

Notes on Semitic Lexicography (I) The Proto-Semitic Cluster /tr(r:w:y)/ and Ug. *trry/t*¹

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[The phonological and semantic expansions of a proto-Semitic base /tr/ are discussed and the different interpretations of Ug. *trry* are checked with reference to its linguistic background.]

A solid comparative analysis of any lexeme must take into account all the available data and the implications which the accepted solution creates. So, the lexicographic analysis of a cluster such as /tr(r:w:y)/ must begin with its occurrence in those languages, in this case Arabic and Ugaritic, in which the phoneme /t/ is pertinent, before taking into account its transformation in other Semitic dialects.

Classic Arabic lexicography supplies two so-called 'roots', which are semantically and phonologically differentiated:

1) *tarā* (< /trw/): *tarā al-qawm*, "the people became many, much, great in number",² with nominal derivatives: *tariyy*, "many, numerous"; *tarwat*, *tarā'*, "a great number", "sufficiency, richness"; *tarwat riḡāl wa-tarwat māl*, 'plenty of men and property'. Semantically, the lexeme shows a clear stative aspect (but cf. *tarā 'allāh al-qawma*), with practically no derivative stems, except for a few occurrences of IV *'atrā*, "to be in state of sufficiency, rich"; *'atrā al-raḡul = kaṭurat 'amwāluhu*.

2) *tarā* (< /try/): *tariyat al-'ard*, i. e. *nadiyat*, "the earth became moist, watered (by rain)",³ also with nominal derivatives: *tarin*, "moist, humid"; *taran*, "moisture, humidity". The semantic stative aspect is also clear in this case. The II stem *tarrā* is causative: "to moisten, sprinkle", while the IV, the other only attested, fluctuates between the stative and the causative: *'atrat al-'ard*, "the earth had much moisture".

1. This article forms part of a series of preliminary studies carried out within the framework of the project "Estudio sobre la congruencia fonológica y semántica de los radicales binarios semíticos. Materiales para un diccionario etimológico y comparado de las lenguas semíticas clásicas", supported by the 'Dirección General de Enseñanza Superior e Investigación Científica' of the Spanish Ministry of Education and Culture (PB97-0904). Special thanks are due to Dr. W.G.E. Watson who improved the language and offered valuable suggestions.

2. Cf. E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8/2 parts/vols. (= AEL), London 1863 (repr. Cambridge 1984), vol. I, pp. 335f.; A. de B. Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire Arabe Français*, 2 vols. (= DAF), Paris 1860 (repr. Beirut n.d.), vol. I pp. 222f.; R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes* (= SDA), Leiden 1881 (repr. Beirut 1991), vol. I, p. 159; G.W. Freitag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, 4 vols. (= LAL), Bonn 1830 (repr. Beirut 1975), vol. I, p. 215; F. Corriente, *Diccionario árabe-español* (= DAE), Madrid 1997, p. 88. Ibn Mandūr in his *Lisān al-'Arab*, 6 vols. (Bayrūt 1988/1408, alphabetically ordered edition), vol. I, pp. 355f., gives abundant contextual references; the base does not appear in the Qur'ān. Aea. *try*, "(statement of) surplus" (?) relates better to /trw/ than to /try/, pace J.C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabian, Sabaean Dialect* (HSS 25) (= DOSA), Chico, CA 1982, pp. 549f.

3. Cf. Lane AEL 336; Kazimirski DAF 223; Freitag LAL 215f.; Corriente DAE 88.

Both 'roots' go back to a basic seme (BS) "abundance, plenty", as a primitive semantic universal,⁴ with specific reference to 'people' and 'water', decisive elements within the semantic field of 'life'.

This allows an easy semantic shift: abundance of humidity/water as the basis for a thriving human group. This BS postulates apparently a primitive phonological complex /L_vr/ from which the above quoted 'roots' are easily explained as alternative triconsonantal expansions. In later lexicographical development the phonological difference was blurred and the two expansions became allomorphes of the same base, a state of affairs reflected in dictionaries of modern Arabic.⁵ In fact, the *Lisān* does without the attested lexicographical difference and considers the second form a mere semantic specification of the first (*tarā*, written with *alif* of prolongation). In this case the reference to 'water' would be a semantic development peculiar of the Syro-Arabic lexicography.

In neither of these cases are there reduplicated phenotypes (/L_vr(r)_vr/) which could help to explain Ug. *trrt*, that implies a vowel between the two 'r' phonemes (*/tarīrat/, /tarrarat/ or the like).⁶ A phenotype such as Ar. *tarr* (cf. n. 4) would appear in Ugaritic as **tr(t)*. Curiously enough, the only two postulated forms connected with this base are biconsonantal: **trt*, "abundant water"⁷, and *tr*, "de l'eau en abondance"⁸. Both readings are highly hypothetical, not to say unlikely. Nonetheless, the lexeme *trrt* has been related to Ar. *tarā(y)* and translated "well-watered". According to this opinion, *trrt* is presumed to be a standard qualifier of cities in the word-pair *rbt//trrt* (*udm*, *hbr*, *aršh*), "great/well-watered"⁹. But the adjectival form in Arabic is *tari(n)* ('*arḍu tari'at*) and there is no reduplicated form in other languages in which this base /L_vr_vy/ is clearly documented.¹⁰ According to Ugaritic orthography, then, we would expect either an adj.

4. Cf. Cl. Goddard, An. Wierzbicka, "Introducing Lexical Primitives", in Cl. Goddard, An. Wierzbicka, eds., *Semantic and Lexical Universals. Theory and Empirical Findings*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1994, pp. 39ff.; An. Wierzbicka, "Semantic Primitives Across Languages. A Critical Review", *ibid.*, p. 473.

5. For instance, the two 'roots' are confused in H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (= DMWA), Wiesbaden, 1979, pp. 123f. (*trw* and *try*). Nonetheless, this author records independently a lexeme *tarr*, "abounding in water", which evidently belongs to the quoted root /L_vr/ and which other dictionaries ignore.

6. On the non-orthographic recording of geminated consonants in Ugaritic cf. for instance D. Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Leiden 1997), p. 10, who sums up common opinion as follows: "Ugaritic writing does not indicate gemination of consonants. The doubled consonant is written with one sign only (*there is no basis for the suggestion of Good, that consonants l, m, n, r may be written twice when geminated* [cf. *UF* 13, 1981, 117-121])" (emphasis and quotation mine). Also J. Tropper, *Untersuchungen zur ugaritischen Grammatik, Schrift-, Laut-, und Formenlehre*, unpublished Habilitationsschrift 1997, p. 91.

7. Cf. M. Smith, *The Baal Cycle. Volume I. Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1-1.2* (SVT 55), Leiden 1997, p. 53, reading *trt* instead of *ikt* in KTU 1.4 V 7.

8. Cf. A. Caquot, *Textes Ougaritiques. Tome II. Textes religieux ...*, Paris 1989, p. 49, n. 111; D. Pardee, *Textes paramythologiques de la 24^e campagne (1961)* (RSO IV) (= TPM), Paris 1988, p. 121; the text (KTU 1.101:8), of very uncertain interpretation, is read [y]šil *tr* *it* *ph.* by KTU².

9. Cf. among others Eissfeldt, *ZDMG* 94, 1940, 72f. = *Kleine Schriften II* [Tübingen 1963], pp. 270ff. ("wasserreich"); Herdner, *Syria* 25, 1946, 165 ("riche en eau"); Sawyer—Strange, *IES* 14, 1964, 96f. ("abundant in water, well-watered"; referring to 2 Sam. 12:27: *rabbāh//'r hammāyīm*); G.R. Driver/J.C.L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, Edinburgh 1965/1978, p. 151/160 ("well-watered"); J. Gray, *The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra ...* (= KT), Leiden 1964, p. 45; id., *The Legacy of Canaan* (SVT 5), Leiden 1965, p. 141, n. 2 ("abundant in water"); J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der Ugaritischen Sprache*, Berlin 1974¹, p. 344 ("wasserreich"; Ar. *tarārat*, 'überfließende Quellen' seems to be a ghost word); Astour *UF* 5, 1973 32 ("rich in water"); Badre *et al.*, *Syria* 53, 1976, 111 ("qui abonde en eau"); Kottsieper, *UF* 16, 1984, 107 ("wasserreich"); Pardee *TPM* 215 ("la bien arrosée"). Following this suggestion N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit. The Words of Ilimilku and his Colleagues*, Sheffield 1998, p. 193, n. 80, has recently proposed the following version of the word pair: 'abundant in rain' (maintaining the reading *rbm*) / 'well-watered'.

10. Cf. Syr. *trō*, *trī*, "humefactus est", cf. R. Payne-Smith, *Theasurus Syriacus*, VIII (= ThS), Oxford 1879/1901 (repr. Hildesheim 1981), p. 4492; Aram. *try*, "to soak", cf. M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* (= DJPA), Bar Ilan 1990, p. 591; Akk. *šarū(m)*, with no reference to the semantic field of 'water', cf. W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1981, B. III, p. 1193: "reich, reich sein"; *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, Š/2, Chicago 1992, pp. 131ff.: "rich, to

of the form */tarir(at)/ mentioned or rather a pass. part. D */muṭarrar(at)/, with the prefixed morpheme /m-/ dropped.¹¹ Furthermore, the parallelism is not particularly striking. Following this etymologizing line of thought, equally plausible would be the meaning "populous, crowded / rich, opulent", in relation to Ar. *ṭarā(w)*, Akk. *šarû* and possibly Heb. *šrr II,¹² with a much more acceptable parallelism. I do not believe the biblical 'parallel' (?) adduced by Sawyer-Strange is strong enough to overcome the weakness of this opinion in terms of both morphology and parallelism.

It is not surprising that other solutions have been put forward, given the objections to the opinion quoted. First, "little, small", in keeping with Akk. *šerru*.¹³ Unless we assume that the Ugaritic lexeme reinterprets Akk. phonetics (/š/ > /t/), no Semitic (in this case Ar., Aea.) root /trr/ is known with such a semantic value. Moreover, Akk. *šerru* refers exclusively to children: its semantic value is not simply "small", "little", but "little child", and grammatically it is a noun, as CAD makes plain. The equivalent lexeme in Ugaritic is *šgr(t)*. KTU 1.6 V 2/4 even offers the word-pair *rbml/šgrm*, in spite of a proposed new reading (*šhr mt*).¹⁴ Furthermore, the use of Akk. *šehru* (Ug. *šgr*) in the toponymy of El-Amama is highly significant.¹⁵ Gordon, apparently followed by De Moor,¹⁶ adduced the Sanherib (III Campaign) Prism in which the Phoenician town Sidon was supposedly qualified as *šerrum*, a qualification which is not further quoted in UT. In this connection CAD Š/2 320 notes: "the reading of LÚ.TUR as *šerru* is certain only in medical, diagnostic, and literary texts, where it alternates with *šerrum*; elsewhere the reading *šihru* or *šuhuru* may apply". "Great and Little NL" would be *rbi/šgrt NL* in Ugaritic. Akkadian *šerrum* is probably a

become rich". Possibly the lexema is also attested in the Akkadian of Ugarit *ša-ri-ma*, said of fields: A.SA^{mes} (*eqlātu*) *ša-ri-ma*; cf. J. Nougayrol, *Palais royal d'Ugarit III*, Paris 1955, p. 148 (RS 16.178:7). The text is interpreted by J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (HSS 32), Atlanta GA, 1987, p. 189: "small field(s)"(?), cf. perhaps alphab. *trr* (/ṭurēru/?) 'small' [*infra* n. 12]... or the pl. of one of several alphab. words *šr*"; similarly D. Sivan, *UF* 21, 1989, 362: "the example in question may also be derived from the root *šrr*, "to rule", and may be translated '(fields of) the governors', both sending back to Gordon *UT* 494. But a version "rich > watered fields" (Sp. 'de regadío'), according to quoted Akk. *šarû(m)*, Ar. *ṭari(n)*, should not be ruled out. For the claimed Ethiopic and Northwest Semitic forms cf. *infra*.

11. That is not impossible in Ug. (pattern šqtl); cf. *š'iq*, *ṭmmt*, ...; cf. de Moor, *UF* 11, 1979, 641, n. 12..

12. Cf. L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament*, Lief. I-IV (= HAL), Leiden 1967-1990, p. 1529. Watson suggests (private communication) the possible but, according to his own opinion, very uncertain translations: 'great'/'gleaming' (cf. Akk. *šarûru*, "radiance, brilliance"); also Watson, *UF* 28, 1996, 708, n. 24: 'great'/'lesser', antithetic parallelism (cf. Akk. *šarriru*, of unknown meaning according to CAD Š/2 76 ("humble, deferential"?; "gebückt gehend", according to Von Soden *AHw* 1188), going back (?) to Akk. *šarûru*, "to go ahead"). We will deal with those bases as well as in general with the cluster /š(:š:s)r(:w:y:r)/ in a forthcoming paper.

13. Cf. among others Albright *BASOR* 63, 1936, 30 n. 47; Pedersen *Berytus* 6, 1941, 90; R. de Langhe, *Les Textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs Rapports avec le Milieu Biblique de l'Ancien Testament*, Gembloux/Paris, II, p. 147; Gordon *BASOR* 105, 1947, 11f.; id., *Ugaritic Textbook* (AnOr 38) (= UT), Rome 1965, p. 507; vd. also, id., *Ugaritic Literature*, Rome 1949, p. 66, n. 1; id., *Berytus* 25, 1977, 40, n. 43; id., *Or* 67, 1998, 284; Dietrich-Loretz *UF* 5, 1973, 32; Margalit *UF*, 8, 1976, 153; De Moor-Spronk *UF* 14, 1982, 166; id., *A Cuneiform Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit* (= CARTU), Leiden 1987, p. 176; Sapin *UF* 15, 1983, 160 n. 17; E. Zurro, *Procedimientos iterativos en la poesía ugarítica y hebrea* (BiOr 43, Rome 1987, p. 155. Cf. Watson's criticism and alternative suggestions in the previous note and in *UF* 28, 1996, 708.

14. Cf. also the Akk. parallel: *kārum ON ša-ḫe-er rabi*, "the (whole) LN, small and grown-up (inhabitants)"; cf. Von Soden *AHw* 1089; CAD Š 184.

15. Cf. D. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables ...* (AOAT 214), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1984, p. 270: URU *šū-uh-r*.¹⁵ ... In relation to town (*ālu*) cf. also the Akk. use: *ālu elū*, *ālu dannu*, *dannūtišu*; cf. *AHw* 39, never *ālum šerrum*.

16. Cf. n. 12; J.C. de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit* (NISABA 16) (= ARTU), Leiden 1987, p. 196, n. 28. For the Sanherib text cf. R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke, Heft I. Die Texte in Umschrift* (AnOr 54), Rome 1979, p. 73: ¹⁵šī-du-un-nulni rabû(GAL-ū) ¹⁵šī-du-un-nu/ni šehru(TUR)/še-eh-ru.

'Primarwort' of Afro-Asiatic origin, as Eg. *šrī*, "lad", "younger son", *šrr*, "little" makes clear¹⁷ and probably has no connection with Semitic /*ʃrr*/.¹⁸ Consequently, this opinion has to be considered untenable.

Another alternative proposal suggests the meaning "powerful, strong" for Ug. *trrt*, which can be considered an expansion (**ʃrr*/), by lengthening/reduplication of the second consonant, of the same base **ʃr*/, in this case with the semantic specification 'abundance of force, power'. It is indeed an old suggestion,¹⁹ but its etymological justification is not clear.²⁰ We may in this connection adduce the various Semitic occurrences which possibly offer the claimed phenotype /*ʃrr*/. First of all Ebl. GAL.GAL = *sa-la-lum*, *sa-ra-ru₁₂-um*,²¹ also Akk. *šarruma*, *šurruma*, "sicherlich, fürwahr";²² and possibly Ug. *trry*, "strong, potent";²³ Heb. */*šrr*/, *šārīr*, "Sehne", *šrīrūt*, "Verhärtung".²⁴ All these forms fit the morphological and semantic requirements of Ug. *trrt*. Furthermore, the parallelism obtained in this way is quite fitting for a protocarian title.

The problem is the apparently anomalous Aramaic/Syriac phenotype /*šr(r)*/,²⁵ which goes back to a proto-Semitic /*ʃrr*/, instead of the expected base /*ʃr(r)*/. This situation compels us to postulate a double proto-Semitic allophone /*ʃ:šr*/. This inductive conclusion could find confirmation (?) in the occurrence of

17. Cf. R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford 1981, p. 270; A. Erman, H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Leipzig/Berlin 1926-1963 (repr. 1982), B. 4, p. 524, 526; Gordon *UT* 507. On the ambiguous phonological Semitic-Egyptian correspondence /*ʃ*/ = /*š*/ cf. J.E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (= SWET), Princeton, NJ 1994, p. 402: "/*ʃ*/ is regularly rendered by Egyptian *s* ([s]), whereas /*š*/ is regularly transcribed by Egyptian *š* ([š]) ... Nevertheless ... correspondence of Egyptian *š* for /*ʃ*/ obtains in about 30% of the cases".

18. Although a connection with Ar. *surr*, "navel-string", *surrat*, "navel", Heb. *šorīšorer*, Aram. *šorā*, Ug. *šr*, "navel" is not ruled out. Also a relation with Akk. *šarūru*, "to begin" is feasible.

19. Among others J. Virolleaud, *La légende de Kéret, roi des Sidoniens, d'après une tablette de Ras Shamra*, Paris 1936, p. 19 (connected with Heb. *šrīrūt*, without translation); H.L. Ginsberg, *The Legend of King Keret. A Canaanite Epic of the Bronze Age* (BASOR SS 2-3), New Haven 1946, p. 16, 38 ("Great"/"Grand"); id., J.B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton, NJ 1955, p. 144; K.-H. Bernhardt, "Anmerkungen zur Interpretation des KRT-Textes von Ras Schamra-Ugarit", *Wiss. Zeitschrift der E.M. Arndt-Universität Greifswald* 5, 1955/56, 109, n. 111 ("Grosse"/"Gewaltige"); D. Sidersky in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à R. Dussaud*..., Paris 1939, v. I, pp. 635f.; D.R. Hillers, *Lamentations* (AB 7A), Garden City, NY 1972, p. 6 (both referring to Lam. 1:1: *rabbātī/šārātī*); G. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaán según la tradición de Ugarit*, Madrid 1981, p. 645 ("Grande"/"Potente"); M.A. Pope in M. Lubetski et al., eds., *Boundaries of the Ancient World. A Tribute to C.H. Gordon* (JSOT SS 273), Sheffield 1998, p. 204 ("Great"/"Grand"); J.C. Greenfield, "The Epithets *rbt* // *trrt* in the Krt Epic", in E.E. Conrad, E.G. Newing, eds., *Perspectives on Language and Text. Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday July 28, 1985*, Winona Lake, IN 1987, pp. 35-37 ("Great"/"Queen").

20. The suggested Hebrew parallel (*rabbātī/šārātī*, Lam 1:1) is very ambiguous; cf. A. Berlin, *JBL* 100, 1981, 90ff.; Del Olmo Lete, *AnOr* 2, 1984, 20. The same can be said of Greenfield's proposal to see in Ug. *trrt* a spelling of Akk. *šarratu*, "queen"; but Akk. *šarru(m)* corresponds to Ug. *šr*, Heb. *šar* and the double 'r' phoneme remains unexplained.

21. Cf. G. Pettinato, *Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L. 2769* (MEE 4) (= TLB), Naples 1982, p. 354, and the comments by Krebernik, *ZA* 73 1983 45: "möglicherweise handelt es sich hier jedoch um ein (im Akk. selbst nicht existentes) dazugehöriges Verbum /*šarārum*/, etwa in der Bedeutung 'mächtig sein', wie es in hebr. *šrr* 'herrschen' neben *šar(r)* 'Mächtiger', 'Fürst' bezeugt ist". But Hebrew tells us to distinguish between /*šr(r)*/ (denom. expansion from *šar*, cf. HAL 1269f.) and /*šr(r)*/, although in the long run both bases may be allophonically related. For the orthography/phonology of Eblite in this connection cf. Gelb in L. Cagni, ed., *La lingua di Ebla* (ION Series Minor 14), Naples 1981, pp. 22f.

22. Cf. Von Soden *AHW* 1190 ("sicherlich"); *CAD* Š/3 361f. ("promptly(?), indeed(?)"), both referring to Sem. **šrr* (?).

23. Cf. KTU 1.16 IV 15; nevertheless, the text is fragmentary und uncertain and other suggestions are feasible. Cf. in this connection Gray, *KT* 26; id., *LC* 52 n. 1 ("water providers", reading *mtrry*; cf. *supra* n. 6); De Moor *ARTU* 218 ("little bird"); De Moor-Spronk *CARTU* 176 (fem. of *trr*, "small", cf. *supra* n. 12). *trry* in KTU 4.85:9 is PN.

24. Cf. Koehler-Baumgartner *HAL* 1529; also A.B. Spencer, *JBL* 100, 1981, 247ff.

25. Syr. *šar*, *šārīr*, "(to be) firm", cf. Payne-Smith *ThS* 44302f.; C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Halle 1928 (repr. Hildesheim 1966), p. 802f.; Aram. *šrr*, "to be strong", *šryr*, "strong"; cf. Sokoloff *DJPA* 567f.; Mand. *šarir*, E.S. Drower, R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (= MD), Oxford 1963, p. 445.

the Ar. expansion /srw/ with the related semantic value "to be or become possessed of liberality, bountifulness, munificence" (abundance, in any case).²⁶ Furthermore, the Ethiopic ambiguous alternance *š/sārara* would appear to be evidence for the confusion of the two claimed allophones,²⁷ certifying at the same time the geminated/reduplicated phenotype and its independence of the Ar. lexicon in which it does not occur. This primitive allophony is probably also evident in Aram./Syr. /šrr/, bearing furthermore in mind the ancient Aramaic phonological rendering of /l/ as /š/.²⁸ In this case, a degree of Canaanite influence could also be at work. By combining the Ethiopic and Aramaic evidence, we can claim two allophonic Semitic phenotypes or expansions: /tr(r)/ and /šr(r)/, both with the basic meaning: 'strength, power, firmness', and both merged in Heb./Aram. /šrr/, because of their phonological and semantic closeness. The distinction could still be implied in Ug. where besides *trrt*, "powerful, dominant", we also find *mšrr*, "stabilizer (of scales)", maybe a 'Kulturwort'.²⁹

Starting then from the phonological evidence provided by Arabic lexicography and for the moment leaving out of consideration the reordering of all the Semitic related clusters and apophonies implied by the phonological isogloss /t/ > /š, t, s/ as well as the primitive concomitance /š, š/, we can set out the following distribution of comparative data in relation to the cluster */tr(r:w:y)/³⁰:

26. Cf. Lane *AEL* 1353f.; Kazimirski *DAF* 1085; Corriente *DAE* 356; *Lisān* III 139ff. In this connection Eb. /iṭawu/, Ug. *ṭ*, Hb. *yēš*, Syr. *ʾit*, but Ar. *laysa*, could be quoted. The interdental fricative (/t/) / (pre)palatal fricative (/š/) allophony would be not only diachronic but synchronic as well.

27. Cf. Chr.Fr. Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae* (= LLae), Bad Honnef a. Rhein 1865 (repr. Osnabrück 1970), pp. 238f.: *šārara*, "firmavit, stabilivit/fundare, fundamentum jacere", *šurur*, "fundatus, firmus" ("in libris mss. melioris notae frequentius *šārara* quam *sārara* exscripta occurit"); W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (= CDG), Wiesbaden 1991, pp. 534f. This specific meaning, a cultural late urban development (to lay foundation is still an unknown technique to some Syrian villagers of the Upper Euphrates), comes out in all the languages (Aram., Syr, Heb. ...) in derivative factitive (II/D, III/L) stems. On the intensive and causative character of the L stem in Ethiopic cf. A. Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar*, London 1907, pp. 146f. The primary meaning of this expansion is to be found in the adj. forms. On the other hand, the same state of affairs obtains with the Ethiopic lexeme *s/šārara*, "insilire, irruere, impetu accurrere..", *serur*, *sarāri*, "volaticus, fugax, insiliens" (cf. Dillmann *LLae* 343: "in libris melioris notae per *sa* [rarius *ša*] exscriptum esse solet"); Leslau *CDG* 514: *sarara*, "fly, leap upon, assault, cover", *sarāri*, *serur*. act. part., "winged creature", "flying". We have also in this case the Ar. allophone[?] *tāra*, "to become raised, leap" and *sāra*, "to leap" (cf. Lane *AEL* 364f./1464f.) of which the Ethp. form is an /C1C2C2/ expansion. We refrain from going for the moment into the discussion of the possible relationship of the apophonies /t:šār/ and /t:šār/ and their epenthetic (/C1-w:y-C2) expansions. Furthermore in dealing with this kind of scribal fluctuation in Ethiopic, we cannot rule out the possibility of a simple secondary, orthographic or dialectal differentiation of roots which have merged already, as in Aramaic.

28. Cf. R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.-8. Jh. v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 32ff.; E. Martínez Borobio, *Gramática del arameo antiguo*, Barcelona 1996, p. 32 (in the Tell Fekheriyeh inscription: /s/ represents also Sem. /l/); S. Moscati, ed., *An Introduction to Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Wiesbaden 1964, pp. 29f.

29. A participle D formation according to what is said in n. 21. For its occurrence in Eg./Sem. cf. Hoch *SWET* 159f.: *mašarrira*.

30. Cf. with all due reservations Vl. Orel, O. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Dictionary. Materials for a Reconstruction*, Leiden 1995, n° 489: "čor- "be strong": Sem. *tVrVw- "be considerable, be big", Arab *trw*, based on *tVr-"; also A.R. Bomhard, J.C. Kerns, *The Nostratic Macrofamily. A Study in Distant Linguistic Relationship*, Berlin 1994, n° 93 ("Proto-Nostratic *t[ʰ]ir- /t[ʰ]er- 'to be or become full, to be satisfied'"), who quotes for Proto-Afroasiatic *t[ʰ]ar- /t[ʰ]ər-, "to be or become full, to increase, to add to", from Semitic only Arabic *tarīʿa*, "to be or become full", which contradicts their own equation PN *t[ʰ] = PAA *t[ʰ]. Surely Ar. *tārā* is a better witness. On the other hand, to speculate on the relationship between /tr-ʿ/ and /tr-r:w:y/ will take us too far afield.

Binary primitive cluster (symphoneme) */t:š-r/

Basic Seme: 'affluence, abundance', 'much' (primitive semantic universal)

Expansions: C1C2-w (*/t:šrw/): BS: "(to be) abundant in people (many), property (much): rich".

Aea. *try*, "(statement of) surplus" (?) (Biella *DOSA* 549f.).

Ar. *tarā(w)*, "to become many, much" (Lane *AEL* 337f.).

Akk. *šarū*, "reich, reich sein" (Von Soden *AHW* 1193).

Heb. *šr(r)*, "reichlich machen" (?) (Koehler—Baumgartner *HAL* 1529).

C1C2-y (*/t:šry/): BS: "(to be) abundant in water".

Ar. *tarā(y)*, "to be, become moist, watered" (Lane *AEL* 336).

Heb. *šrh*, "einweichen" (?) (Koehler—Baumgartner *HAL* 1524).

Aram. *try*, "to soak" (Sokoloff *DJPA* 591).

Syr. *trō, trī*, "humefactus est" (Payne-Smith *ThS* 4292ff.).

C1C2C2 (*/t:šrr/): BS: "(to be) abundant in power, strength, firmness: strong, true".

Eb. /š:sarārum/, "great" [GAL.GAL] (Pettinato *TLB* 080).

Akk. *šalurru(m)a*, "sicherlich" (?) (Von Soden *AHW* 1190).

Ug. *trr(y/t)*, "powerful" (Koehler—Baumgartner *HAL* 1524).

[allophone: Ug. *mšrr*, "stabilizer" (Kulturwort; *ibdm*)].

Heb. *šrīrāt*, "Verhärtung" (*HAL* 1526, 1529).

Aram. *šryr*, "strong" (Sokoloff *DJPA* 567f.).

Syr. *šarīr*, "firmus" (Payne-Smith *ThS* 4297ff.).

Mnd. *šarir*, "strong" (Drower—Macuch *MD* 446).

Ethp. *šurur*, "firmus" (Dillmann *LLAe* 237).

In fact, the development set out here, from the original, let us say 'proto-Semitic', to the expansive stage of the phonological cluster, implies a long linguistic evolution. The phono-semantic origin of a language lies far beyond its normalized stage in which the expansive development takes place. So we can safely say that 'proto-Semitic' is not yet common Semitic, but belongs to an indifferentiated phylum level, let us say Hamito-Semitic or Afro-Asiatic, in which it shares many features with other language families. Bearing this in mind, perhaps the polemic alternance biliterality/triliterality as a definition of the Semitic root structure is to be revised.

In this connection, for the moment I hold a rather eclectic position, assuming the biliteral and triliteral radicals to be truly 'Semitic' as well, and reducing the expansions to a number of clear-cut patterns (prothetic, epenthetic and enclitic) based on the implication of well-defined functional phonemes ('n, w, y)³¹ and the phonological internal development (gemination/reduplication). The apparent coincidence of phono-semantic clusters beyond these constraints cannot reasonably be checked. Any attempt to find, for instance, the presence of the claimed base /tr/ in /k-tr/ (Ar. *kaṭīr*, "much") would be illusory. The semantic coincidence may be misleading and could be explained from historical development, or it could be merely circumstantial.

31. The role of 'sonants' and pharyngeal-laryngeal phonemes still requires further study.