

Notes on Semitic Lexicography (III) The Proto-Semitic Base (/dal-/) and its expansions

Gregorio del Olmo Lete – Universitat de Barcelona, I.P.O.A.

[Semantic analysis of the possible triconsonantal expansions of the biconsonantal Semitic base /dal-/ through the varying positions of the functional morphemes /ʔ, h, l, r, m, n, w, y, š/. It aims to be a methodological sample in order to clarify the genesis of the Semitic lexicon.]

In the previous instalment of this series¹ we dealt with the base /dal-/ in its simple and intensified phenotyps. Now we are going to deal with its possible expansions. We take into account, as previously stated², only the morphemic expansions, namely, those generated by the series /ʔ, h, l, r, m, n, w, y/, and also /š/, in the three positions: C1, C2, C3. That offers a total amount of 26 possible combinations (/dll/ is repeated twice), which can be visualized in this table:

/dal-/	/ʔ/	/h/	/l/	/r/	/m/	/n/	/w/	/y/	/š/	/t/
Prefix	/ʔdl/	/hdl/	/ldl/	/rdl/	/mdl/	/ndl/	/wdl/	/ydl/	/šdl/	/tdl/
Infix	/dʔl/	/dhl/	/dll/	/drl/	/dml/	/dnl/	/dwl/	/dyl/	/dšl/	/dtl/
Suffix	/dlʔ/	/dlh/	/dll/	/dlr/	/dlm/	/dln/	/dlw/	/dly/	/dlš/	/dlt/

Needless to say that many of those combinations are sterile [round type] or rather rare and suspicious [italic type], although in principle none of them (excepted the expansions by /t/) seems to be intrinsically incompatible from the phonological point of view, according to Greenberg's rules³. On the other hand many other expansions are feasible, due to peculiar phonological transformations in the different languages (for instance, /ʕ/ and /ħ/ as causative morphemes), to 'resonance' formations or to

1. Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, "Notes on Semitic Lexicography (II). The Proto-Semitic base (/dal-/)”, *AuOr* 20, 2002, 99-113.

2. Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, *Questions de linguistique. Racine et lexème. Histoire de la recherche* (Antiquités Sémitiques - 5), Paris 2004, pp. 12, 94, 106; S.T. Hurwitz, *Root-Determinatives in Semitic Speech. A Contribution to Semitic Philology*, New York, 1913 (rééd. 1966), pp. 55ff.; G. Conti, *Studi sul bilitterismo in semitico e in egiziano, I. Il tema N1212* (QuSem 9), Firenze 1980, pp. 16ss.

3. Cf. J. H. Greenberg, "The Patterning of Root Morphemes in Semitic”, *Word* 6, 1950, 162-181 [178].

consonantal alternance, *allothesis* and *metathesis* in Majzel's terminology⁴. We leave all those phenomena for a third moment, once the score of the biconsonantal bases is well defined.

The cluster /dml/ has been already dealt with as a direct witness of the base /dal-/, taken as an intensification or lengthening of its position C2⁵. Furthermore, the most clear and productive suffixed expansion /dly/ was also touched upon in our previous article⁶. We will come to it later on. Let us now deal in order with the three expansive series. We start presuming the verified existence of a primitive Semitic base /dal-/ with the bs. "hang(ing), dangle(ing), wawe(ing)".

The prefixed series.- A thorough inquiry of the lexical records of the main Semitic languages yields the following results. This series seems productive only as far as prefixes /ʔ/, /h/ and /š/ go.

/ʔdl/: this cluster is witnessed with the value 'to close', related in Akk. both to door (*edēlu*, 'to shut, bolt' [CDA 65])⁸ and to 'clothing' (M/NB *adīlu*, 'part of a ceremonial garment' [CDA:5])⁹. This last meaning is found also in Ge., in a sort of long distance coincidence ('*adl'* *adl*, 'garment (of leather)' [CDG 7 < Akk.?)¹⁰. Both meanings may be considered 'semi-causative' expansions of the bs. 'to hang' > 'that closes by hanging in front of' [the original door] > 'to cover > dress', in keeping with both, the basic semantic value of the biconsonantal base and the morphemic function of prefixed /ʔ-/. Cf. in this connexion MSA *edle*, 'to make something pull up, to pick up from the ground' (JD 39).

The cluster may boast a good AA ancestry: in Ber. dialects *adel*, 'couvrir' (DRB 324)¹¹, and probably > *adlal-*, 'cheveux'¹² resort to the base /dal-/, 'hanging'¹³. Furthermore, HSED (p. 6), based on Akk. and Ge. data reconstructs an AA base '*dil-*, 'dress', adding the comment: "'*a- may be a prefix". On the contrary, RPA's reconstruction (p. 359) of /ʔadl-/, 'to act in anger', falls outside the assumed semantic field, pointing out maybe to a triconsonantal base.

Other homographs clusters have semes more uncertainly or feebly related to /dal-/ and not self-explained in this regard, maybe derived from other clusters/sources¹⁴.

/hdl/¹⁵ appears even clearer related to /dal-/ in Mand.b *hadlia*, 'pendulous part(s) > 'male sexual organs' (MD 116; cf. Ge. *dalāy*) < Ar. *hadala*, 'to let down, let hang, dangle', *hadila* I/V 'to hang loosely (garment)', '*ahdal-*, 'hanging down loosely, pendulous' (AEL 3042; DAE 1402; Wehr 1022; for DialAr.

4. Cf. S. S. Majzel', *Puti razvitija kornegovo fonda semitskih jazykov* [Derivation ways of the root stock of the Semitic languages], Moskva 1983, pp. 132ff.; G. Del Olmo Lete, *op. cit.*, pp. 106ff.

5. Cf. G. Del Olmo Lete, "Notes...", pp. 103ss.

6. Cf. G. Del Olmo Lete, "Notes...", pp.107.

7. Cf. DRS 9.

8. According to the CDA 65 < *daltu*, as denominative/effective derivation (cf. DRS 9). Also Syr. '*ā/ēdlāā*, 'valvae' (LS 5), maybe < Akk. *idiltu*, 'locking, lock up' (CDA 124, JB), *edlu*, 'shut, bolted' (CDA 66, M/JB).

9. On the contrary Ar. '*adala*, 'fermer (une porte)', quoted by DRS 9, is to be found neither in AEL, DNWA nor even in DAF. Maybe it is related to '*adala*, 'guérir ... une plaie dont la croûte devenue sèche est tombée' (DAR 19), but the seme 'hanging' is here not present and the 'closing' is of different nature and merely coincidental. Maybe there is root contamination.

10. On its turn, Amh. '*a'edal*, 'sackcloth, skin (worn as a garment)' (AmhED 256; cf. CDG 7 < Ge.), is maybe an allophone of '*dl*, '*a'dl*, 'tanned hide' (CDG 58 > Šh. '*edl*, 'old cloth'); a possible contamination of bases is not to be excluded.

11. Cf. Ber. /dal-/ already quoted in G. Del Olmo Lete, "Notes ...", pp. 110, n. 26

12. Many other semantic values (plant, body parts, colors ...) are not easily related to /dal-/.

13. For the shift cf. Del Olmo Lete, "Notes ...", pp. 102s.

14. For instance: Ar. '*idl-*, 'lait caillée très-épais', 'curd' > '*adala*, 'agiter le lait ... pour en faire du beurre', then a denominative derivation not to be linked with /ʔdl/ < /dal-/, unless we assume Ar. '*idl-* to be an original deverbative itself from this expansion (DAF 19; LA I 34; cf. infra /wdl/); JPAr. '*ādāl*, '*ādāl*, 'garden-cress', a plant (DTT:16; < /ʔd/, /ʔd/; cf. also '*rt*); Tigñ.: '*adāl*, 'pod' (TED 1529), '*addälä*, 'to distribute'; Amh.: '*addälä*, 'to distribute' (/ʔ *addälä*) (AmhED 1298), '*adälla*, 'to favor, be biased toward' (AmhED 1299); Tig.: '*adāl*, 'name of a (old) hyena' (WTS 383); Gu.: '*əddəl*, '*əddəl*, 'chance, luck' (EDG 16, and other Eth. languages < /ʔdl/).

15. Cf. DRS 375; A. Zaborski, "Biconsonantal Verbal Roots in Semitic" (Prace językoznawcze 35, Acta scientiarum litterarumque, Kraków), ZNUJ 269, 1971, 59.

cf. DRS 375). The same seme can be seen in Tigñ. *hadāla*, ‘a piece of cloth wrapped around the waist and reaching to the knees, johdpurs’ (TED 47; cf. /adl/ in Akk. and Ge.).

Many other semes seem apparently unrelated¹⁶.

/šdl/ finally shaws up also a net semantic strong relationship with /dal-/ in Arm./NHb *šādal*, ‘to swing, be wide open’ (DTT 1525 < shaf. of /dll/, cf. *dlt*)¹⁷; Ar. *sadala*, ‘to let it lose, let it down’, *sudl-*, ‘veil, curtain’, *sadīl*, ‘thing or hanging that is let down’ (cloth, curtain ...) (AEL 1333-34; DMWA 403s)¹⁸; also Ge. *sadala*, ‘pierce’ < Ar. *sadala*, ‘rent a garment’ (AEL 1333; cf. CDG 486) may derive from the seme ‘hanging’ as could also Ge.: *sadala*, ‘weigh, calculate’ (CDG 486; cf. MSA *šādle*, ‘to be able to be pulled up’, *šādel*, ‘to lift up something together’, DJ 39). On the other hand, Akk. *šadālu(m)*, ‘to be/become wide/(of a door)’ (CAD 344), *šadlu*, ‘broad, spacious’ (ibid. 345), *šuddulu*, ‘very wide’ (CDA 380), could suppose a hidden metonymic shift in the same semantic field (< dal-tu < ‘open’ < ‘wide’), but it is by no means clear; it could be a case of enantiosem.

Other semes are not easily resorted to /dal-/.¹⁹

In the three morphemic prefixes it is possible to ascertain a clear ‘causative/factitive’ nuance starting from the stative bs. ‘to hang, swing’, in keeping with their function in the different verbal Semitic systems. But it seems independent and previous to this verbal systematisation, since more than one of these expansions can appear in the same language: Ar., *hadala*, *sadala*, but non *’adalla/’adāla*, the actual causative form of /dalla/ // /dāla/ (AEL 900, 934). The same can be concluded from the fact that those prefixed bases do not follow the normal causative pattern of the language, as can be seen in the exemple quoted and also in Akk. *edēlu* and possible in Ge. *sadala*. All that implies that the function of those morphemes /ʾ, h, š/ as productive of new lexemes was originally common and alternative for the whole Semitic family. The verbal systematisation of the causative in each language was a secondary and innovative phenomenon which affirmed itself rather late in some families (for instance, in Aramaic, South Arabic [/h, š/] and [North-]Arabic [/h, ʾ/]).

The other morphemic prefixes do not work as productive functors as far as the base /dal-/ goes. The clusters in which such consonant appear are not semantically related to it and suppose rather other bi- or triconsonantal bases. Some are complete or almost sterile as consonantal clusters in the whole Semitic family (/rdl/²⁰, /ldl/²¹, /ydl/²²) and others (/mdl/²³, /ndl/²⁴, /tdl/²⁵), which could be expected to be productive

16. For instance: Ar. *hadala*, ‘to utter a cry’ (AEL 3042), ‘to coo’ (DMWA 1022 < onomatopoeia; or maybe < Cush. Som. *hadal*, ‘parler’; cf. DRS 375); ‘troop’; similar semes are found also in Tig. *hadla*, ‘crowd’, ‘bad smell’, a play; ‘to swell’, ‘to lame, paralise’, (WTS 25).

17. M. Jastrow derives from this expanded base the form pi’el *šiddel*, ‘to persuade, entice’, the same meaning that we find Aram./Syr. Syr. *šaddel / sadal*; were this etymology sure, we should have here the same semantic non verbal derivation we assume for /dll/; cf. G. Del Olmo Lete, ‘Notes ...’, p. 105.

18. Cf. A. Zaborski, ‘Biconsonantal ...’, p. 59.

19. For instance: Arm. /šdl/, ‘to beguile, entice’ (by swinging?) (DJPA 538) (DJBA 112) (DTT 1525); Syr. *sdal*, ‘balnditus est’, *sedlā*, ‘balnditiaē’ (LS 758); AEA *šdl*, ‘measure of fine flour’ (SD 124); Ge.: *sadala*, ‘pierce’ (< Ar. *sadala*, ‘rent a garment’; cf. CDG 486); Tigñ. *sadulla*, ‘tonsure worn by girls ...’ (TED 770).

20. Cf. J.H. Greenberg, ‘The Patterning ...’, p. 172.

21. Cf. J.H. Greenberg, *ar.cit.*, pp. 167-168, 172.

22. Mand. *iadala* (/ydl/) supposes a metathesis (MD:184, 189 /yld/).

23. Ak. *madālu(m)*, ‘to preserve in salt’ (Postgate:187) < *muddulu*, ‘eine Art Fleisch’; ‘eine Art v. Bett’ (Ahw 666) < *mudulu*, ‘eine Stange’ (Ahw 667), seeme to be of Sumerian origin, while Aram. *mdl* is a syntagmatic formation (< ma+d+l ‘belonging, property’) (DTT:734) and Ar. *mōdell-/mōdēl-* comes from < Fr. ‘modèle’ (Wehr 931)-. In its turn Tur. *mdallo*, ‘versöhnt’, is a participle formation of the intensified /dll/ and OfAram. /mdl/ is an uncertain form (DNWSI 596s). As for the Ethiopic subfamily, it is difficult to decide on their original or derived formation, but in any case all the attested clusters seem to have nothing to do with the proposed base /dal-/, ‘to hang’, except for Tigñ. nominal deverbatives *mādlo*, ‘strip of silk’ (TED 504) and Amh. *mādāladəl*, ‘pad or saddle blanket’ (AmhED 322), as well as for the possible metaphorical shif formation Tigñ./Amh.

in keeping with the well defined character of the prefixed nominal morpheme, they are either deverbatives or belong to other consonantal clusters. Finally the cluster /wdl/ turns out to be an independent base certified above all in Ethiopic (Tig., Tigñ., Amh.) with bs. ‘vigor’, ‘fat’²⁶. Only Tigñ: *wädila*, ‘leather crupper strap ... from which objects hang’, ‘kind of portmanteau ...’; *awdälädälä*, ‘to go here and there ...’ (TED 1786)²⁷, will allow to think in a factitive or allophonic (/’w/, cf. supra /’dl/) /w-/ prefixed formation of the base /dal-/, ‘hanging’. But other semantic shifts may be here involved which can dismiss this proposal.

The infix series.- This series is highly questionable as an expansive one. Some clusters are sterile at all in Semitic (/d’l/²⁸, /dnl/, /dyl/²⁹, /dšl/, /dtl/), while others offer very sparse and divergent lexical items in the different languages (/dhl/³⁰, /drl/³¹, /dml/³², /dšl/) or have been dealt with (/dll/, /dwl/) as first level intensifications of /dal-/³³. Some independent bases, probably triconsonantal must be taken in.

mädlo, ‘opportunity’ (TED 504) / ‘preference’ and derivated forms (AmhED 322), which could be added to the score of witnesses of the simple and intensified base /dal-/ as nominal deverbatives. As for the rest of clusters: Tigñ: *mädälä*, ‘to spoil, go bad (milk)’ (TED 504); *mädlo*, ‘small bush’, ‘skin disease’; Amh. *m’addälä*, ‘abrade’, *mädäldäl*, ‘floor or garret’ (AmhED 322), they can be set aside as far as base /dal-/ is regarded.

24. This cluster, well testified in the Ethiopic subfamily, witnesses first of all in some of them a common seme ‘to pierce, bore’: Ge. *nadala* (386), Tig. *nädla* (WTS 338), Tigñ. *nädälä* (TED 1360), Amh.: *näddälä* (AmhED 1055), Gu. *nädälä* (EDG 450), Ar. *nadala*, ‘to snatch away’ (DAF 1228; DMWA 952). But cf. in this regard what was proposed in *AuOr* 20, 2002, 103, on Ar. *daldala*, Amh. *dälla*. So this Ar.-Eth. cluster could be a prefixed expansion of the proto-base /dal-/. Cf. also *nadala*, ‘attirer à soi le seau que l’on retire du puits’; *nawdala*, ‘pendiller, être pendant (se dit en parlant des testicules ou des pits)’, *nawdal-*, ‘pis, mamelle’ (DAF 1228); but the historical development of those semantic shifts is not clear. The rest of forms must come from other lexical sources: Amh.: *naddälä*, ‘to be satiated, to be made (leap)’ (AmhED 1056; // *näddärä*, ‘to leap’), *mändälat*, ‘strong young’ (ibid.); Gu. *nädälä*, ‘tie cereal in bunches’ (EDG 450); Jaram. /ndll/, ‘centipede’ (DJPA: 342; < loanw. ?); Ar. *mindälät-* ‘rammer’ (a bird) (DMWA 952).

25. Cf. Akk. *tudellu*, a bird < Sum. (CDA 408); Ge. *tadlä*, ‘pleasure, suitability’ < *dalawa*, cf. *infra* (CDG 132). For the incompatibility of this cluster cf. Greenberg, “The Patterning ...”, p. 177.

26. Cf. Tigñ: *wäddälä*, ‘to get fat’, *wädäl*, ‘fat monkey’ (TED 1786); Tig. *Wadal*, ‘negre grandi’ (WTS 444); Amh.: *wäddälä*, ‘to become fat’ (AmhED 1562; cf. *infra* *dolläs*) >? *täwdäläddälä*, ‘to be idle, wander idly ...’ (AmhED 1563); Gu. *wädäl*, ‘great, big’ and other Eth. languages (EDG 643; cf. DRS 546). Ar. reflex *wadala*, ‘to shake the milk to produce butter’ goes apparently in the same direction; but cf. /’dl/. We have maybe here an alternance/allotaxis /’w/ or an intercourse of bases. For this cluster/seme cf. Ehret: /wadl-/ ‘to flow’; /wadil-/ ‘to turn back’; /wadl-/ ‘to leave abruptly’ [RPAA p. 455-456].

27. While Gu. *weddella*, ‘strap around the tail of a horse’ (EDG 643) seems an allophone of < /gudella/.

28. Cf. DRS 202; also Tig. *da’al*, ‘ram’ (WTS 534), but cf. Trgñ. *dä’ul*, ‘fat ram about a year old’ [Sp. ‘añojo’] (TED 2148).

29. Cf. nevertheless Ber.: /idyel/, ‘cèdre’, /adyal/ ‘gangrène’ (DRB 425).

30. Cf. DRS 227; also MSA/Meh. /dhl/, ‘to become used to’, ‘to get to know’ (ML 66). Cf. also AA: Ber. /dhl/ > /edhel/, ‘assister ...’ (DRB 309). The quoted meanings by DRS: Ar. *dahl-* ‘heure, temps’, ‘grande porte’ are not to be found either in AEL nor in DMWA, but in LA II 1026, DAR 743 (cf. *dahl-*, ‘forêt’, SDA 467 < Pers.?). Could it be an allophone of Ar. *dawl-*, ‘a turn, vicissitude’ / ‘power, authority’? (allophonic alternance of /’h/ glides?); cf. G. Del Olmo Lete, “Notes ...”, p. 104. Also an apocope of Ar./Pers. *dihlīz* is not to be ruled out.

31. Cf. Tig. *dërlo*, ‘chicken’ (WTS 517); Amh. *durulla*, ‘make-up for whitening’ (AmhED 1735), *dar(ell)e*, ‘kind of tree’ (ibid.).

32. Cf. DRS 273; also Amh. *dämällälä*, ‘to roll s.th. up, to put many things together’ (AmhED 1720). Cf. also AA: Ber. /dml-t/ 1) /demmel/, ‘souffleter’; 2) /demulet/, ‘dégrossir’ (DRB 343). For the compatibility of two contiguous liquid phonemes in II/III positions in this and the following series cf. Greenberg, “The Patterning ...”, p. 172.

33. Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, “Notes ...”, pp. 104-106. Add Tig. *dalilo*, ‘a vulture’ (WTS. 511), *dallali b* < *dalaba*; *dellälat*, ‘nuptial hut’. And abundant /d-l/ > /d-l-l/ in Amh. (AmhED 1704-07, 1712-15) and in Gu. (EDG 205-06). As for /dwl/ cf. AEA: /dwl/, ‘repair of a building’ (DOS 80); MSA: /dwl/, *ebdel*, ‘make old’, *dewil*, ‘old’ (JL 42); /dwl/, *hedhol*, ‘to make old’ (ML 75), *dewäyl*, ‘old’ (ibid.); in this case may < /dal-/ < /dal-/; cf. G. del Olmo Lete, *ibid.*, p. 107-108. More difficult to dilucidate is Amh.: *dawwälä*, ‘to be crumbled up’, *dawälla*, ‘mesure’ (AmhED 1821), *ädwäläwwälä*, ‘to upset’ (ibid.); GU.: *däwäl*, ‘red earth’ < /dollolo/, Go. Ms. (EDG 223). Cf. also Ber.: /dwl/ /edwel/, ‘croître’, ‘être élevé’ > ‘prendre avec rapidité’ (DRB 416).

The suffixed series.- The third series is anew rather either completely sterile (/dlʾ/, /dlh/³⁴, /dlr/, /dln/³⁵, /dlš/³⁶, /dlt/) or very divergent semantically (/dlm/³⁷) from /dal-/³⁸. Only the extensión /dlw/³⁹ is commonly witnessed in almost all the semitic subfamilies with the specific seme ‘to draw water with a hanging rope from a well’ > ‘bucket to do it’: Akk.: *dalû*, ‘to draw water’ and derived (> ‘to move, roam about’, CDA 54), *dalû(m)*, ‘bucket’, (CAD 54); Heb.: /dlh/, ‘to hang down, to dangle’, *dallāh*, ‘thrum left on fabric, loose hair’ (HALOT 222)⁴⁰, *dlh*, ‘schöpfen’; *dʿli*, ‘(Schöp-)Eimer’ (*ibd.*); Aram.: /dly/, ‘to draw, raise’ (DJPA 150), /dly/, ‘to lift up, draw water’, /dwl’/, ‘drawing water for irrigation’ (DJBA 319, 339), /dly/, ‘to be suspended’ (DTT 309); and maybe *dla*, ‘high position’, (*ibd.* 338); *dlā*, ‘hausit’, ‘extrasit’ (LS 154); Ar.: /dlw/, ‘to pull the bucket’ and derived (AEL 908), /dlw/, ‘to hang’ (DMWA 291), *dalw-*, ‘bucket’ (AEL 909, DMWA 291), *dāliyat*, ‘noria’ (*ibd.*); AEA *dlw:mllt*, ‘weight’ (SD 36); MSA: /dlw/, ‘to pull up by rope’, *dēl*, ‘well-bucket’ (JD 39); *dālō*, ‘to pull up by rope’ (ML 70); Ge. *dalawa*, ‘to weigh’ and by semantic shift > ‘to be suitable, befit, be correct, etc’ (CDG 132), *dalū*, ‘Aquarius’ (< Ar. *dalw-*); *dalāy*, ‘male genital organs’ (CDG 133), Amh. *dālāy*, ‘bucket’ (AmhED 1712 < Ar. *dalw-*), *dālāw*, ‘Aquarius’ (< Ar. *dalw*)⁴¹. In NWS /dāl-/ is also productive as an internal intensification with this meaning, certifying in this way the actual existence of the base /dal-/⁴².

On its turn, **dalaya* (< /dly/): Ar.: *dalā* /dly/, ‘to be, become confounded’ (AEL 909); Ge. *dalaya*, ‘to wish, want’ (CDG 133)⁴³; Tigñ. *dālāyā*, ‘to want, wish’ (TED 2050), represent a very distant semantic relationship to /dal-, ‘hanging’ (but cf. the possible semantic parallel Eng. ‘to weigh’, Sp. ‘ponderar’, ‘sopesar’ as an attitude of ‘weighing up’ to take a decision about something not clearly but maybe also eagerly desired).

To sum up, we can offer a synthetic diagram of productivity of the Semitic base/cluster /dal-/ completing the one offered in our previous article:

1. Simple base **/dal-/*, ‘hang(ing), dangle(dangling), wave(waving)’

by semantic objectivation:

dal-, ‘door’ (NES, NWS)

dal-, ‘hair’ (SWS, SES)

34. Cf. DRS 262. Also Amh. *dallāh*, ‘kind of seasoning’ (AmhED 1706 < /dlh/).

35. Cf. DRS 267.

36. Cf. Amh. *dällās/šā*, ‘to repair, mend, besmear, anoint’ (AmhED 1708), *dollās*, ‘very big, fat’ (*ibd.*; cf. supra n. 23), *dällās*, ‘layer of mud ...’, *dälāšāt*, ‘a plant’ (*ibd.*); Gu. *dälāsā*, ‘to be late, long’ (EDG 206) < Cush?; Tigñ. *dällāsā*, ‘to gather’ (TED 2046); but cf. also Tigñ. *dälāsā*, ‘lean-to’ (*ibd.*).

37. Cf. DRS 266. Also Tig. *dalma*, ‘to arrive suddenly’ (WTS 511); Tigñ. *dälāmā*, ‘to speak’ (TED 2046), *tādālmā*, ‘to be eaten without waiting ...’, *dālmi*, ‘goatskin to carry water’ (maybe a transformation < Ar. *dalw-*); Gu. *dälām*, ‘one who has a big stomach’ < /dāl/, ‘stomach’ (EDG 206; maybe also < Ar. *dawl-*, ‘bucket’; cf. G. Del Olmo Lete, “Notes...”, p. 107).

38. The pretended extensive value of the consonantal phonemes in Semitic (Arabic), as figured out by C. Ehret, does not find confirmation in this base, except, of course, for the suffixed extensions /-w:y/. Cf. C. Ehret, “The origin of third consonants in Semitic roots: an internal reconstruction (applied to arabic)”, *JAAL* 2/2, 1989, 115ff., 198ff.

39. Cf. DRS 262f.; A. Zaborski, “Biconsonantal ...”, p. 59.

40. For Heb. **dālīt*, pl. *dāliyyōt* (HALOT 222), Ar. *dāliyat-*, ‘hung fruit’ (AEL 909), Syr. *dalitā*, ‘palmes’, *dawlitā*, ‘trabs’ (TS 905) < /dalaw:ya/, cf. G. del Olmo Lete, “Notes ...”, p. 109. For the restitution of Heb. *dāliyyāh* and its improbable derivation < /dalah/, ‘senden’ < /dalak/, ‘laufen, nachspringen’, M. Fraenkel, *Zur Theorie der Lamed-he-stämme*, Jerusalem 1970, pp. 269-270.

41. In my opinion *deli* is to be considered a deverbative, not the other way round /dlw/ a denominative from it, Cf. Zaborski, *ar. cit.*, p. 52: “... with a possibility of a direct reattachment of the secondary trilateral to the original biconsonantal root”.

42. Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, “Notes ...”, p. 107. On the other hand, Ge. *dalawa*, ‘to be suitable’ and derived (CDG 132s), Tigñ. *dälāwā*, ‘to be or become strong, robust ...’, *tādälāwā*, ‘to be ready ...’ (TED 2048) are not easily derived from /dal-/. Leslau considers nevertheless correct to combine it with *dalawa*, ‘to weigh’.

43. For Tig. *dāla/dalā*, ‘care about’/‘to know exactly’ (WTS 512), cf. G. del Olmo Lete, “Notes...”, p. 105.

by primary reduplication:

daldala, ‘to loosely hang down’ (NWS, SES)⁴⁴

by spontaneous consonantal intensification:

dalla, ‘to dangle’ (NWS, SWS, SES)

by spontaneous vocalic/glide intensification:

dā(wa)la, ‘to hang, dangle’ (SES)

by semantic objectivation:

daw(a)l-, ‘bell’ (SES)

daw(a)l- ‘bucket’ (NWS, SWS, SES)

2. Intensified and semantic shifted base:

2a. by consonantal and non-verbal metonymisation: */da_l-/, ‘to show up feelings’

2a1. *dalla*, ‘to praise’ (NES, SWS)

2a2. *dalla*, ‘to direct aright’ (SWS, SES)

2b. by vocalic intensification and semantic shift */da_l-/, ‘to move’

2b1. *dā(wa)la*, ‘to move, roam about’ (NES, NWS, SWS, SES)

2b2. deverbalisations:

+) *dawl-*, ‘turn’ (CS)

++) *dawl-* ‘power, authority’ (NWS, SWS, SES)

3. Expanded and semantic shifted base:

prefixed base:

3a. *edēlu* (/’dl/)⁴⁵, ‘to close’ (NES)

deverbalisation:

+ *adīlu/’adl*, ‘a sort of garment’ (NES, SES)

3b. *hadala* (/hdl/), ‘to hang, let hang’ (NWS, SWS, SES)

deverbalisation:

+ *hadāla*, ‘a hanging piece of cloth’ (SES)

3c. *sadala* (/šdl/), ‘to let it lose, let it down’ (SWS, SES, NES?)

deverbalisation:

+ *sudl-*, ‘veil, curtain’ (SWS)

infix base: Ø (but cf. the vocalic/glide intensifications)

suffixed base:

3d1. *dalaw:ya* (/dlw:y/), ‘to draw water with a rope from a well’ (CS)

3d2. *dalawa*, ‘to weigh’ (SES)

deverbalisation:

+ *dalw:y-*, ‘bucket’ (CS)

This note aims to be a methodological sample of the processus to follow in order to clarify the genesis of the Semitic lexicon. Beginning with the most phonologically simple series (mono-consonantal and bi-consonantal) we proceed to analyse their intensifications and expansions on the basis of semantic affinities, taking into account all the possible patterns of semantic shift. Here a certain degree of subjectism is unavoidable. In this way our analysis remains open to criticism and correction. We touch here the field

44. The suggestion of deriving Ar. *dalf*, ‘to walk heavily as if with feet tied’, and *dald*, ‘to run swiftly past’, from < *dildāl*, ‘to swing the head and arms in walking’, through the bs. ‘to walk’, put forward by C. Ehret (“The origin ...”, *JAAL* 2/2, 1989, 154, 164), is based to my opinion on a mistaken assumption about the basic semantic value of *dildāl* as derived from < /dal-/ by reduplication. ‘To walk’ supposes a secondary semantic shift.

45. For the /e/ vocalisation cf. W. Von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (AnOr 33) Roma 1952, pp. 11ff.

of the historical development (historical dictionary) of each lexeme in the different languages, which must no doubt be built on the etymological analysis but that may follow its own way, unrevealing the different psychological patterns and cultural conditionings which may have guided the semantic (metonymic and metaphorical) shifts.

Abbreviations of quoted sources

AED	T.L. Kane, <i>Amharic-English Dictionary</i> , Vols. I-II, Wiesbaden 1990.
AEL	E.W. Lane, <i>An Arabic-English Dictionary</i> , London 1863/Cambridge 1984.
CDA	J. Black <i>et al.</i> , <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> , Wiesbaden 2000.
CDG	W. Leslau, <i>A Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)</i> , Wiesbaden 1991.
CDME	R. Faulkner, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> , Oxford 1996.
DAF	A. de B. Kazimirski, <i>Dictionnaire arabe français</i> , Paris 1860 (repr. Beyrouth n.d.).
DJPA	M. Sokoloff, <i>A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic</i> , Bar Ilan 1990.
DMWA	H. Wehr, <i>A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic</i> , Wiesbaden 1966.
DRB	K. Nait-Zerrad, <i>Dictionnaire des racines Berbères (formes attestées)</i> , Paris 1998-.
DRS	D. Cohen (<i>et al.</i>), <i>Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ...</i> , Paris 1970-.
DSA	J.C. Biella, <i>Dictionary of Old South Arabic. Sabaean Dialect</i> (HSS 25), Chico CA 1982.
DTT	M. Jastrow, <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli ...</i> , Vols. I-II, New York 1950.
DNWSI	J. Hoftijzer, K. Jongeling, <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> , Vols. I-II, Leiden 1995.
DUL	G. del Olmo Lete, J. Sanmartín, <i>A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition</i> , Leiden 2002.
EDG	W. Leslau, <i>Etymological Dictionary of Gurage</i> . Vols. I-III, Wiesbaden 1979.
HALOT	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, <i>Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the O.T.</i> , Leiden 1994.
HCVAA	I.-M. Diakonoff <i>et al.</i> , "Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian", <i>St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies</i> 5, 1995, 4-32.
HSED	Vl.E. Orel, Ol.V. Stolbova, <i>Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Materials for a Reconstruction</i> (HdO I, 18), Leiden 1995.
JAAL	<i>Journal of Afroasiatic Languages</i> , Leiden.
JL	T.M. Johnstone, <i>Jibbāli Lexicon</i> , Oxford 1981.
LA	Ibn Manzūr, <i>Lisān al-^ʿarab al-muġīṭ</i> , Bayrūt 1977.
LS	C. Brockelmann, <i>Lexicon Syriacum</i> , Halle 1928/Hildesheim 1966.
MD	E.S. Drower, R. Macuch, <i>A Mandaic Dictionary</i> , Oxford 1963.
ML	T.M. Johnstone, <i>Mehri Lexicon</i> , London 1987.
NST	H. Ritter, <i>Ṭūrōyo. Die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen der Ṭūr^ʿAbdīn</i> , Beirut 1979.
RPAA	Chr. Ehret, <i>Reconstructing Proto-Afroasiatic (Proto-Afrasian). Vowels, Tone, Consonants, and Vocabulary</i> (University of California Publications in Linguistics 126), Berkeley 1995.
SB	A.F.L. Beeston <i>et al.</i> , <i>Sabaic Dictionary</i> , Louvain-la-Neuve/ Beyrouth 1982.
SDA	R. Dozy, <i>Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes ...</i> , Vols. I-II, Leiden 1881/ Beirut 1991.
SED	A. Militarev, L. Kogan, <i>Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Vol. I. Anatomy of Man and Animals</i> (AOAT 278/1), Münster 2000.
SIEPE	S. Levin, <i>Semitic and Indo-European: The Principal Etymologies</i> (CILTh 129), Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1995.
TED	T.L. Kane, <i>Tigriña-English Dictionary</i> , Wiesbaden 2002.
TS	R. Payne Smith, <i>Thesaurus syriacus</i> , vols. I-II, Oxford 1879/Hildesheim 1981.

WTM	J. Levy, <i>Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim</i> , Vienna 1924/Darmstadt 1963.
WTS	E. Littmann, M. Höfner, <i>Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache</i> , Wiesbaden 1956-1962.

Language abbreviations

AEA	Ancient Epigr. Arabic
Akk.	Akkadian
Amh.	Amharic
Ber.	Berber
CS	Common Semitic
Cush.	Cushitic
Eg.	Egyptian
EpHb.	Epigraphic Hebrew
Eth.	Ethiopic
Gur.	Gurage
Heb.	Hebrew
ImpAram.	Imperial Aramaic
Jib.	Jibbali
JewPalAram	Jewish Palest. Aramaic
MaghrAr.	Maghrebi Arab
Me.	Mehri
MHeb.	Modern Hebrew
MSA	Modern South-Arabic
NAram.	Neo-Aramaic
Nheb.	Neo-Hebrew
NWS	North-west Semitic
Pers.	Persian
Phoen.	Phoenician
Pun.	Punic
SES	South-east Semitic
Som.	Somali
Syr.	Syriac
Šh.	Šahri
Tig.	Tigre
Tigñ.	Tigrña
Ug.	Ugaritic
YemAr.	Yemeni Arab