BP – • √QRY
- GRAM** vb., I
- ENGL** to receive hospitably, entertain – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
- CONCISE**
 - It seems that, ultimately, the word goes back to a WSem √*QR(Y) ‘to meet’ – either derived directly from there (hospitable reception as what happens when people meet), or possibly (denom.) via →*qarw* ‘drinking trough’ (for animals) or ‘bowl, drinking cup’, which may have become synonymous with what strangers find (for their animals, or themselves) in a place they approach for hospitality.
 - The fact that the PA I *qārin* also means ‘villager’ (and in ClassAr its f., †*qāriyāi*, is lexicalized also as ‘village’) makes it appear thinkable that *qaryāi* ‘village’, unless loaned from Aram (as is usually assumed), may be based on the notion of ‘receiving hospitably’. On the other hand, ClassAr †*qārin* means also ‘s.o. who arrives at a village’, a fact that would suggest the PA (and the corresponding vb.) to be itself dependent on *qaryāi*.
- COGN** See →QRY.
- DISC**
 - It seems that, ultimately, the word goes back to a WSem *QR(Y) ‘to meet’.
 - But it is not clear whether it is a direct derivation from there, or whether it is not possibly based on →*qarw* in the meaning of ‘drinking trough’ (for animals) or ‘bowl, drinking cup’ (which seems to belong to →QRY_4 ‘to flow together; place where water (or juice etc.) collects; bassin, reservoir, pool, trough, cup’ rather than to QRW).
 - Given that the PA I *qārin* also means ‘villager’ (and in ClassAr, its f., †*qāriyāi*, also is lexicalized as ‘village’, as opposed to *bādiyāi* ‘desert’) makes it appear thinkable that *qaryāi* ‘village’, unless loaned from Aram (as is usually assumed), is based on the notion of ‘receiving hospitably’.
 - ClassAr also has †*qārāi*, synonymous with †*qāriyāi* ‘village’.
 - The fact that, in ClassAr, the PA I *qārin* is not only ‘villager’ but also ‘s.o. arriving at a village’ would make the vb. *qarā* look denominative from *qaryāi*.
- SEMHI**
 - **IC6** †Antara b. Šaddād 52,3 *lam yaqri 'l-ḍuyūfa ʔiḍā ʔatawhu*, **eC7** Ḥuṭayʔa 117,7 *qarāhā fa-lam yabḥal wa-lam yataʕallali* ‘to receive hospitably, treat as a guest’ (Polosin 1995)
 - (*qiran*) **IC6** †Antarāi b. Šaddād 133,5; †Urwaʔi b. al-Ward 17,2 *ʔuḥaddiṭuhū ʔinna 'l-ḥadīṭa min al-qirā*; **eC7** Ḥuṭayʔa 16,13 *fa-man... laysa li-ʔidmāni 'l-qirā bi-malūli*, etc. (Polosin 1995).

▪ In ClassAr, the vb. VIII *īqtarà* can also mean ‘to ask for hospitality; to suffice and refresh (food)’

DERIV **īqtarà**, vb. VIII, = I: in MSA reduced to ‘receiving’ as a guest, i.e., ‘to invite s.o. to be o.’s guest’, while in ClassAr it can still also mean ‘to ask for hospitality’.

qiran, det. *qirà*, n., **1.** hospitable reception, entertainment (of a guest): vn. I; **2.** meal served to a guest: synekd. use of vn. I.

BP#665 **qaryāṭ** → s.v.

qarawī: **1.** → *qaryāṭ*; **2.** from Kairouan, inhabitant of K.; a member of al-Qarawiya College in Fès (Morocco): nisba formation.

qarawīyyāṭ: → *qaryāṭ*.

miqran, det. *miqrà*, adj., very hospitable: ints.

miqrāʔⁿ, adj., very hospitable: ints.

qārin, det. *qārī*, n., villager: PA I (?).

Since generosity was such an important concept in pre-Islamic society, both on account of the high ethical values attached to it (*karam* signifies not only ‘generosity’ but at the same time – it is *one* word! – also ‘nobility’ of character) and as a means of providing for the poor and needy (which, of course, contributed to its ethical value), Islam, too, when the new religion emerged and began to spread, wanted to include it and, if possible, make it a specifically *Islamic* value. Thus, it is well on purpose that also the Islamic God is *karīm*, that the Qurʔān is a *qurʔān karīm* and that, later, also the Prophet is depicted as a model of *karam* or *karāmaṭ*. At the same time, the *karam* itself is also “Islamicized” (cf. already sūrat 13:49 *ʔinna ʔakramakum ʔinda ʔllāhi ʔatqākum* ‘the most noble of you in the sight of God is the most righteous of you / [others translate:] the best in conduct / the one among you most careful (of his duty) / the most pious’). There seems also to be a clear preference, in the Qurʔān, for the “milder” *karam* rather than for *ḡūd* (stressing copiousness) and *saḥāʔ* (focus on liberality and excess): while words from the root √KRM abound, the roots √ḠWD and √SHW/Y are conspicuously absent. There is also a clear tendency to channel acts of generosity into more moderate, ethically justifiable modes of charitable donation. This is probably the reason why also the two concepts of *zakāṭ* and *ṣadaqaṭ*, known to pre-Islamic Arabs from Judaism as *religiously* meritorious concepts, were loaned into Arabic and elaborated, in the case of *zakāṭ*, as one of the ‘five pillars of Islam’ or, in the case of *ṣadaqaṭ*, as a (hierarchically lower, voluntary) donation for charitable ends. Although both corresponding roots, √ZKW/Y and √SDQ, did exist prior to the advent of Islam, the two words themselves, as specific religious terms, did not; their meaning was imposed on, or added to, the Arabic roots, and this is why they are treated as individual lemmata in *EtymArab*:

3.5. zakāī

LEMMA **zakāī** زكاة, var.orthogr. زكوة, pl. *zakan, zakawāt*

META ID 361 • SW – • BP 4006 • √ZKW

GRAM n.f.

ENGL **1.** purity; **2.** justness, integrity, honesty; justification, vindication; **3.** alms-giving, alms, charity; **4.** alms tax, zakat (*Isl. Law*) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE ▪ It seems that the word was borrowed in early Islamic times from JudAram *zəkūtā* ‘voluntary deed of merit in accordance with God’s commandments’ to provide a counter-concept ‘collective charity’ against, and to compete with, old Arabian charity as practised by clan/tribe chiefs through individual acts of generosity. The latter was integrated into Islam in a modified, ‘milder’ form as →*ṣadaqāt* while *zakāī* was made obligatory (and more reliable) and thus given priority over the latter. However, pre-Islamic ideals were not completely replaced by *zakāī* and *ṣadaqāt*; rather, they continued into Islamic times (→*ḡūd*, →*karam*, →*saḥā?*). The meaning [v4] ‘alms (tax)’ does not seem to have been attached to the Aram source yet and was therefore probably added by Islam.

▪ Together with the vb. →*zakā* ‘to be pure in heart, be just, righteous’ (which is from Aram *zəkā* ‘to be innocent, be worth, give alms’), the item goes back to Can **zakā* ‘to be worth, be worthy’, or Akk **zakū* ‘to be(come) pure, innocent’, both from Sem **ḏkw* ‘to be(come) clean, pure’.

1. ...with Aram **ḏkā* > *zəkā* under Akk influence?

COGN Aram *zkwt*, Syr *zəkūtā* are not cognates proper since *zakāī* is loaned from there. This notwithstanding, it does of course belong to the same Sem root, cf. →ZKW/Y. The word appears already in some Sab inscriptions as *zkt* (dated 542 and 619 Ḥimyarite era, i.e., c. 430 CE and 508 CE, respectively), meaning ‘Heilstat, Gnade (Gottes)’.²

2. Müller 2010.

DISC ▪ Jeffery 1938, 153: »Naturally the Muslim authorities explain this word from →*zakā* and tell us that an alms is so called because it purifies the soul from meanness, or even because it purifies wealth itself (cf. Bayd, on ii, 40, etc.),³ though some sought to derive it from the primitive meaning of ‘to increase’ (see Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 212, and the Lexicons). – *zakāī*, however, is another of the technical religious terms taken over from the older faiths. Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 23, suggested that it was from the Aram זכות. The primary sense of זכות, זכותה is ‘puritas, innocentia’, from which developed the secondary meaning of ‘meritum’ as in the Targum on Ruth iv, 21, but it does not seem

that זכותא, or its Syr equivalent *zəkūtā*, ever meant ‘alms’, though this meaning could easily be derived from it. Fraenkel is inclined to believe that the Jews of Arabia had already given it this meaning before Islam “sed fortasse Iudaei Arabici זכותא sensu eleemosynarum adhibuerunt” (so Torrey, *Foundation*, 48, 141). Nöldeke, however (*Neue Beiträge*, 25), is inclined to believe that the specializing of the word for alms was due to Muḥammad himself.⁴«

3. The origin of this idea, of course, is in the Qurʾān itself, cf. ix, 104. –

4. See also Bell, *Origin*, 80; Schulthess, in *ZA*, xxvi, 1.50, 151; Ahrens, *Muhammad*, 180; Von Kremer, *Streifzüge*, p. xi; Horowitz, *JPN*, 206. Wensinck, *Joden*, 114, says: »Men zal misschien vragen of tot se Mekkaansche instellingen niet de zakat behoort. En men zou zich voor deze meening op talrijke Mekkaansche openbaringen kunnen beroepen waar van *zakāī* gesproken wordt. Men vergete echter niet, dat het woord *zakāī* het Joodsche זכותא, verdienste beteekent. Deze naam is door de Arabische Joden of door Mohammed uitsluitend op het geven van aalmoezen en daarna op de aalmoes zelf toegepast.«

▪ Pennacchio 2014, 19: The old writing with و as mater lectionis (زكوة) is a strong indication of the word’s Aram origin.

▪ Pennacchio 2014, 138: »Dans la littérature rabbinique, *zkwt?* ‘bénéfice’, ‘mérite’ fonctionne comme l’équivalent hébraïque de *šəḏāqā* ‘aumône’. [...] Le fait qu’on ait deux mots en arabe, *zakāī* et *šadaqatī*, et en hébreu *zəkūtā* et *šəḏāqā*, suffit à prouver l’emprunt au judaïsme.«

▪ Huehnergard 2011: from Aram *zākutā* ‘innocence, justification, merit, meritorious deed’, from *zəkā* ‘to be innocent, be worth, give alms’, from Can **zakā* ‘to be worth, be worthy’, or Akk **zakū* ‘to be(come) pure, innocent’, from Sem **ḏkw* ‘to be(come) clean, pure’.

▪ Kerr 2014: »The nearest cognate meaning of this root is found in JP / Galilean Aram *zky* ‘to give to charity’. The precursors of this semantic development can probably still be seen in Syr *zākūtā* ‘acquittal, innocence’ (also ‘grave of a martyr’) or possibly in Jewish-Babylonian Aram, Pal Targ-Aram and Galilean Aram *zəkūtā* ‘reward, commendable deed’. The latter seems more likely to me.«

SEMHIST eC7 Q 2:43,83,110,177,277; 4:77, etc. ‘legal alms’. Occurs only in Medinan passages. Another example is Q 73:20 *wa-ḥaqīmū ’l-ṣalāta wa-ḥātū ’l-zakāta wa-ḥaqriḏū ’llāha ḡarḏan ḥasanan* ‘keep up the prayer, pay the alms, and make God a goodly loan’.

WESTLANG Engl *zakat*, 1802, via Pers *zakāt*, from Ar *zakāī* – etymonline.com.

DERIV –

As the above entry shows, the etymology of the word *zakāī* itself now seems to be more or less clear. The fact that, as a religious technical term, the item

obviously forms a special case within the lemma زكي / زكو where it is listed in Wehr/Cowan, justifies its treatment as a separate entry in *EtymArab*, alongside the two verbal roots that otherwise figure under the same lemma in the dictionaries: one meaning ‘to grow, increase’ and the other (more akin to *zakāī*) ‘(to be) pure, to purify’. It is impossible to assign these two values to a root \sqrt{ZKW} on the one hand, and a root \sqrt{ZKY} on the other hand; rather, there is a lot of overlapping, and the entry therefore is “ZKW/Y”. The etymological picture becomes even more complicated through the interference of $\sqrt{DKW/Y}$. The authors of *DRS* deal with this situation in that they set up two lemmata – ZKW/Y, and $\sqrt{DKW/Y/K}$ ³² – and cross-reference these. Unlike *DRS*, however, disambiguation entries in *EtymArab* do not primarily differentiate according to the etymons proper; their first and foremost aim is to bring *some* order into the semantic variety a “root” displays in MSA. In our case this means that it suffices to distinguish three main values – ‘growth’, ‘purity’, and ‘alms tax’ – within a disambiguation entry ZKW/Y, discuss the relations (or non-relations) within this “root”, and for the rest refer to specializing lemmata and/or cross-reference this entry with still other “roots”.

LEMMA ZKW/Y زكي / زكو

META ID ... • SW – • BP – • $\sqrt{ZKW/Y}$

GRAM “root”

ENGL ▪ ZKW/Y_1 ‘to thrive; to grow, increase’ → **zakā/zakiya**

▪ ZKW/Y_2 ‘to be pure in heart, be just, righteous, good; to be fit, suitable’ → **zakā**

▪ ZKW/Y_3 ‘alms tax, zakat (*Isl.*)’ → **zakāī**

CONCISE ▪ The semantics within this root reflect a rather complex overlapping of original meanings and later borrowings. It seems that, etymologically, two main values/items should be distinguished:

– ‘to grow, increase’, most probably attached to a Sem root *ZKW/Y, and

– ‘to be(come) clean, pure’, attached to Sem *DKW/Y.

Both roots and their values have been preserved in MSA. Sem *DKW/Y, however, has also gone into Hbr and Aram and taken on a specialized religious-ethical meaning there (initial Sem *D- becoming Z- in both – a regular sound change in Hbr, but probably under Akk influence in Aram; there are however also Aram forms with initial *d-*). From there, and with the technical religious sense

³² The variant in final -K is mostly due to Hbr *zākak* ‘to be bright, clean, pure’ which parallels *zākā* ‘to be clear, clean, pure (always in a moral sense)’.

of ‘moral purity’, the word(s) passed into Ar, coming on top of the values ‘growth’ ($\sqrt{ZKW/Y}$) and ‘brightness, sharpness, clarity’ ($\sqrt{DKW/Y}$) that already existed there from Sem times. This made $\sqrt{ZKW/Y}$ a homonymous root although, from an etymological point of view, the additional meaning belongs to $\sqrt{DKW/Y}$ rather than $\sqrt{ZKW/Y}$.

- COGN**
- DRS 8 (1999) #ZKW/Y: **-1.** Ar *zakā*, *zakiya* ‘croître, grandir, prospérer, être pur, probe’; Mgr *zkā* ‘gonfler en cuisant (couscous)’. See also $\sqrt{DKW/Y/K}$. **-2.** *zakiya* ‘avoir soif’. – See also ZKY.
 - DRS 4 (1993) # $\sqrt{DKW/Y/K}$: **-1.** Akk *zakū* ‘(être) propre, pur, clair, libre d’obligations’, Hbr *zākāh* ‘être pur’, *zak* ‘être clair, pur’, Phoen *zk?* ‘pur’, EmpAram *dky*, *zky* ‘innocent, pur’, Palm **dk* ‘rituellement pur’, Mand *dakia* ‘propre, pur’, BiblAram *zākū* ‘innocence’, JP Syr *zākā* ‘être innocent’, *zākūtā* ‘innocence, victoire, règne’, Mand *zakaia* ‘innocent, victorieux’; Ar *ḏakā* ‘être éborgné selon les règles (animal)’, *ḏakwā* ‘oblation (pour le péché)’; *zakā* ‘être pur, sans tache’, Sab *ḏkw* ‘égorger, achever’, Ar *zakāt*, Sab *zkt* ‘grâce divine’, Jib *zeke*, *ziki* ‘être pur’, Jib Mhr Hrs *zekōt* ‘aumône’, Gz *zakik* ‘pur, purifié’, Te *zākat* ‘aumône légale, impôt’. Les formes Aram en *z* semblent des emprunts à l’Akk; [...] au contraire: Bauer OLZ 29:803 pense à un emprunt can. Ces formes Aram seraient passées à l’Ar [...]. Sab *zkt* loaned from Aram...]. Pour les formes nommant l’aumône légale islamique, SAr et Eth dépendent évidemment de l’Ar. **-2.** Ar *ḏakiya* ‘paraître, pousser, percer’, *ḏakā* ‘être vif, perçant (esprit), être prompt à comprendre; brûler avec intensité, avec violence (feu), dégager une forte odeur’, Liḥ *ḏakaw* ‘flamme’, Ar *ḏakā* ‘allumer, bouter le feu’; ? ‘envoyer’; Sab *ḏkw* ‘détacher (une troupe)’, *ḏky*, *ḥḏky* ‘envoyer’.
- DISC**
- Jeffery 1938 thinks that ‘to grow, increase’ (ZKW/Y_1) is the primary value of the root and the only one that Ar has directly from Sem, while ‘purity’ (ZKW/Y_2) and ‘alms tax’ (ZKW/Y_3) for him are Aramaisms. The corresponding root in Ar is not ZKW/Y but $\rightarrow\sqrt{DKW/Y}$.
 - For Huehnergard 2011, [v3] is from Aram *zākūtā* ‘innocence, justification, merit, meritorious deed’, from *zākā* ‘to be innocent, be worth, give alms’. The latter (which is also akin to [v2]), H. thinks, is either from Can **zakā* ‘to be worth, be worthy’, or Akk **zakū* ‘to be(come) pure, innocent’, for which Sem **ḏkw* ‘to be(come) clean, pure’ can be reconstructed.
 - For unknown reasons, DRS, in its entry #ZKW/Y-1, neither distinguishes between ‘croître, grandir, prospérer’ and ‘être pur, probe’ nor explains how these values could be seen as one. In fact, they

probably can't: 'purity' seems to be a secondary addition based on a borrowing from Aram which, etymologically, is akin to Ar $\underline{D}KW/Y$ rather than to ZKW/Y .

For details about the root-internal relationships the reader of the present article is kindly referred to the respective entries in *EtymArab* on the Internet test platform hosted by *Bibliotheca Polyglotta*. There are entries on *zakā*, *zakā/zakiya*, and $\underline{D}KW/Y$ with derivations.

3.6. *ṣadaqaṭ*

The situation within $\sqrt{\text{SDQ}}$ is much less complicated than within ZKW/Y cum $\underline{D}KW/Y$. Apart from *ṣadaqaṭ* itself, which like *zakā* with its religious technical meaning is without doubt a loan, the entries in modern standard dictionaries display a rather homogenous picture. The "root" (disambiguation) entry therefore distinguishes only the main entry on the vb. *ṣadaqa* (and derivatives) from the two entries that are believed to be loan-words, *ṣadaqaṭ* and *ṣiddīq*:

LEMMA	SDQ صدق
META	ID ... • SW – • BP • $\sqrt{\text{SDQ}}$
GRAM	"root"
ENGL	Ultimately, all items in this 'root' go back to the same Sem etymon. But some items are probably inner-Sem loans. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ SDQ_1 'to speak the truth' → ṣadaqa ▪ SDQ_2 '(voluntarily given) alms' → ṣadaqaṭ ▪ SDQ_3 'strictly veracious, upright' → ṣiddīq
CONCISE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The root does not seem to be attested in ESem and therefore has to be regarded as a WSem innovation. Huehnergard 2011 reconstructs WSem <i>*ṣdq</i> 'to be(come) just, righteous'. ▪ While [v1] is directly from the Sem, [v2] and [v3] are used in specific contexts, which is why they are likely to be inner-Sem borrowings.
COGN	▪ See → <i>ṣadaqa</i> , ³³ → <i>ṣadaqaṭ</i> , → <i>ṣiddīq</i> .
DISC	See → <i>ṣadaqa</i> , → <i>ṣadaqaṭ</i> , → <i>ṣiddīq</i> .

³³ BDB1906: Hbr *ṣādēq* 'to be righteous, just', *ṣādāq* 'rightness, righteousness; justice', *ṣaddīq* 'just, righteous', etc.; Phn *ṣdq* 'just, right'; oAram *ṣdq* 'righteousness, loyalty', Nab *ṣdq* 'authorized', Palm *zđqt?* renders Grk 'eusebēs', Syr *zādeq* 'it is right', *zadīqā* 'righteous', *zadīqūtā* 'righteousness'; Sab [values in Sab as given in Stein2012-2] *ṣdq* 'to get o.'s right; to justify, make right; to fulfil (a duty); to favour, endow, grant', *ṣdq* 'right, justice, righteousness; right (adj.)'; Gz *ṣadāqa* 'to be just, righteous'. — Outside Sem: Saho *sadaq* 'to be true, clear'.

Within the entry on *ṣadaqāt*, the discussion section reflects the long tradition of research on the term, as well as the relative unanimity which meanwhile seems to have been reached:

- LEMMA** **ṣadaqāt** صَدَقَاتٌ, pl. -āt
- META** ID 503 • SW – • BP – • √SDQ
- GRAM** n.f.
- ENGL** alms, charitable gift; almsgiving, charity, voluntary contribution of alms, freewill offering; legally prescribed alms tax (*Isl. Law*) – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
- CONCISE** ▪ As a religious technical term, the word is taken from Hbr *ṣḏāqâh* ‘law, right behaviour, alms’. Sem SDQ to which the Hbr etymon belongs, has however successors also in Ar, cf. →*ṣadaqa* and derivatives.
- It seems that the word was borrowed in early Islamic times to provide an Islamic counterpart to old Arabian charity as practised by clan/tribe chiefs through individual acts of generosity. Through *ṣadaqāt*, the old ideal/norm could be integrated into Islam in a modified, ‘milder’, less excessive and self-destructive form while at the same time a new notion of *collective* charity (→*zakāt*) could be introduced and was given priority over individual charity. The old Arabian ideals however continued into Islamic times not only as *ṣadaqāt* (→*ḡūd*, →*karam*, →*saḥā?*).
- COGN** ▪ BDB 1906: Hbr *ṣadāqâh* ‘righteousness (also ethically); righteous acts’, Syr *zedqā* ‘alms’. Cf. also TellAm *ṣaduq* ‘innocent’.
- DISC** ▪ Jeffery 1938, 194: The Qur’anic »[p]assages are all late, and the word is used only as a technical religious term, just like Hbr *ṣḏāqâh*, Phoen *ṣdq*, Syr *z dqā*. – The Muslim authorities derive the word from *ṣadaqa* ‘to be sincere’ and say that alms are so called because they prove the sincerity of one’s faith. The connection of the [word] with √SDQ is sound enough, but as a technical word for ‘alms’ there can be no doubt that it came from a Jewish or Christian source. Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 89, argues for a Jewish origin,¹ which is very possible. The Syr *z dqā* with *z* for *ṣ* would seem fatal to a derivation from a Christian source, but in the Christian-Palestinian dialect we find *ṣdqā* translating [Grk] *eleēmosýnē* in common use in several forms,² which makes it at least possible that the source of the Arabic word is to be found there.«
- Pennacchio 2014, 168: the word seems to be a borrowing from Hbr *ṣḏāqâh*, »concept spécifique au judaïsme. Il es fréquent dans le texte biblique mais il n’a pas seulement le sens de ‘charité, aumône’. [...]

C'est dans la littérature rabbinique que *ṣadāqā* 'pureté, vertu, équité' a le sens d' 'aumône'.³

▪ Kerr 2014: »The 'voluntary donation' *ṣadaqā* has a specific meaning and thus is certainly of foreign origin. In Amor, Ug, (older) Hbr, Sab, Gz, etc. this semantic domain encompasses 'justice, to be righteous, to be documented as true' (compare the *Tzaddik*; Sadducee) – from which the classical commentators derived the Ar term. The development of 'to be righteous' > 'that which is right(eous)' > 'that which is proper (to give)' > 'to give charitably' > 'to give a portion, toll' was completed in Aram. Syr which renders here the /š/ with {z} is less relevant here. However, here we do find a similar semantic development: *zadūtā* (<√ZDQ !)'beneficium, eleemosyne', for example, as in Matthew 6:2, where this word expresses the Grk *eleēmosynē* [...]. The unaltered root √SDQ found in WArā is, however, in all likelihood the source of the Ar borrowing. So for example ChrPal *ṣdq?* as well as the Hbr word borrowed by Jewish dialects *ṣadāqā^h* 'liberality, especially almsgiving'. Although the exact Aram source of this word is not clear, it is most likely the same one which lent this word into ClassEth [Gz] *ṣadāqāt* (pl.; sg. *ṣadāq*). In any case, the particular semantic development of the root √SDQ here, from 'righteousness' to 'alms(giving)' is somewhat convoluted so as to preclude the same semantic development having occurred twice independently. The precedence of this development in Aram certainly shows that it was borrowed by Ar. The fact that it [...] seems to have been borrowed from a Jewish WArā dialect could indicate that it is an Islamic continuation of an originally Jewish custom, possibly a relic of Islam's Jud-Chr origins.«

1. So Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 20; Sprenger, *Leben*, ii, 195 n.; Rudolph, *Abhängigkeit*, 61; Ahrens, *Muhammed*, 180; von Kremer, *Streifzüge*, p. ix. – 2. Schulthess, *Lex*, 167; Schwally, *Idioticon*, 79; and cf. Horowitz, *JPN*, 212. – 3. Author refers to art. "Charity" in *Enc.Jud.* 5: 338.

SEMIST eC7 Q 2:196,263; 4:114; 9:103; 58:12 'alms, tithes'; derivatives: (*taṣaddāqa*) 2:280; 5:45; 12:88, (*aṣṣaddāqa*) 4:92; 9:75; 63:10, (*muṣaddiq*, *mutaṣaddiq*) e.g. 2:41; 33:35.

DERIV **ṣadaqat al-ḥiṭr**, n.f., almsgiving at the end of Ramadan (*Isl. Law*)
taṣaddāqa, vb. V, to give alms (*ṣalā* to s.o.); to give as alms, donate (*bi* s.th., *ṣalā* to s.o.): denom.

For the other, not generosity-related terms from the same root, cf. entries →SDQ and →ṣadaqa (vb.) in *Bibliotheca Polyglotta*.

Verbs for ‘to give liberally, generously’

Corresponding to the high importance of generosity in Arab culture, the Arabic language has a large number of verbs that all express various notions of generous giving. They are too many to deal with all of them (if that would be possible at all), and I will have to refer the interested reader to look up in *Bibliotheca Polyglotta* even such current verbs like *baḍala* ‘(lit.) to make available (for the guest), spend from what is at o.’s disposal, make efforts’, *ḥabā* ‘to give without compensation and without receiving any favour, benefit, or requital’ (Lane), *ʔaḥāna* ‘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. (*fāʔidaʔ* being understood)’ (ibid.), *nāwala* ‘to give, present, offer’, and many more. In the present article we will content us with only three items, which are perhaps the most general ones: *ʔaḥṣā*, *wahaba*, and *ʔahdā*.

(To be continued)

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