Stephan Guth
University of Oslo

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

Abstract

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

Keywords

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

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

After (1) a general introduction and (2) a description of the article's structure, part I had started to discuss the etymology of generosity-related terminology with (3) the main terms for 'generosity', 'liberality', 'magnanimity', 'open-handedness' etc. themselves (*karam*, *ǧūd*, *saḫāʔ*, *qirà*, *zakāẗ*, *ṣadaqaẗ*). Part II continued, in section (3), with some *verbs* for 'to give liberally, generously' (*ʔaʕṭà*, *ʔahdà*, *wahaba*, *saʔala*) and two counter-concepts of generosity (*buḫl*, *luʔm*), as well as, in section (4), with some ethical concepts under which we may subsume generosity as a sub-concept, such as 'manliness', 'tradition passed on from the forefathers', etc. (*murūʔaẗ*, *ḥurriyyaẗ*, *ǧiwār*, *ḍiyāfaẗ*, *sunnaẗ*, *ʔadab*). Section (5) will now deal with some beneficiaries of generosity and hospitality and (6) with frequent 'markers' of hospitable places, to conclude, in Part IV [FOr 55 (2018)] with section (7) with rituals performed and objects magnanimously given, and (8) metaphors that we often meet in generosity discourses.

Stephan Guth

5. The beneficiaries of generosity and hospitality

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

5.1. ḍayf (+ ḍiyāfaẗ)

As hospitality is one major occasion to give proof of one's generosity, the words for 'guest', *ḍayf*, and, derived from it, 'hospitality', *ḍiyāfaẗ*, have to be the first to be looked at in this section. With *ḍayf* we meet again the difficulty to decide what was first, the hen or the egg. The author of the entry on "*ḍayf*" in the 2nd edition of the *Encyclopedia of Islām* holds that the word is derived from a verbal root ḌYF meaning, originally, 'to incline towards, to set (of the sun), swerve, glance off (of an arrow)' and later developing into 'to turn aside (from one's road)' (cf. †*ḍīf* 'side') and 'to halt (on a visit to someone)', »whence for the noun the sense of 'guest'« (J. Lecerf, art. "Ḍayf", in *EI²*). In addition to the values 'guest' and 'to incline; to turn aside' (the latter obsolete in MSA), we have to account for yet another value of ḌYF (the most present in MSA): 'to take in, to add'. Although at first sight 'guest' and 'to add' do not seem to have much in common, they are probably related. In spite of a considerable degree of uncertainty, I will treat both under the lemma *ḍayf*, assuming that 'to take in, add' is secondary, a semantic extension of 'to welcome, take in *as a guest*'. But it could be the other way round as well: ***'to take in, add' > 'person who comes in addition, is taken in (as a guest)'. – The value 'to incline, approach, draw near' that we meet in ClassAr and that may well lie at the basis of both 'guest' and 'to add', does not help to decide which of the two would be the primary derivation. The meaning 'to fear', also encountered in ClassAr (but obsolete in MSA), can be interpreted as a specialisation in meaning: ***'to turn away' > ***'to turn away from fear' > 'to fear'. Should this be correct, a *ḍayf* 'guest' may originally have been either ***'s.o. who has turned away (in fear?) (and is now seeking refuge)' or 's.o. who has turned away (from his path) (and is now approaching, drawing near)'. – Here is how the above considerations 'materialize' in two *EtymArab* entries:

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

CONCISE »From the basic meaning 'to incline towards, to set (of the sun), swerve, glance off (of an arrow)', the verbal root comes to mean 'to turn aside (from one's road)' and 'to halt, on a visit to someone', whence for the noun the sense of 'guest' [...]« – J. Lecerf, art. "Ḍayf", in *EI²*.

DISC Although at first sight the two values do not seem to have much in common, they are probably related. Both are treated under the main lemma → *ḍayf* 'guest', assuming that ḌYF_2 is secondary, a semantic extension of ḌYF_1: *'the one who is taken in as a guest' > 'to take in (in general), add'. But it could be the other way round as well: *'to take in, add' > 'person who comes as addition, is taken in (as a guest)'. In ClassAr, also the values 'to incline, approach, draw near' and 'to fear' occur. Of these, 'to incline, turn away' could be the original value (cf. †*ḍīf* 'side'), while 'to fear' could be explained as a limitation in meaning: *'to turn away (from fear)' > 'to fear'. Should this be correct, then a *ḍayf* 'guest' may originally have been either *'s.o. who has turned away (in fear?) (and is now seeking refuge)' or 's.o. who has turned away (from his path) (and is now approaching, drawing near)'. Cf. Lecerf's suggestion in *EI²* quoted in the CONCISE section.

LEMMA **ḍayf** ضَيْف, pl. *ḍuyūf*, *ʔaḍyāf*, *ḍīfān*
META ID 532 • **C** • SW – • BP 1454 • √ḌYF
GRAM n.
ENGL **1.** guest; **2.** visitor – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
CONCISE ▪ »From the basic meaning 'to incline towards, to set (of the sun), swerve, glance off (of an arrow)', the verbal root comes to mean 'to turn aside (from one's road)' and 'to halt, on a visit to someone', whence for the noun the sense of 'guest' [...]« – J. Lecerf, art. "Ḍayf", in *EI²*.

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

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

COGN
▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #584: Ḥrs Mhr *ḍayf*. – Outside Sem: WCh **ĉay(V)p-* 'friend; pilgrim, stranger; guest', CCh **mi-ŝip-* 'guest'.

▪ Militarev/Stolbova 2007: Qat *ḍyf* 'to ask to make a trading journey', Mhr * źayf / źīfon* 'guest, wedding guest', Jib *eźéf* 'to give hospitality', Ḥrs *źayf* 'guest', Soq *ḍef* 'recevoir qq'un comme hôte'. The forms in the modSAr languages may be Arabisms. – Outside Sem: *ŝapa*, *nzàfè* 'friend' in 2 WCh languages; *me-zep*, *mos*, *me-dap* 'stranger' in 3 WCh idioms; *mì-zèp*, *mì-zèp*, *mì-zìp*, *miẑiva* 'guest' in 4 WCh idioms; *m̀-zèp*, *mə̀-zə̀p* 'stranger; guest' in 2 WCh idioms; *mì-ŝibì*, *mí-híbí*, *mì-ŝipì*, *mi-šibi*, *mì-ŝipì* in 4 CCh languages; and *ĉap-* 'to pay bridewealth' 1 SCush language.

DISC
Orel/Stolbova 1994 and Militarev/Stolbova 2007: From Sem **ŝayp-* 'guest'. Because of the WCh (**ĉay(V)p-* or **ĉay(V)f-* 'friend; stranger; guest'), CCh (**mi-ŝip-* or **mi-ŝipi* 'guest') and SCush (**ĉap-* 'pay bridewealth') cognates, a common AfrAs origin can be assumed, the most probable reconstruction for which is **ĉayVp-* 'stranger, guest'. The authors assume also a denominative vb. Sem **ŝVyVp-* as ancestor of Ar *ḍāfa i* 'to be a guest' and Jib *eḍef* 'to give hospitality'.

DERIV
ḍāfa *i* (*ḍiyāfaẗ*), vb. I, to stop or stay as a guest: denominative (?).

ḍayyafa, vb. II, to take in as a guest, receive hospitably, entertain: D-stem, denom., caus.

[BP#291]**ʔaḍāfa**, vb. IV, **1.** = II: *Š-stem, denom., caus.; **2.** to add, subjoin, annex, attach; to admix; **3.** to connect, bring in relation (*ʔilà* with); **4.** to ascribe, attribute, assign (*ʔilà* to s.o.): fig. use (?).

ĭnḍāfa, vb. VII, to be added, be annexed, be subjoined, be attached (*ʔilà* to): N-stem, pass. of I, fig. use (?).

[BP#3942]**ĭstaḍāfa**, vb. X, to invite s.o. to be one's guest: *Št-stem, denom., requestative.

ḍiyāfaẗ, n.f., hospitable reception, entertainment as guest, accomodation; hospitality: vn. I. – For the concept see → *s.v.*

miḍyāf, adj., hospitable; n., hospitable host: ints. formation.

maḍāfaẗ, n.f., hostel, guesthouse, inn: n.loc.

maḍyafaẗ, n.f., guest room; guesthouse: n.loc.

[BP#382]**ʔiḍāfaẗ**, n.f., **1.** addition, apposition; **2.** subjunction, annexation, appending, attachment, augmentation, supplementation; **3.** assignment, allocation; **4.** ascription, attribution (*ʔilà* to): vn. IV, fig. use; **5.** genitive construction (*gram.*): specialised meaning | ~ *ʔilà ʔaǧal*, limitation (of a legal transaction; *Isl. Law*).

[BP#2419]**ʔiḍāfī**, adj., **1.** additional, supplementary, auxiliary, contributory, extra; **2.** secondary, subsidiary, tributary, accessory, incidental, side-, by (in compounds): nisba formation from *ʔiḍāfaẗ*; **3.** relative (*philos.*): dto., from *ʔiḍāfaẗ*

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

ʔiḍāfiyyaẗ, n.f., relativity (*philos.*): n.abstr. in *-iyyaẗ* from *ʔiḍāfī < ʔiḍāfaẗ*. – In contrast, Einstein's "relativity" is consistently rendered in MSA as →*nisbiyya*, cf. Monteil 1960: 194, 203.

[BP#1956]**muḍīf**, n., host: lexicalized PA IV.

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

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

5.2. ǧār (+ ǧiwār)

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

As a noun with a long *-ā-* between R_1 and R_3, *ǧār* could – theoretically – be from a root with R_2 = W *or* Y. While this often creates some ambiguity, in our case it is easy to hold ǦWR apart from ǦYR and focus exclusively on the former.[1] There is not so much variety in ǦWR as in other roots either. Yet, we still have five major themes, three of which obviously are borrowings. The corresponding disambiguation entry therefore looks as follows:

LEMMA	**ǦWR** جور	
GRAM	"root"	
ENGL	▪ ǦWR_1 'neighbour, to protect, grant asylum'	→**ǧār**
	▪ ǦWR_2 'to deviate; to oppress, tyrannize,	
	be unjust, despotic'	→**ǧāra**
	▪ ǦWR_3 'pit, hole'	→**ǧūraẗ**
	▪ ǦWR_4 'jury'	→**ǧūrī (1)**
	▪ ǦWR_5 'damask rose; crimson'	→**ǧūrī (2)**
CONCISE	Out of the 8 values *DRS* registers for the root GWR in Sem, only 4 are represented in Ar. *DRS* #GWR-3 (Ar 'attaquer') does not seem to differ essentially from #GWR-2 (Ar 'être injuste envers qn., pécher'). Given the many cognates of #GWR-1 and #GWR-2, these are without doubt genuine Sem (for #GWR-1 = ǦWR_1, Kogan 2015 reconstructs	

---

[1] Under √ǦYR, Wehr/Cowan has only the strange – and obviously already very old – adv. *ǧayri* 'surely, truly, verily', of obscure etymology), as well as the nouns (both with deriv.s) *ǧīr* 'lime' (perh. < Aram *gīrā*), and *ǧīrū* 'endorsement (*fin.*)' (< It *giro*); one should perh. also add EgAr *gīr* 'gear' (< Engl).

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

COGN   *DRS* 2 (1994) #GWR-**1.** Ug *gr* [Tropper 2008: /gêru/ < *gawiru*] 'hôte étranger'; Phoen *gr*, Hbr *gēr*, Nab Palm *gr*, JP Syr *gīyōrā* 'étranger, hôte public ou privé, client'; Mand *guara* 'demeure temporaire'; Ar *ǧār-* 'voisin, client', *ǧārat-*, Tham *grt* 'protection'; SAr *gr*, Śḥ *ger*, Mhr *ǧawīr* 'étranger'; Soq *gārheten* 'voisine'; Gz *gor* 'étranger, voisin', *gǝyur* 'étranger, hôte'; Te Tña *gor* 'voisin'; Amh *gorä-bet* 'voisin'; ?Har *gār* 'maison, chambre'. -?**2.** JP Syr Mand *gār*, nSyr *gāir* 'commettre l'adultère'; Ar *ǧāra* 's'écarter du chemin; être injuste envers qn., pécher', *ǧīrat-* 'bord, angle, crête'; Te *gorä*, *ǧawärä* 'être hautain, audacieux'. ? -**3.** Akk *giāru* 'provoquer(?)' [*CAD*: *gerû* (*garû*) 'to be hostile, start a lawsuit', *gērû* (*gārû*) 'foe, adversary']; Ug *gr*; Hbr *gār*, Ar *ǧāra* 'attaquer'. -**4.** Hbr *gar* 'avoir peur'. -**5.** Phoen *gr* 'jeune garçon', Moab *grn* (pl.) 'jeunes garçons', *grt* (pl.) 'jeunes filles', Hbr *gōr*, *gūr* 'petit d'animal (lion, etc.)'. -? Mhr *giyór* 'croître, augmenter'. -**6.** nHbr *mᵉgūrā* 'grange, magasin';? Ar *ǧuwār-* 'caverne'. -**7.** Syr *gawrā* 'colonne (de livre)'. -?**8.** Te *gar*, *garät* 'affaire, matière, requête'.

DISC   ▪ ĞWR_1:   From Sem *gwr* 'to dwell together, be a neighbour' (Kogan 2015). For the semantic ambiguity found within this value in many languages – both '*seeking* protection' (as a neighbour) and '*providing* protection (to a stranger, treating him as neighbour)' – cf. below, entry → *ǧār*.
   ▪ ĞWR_2:   According to *DRS* (and ClassAr lexicography), *ǧāra* 'to do injustice' and 'to attack' are perhaps related to ĞWR_1 'protected stranger': If one assumes a basic meaning of 's'écarter du chemin, être à côté', we get a constellation that is similar to the one discussed in the ḌYF and *ḍayf* entries: the one who deviates from his path and inclines to s.o. else's direction can become both a 'neighbour' and an 'attacker'.
   ▪ ĞWR_3:   According to Rolland 2014, Ar *ǧūraï* 'pit, hole' is from Pers *gor* 'tomb, grave', an etymology not given in *DRS* (#GWR-6) where the word *ǧuwār* is paralleled, though not without hesitation, with nHbr *mᵉgūrā* 'granary, storehouse, reservoir', an item that for Klein 1987 is »of uncertain origin; perhaps formed from *gwr* (= to sojourn, dwell)'«.
   ▪ ĞWR_4:   From Engl *jury*, < oFr *juré* 'jury' < oFr *jurer* 'to swear, endorse law by swearing an oath' < Lat *iurare*, from *ius* (*iur-*) 'law'.

▪ ǦWR_5:   After a town named Ǧur in Iran (the one in Kerman?) (Rolland 2014).

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

---

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

▪ Irrespective of the preceding, *ǧār* is treated in ClassAr lexicography as one of the *ʔaḍdād* (sg. *ḍidd*), i.e., words that, apart from one meaning, may take another that is – or at least seems to be – its exact opposite. Even in MSA, the two values [v1] 'neighbour' and [v2] 'refugee' still seem to be contradictory. [v3] 'protégé, charge', however, gives the modern speaker a hint as to how [v1] and [v2] are related: a refugee is s.o. who asks for and/or is granted protection *like/as* a neighbour. In ClassAr, the neutral value 'neighbour' and the passive 'foreigner, seeker of protection' or 'protected one' are complemented by the active 'giver of protection, one who grants refuge, protects, preserves, an aider, assister, confederate' (Lane). As Nöldeke has shown in his famous study on the *ʔaḍdād* (*Wörter mit Gegensinn*, 1910: 72–73), the semantic "riddle" can be explained through a change of perspective: primarily, the *ǧār* is neither the 'protector' nor the 'protected' (or 'seeker of protection') but a person who is involved, as *either* the giver *or* the recipient, in a *ǧiwār*, which is a *mutual* relationship (known also from Eur languages, cf. e.g. Lat *hospes*, It *ospite*, Fr *hôte* 'host; foreigner, guest'), an institution of customary law that includes rights and obligations on both parts, cf. art. "Ḏjiwār" (J. Lecerf), in *EI²*.

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

SEMHIST   **eC7 ǧār** Alongside with 'neighbour', the Qurʔān still has also the value 'protector': (neighbour) Q 4:36 *wa-'l-ǧāri ḏī 'l-qurbà* 'and unto the neighbour who is of kin'; (one who protects, grants asylum or sanctuary) Q 8:48 *lā ġaliba la-kumu 'l-yawma mina 'l-nāsi wa-ʔinnī ǧārun la-kum* 'no man shall conquer you today for I am a protector for you'.

▪ **ǧāwara** (vb. III, to dwell in the neighbourhood of, be\come adjacent to, be a neighbour of) Q 33:60 *ṯumma lā yuǧāwirūna-ka fī-hā ʔillā qalīlan* 'then they will not be your neighbours in it but for a short time'. ▪ **ʔaǧāra** (vb. IV, to protect, grant asylum or sanctuary) Q 72:22 *ʔinnī lan yuǧīra-nī mina 'llāhi ʔaḥadun* 'no one will protect me against God'. ▪ **ǐstaǧāra** (vb. X, to ask for protection, seek asylum, seek sanctuary) Q 9:6 *wa-ʔin ʔaḥadun mina 'l-mušrikīna 'staǧāra-ka fa-ʔaǧir-hu ḥattà yasmaʕa kalāma 'llāhi* 'And if anyone of the idolaters

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

muğīr, n., protector: PA IV.

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

5.3. ʔasīr

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

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

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

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

[BP#664]**ʔusraẗ**, pl. *ʔusar*, *-āt*, n.f., family; dynasty; clan, kinsfolk, relatives: see → *s.v.*

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

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

[BP#1292]**ʔasīr**, pl. *ʔusarāʔᵘ*, *ʔasrà*, *ʔasārà*, n., prisoner, captive, prisoner of war: quasi-PP; see also → *s.v.*

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

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

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

5.4. ʔarmalaẗ (+ murmil)

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

LEMMA	**RML** رمل
GRAM	"root"
ENGL	▪ RML_1 'sand' → **raml** ▪ RML_2 '(to be/become) a widow(er)' → **ʔarmalaẗ** ▪ RML_3 'ramal' (a metre in classical poetry) → **ramal** For other values, now obsolete, cf. DISC below.
CONCISE	▪ A rather complex root in ClassAr, √RML today shows only three major values. Of these, '(to be/become) a widow(er)' is said to be dependent on 'sand' by indigenous lexicographers, but this seems to be wrong. ▪ The root is only scarcely represented in Sem (only 'sand' in modSAr), and not at all in AfrAs. It seems to be an Ar innovation.
COGN	–
DISC	▪ Classical dictionaries make RML_2 depend on RML_1, the notion of 'be(com)ing a widow(er)' being regarded as a secondary value, developed from an earlier †'to be(come) poor, needy', thought to be a metaphorical extension from 'sand' (< *'to look like s.o. who is creeping in the sand', because s/he is near starvation). But Kogan 2011 gives another etymology, see → *ʔarmalaẗ*.

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

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

– RML_4 †'to weave (thinly, a mat of palm-leaves, or the like)': †*ramala u* (*raml*), vb. I, ? hence also: 'to ornament with jewels, precious stones, gems, etc.'

– RML_5 †'to have little rain': †*ramila a* (*ramal*), vb. I, in *ramilat al-sanaï*: perhaps fig. use of 'to run short (of provision), become poor', but it may also be denom. from *ramal*, pl. *ʔarmāl*, n., 'weak rain, little rain'. Connected to RML_1 'sand'?

– RML_6 †'to lengthen, make long, wide (rope, cord)': one of the many values of *ʔarmala* (vb. IV); cf. also †*ramal* 'redundance, excess (in a thing)'.

– RML_7 †*ramal* '(black/white) lines, or streakes, upon the legs of the wild cow'; †*rumlaï*, pl. *rumal, ʔarmāl* 'diversity of colours upon the legs of the wild bull; black line, or streak (upon the back and thighs of a gazelle)'; *ʔarmalᵘ* '(= *ʔablaqᵘ*) black and white'. – Connected to RML_1 'sand'?

– RML_8 †*ʔurmūlaï* 'stump of (the plant, tree, called) *ʕarfağ*, stock, stem'.

▪ Also from RML_1 'sand' or, more precisely, the denom./caus. vb.s II *rammala* 'to put sand into s.th. (food)' (and hence 'contaminate') and IV *ʔarmala* 'to become sandy; cleave to the sand' are such specialised meanings as (II) 'to smear (with blood)' (probably < *'sprinkle blood on s.th. like sand'), 'to adulterate, corrupt, render unsound (speech)' (< ... like contaminating food by putting sand into it) and (IV) 'to be smeared with blood (arrow, the claws of a lion, etc.)'. – The value 'geomancy' derives from the fact that a kind of divination was practised by means of figures or lines in the sand.

For the sake of conciseness I will not treat the lemmata *raml* ('sand') and *ramal* (the poetical metre, 6 times *fāʕilātun* – ◡ – –) here[3] nor in any way touch upon the other, now obsolete values. Instead, it is indicated to concentrate on 'widow(er)'. Since it seems probable that the masc. form *ʔarmal* is secondary,

---

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

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

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

---

[4] *CAD*: 'woman without support, widow'.

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

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

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

tarammala, vb. V, = IV.

ʔarmalᵘ, pl. *ʔarāmilᵘ*, n., widower: (secondary?) m. of *ʔarmalaᵗ*.

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

5.5. yatīm

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

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

META SW − • BP 3236 • √YTM

GRAM adj., n.

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

CONCISE	(Following Kogan 2011:) from WSem **yatVm-* 'orphan'.

COGN ▪ *DRS* 10 (2012) #YTM, **-1.** Ug Phoen *ytm*, Hbr *yātōm*, TargAram *yatōmā*, Syr *yatmā*, Mhr *(hǝ-)ytim*, Jib *otim*, Soq *äʔthim* 'orphelin'.* **-2.** Ar *yatima* 'être las, fatigué'.

> *DRS lists also Mand *yatim*, Te Har *yätīm* 'orphelin' but says that these are loans from Ar.

▪ Kogan 2011: (Ug Hbr Syr as in *DRS*, the modSAr forms in slightly different transliteration:) Mhr *ħǝ-ytīm*, Jib *ótīm*, Soq *έʔtim* 'orphan'.

DISC ▪ Kogan 2011 reconstructs WSem **yatVm-* 'orphan', not without adding that although the root is usually thought to be missing from Akk and Eth, one has perhaps to compare Akk *watmu* 'small young animal or man' and Sod *tamʷyä* 'orphan'.

▪ The value 'to be tired, unable to continue with s.th.' (*DRS* #YTM-2) is attested only in ClassAr and may have to be treated separately.

▪ In contrast, '(to be) unique, incomparable' and '(to be) single, sole, isolated' [v2, v3] are interpreted here as extensions of 'orphan'.

SEMHIST lC6 ʕAntara b. Šaddād 130,10 *taḍuǧǧu 'l-nisāʔu min ḫīfaẗi 'l-sabyi wa-tabkī ʕalà 'l-ṣiġāri 'l-yatāmà* 'the women cry out of fear of being taken captive and they weep over (the destiny of) the little orphans' (Polosin 1995)

eC7 Ḥuṭayʔa 31,1 *ʔinnahū ṯimālu 'l-yatāmà ʕiṣmaẗun fī 'l-mahāliki* 'he is the refuge/support of the orphans (and) a defender in the state of perdition' (Polosin 1995)

eC7 Q 6:152 *wa-lā taqrabū māla 'l-yatīmi ʔillā bi-'llatī hiya ʔaḥsanu* 'and do not come near the property of the orphan except with the best [of intentions] until they reach their strength' (Badawi/AbdelHaleem 2008)

DERIV **yatama** *i*, **yatuma** *u*, and **yatima** *a*, vb. I, to be or become an orphan, be bereaved of one's parents: denom.[5]

ʔaytama, vb. IV, to orphan, deprive of his parents (s.o.): *Š-stem, caus.

tayattama, vb. V, = I.

yatm, var. *yutm*, *yatam*, n., orphanhood: vn. I.

maytam, pl. *mayātimᵘ*, n., orphanage: n.loc.

muyattam, adj., orphaned, parentless: PP II; n., orphan: nominalization

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

---

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

5.7. ḫalīl

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

6. Markers of hospitable places

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

6.1. nār

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

---

[6] Cf. also Ar *ʕḍḍ* (replacing Sem **nkṯ/*nṯk*) 'to bite', *šrb* (≠ *šty) 'to drink', *ḫḍr* (≠ *wrḳ) 'to be green, yellow', *qalb* (≠ **libb-*) 'heart', *ʕlm* (≠ *ydʕ) 'to know', *qamar* (≠ *warḫ) 'moon', *ʔaṣl* (≠ *šVrš) 'root', *baḏr* (≠ **ḏarʕ-*) 'seed', *qʕd* (≠ *wṯb) 'to sit', *ḥaǧar* (≠ **ʔabn-*) 'stone', *šaǧar* (≠ **ʕiṣ-*) 'tree', *ĭmraʔaẗ* (≠ **ʔVnṯ-at-*) 'woman' (Kogan 2015: 174).

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

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

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

---

[7] Briefly: *nawr* 'blossoms': akin to **nwr* 'to be bright, to shine'?; *nawar* 'gypsies': also *nūrī*, perh. from Pers *lūrī* (~ *lōrī* ~ *lūlī*) 'inhabitant of the town of al-Rūr (or Arūr)' in Sind (J. Walker, art. "Nūrī", in *EI²*); *nūraẗ* 'lime': ?; *munāwaraẗ* 'maneuver': prob. from It *manovra* (Rolland 2014) . – Cf. also *nīr* (√NYR) 'yoke' < Aram *nīrā* < Akk *nīr* 'id.' (Zimmern 1914).

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

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

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

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

6.2. duḫḫān

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

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

LEMMA	**DḪN** دخن
GRAM	"root"
ENGL	▪ DḪN_1 'millet' →**duḫn** ▪ DḪN_2 'smoke' →**duḫān**
CONCISE	Some scholars assume a dependence of 'millet' on 'smoke', due to the plant's colour, but this is doubtful. For further etymology, cf. individual entries →*duḫn* and →*duḫān*.
COGN	*DRS* 4 (1994) #DḪN: **-1.** **duḫn-* 'millet': Akk *duḫnu*, Hbr *dōḫan*, JP *dōḫīnā*, Syr *duḫnā*, Ar *duḫn*. **-2.** Ar *daḫan* 'fumée, méchanceté, haine', *duḫnaẗ* 'couleur foncé', *daḫnān* 'sombre, couvert, nuageux', dial. *ʔadḫan* 'grisâtre, terne', Ḥrs *edḫān* 'de couleur foncé, pourpre', ? Jib *nideḫ* 'fumer', *məndoḫ*, Śḥ *endoḫ*, Mhr *nīdēḫ*, *mənādəḫ* 'fumée'. **-3.** Gz *dəḥna*, Te Ta *däḥanä* 'être sain et sauf', Amh *danä* 'être guéri, sauvé, délivré', Gz *dəḥun* 'sain et sauf, en bonne santé', *dāḥn* 'en bonne santé, innocent, non coupable', Te *däḥan* 'bien-être, paix', Amh *danä* 'guérir', *dähna* 'en santé, en bon état', Gz *madḥən* 'sauveur, rédempteur, garant', Ta *mädḥən*, *mädən*, Gur *mädin* 'garant'. **-4.** Akk *diḫnu diḫnu*: formule magique utilisée dans les incantations.
DISC	▪ *DRS* 4 (1994) #DḪN-1. According to some, the name of the plant derives from its colour, which would relate it to DḪN_2; but many do not accept this etymology. – 2. Cf. the Ar nouns, now obsolete, †*daḫaḫ* 'couleur noir, foncé', †*duḫḫ*, †*daḫḫ* 'fumée' (not in Lane!). – The forms in Jib Śḥ Mhr show metathesis. ▪ Kogan 2011 reconstructs Sem **duḫn-* for 'millet' (DḪN_1). For details see →*duḫn*.

▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 and Militarev/Stolbova 2007 see an AfrAs dimension for both DḤN_1 and DḤN_2; for details cf. →*duḥn* and →*duḥān*, respectively.

▪ Can there be a connection between the value 'health, healthiness' of DḤN in EthSem (i.e., *DRS* #DḤN-3) and 'to smoke, fumigate' (*DRS* #DḤN-2)?

▪ And is possibly also the Akk magic formula *diḥnu diḥnu* (*DRS*, or *diḥun diḥun*, as in *CAD*, where it is qualified as standard Bab) related to DḤN-2? The formula is said to have been »used in incantations« (*CAD*). Smoke may have had a magical function...

▪ If *DRS* #DḤN-1, #DḤN-3 and #DḤN-4 could be proven to depend on 'smoke', then #DḤN-2 would be the primary etymon.

For the purposes of the present article, we can pass over 'millet'[8] and proceed immediately to 'smoke':

LEMMA	**duḥān** دُخان, var. *duḥḥān*, pl. *ʔadḥinaẗ*
META	SW 81/142 • BP 2269 • √DḤN
GRAM	n.
ENGL	**1.** smoke, fume, vapor. – **2.** tobacco – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
CONCISE	▪ The word seems to be Sem, but given the different position of *n* – final in Ar, initial in modSAr –, reconstruction is difficult. Orel/Stolbova 1995 go for Sem *dVḥan- '¹to be smoked; ²dark-colored', Militarev/Stolbova 2007 suggest Sem *duḥḥān ~ *nidāḥ- 'smoke'.
	▪ There may also be some CCh cognates, and if these are genuine, the word may have AfrAs origins. Orel/Stolbova 1995 reconstruct AfrAs *deḥan- 'smoke' (derived from AfrAs *daḥ- 'smoke'), and Militarev/Stolbova 2007 have AfrAs *daḥ- (?) 'smoke'.
	▪ One could think of 'smoke' being the origin of other meanings of DḤN ('millet' as *'the dark-coloured [plant]', 'healthiness' as the result of a treatment with – magical? – smoke, and the Akk incantation formula as conjuring up the healthy spirits/power of smoke). But these have to remain, for the moment, pure working hypotheses that still have to be corroborated by textual evidence, cf. →DḤN.
	▪ [v2] is transferred from the smoke that is emitted to the product that emits it when burning.

---

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

Stephan Guth

COGN   ▪ *DRS* 4 (1994) #DḪN-2: Ar *daḥan* 'fumée, méchanceté, haine', *duḫnaï* 'couleur foncé', *daḥnān* 'sombre, couvert, nuageux', dial. *ʔadḫan* 'grisâtre, terne', Ḥrs *edḫān* 'de couleur foncé, pourpre', ? Jib *nideḥ* 'fumer', *məndoḫ*, Śḥ *endoḫ*, Mhr *nīdēḫ*, *mənādəḫ* 'fumée'.

▪ Orel/Stolbova 1995 #675: Śḥ *edḫān* 'to be dark-colored'. Outside Sem: a cognate *mi-ḍeni* 'smoke' in a CCh language.

▪ Militarev/Stolbova 2007 #1109: Mhr *nidiḫ*, Jib *mə-ndoḫ*, Ḥrs *nedēḫ*. – Outside Sem: (CCh) Lame *dèàkú*, Peve *dēoka*, Mesme *deu* 'smoke'.

DISC   ▪ *DRS* 4 (1994) #DḪN: According to some, the name for 'millet', *duḫn*, derives from 'smoke', due to its dark colour, which would make DḪN a more uniform root in Ar; but many do not accept this etymology.

▪ Is also the magic formula Akk *diḫnu diḫnu* (or *diḫun diḫun*, as in *CAD*), mentioned in *DRS* 4 (1994) #DḪN-4, related to 'smoke'? It is said to be »used in incantations« (*CAD*). Smoke may have had a magical function there...

▪ *DRS* 4 (1994) #DḪN-2 also points to the Ar nouns, now obsolete, †*daḥaḫ* 'couleur noir, foncé', †*duḫḫ*, †*daḫḫ* 'fumée' (not in Lane!), which do not show final -*n*.

▪ If the Ar form reflects the Sem situation, then Jib Śḥ Mhr show metathesis. But see below Militarev/Stolbova 2007's reconstruction of Sem where the Ar and modSAr forms are treated on equal terms.

▪ Orel/Stolbova 1995 #675 reconstruct Sem **dVḫan-* '¹to be smoked; ²dark-colored' and CCh **dyaHVn-* 'smoke', both from AfrAs **deḥan-* 'smoke'. The latter, they say, is derived from #630 AfrAs **daḥ-* 'smoke', which gave Sem **duḫ(ḫ)-* 'smoke' > Ar *daḫḫ-, duḫḫ-* (with secondary -*u*-), and CCh **dyaH-* (**daHi-*) 'smoke'. Cf. the obsolete nouns lacking final *n* mentioned by *DRS* (see above).

▪ Similarly also Militarev/Stolbova 2007 #1109: Sem **duḫḫān ~ *nidāḫ-* 'smoke', CCh **dyaHu-* 'smoke', both from #630 AfrAs **daḥ-* (?) 'smoke'.

SEMHIST   lC6 ʕAntarah b. Šaddād 9,4. (Polosin 1995).

DERIV   **daḫina** *a,* vb. I, to be smoky; to taste or smell of smoke: denom.

daḫana *a u*, vb. I, to smoke, emit emoke (fire): probably denom.

daḫḫana, vb. II, to fumigate, fume (s.th.); to smoke, cure with smoke (foodstuffs); to smoke (a cigarette, tobacco, a pipe): D-stem, denom., caus.

ʔadḫana, vb. IV, to smoke, emit smoke (fire): *Š-stem, denom., caus.

tadaḫḫana, vb. V, to be smoked, be cured with smoke; to be fumigated: tD-stem, pass. of II.

daḫan, n., smoke, fume, vapor: alongside with *duḫ(ḫ)ān* another candidate for the position of the etymon proper.

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

daḫīnät, pl. *daḫāʔin^u*, n.f., cigarette: quasi-PP.

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

madḫanät, pl. *madāḫin^u*, n.f., chimney, smokestack, funnel: n.loc.

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

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

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

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

6.3. ramād

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

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

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

---

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

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

LEMMA	**ramād** رَماد, pl. *ʔarmidaẗ*
META	SW 83/4 • BP 3471 • √RMD
GRAM	n.
ENGL	ashes – Wehr/Cowan 1979.
CONCISE	Etymology obscure. Further research needed.
COGN	▪ Kogan 2015: Ar *ramād*, (Mhr *rəmēd*, Jib *rĩd*, Soq *rímid*) 'ashes'
DISC	▪ Kogan 2015: The modSAr (Mhr, Jib, Soq) terms are probably borrowings from Ar because they don't have cognates outside Ar.
	▪ Is *ramād* in any way related to [†]*ramiḍa* (with ḍ !) 'to be burning (day); to heat the sand (sun); to be scorched by the ground (foot); to be blasted by the sun (flock)'? Cf. Militarev 2006 #3007, Tropper 2008: Ug *rmṣt* 'Röstopfer', postBiblHbr *rāmaṣ* 'to roll or bake in hot ashes', *rämäṣ* 'hot ashes, embers', (JudAram *rimṣā* 'hot ashes, embers' <Hbr?), Syr *rəmūʕ* 'ashes', Ar *rmḍ* 'to burn, be scorched', Gz *ramaḍa* 'to scorch, burn (intr.), be burning', Te *rämmäča* 'to be kindled', *rämäč* 'hot ashes', Tña *rämäṣä* 'to heat, cook', Amh *rämmäṭä* 'to bake in ashes', Mhr *ramź*, Jib *rɛmć*, from Sem *ramś- 'ashes'.
	▪ *ramād* has been suggested to be a metathetical variant from the root *MDR, cf. Militarev 2006 #3004: Sem *midr- ~ *ramad- 'dust, dirt, ashes' > postBiblHbr *mädär* 'ordure (material used for vessels)', Syr *medrā* 'gleba (terrae), terra, lutum, pulvis', Ar *ramād* 'cendre', *madar* 'boue sèche et tenace, sans sable', LevAr *rməd*, MecAr *rumād*, Malt *ərmit* 'ashes', Mhr *mdêr* 'Lehmziegel' (Ḥrs *remēd*, Soq *rimid* < Ar?). Kogan 2015 does not seem to share this view, but separates *ramād* (as above) and *madar* 'lumps, clods of dry clay' (< Sem *mVd(V)r- 'soil, clod of earth', cf. also Syr *medrā* 'gleba (terrae), terra, lutum, pulvis', Sab *mdr* 'territory, ground', Mhr *mder* 'Lehmziegel'; Gz *mədr*, Tña *mədri*, Amh *mədər* < EthSem *mVdr- 'earth'.)
SEMHIST	eC7 (dust, ashes) Q 14:18 *ʔaʕmālu-hum ka-ramādin ištaddat bi-hī 'l-rīḥu* 'their works are as ashes which the wind bloweth hard upon'

---

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

DERIV ʔarbiʕāʔ al-ramād or **yawm al-ramād** or **ʕīd al-ramād**, n., Ash Wednesday (*Chr.*)

nafaḫa fī 'l-ramād, expr., (lit.: to blow into cold ashes, i.e.) to engage in futile undertakings, set out on a wild-goose chase

rammada, vb. II, to burn to ashes, incinerate: D-stem, denom., caus.

tarammada, vb. V, to burn to ashes, become ashes: tD-stem, intr. of the preceding

ramādī, adj., ashen, ash-coloured, ashgray: nsb-adj.

tarmīd, n., cremation, incineration: vn. II.

For other items from √RMD, see → *ramad*.

6.4. kalb

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

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

LEMMA **kalb** كَلْب, pl. *kilāb*

META SW 21/30 • BP 1267 • √KLB

GRAM n.

ENGL dog – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

CONCISE From Sem **kalb-* 'dog'. The fact that the word can be traced back in time until protSem shows that the domestification of wolves (9th–8th millennium BC) must have been completed already then.

COGN ▪ *DRS* 10 (2012) #KLB-1, Militarev/Kogan 2005 #115: Akk *kalbu*, Ug *klb*, Hbr *käläb*, Phn *klb*, EmpAram *klb*, JudAram *kəlēb*, *kəlab*, Syr *kalbā*, Mand *kalba*, Ar *kalb*, Sab *klb* 'dog', Śḥr *kob* 'wolf', *ekob* 'dog', Mhr *kawb* (pl. *kəlōb*), Jib *kɔb* (pl. *kɔ́lɔ́b*), Ḥrs *kawb*, *kōb* (pl. *kelōb*), Soq *kalb* 'wolf; dog', Gz *kalb*, Te *käläb*, Tña *kälbi* 'dog'.

---

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

Stephan Guth

▪ Outside Sem: Militarev/Kogan 2005 and the AfrAs database on the *StarLing* platform (Militarev/Stolbova 2006), for example, register words like: (in some Berb languages) *ă-kûlen* 'loup, loup peint (lycaon)', *əkolăn* (pl. *ikolănăn*) 'écureuil', (in CCh) *kū́ləm* 'hyena', *kə̀lə̀*, *kelī*, *kila* 'dog', (NCu) *tákʷla*, (in CCu) *tägʷla*, *təɣʷla*, *taẖʷəla*, *takwila*, *tuhula* 'wolf', and (in SaAf) *takla*, *taẖla* 'wolf; hyena dog'.

DISC ▪ See also √KLB for *kalab* 'rabies'.

▪ Most sources reconstruct Sem **kalb-* 'dog'.

▪ On account of the Sem and outer-Sem evidence Militarev/Stolbova 2006 reconstructs: Sem **kʷahil-* 'fox-like animal' ~ **ta-kʷVl-* 'wolf, jackal' (< Cush?), Berb **kulVn* 'wolf (or squirrel?)', CCh **kVl-* 'dog', NCush (Beja) *tákʷla* 'wolf; Lycaon pictus', CCush (Agaw) **ta-kʷil-* 'wolf', SaAf **ta-kla* 'wolf; hyena dog', Omot **tolk-* (<**tV-lVk-*, with metath.) 'hyena; leopard', all from AfrAs **kʷVl-* 'wolf, dog'.

▪ As the Berb, Chad and Cush evidence makes clear, Sem **kalb-* seems to be somehow related to biconsonantal themes with **KL*. This made Diakonoff 1998: 214 think that *kalb* might be segmented into **kal-* plus an AfrAs suffix (»key consonant«) **-b* for strong and/or dangerous animals (cf. also →*ʔarna**b***, →*dub**b***, →*ḏiʔ**b***, →*ḏubā**b***, *lab**b***, →*ʕaqra**b***, →*ṯaʕla**b***), still before their domestification. Sima 2000: 103-4 (fn. 338), argues against this idea: an 'undomesticated dog' is nothing else but a wolf, for which protSem had a different word (**ḏiʔb-*).

▪ Dolgopolsky 2012 #1031 puts Sem **kal̦a̦b-* 'dog' together with (among others) IndEur **°kʷol-/*°kul-*, **kʷelb-/*kʷolb-* '(young?) dog' (Grk *kýlla* 'young dog'; Germ **xʷelpo-z*, **xʷalpo-z* 'whelp, young dog'[12] > oNo *hvelpr*, Dan *hvalp*, Swed *valp*, oHGe *welpf*, mHGe *welf*, nHGe *Welf*, AS, oSax *hwelp*, nEngl *whelp*) and reconstructs a common Nostr ancestor as **ḳôLV(bA)* 'dog\wolf, whelp'.

SEMHIST ▪ **eC7 kalb** (dog) Q 7:176 *fa-maṯalu-hū ka-maṯali ʼl-kalbi: ʔin taḥmil ʕalay-hi yalhaṯ, ʔaw tatruk-hu yalhaṯ* 'so his likeness is as the likeness of a dog, if you attack him, he pants [with his tongue out], and if you leave him alone, he pants [with his tongue out]'

▪ **eC7 mukallib** (one who trains animals or birds or keeps them for hunting) Q 5:4 *ʔuḥilla lakum-u ʼl-ṭayyibātu wa-mā ʕalimtum mina ʼl-ǧawāriḥi mukallibīna* 'permitted to you [for food] are all good things and [the catch of] such predatory creatures as you train to hunt'

---

[12] Another etymology is given in De Caprona 2013: 436 : Germ **hwelpa-*, perh. originally 'the whimpering one', from IndEur **(s)kʷel-* 'to whimper, yap, yell, woof'.

DERIV   (Only the semantically closest derivatives are given here; but cf. also →*kalab* and →*kullāb*.)

al-kalb al-ʔakbar n., the constellation Canis Major with its main star Sirius

al-kalb al-ʔaṣġar, n., the constellation Canis Minor with its main star Procyon

kalb al-baḥr, n., shark

kalb al-māʔ, n., **1** otter; **2** beaver

kalbaẗ, pl. *-āt*, n., bitch: f. of *kalb*

kalbī, adj., canine: nsb-adj.

For other values of the root, cf. →*kalab*, →*kullāb*, and, for the general picture, →KLB.

6.5. qidr

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

LEMMA   **qidr** قِدْر, pl. *qudūr*

META   SW − • BP ... • √QDR

GRAM   n.f. (or m.)

ENGL   cooking pot; kettle – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

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

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

COGN   ▪ Zimmern 1914: Akk *diqāru* '(bowl with round bottom, for serving and heating)', Aram *qidrā*, *qedrā* 'pot'.

▪ In addition to the items given by Zimmern 1914, Zammit 2002 mentions also Hbr *qādēr* 'pot'.

▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1618 (and Militarev/Stolbova 2007 #277): Hbr *qədērā*, Aram *qidrā*, Ar *qidr*, Ḥrs *qeder*, Mhr *qāder*. – Outside Sem: *gə̀də̀ryá* 'clay pot', *gùdùr* 'big pot' in 2 in ECh languages. – Cf. also Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1630: Ar *qḏr* (IPFV *a*, *u*), with outside Sem cognate in *goder* 'faeces, silt' in 1 ECh language (no longer listed in Militarev/Stolbova 2007).

DISC   ▪ Zimmern 1914 thinks that Akk *diqāru* »probably« is the source of Aram *qidrā*, *qedrā*, which was borrowed into Ar as *qidr*, *qidraẗ*.

▪ Klein 1987 lists (all post-BiblHbr) *qᵊḏērāh* 'pot' (from this the dimin. nHbr *qᵊḏērîṯ* 'small pot'), *qaḏrâ* 'pot' (from Syr *qaḏrâ*, related to Hbr *qᵊḏērāh*), *qaddār* 'potter' (n.prof., properly back formation from *qᵊḏērāh*; from *qaddār* is *qaddārûṯ* 'potter's craft, pottery'). Perhaps akin to Hbr *qāḏar* 'to be dark, be gloomy' (related to Ar → *qaḏira* 'to be dirty').

▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1618: From the evidence in Sem, the authors reconstruct Sem **ḳidr-* 'earthenware'; from the ECh items they assume ECh **gudur-* '(big/clay) pot'; as an ancestor of both they suggest AfrAs **ḳūdur-* 'vessel'. In the internet version, Militarev/Stolbova 2007 #277 retain the reconstruction of Sem **ḳidr-* 'earthenware' but add the remark »correspondences doubtful« and set a question mark behind their (slightly modified) reconstruction of AfrAs **ḳVdur-* 'clay vessel'.

▪ Orel/Stolbova 1994 #1630 relates Hbr *qdr* 'to be dark' to Ar *qḏr* (IPFV *a*, *u*) 'to be dirty', on account of which they hypostasize Sem **ḳVḏar-* / **ḳVḏur-* 'to be dirty'. The latter, they say, is cognate with ECh **gVẑwar-* 'faeces, silt'. On account of the Ar and the ECh items they reconstruct AfrAs **ḳVʒor-* 'dirt, to be dirty'. In the updated internet version, there are no longer AfrAs reconstructions, but only

#950 Sem *$k̠VdVr$- 'to be dirty' (on account of Hbr *qdr* 'to be dark') and #1793 Sem *$k̠Vḏar$- / * $k̠Vḏur$- 'to be dirty'.

SEMHIST **eC7** Q 34:13 *yaʕmalūna la-hū mā yašāʔu min maḥārība wa-tamāṯīla wa-ǧifānin ka-'l-ǧawābi wa-qudūrin rāsiyātin* 'they made for him whatever he wanted: palaces and statues, basins as large as water troughs, and cauldrons hard to move'

DERIV **qidraẗ**, pl. *qidar*, n.f., pot; jug: clearly related to *qidr*, but perhaps borrowed directly from Aram *qidrā*, Syr *qedrā* 'pot' rather than derived from Ar *qidr*.

6.6. samn

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

LEMMA **samn** سَمْن, pl. *sumūn*

META SW 32/42[13] • BP … • √SMN

GRAM n.

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

ē-šim 'liquid fat; broth', Taqbaylit (Ayt Mangellat) *ṭa-ssəm-ṭ* 'graisse animal', Canarian *achemen* 'milk'; OEg *smy* (med.) 'fat milk, cream'; (WCh) *šivena, sinama, sin*; (ECh) *swāń, swānī, sòn-gò, súwāné, sùwánè, séwén, séwèn, súnu* 'oil', *sùwə̀n-gə̀, sɔn, síwín* 'oil, fat', *sṓane* 'melted butter/oil', *sɛ́wéɲ* 'fat' (n.), *súnē* 'fat' (adj.); (Warazi/ Dullay) *šinán-ko*, pl. *šiinam-aane* 'butter', *šiinan-ko*, pl. *šinam-aane* 'fat'; perhaps also *s'əmən* 'thick' in a CCh language, but this is said to be semantically problematic.

DISC ▪ Huehnergard 2011 reconstructs Sem **šamn-* 'oil, fat'.

▪ Kogan 2011: »The main protSem term for 'fat' as a foodstuff seems to be **šamn-*, although exact semantics of its reflexes are rather diverse [...]. The meaning '(clarified) butter' is typical of Ar [...], whereas [the Akk, Ug and Hbr terms] mostly denote 'vegetable oil' and are only rarely applied to animal fat or cream. ComAram **šumnā* mostly denotes '(animal) fat, fatness' [...]. The exact meaning of Jib [...] remains to be ascertained.«

▪ Militarev/Stolbova 2007 reconstruct Sem **šam(-an)-* 'fat, oil', Berb **-sim(-an)-* '(liquid) fat, milk', OEg *smy* (med.) 'fat milk, cream', WCh **sin(-am)-* 'oil', ? CCh **sVmVn-* (?) 'thick', ECh **siwan-* (< **siman-* ?) 'oil; melted butter/oil; fat (n.); fat (adj.)', Warazi (Dullay) **šinam-* 'butter; fat'. All from AfrAs **sim-an-* ~ **sin-am-* 'oil, fat, (fat) milk'.

SEMHIST **lC6** ʕUrwa b. al-Ward 23,2: *wa-faḍlaẗï samnaẗin ḏahabat ʔilay-hi* 'and the rest of a piece of butter/fat [n.un.] that went to him' (Polosin 1995)

eC7 *samn* itself is not in Q, but we find the vb. IV *ʔasmana* 'to fatten, benefit, nourish' and the adj. (pseudo-PP) *samīn* 'fat, well-fed': Q 88:6–7 *laysa la-hum ṭaʕāmun ʔillā min ḍarīʕin lā **yusminu** wa-lā yuġnī min ǧūʕin* 'with no food for them except bitter dry thorns that neither nourish nor satisfy hunger'; 12:43 *ʔinnī ʔarà sabʕa baqarātin **simān**in yaʔkulu-hunna sabʕun ʕiǧāfun* 'I see [in my dreams] seven fat cows being eaten by seven lean ones'.

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

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

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

DERIV   **samina** *a* (*siman*, *samānaï*), vb. I, to be or become fat, corpulent, obese, stout, plump, fleshy, put on weight: denom.

sammana, vb. II, and **ʔasmana**, vb. IV, to make fat or plump, fatten: D-stem, denom., caus.

siman, n., and [BP#4632]**simnaẗ**, n.f., fatness, plumpness, fleshiness, stoutness, corpulence; obesity: vn. I and abstr. in -*aẗ*, respectively.

summun, n.coll. (n.un. -*aï*), pl. *samāminᵘ*, quail (*zool.*): *'the fat one (bird)'?

samīn, pl. *simān*, adj., fat; corpulent, plump, fleshy, stout, obese: quasi-PA (or -PP).

summān, n.coll. (n.un. -*aï*), quail (*zool.*): *'the fat one (bird)'?

sammān, n., butter merchant: n.prof.

samānaẗ: ~ *al-riǧl*, n.f., calf of the leg: vn. I.

sumānà, n.coll. (n.un. *sumānāẗ*, pl. *sumānayāt*), quail (*zool.*): *the fat one (bird)'?

musamman, adj., fat: PP II.

References (incl. those for Part I and II)

Ali, Kecia / Leaman, Oliver. 2008. *Islam: the Key Concepts.* Routledge, London & New York.

Badawi, El-Said / Abdel Haleem, Muhammad. 2008. *Arabic-English Dictionary of Qur'anic Usage*. Brill, Leiden.

BDB → Brown/Driver/Briggs 1906.

Bennett, Patrick R. 1998. *Comparative Semitic Linguistics: A Manual.* Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Ind.

Bergsträsser, Gotthelf. 1928. *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen: Sprachproben und grammatische Skizzen.* Hueber, München.

Bibliotheca Polyglotta: an Internet portal, hosting several projects. <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php>.

BP → Buckwalter/Parkinson 2011.

Brown, Francis / Driver, S.R. / Briggs, Charles A. 1906. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (Reprint Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 13th printing 2010.)

Buckwalter, Tim / Parkinson, Dilworth. 2011. *A Frequency Dictionary of Arabic: Core Vocabulary for Learners.* Routledge, London. (Routledge frequency dictionaries).

CAD [so-called "Chicago Assyrian Dictionary"] = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* / ed. Ignace J. Gelb [et al.]. Chicago: Oriental Institute / Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1956–2010.

Christes, Johannes. 2006. "Paideia." *Brill's New Pauly* (online). First appeared 2006, retrieved 11Jun2014 from <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/paideia-e903780>.

Cohen, David [et al.] 1970–. *Dictionnarie des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*. Leuven: Peeters, 1970-. Reprints and new editions Leuven: Peeters, 1994–.

Cohen, Marcel. 1969. *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique.* Librairie Honoré Champion, Paris. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études; Sciences historiques et philologique: fasc. 291).

De Caprona, Yann. 2013. *Norsk etymologisk ordbok: tematisk ordnet*. Kagge Forlag, Oslo.

Dévényi, Kinga. 2015. Review of Edzard / Guth (eds.) 2010, in *The Arabist* 36 (2015): 106–108

Dolgopolsky, Aharon. 2012. *Nostratic Dictionary*. 3rd edition. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge. <http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/244080> (downloadable pdf).

Dozy, R.P.A. 1881. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes.* 2 vols. Brill, Leiden. (Reprint Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1991).

DRS = Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques... →Cohen 1970–.

EALL = Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics, general editor Kees Versteegh; ass. editors Mushira Eid [et al.]. Leiden: Brill, 2006–.

Edzard, Lutz (ed.). 2015. *Arabic and Semitic Linguistics Contextualized:* Fs for Jan Retsö. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

Edzard, Lutz / Guth, Stephan (eds.). 2010. *Verbal Festivity in Arabic and other Semitic Languages*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden. (AKM 72).

Ehret, Christopher. 1989. "The Origins of Third Consonants in Semitic Roots: An Internal Reconstruction (Applied to Arabic)". *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages*, 3: 109–202.

Ehret, Christopher. 1995. *Reconstructing Proto-Afroasiatic (Proto-Afrasian): Vowels, Tone, Consonants, and Vocabulary.* Univ. of California Press, Berkeley [etc.]. (Univ. of Calif. Publications in Linguistics; 126).

EI = The Encyclopedia of Islam. – EI² = 2ⁿᵈ edition, ed. by P. Bearman [et al.], Leiden: Brill, 1960–2009. – *EI³ = The Encyclopedia of Islam Three*, 3ʳᵈ edition, online, ed. by Gudrun Krämer [et al.], Leiden: Brill, 2011–.

EtymArab: A 1000-words pilot version of an Etymological Dictionary of Arabic. Test version. Currently hosted by *Bibliotheca Polyglotta* (click on "Arabic Texts", then choose "Etymological Dictionary of Arabic").

EtymOnline = Online Etymological Dictionary →Harper ©2001–2014.

Freytag, Georg Wilhelm. 1835. *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum.* 4 vols. C.A. Schwetschke et filium, Halis Saxonum.

Ǧabal, Muḥammad Ḥasan Ḥasan. 2010. *al-Muʕǧam al-ištiqāqī al-muʔaṣṣal li-ʔalfāẓ al-qurʔān al-karīm: muʔaṣṣal bi-bayān al-ʕalāqāt bayn ʔalfāẓ al-qurʔān al-karīm bi-ʔaṣwātihā wa-bayn maʕānīhā.* 4 vols. Maktabat al-ʔĀdāb, Cairo.

Guth, Stephan. 2015. "Aesthetics of Generosity – Generous Aesthetics: On the cultural encoding of an Arab 'national virtue'". In: Edzard (ed.) 2015: 299–327.

Guth, Stephan. 2010. "Politeness, Höflichkeit, ʾadab – A comparative conceptual-cultural perspective". In: Edzard/Guth (eds.) 2010: 9–30.

Halloran, John A. [n.d.]. *Sumerian Lexicon: Version 3.0.* <http://www.sumerian.org/sumerian.pdf>

Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko. [2016]. "Adab: a) Arabic, early developments". In: *EI³* (consulted 16Jul2016).

Harper, Douglas. ©2001–2014. *Online Etymological Dictionary* [*O.E.D.*]. <http://www.etymonline.com/> .

Haspelmath, Martin / Tadmor, Uri. *The World Loanword Database (WOLD)*. <http://wold.clld.org/>

Hiltbrunner, O. / Gorce, D. / Wehr, H. 1972. "Gastfreundschaft" [Hospitality]. In: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der*

Antiken Welt / in Verbindung mit Carsten Colpe [et al.] hg. von Theodor Klauser, vol. viii: *Fluchtafel (Defixion) – Gebet I* (Anton Hiersemann, Stuttgart), 1061–1123.

HSED → Orel/Stolbova 1995.

Huehnergard, John. 2011. "Proto-Semitic Language and Culture". In: *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 5th ed., Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011: 2066–78.

Ibn Warraq (ed.). 2014. *Christmas in the Koran: Luxenberg, Syriac, and the Near Eastern and Judeo-Christian Background of Islam.* Prometheus Books, New York.

Jaeger, Werner. [1933–1947] 1973. *Paideia: die Formung des griechischen Menschen* / reprint in 1 vol. of the original edition (in 3 vols.) of 1933–1947. De Gruyter, Berlin [etc.]. – Engl. trans. by Gilbert Highet as *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1939 ff.

Jeffery, Arthur. 1938. *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʔān.* Oriental Institute, Baroda. (Reprint Lahore: Al-Biruni, 1977).

Kazimirski, A. de Biberstein. 1875. *Dictionnaire arabe–français.* 4 vols. Revu et corrigé par Ibed Gallab. Cairo.

Kerr, Robert M. 2014. "Aramaisms in the Qur'ān and Their Significance". In: Ibn Warraq (ed.) 2014: 145–235.

Khaleghi-Motlagh, Dj. 1983. "Adab i. Adab in Iran." *Encyclopedia Iranica* (ed. Ehsan Yarshater), vol. i, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London [etc.], 431–39. Retrieved from the online edition, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/adab-i-iran> (11 June 2014).

Kluge. 2002. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.* 24th ed. / bearb. von Elmar Seebold. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin & New York.

Kogan, Leonid. 2011. "Proto-Semitic Lexicon". In: Weninger (ed.) 2011: 179–258.

Kogan, Leonid. 2015. *Genealogical Classification of Semitic: The Lexical Isoglosses.* Walter de Gruyter Inc., Boston/Berlin.

Lane, Edward William. 1863-93. *An Arabic–English Lexicon.* 8 vols. Williams and Norgate, London. – Also available online: <http://www.laneslexicon.co.uk/>.

Leslau, Wolf. 1979. [EDG] *Etymological dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic).* 3 vols. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

Leslau, Wolf. 1987. [CDG] *A Comparative Dictionary of Geʕez (Classical Ethiopic): Geʕez-English / English-Geʕez with an index of the Semitic roots.* Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

Liddell, Henry George / Scott, Robert. [1940]. *A Greek-English Lexicon.* Machine readable text (Trustees of Tufts University, Oxford). Accessible online via <http://perseus.uchicago.edu/> .

Militarev, Alexander. 2006. *Semitic Etymology.* (Database). In: Starostin 2013.

Militarev, Alexander / Kogan, Leonid. 2000-. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary.* Vol. 1: *Anatomy of Man and Animals* (2000), vol. 2: *Animal Names* (2005). Ugarit-Verlag, Münster. (Alter Orient und Altes Testament; 278/1ff.).

Militarev, Alexander / Stolbova, Olga (comp.). 2007. *Afroasiatic Etymology.* (Database). In: Starostin 2013.

Monteil, Vincent. 1960. *L'arabe moderne.* Klincksieck, Paris.

Neuwirth, Angelika. 2010. *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike: Ein europäischer Zugang.* Vlg. der Weltreligionen im Insel Vlg., Berlin.

Nöldeke, Theodor. 1910. "Wörter mit Gegensinn (*Aḍḍād*)". In: id., *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strasbourg: Vlg. Karl J. Trübner, 1910: 67–108.

Orel, Vladimir E. / Stolbova, Olga V. 1995. *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Materials for a Reconstruction.* Brill, Leiden [etc.]. (Handbuch der Orientalistik, I. Abt.; vol. 18).

Pennacchio, Catherine. 2014. *Les emprunts à l'hébreu et au judéo-araméen dans le Coran.* Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Jean Maisonneuve, Paris.

Polosin, Vladimir V. 1995. *Slovar' poëtov plemeni 'Abs (6–8 vv.)*. Moskva: RAN.

Rolland, Jean-Claude. 2014. *Étymologie arabe: Dictionnaire des mots de l'arabe moderne d'origine non sémitique.* Éditions Lulu.

SED → Militarev / Kogan 2000, 2005.

Sima, Alexander. 2000. *Tiere, Pflanzen, Steine und Metalle in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften.* Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz: Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission; vol. 46).

Starostin, Sergei (Сергей Старостин) / Starostin, George (Георгий Старостин). ©2005/2013. *The Tower of Babel: An Etymological Database Project /* Вавилонская Башня: проект этимологической базы данных. <http://starling.rinet.ru/>.

Swadesh, Morris. 1971. *The Origin and Diversification of Language* / ed. posthum by Joel Sherzer. Aldine, Chicago.

Takács, Gábor. 1999-. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1. Abt.: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten; vol. 48).

Tropper, Josef. 2008. *Kleines Wörterbuch des Ugaritischen.* Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden. (Elementa Linguarum Orientis; 4).

Ullmann, Manfred. 1970–. *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache* [*WKAS*]. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

Wahrmund, Adolf. [2]1887. *Handwörterbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache.* Vol. 1: *Neuarabisch-deutscher Theil*, 2nd ed. J. Ricker, Giessen.

Wehr, Hans / Cowan, J. Milton (ed.). 1979. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic.* 4th ed. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden. Reprint Ithaca NY: Spoken Language Services, 1994.

Wehr, Hans. 1985. *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart: arabisch-deutsch.* 5th ed. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

Weil, Gotthold. "ʕArūḍ". *EI²*, online version (accessed 15 Aug 2014).

Weninger, Stefan [et al.] (eds.). 2011. *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook.* de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston. (Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science; vol. 36).

WKAS = Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache → Ullmann 1970–.

WOLD = World Loanword Database → Haspelmath/Tadmor.

Zammit, Martin R. 2002. *A Comparative Lexical Study of Qurʔānic Arabic.* Brill, Leiden [etc.].