

## The Biconsonantal Semitic Lexicon The Series /<sup>c</sup>-X-/\*

*Gregorio del Olmo Lete* – Universitat de Barcelona/IPOA

[In this new instalment the plurilingual analysis of the binary series /<sup>c</sup>-X/ is carried out, namely, that that of the apparent binary consonantal articulations of lexemes in the Semitic lexicon. The aim is to ascertain their possible expansion by either internal intensification or external extension, as well as the semantic shifts of the basic seme those expansions may imply.]

The fluctuation in the realisation and transcription of the original Semitic phoneme /<sup>c</sup>/ makes particularly difficult to trace the lexicographical correspondences between the different languages. This difficulty is felt in a acute manner in Akkadian and in the modern South Semitic (Arabic and Ethiopic) linguistic families. Taking into account the frequent weakening of this phoneme ( < /<sup>c</sup>/; the opposite happens in Mandaic), the semantic affinities will be the only guide to ascertain the ethymological correspondence. But cases of allophony within the commun laryngeo-pharyngeal series must be forseen.

The vocalised transcription of the different Ethiopic languages has been maintained, following exactly the system used by the different lexicographical default sources, even if they do not follow the same characterisation of the vocalic sounds inherent to the Ethiopic syllabary, some times taking in the realisation by modern speakers or informants. For simplification's sake, the whole South-Semitic Ethiopic macro-family has been quoted according to Leslau 3<sup>rd</sup> vol. of EDG where the dialectal variants are afforded. As for the Modern South-Arabic, only Mehri, Jibbāli, Ḥarsūsi and Soqotri have been quoted; for ESA, only the Sabaic dialect is adduced, since no reliable reference lexica of the other dialects are extant. Beginning with the next instalment, spoken dialectal Arabic (Mauritanian, Maghrebi, Egyptian, Syro-Palestinian and Iraqui) will be incorporated. The reader is sent back to the first instalment of this series for control of abbreviations and secondary bibliography<sup>1</sup>.

In this instalment we have come back to the original terminology, labelling 'binary' the original base made out of two graphemic articulations (consonants), but asumed all of them as internally 'intesifiable' by default. Only rare PrimW fall outside this asumption. This intensification may be either vocalic (by

\* This paper has been elaborated within the frame of the research project "Study of the phonological and semantic congruence of the Semitic binary expanded radicals" (BFF2001-37-69; BFF2004-0138), financed by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science..

1. Cf. *AuOr* 22, 2004, 33-88.

lengthening or glide) or consonantal. The theoretical implications and consequences of this way of thinking are dealt with in a forthcoming paper<sup>2</sup>.

/<sup>c</sup>v<sup>c</sup>-/

### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>ǎ<sup>c</sup>-/ Onomatop. of physiol. origin, SS. **BS:** ‘digestive, excretory material’: a) **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>u<sup>c</sup>, ‘excrement of a horse’ (cf. *infra* /<sup>c</sup>ǎb-/ 1); b) **Eth.:** Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>u<sup>c</sup> bälä, ‘to vomit’; Gu. ä’a barä-, ‘feel like vomiting’.

For the onomatop. character of this base cf. EDG 2. - SF: animal physiology.

/<sup>c</sup>ǎ<sup>c</sup>-/ Onomatop. animal sound, SS. **BS:** ‘animal shout’: **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>u<sup>c</sup> bēla, ‘to roar’, <sup>c</sup>u<sup>c</sup>ā, ‘roar’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>i<sup>c</sup>o, ‘bellow’, maybe denom. < <sup>c</sup>a<sup>c</sup>a, <sup>c</sup>a<sup>c</sup>ya, ‘a kind of goose’, <sup>c</sup>a<sup>c</sup> bälä, ‘to scream, to shout loudly’ (cf. *infra* /<sup>c</sup>aw-/).

SF: onomatop. animal physiology.

/<sup>c</sup>v<sup>B</sup>-/

### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>a<sup>B</sup>-/ PrimBIB, by conson. intens., CS. **BS:** ‘to absorb, be(come) full of water’: **Akk.** *abbu*, ‘swamp’(?) jB; > deverb. (?), maybe a LW; **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>bb, ‘greedy, glutton, guzzler’ (cf. Sp. ‘chupón’); **Aram.:** EpAram. <sup>c</sup>bb, ‘to concentrate’ (?); JPParam. <sup>c</sup>ūbbā, ‘bosom, lap’ / ‘the full ramification of a tree’; Syr. <sup>c</sup>ūbbā, ‘sinus’ (LS 503f. < Ar. *gubb*- ?); Mand. ABA II (<sup>c</sup>bb), ‘to bring out, swell out’, *ababia*, ‘thickets, dense growth’ (MD 1); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>abb-, ‘absorption (of the sun)’ > ‘the light of the sun’ (cf. *infra* <sup>c</sup>abbu *šamsi*; Sp. ‘tomar el sol’), <sup>c</sup>abba, ‘to drink water without taking breath’ > ‘to absorb’ (Sp. ‘de un trago’; DMWA 585) with many derivatives, <sup>c</sup>ubub-, ‘waters pouring down copiously’, <sup>c</sup>ubāb-, ‘the main body of a torrent’, ‘waves ...’, ‘vehemence of running thereof’ > and by intens. and expan. metaph. shift. <sup>c</sup>ubbiyyat-, ‘pride’, <sup>c</sup>abibat-, ‘a certain food, beverage’, <sup>c</sup>unbab-, ‘abundance of water’ > ‘a certain plant’ by nasalisation, and by multip. metaph. denomin. (enant.) > <sup>c</sup>a<sup>c</sup>abb-, ‘poor’, ‘thick-nosed’ (< ‘which absorbs a lot’), by morphem. expan. *ya<sup>c</sup>būb-*, ‘a river or riuilet that runs in vehement manner’ (DMWR 585) > ‘clouds’ (AEL 1933); <sup>c</sup>ibb-, ‘breast pocket’ (DMWA 585), by intens./glide /-y/, <sup>c</sup>aybat-, ‘leather bag’, also the allomorphs <sup>c</sup>ab<sup>c</sup>-, and <sup>c</sup>abw-, <sup>c</sup>abba, ‘to drink in large draughts’, <sup>c</sup>ubāb-, ‘torrents, floods’ (DMWA 585); redupl. <sup>c</sup>ab<sup>c</sup>ab-, ‘the bloom of youth’, and by multip. metaph. shifts > <sup>c</sup>ab<sup>c</sup>āb-, ‘a tall man’, <sup>c</sup>ab<sup>c</sup>abat-, ‘a flock of wool’ (< ‘absorbing’), ‘liveliness’/‘insanity’ (AEL 1932), maybe by vocal. intens. <sup>c</sup>aybat-, ‘large skin bag’ (‘container’); **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>ibat, ‘large leather-sack’ (WTS 481); Tig. <sup>c</sup>abba, ‘to grow big, rich’, <sup>c</sup>abābā, ‘strength’, by vocal. Intens.-glide <sup>c</sup>aybat, ‘large leather-sack’ (< Ar. <sup>c</sup>aybat-); Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>āb<sup>c</sup>āb, ‘swelling’, <sup>c</sup>ab<sup>c</sup>abä, ‘to cover, to cover hides with leaves’, TA ‘to swell, puff up’, Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>aybät, ‘large skin bag’ (< Ar.); Amh. (‘)abba, ‘to hide, conceal’, (‘)ābbu, ‘hidden’ (?) > (‘)abbo, ‘plan, trick’; (‘)ayāb, ‘a kind of cottage cheese, curds’ (?), (‘)aybät, ‘large skin bag made from a whole calfskin’ (< Ar. <sup>c</sup>aybat-); Gu. *äwa/äwä/əwa*, ‘dew’ (?) (< *ab<sup>w</sup>ä*, EDG 110f.).

AA \*<sup>c</sup>ab-, ‘drink’ (Sem./Cush); cf. Essay 88: Ar. <sup>c</sup>ubb, ‘sein, gousset’, Cush <sup>c</sup>ib, *ib*, ‘mamelle’. Possible allophony of ESA *t<sup>w</sup>*, ‘to collect (water)’/‘se rassembler’(?) (SD 147). - HSED 231 records two \*<sup>c</sup>ab: one ‘to drink’, that goes well with the base /<sup>c</sup>aB-/, ‘absorbing’, and a second ‘to be big’ for which the quoted primary and secondary Semitic

2. Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, “Articulation and vocalic alternance in binary bases” (in the press).

semes are mixed up; in this case the AA support seems meagre. Murtonen 1989:308 mixes up also different things. Maybe both semes are interrelated: /to absorb > to swell > to become big/. - SF: natural state/phenomenon.

The Ar. certifies two different realisations: /<sup>c</sup>-b/, 'absorbing', and /ġ-b/, 'dark, thick'. Maybe both bases send back to a 'resonance' /{ġ:<sup>c</sup> + labial}/. But the semantic value is slightly different: 'watery'/'dark', although contamination (allophones; cf. HALOT 773) or even original common realisation are quite fiseable as pointed out above. Particularly, the seme 'cloud' can be derived semantically from both roots. Provisionally we can set up this distribution, contamination non excluded: **1) Akk.** *ebû(m)*, '(to be) thick', *ebûbatu*, 'wood, thicket', *ebbû*, 'very thick', *ababu*, 'forest' (for this seme cf. AA [Eg.] \*<sup>c</sup>ab, 'tree', HSED 231; but cf. the series /-X-); **Heb.** *‘ābāh*, 'to become thick, fat' > *‘ābō:ōt*, 'branch, mass of branches' (< \*<sup>c</sup>ab-, 'tree' (HALOT 778; Murtonen 309, // < /<sup>c</sup>bt/, 'to twist' > 'network of foliage' [?], the base itself a suffix. expan.); *‘bh*, 'to become thick' (HALOT 777); NHeb. *‘āb*, 'thick, dense, large', *‘ābab*, 'to be tick, dark', *‘by:h*, 'to be thick'; **Aram:** EpAram. /<sup>c</sup>by/, 'thickness', 'thick' (DNWSI 820); JBaram /<sup>c</sup>by/, 'to be thick'; JParam., *‘ib*, 'to be thick', /<sup>c</sup>by/, 'thick, fat', *‘ēbāh*, 'thickness', but also 'darkness' (DJParam. 1065), *‘ābē*, 'to be thick' (DTT 1037), *‘ābā*, 'forest' (cf. above Akk.), *‘ūbbā*, 'the full ramification of a tree'; Syr. *‘bī*, 'crassius fuit', *‘bāyā*, 'crassitudo', *‘ebyānā*, 'tumor'; Mand. ABA, 'to be thick', thickness' and 'darkness; **Ar.** *‘abāt-*, 'a kind of plant' (denomin.?), Ar. *‘ubab-*, 'certain berries'; all < /<sup>c</sup>-b/, 'absorbing, watery' (*pace* Leslau CDG 55, who mix up both roots as origin of Ge. /<sup>c</sup>by/; cf. *infra*), but cf. Ug. *ġbn*, 'weel-being, opulence'; this correspondence (c < ġ), however, is not unusual in Ug. (cf. HALOT 777; Dietrich-Loretz-Sanmartín UF 5, 1973, 96). On the contrary, **2) Heb.** *‘āb*, 'cloud' (cf. HALOT 773; Murtonen 312, who mix up both roots), denomin. Hif. *hē‘ib*, 'to cover wih a cloud' (HALOT 794; there is not actualy a verbal root /<sup>c</sup>wb/); NHeb. *‘āb*, '(dark) cloud' (DTT 1034, with the popular rabinn. etym.: 'because it makes the sky look thick [dark]' (on the other hand, Ug. *ġb*, 'cloud', does not exist); **Aram.:** DA *‘b*, 'cloud'; EpAram. *‘ēbā*, 'dark cloud', JBaram. *‘ēbāh*, 'dark cloud, cloudiness'; Mand. *‘ēbā*, 'a cloud'; ESA *‘yb*, 'cloud' (?) (cf. HALOT 794); derive from < /ġ-b/ (Ar.) 'dark'. The Aram. attestations could also send back to /ġ-m/ a probable allophone of /ġ-b/ (cf. NAram. DDVS 283: "OS with b, but usually *‘ēmā*, cf. LS 522: *‘aymā*, 'nebula' < Ar. *ġaym-*").

/<sup>c</sup>əB-/ PrimBIB by vocal. intens.-glide intens., NW/SS in areal distribution. **BS:** '(to suffer/do) something deficient or shameful': **Aram.:** JParam. /<sup>c</sup>yb/, 'pain' (DJParam. 402); **Ar.** *‘ayb-*, 'shame', 'a fault, faultiness', *‘āba*, 'to be faulty, defective' (AEL 2206); **MSA:** by seman. shift Meh. *‘āyb*, 'breaking of an oath', /<sup>c</sup>yb/, 'tromper'; Jibb. /<sup>c</sup>yb/, 'to break o's oath'; Hars. *‘āyb*, 'shame, disgrace', /<sup>c</sup>yb/, 'to cheat, to break one's word'; Soq. *‘yb*, 'tromper'.

Its relationship with the formers bases, semantic in one case (/<sup>c</sup>ə<sup>c</sup>-/) and phonological in the other (/<sup>c</sup>a:əb-/), cannot be ascertained. On the other hand Meh. *ġəb*, 'defecate', Soq. *‘eb(b)*, 'faire des excréments', *‘ēb*, 'boue, crotte'; **Eth.:** Ge. *‘əbā*, 'dung'; Tig. *‘eb*, 'shame'; Tigñ. *‘iba*, 'fresh cow dung'; Amh. (‘) *əbbät*, 'fresh bovine dung'; Gu. *əbəyü*, 'excrement of a cow'; all go back to < to a root /ġ-b/, as certified by Ar. and Meh (> Meh. *ġabb*, Ar. *ġabba*, 'sentir mauvais'; cf. SL 293), related perhaps to the above quoted /ġ-b/, 'dark' (on the contrary HSED 250 proposes an AA root \*<sup>c</sup>ub, 'dirt'). - SF: human behaviour.

Another /<sup>c</sup>əB-/ base, KW/LW, SWS with BS: 'architectural tech. term for an elevated implement of wood' > 'beam, lintel, door > entrance' (?) has be pointed out: **Heb.**, *‘ob*, NHeb. *‘ōb*, 'beam' (HALOT 773; DTT 1046); **Aram.:** Hatr. *‘wb*, 'kind of wooden canopy or projecting roof' (DNWSI 819; Sp. 'alero') > maybe by meton. (DTT 1046) **Eth.:** Tig. *‘ayaba*, 'to take under one's protection', *‘əyib*, 'client', *‘ayeb*, 'client, clientship, trust' (cf. Sp. 'techo' in the field of hospitality). It is of probable (?) AA/Eg. origin < *‘py*, 'durchschreiten, passieren (im Raum, durch Tor, auf Weg' (GHÄD 137; HALOT 773). - SF: housebuilding, LW.

## 2 - Second level : expanded binary base

The phonetic cluster (c-b), above all in its first realisation /<sup>c</sup>ab-/ with the BS 'to absorb water, swell', presents a long series of apparent expan. in the three positions. Some are rather doubtful. In the first place the apparent infix. expan. /<sup>c</sup>s:šb/, 'herbage': **Akk.** *ešēbu*, 'to flourish', *išbātu* JB, a grass or weed; **Heb.** *‘ešeb*, 'herbage, weed' (Murtonen 1989:332); **Aram.:** JParam. *‘šb*, *‘yšbh*, 'grass, plant' (DJParam. 421; DTT 1124), Palm. *‘šb*, 'herb'

(DNWSI 890), Syr. <sup>c</sup>*esbā*, ‘herba’ (LS 534); Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ušb*, ‘fresh herbage, by enant. <sup>c</sup>*ašaba*, ‘to be(come) dry’; ESA: <sup>c</sup>*s<sup>l</sup>bt*, ‘pasturland’. The apparently original /š/ root phoneme hinders the consideration of the cluster as an infix. /š/ expan., although an alternation of the two phonemes is not to be ruled out. But for the time being I prefer not to insist in this possibility in need of further investigation. Also doubtful are the sonant infix. /-l-/ Sab. <sup>c</sup>*lb*, ‘a tree’ and suffix. expan. /-r/ NHeb. <sup>c</sup>*ābar*, ‘to be thick, swell’ (DTT 1038). On its turn Ug. <sup>c</sup>*bt*, ‘to drain’, is textually doubtful (DUL 146; HALOT 783).

On the contrary, the following may be considered fairly sure expan. of <sup>l</sup>ab-/, although attested only in one language:

**Prefix.:** /ya-<sup>c</sup>-b/, with conson. reduplication Ar. *ya<sup>c</sup>būb*, ‘torrential river’ (DMWA 585); /la-<sup>c</sup>-b/, Sab. > *m<sup>l</sup>b*, ‘land irrigated by canal’ (?); Jibb. ‘to give milk long time’ < Soq. *lā<sup>c</sup>ab*, ‘agneau d’un mois et demi’; more doubtful is the prefix. expan. /wa-<sup>c</sup>-b/, Ar. *wa<sup>c</sup>aba*, ‘to take the whole’.

**Suffix.:** <sup>l</sup>-b-l/, Ar. <sup>c</sup>*abala*, ‘to be(come) large, big, bulky’, <sup>c</sup>abl-, ‘plump, well rounded’ (DMWA 589) < Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*albi*, ‘tumor’; <sup>l</sup>-b-ša/, by enant. (cf. *supra* Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ašaba*, metath.?) Heb./Ar. <sup>l</sup>bš/, ‘to dry up’ (HALOT 783) (cf. Murtonen 332 ?, for ‘dry’). Furthermore the following suffix. and infix. expan have multilingual attestation:

**/<sup>l</sup>aBaY:W:’a/ BIB**, predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-y:wa/ < <sup>l</sup>ab-/ > <sup>l</sup>aba+ya/, WS. **BS:** ‘to make absorb’, ‘inflate’: **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*ābā*, ‘to become thick, fat’; **Aram.:** JPAr. <sup>c</sup>*ōbyā*, ‘thickness’; Syr. <sup>c</sup>*bī(y)*, ‘crassitudo’, <sup>c</sup>*abyā*, ‘crassus, tumidus’ (LS 507), Mand. ABA I, ‘to be thick’ (MD 1); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*ib’-’/’ibw-*, ‘load, burden’ > <sup>c</sup>*abba’*a, <sup>c</sup>*abā(w:y)*, ‘to prepare, make ready’, ‘to fill, pack (cf. also DMWA 585, 589; cf. HALOT 777, 778), secondary metaph. deriv. could be seen in <sup>c</sup>*aban-*, ‘coarse, heavy, stupid’, and <sup>c</sup>*abā’(at)-*, <sup>c</sup>*abāyat-*, ‘a sort of garment’ could be a secondary metaph. deriv. [**Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*abā(w)*, ‘to shine’, deriv. from < the metaph. syntagm <sup>c</sup>*abbu šamsi*, ‘the light of the sun’ (AEL 1942)]; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>*abya*, ‘to be great, big’, Lt ‘to become fat, be inflated, swell’, <sup>c</sup>*abiyy*, ‘big’ in any respect; Tig. <sup>c</sup>*abā*, ‘to be great, the eldest’, ‘to grow up’, ‘to load’ > denom.(?) <sup>c</sup>*abbāy*, a plant (WTS 471); Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*abāyā*, ‘to grow up, increase’, <sup>c</sup>*abi(y)*, ‘large, big’; Amh. <sup>(c)</sup>*abbāyā*, ‘to be greater, higher’, <sup>(c)</sup>*abiyy*, ‘cardinal, capital, leading’; Gu. *abbé*, ‘to exceed, be abundant’ (EDG5).

**/<sup>l</sup>aNaB-/** Nomin. deriv. by infix. expan. /-n-/ or nasalization < /<sup>l</sup>ab-/ > <sup>l</sup>a+na+b-/, CS. **BS:** ‘wine-berry’, ‘grape’, by metaph. shift (‘that absorbs/is full of water’): **Akk.** *i:enbu*, fruit, flower, *enēbu(m)*, ‘to fruit’, *innabu*, ‘luxuriant’; **Ug.** *ḡnb*, ‘grape(s)’; **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*ēnāb*, ‘wine-berry’; **NWS:** EphAram, <sup>c</sup>*nb*, ‘grape’; **Aram:** JPAr. <sup>c</sup>*nb*, ‘grape’ (Murtonen 1989:322; DJPAr. 412; DTT 1091); Syr. <sup>c</sup>*enb<sup>e</sup>ta*, ‘uva’; Mand. <sup>c</sup>*n:mb*, ‘grapes’ (MD 353); ESA: <sup>c</sup>*nb*, ‘vineyard’; **Ar.:** <sup>c</sup>*inab-*, ‘grapes’.

Also some expan. are ascertainable for <sup>l</sup>aB-/: prefix. (/ta-/) /t-<sup>c</sup>-b/ and infix. (/la-/) :

**/Ta<sup>c</sup>aB-/** Predic.-nomin. deriv. by prefix. expan. /ta-/ < <sup>l</sup>aB-/ > /ta+a<sup>c</sup>ba/, NWS. **BS:** ‘to make/be s.th. shameful’: **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*t<sup>l</sup>b* N ‘to be(come) abhorred’, P ‘to desecrate, make into an abomination’, denom. < *tw<sup>c</sup>bh*, ‘abomination, abhorrence’ (HALOT 1702ff., 1763f), NHeb. *tā<sup>c</sup>ab*, ‘to feel nauseous, to loathe’ (DTT 1683; Murtonen 445); **Aram.:** JAram. *t<sup>ec</sup>ēb*, ‘to feel nauseous, to loathe’ < *tō<sup>c</sup>ēbtā*, ‘that which is repulsive’; JPAr. *t<sup>c</sup>wb*, ‘doer of abomination’ (DJPAr. 587); JPAr.: *t<sup>c</sup>ūb*, ‘abomination, rejection’ (DTT 1665); **NWS:** Phoen. *t<sup>c</sup>bt*, ‘abomination’.

But a prefix. expan. /wa-/ > /wa<sup>c</sup>aba/ could be presumed from which a secondary deverb. form by prefix. deriv. /ta-/ /ta-wa<sup>c</sup>ab-/ from which the other predic. forms would come. In any case, this expan. has to be distinguished from Ar. *ta<sup>c</sup>aba*, ‘to be(come) fatigued, tired’; > Jibb. /t<sup>c</sup>b/, ‘to be weary’. The analysis of this base as an infix. /ta-/ expan. of <sup>l</sup>aB-/ is not clear (< ‘to fall in discredit by lack of energy’ [?]; cf. JPAr. <sup>l</sup>yb/, ‘pain’).

**/<sup>l</sup>aLaB-/** Predic.-nom. deriv. by infix. expan. /-la-/ < <sup>l</sup>aB-/ > <sup>l</sup>a+la+ba/, NWS. **BS:** ‘to make shameful’: **Heb.:** NHeb. <sup>c</sup>*ālab*, ‘to press upon, humiliate, insult’; **Aram.:** JAram. <sup>ca</sup>*lab*, ‘to press upon, humiliate,

insult', <sup>c</sup>*alībā*, 'humble, poor'; JPArām. <sup>c</sup>*lbn*, 'humiliation, insult' (DJPAram. 408; DTT 1080); Syr. <sup>c</sup>*lāb*, 'vicit, injuria affecit'.

#### d) Homographs/loanwords

Akk. *abūtu*, 'a fish', Soq. <sup>c</sup>*āba*, 'carp-like fish' < AA \*<sup>c</sup>*ubub*- (HSED 250), CS \*<sup>c</sup>*bVw*- (SED II 43).  
 Akk. *ibbū*, 'day of wrath' < Sum.  
 Akk. *ibbūm*, 'loss' < *imbū*, Sum.  
 Syr. <sup>c</sup>*abba*, 'garum, lacerta' (LS 503) < (?).  
 Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ubb*- '(base of the) sleeve', unknown metaph. shift.  
 Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ābi*, 'yes' < (?).  
 Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*ib*, 'courage', 'scruples' < (?).  
 Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ubb bälä*, 'to smoke' (?).

#### /<sup>c</sup>vD-/

##### 1 - First level: simple binary base

a) /<sup>c</sup>**aD**-/ PrimW, univ. seman. by conson. intens. mainly, CS. **BS**: 'duration', 'long duration, eternity' > 'number, numerous': **Akk.** *ad(u:i)*, time functor, 'until, as far as' ..., *adū*, 'now', *uddam*, 'today', *uddakam*, 'all day, for ever' (better than < Sum.; CDA 418), *udīn(i)*, 'up till now, so far' (cf. *infra adū(m)*, 'a (day's) work' (better than < Sum. [CDA 5])); **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>*d*, 'time, period', <sup>c</sup>*dt*, 'date, moment' > by metonym. 'assembly' (< 'the appointed', 'permanent', 'multitudinary instance'; cf. DTT 1043), <sup>c</sup>*d*, 'up to, until'; **Heb.**: EpHeb. <sup>c</sup>*d*, 'future time, ever', <sup>c</sup>*wd*, 'what remains'; BHeb. <sup>c</sup>*ad*, 'lasting future time' > functor 'as far as ...' > <sup>c</sup>*ōd*, 'duration' > functor 'still ...' (> <sup>c</sup>*ad* <sup>c</sup>*ōlām*, <sup>l</sup><sup>c</sup>*ōlām wa'ēd*; HALOT 786f., 795f.) > \*<sup>c</sup>*iddāh*, <sup>c</sup>*iddīm*, 'mestrual period' (HALOT 789f.); NHeb. <sup>c</sup>*ōd*, 'existence, strength', <sup>c</sup>*ēd*, 'anniversary, festival'; **NWS**: Phoen. <sup>c</sup>*d*, 'to, unto', Phoen-Pun. EpHeb. EpAram., Nab. <sup>c</sup>(w)*d*, 'stil, moreover'; **Aram.**: EpAram. <sup>c</sup>*d*, 'treaty' (as everlasting compromise; cf. *infra* Akk. *adū*), <sup>c</sup>*d*, 'to, unto', <sup>c</sup>*dh*, 'custom, habit', 'until'; Palm. <sup>c</sup>*d*, 'feast' (?) (DNWSI 825); Hatr. <sup>c</sup>*d-m*, 'until'; DA <sup>c</sup>*d* (<sup>c</sup>*lm*), 'unto' (HALOT 786); BAram. <sup>c</sup>*ad*, 'until'; JAram. <sup>c</sup>*ad*, 'turn, continuation, up to, during' (DTT 1042); <sup>c</sup>*ēdā*, 'appointed day'; JPArām. <sup>c</sup>*ad*, 'while, until, before', <sup>c</sup>*ōd*, 'still more'; JBArām. <sup>c</sup>*ad*, 'until, up to', <sup>c</sup>*ōd*, 'in addition, moreover'; Syr. <sup>c</sup>*ad*, 'up to', <sup>c</sup>*ēdā*, 'fest day', with redupl. <sup>c</sup>*ad* <sup>c</sup>*edā*, 'fest day' > <sup>c</sup>*edatā*, 'church'; Mand. *ad*, 'while, so far as, until', with redupl. *adidia*, 'festivals'; > NAram. <sup>c</sup>*idtā*, 'the Church', <sup>c</sup>*ādat*, <sup>c</sup>*aditā*, 'a custom' (< Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ādātu*); **ESA**: <sup>c</sup>*d*(y), functor 'to, up to, into', <sup>c</sup>*dt*, 'period of time'; **MSA**: Meh. <sup>c</sup>*ād*, 'still, yet'; Jibb. <sup>c</sup>*ad*, functor 'still'; Jibb. <sup>c</sup>*id*, 'festival'; Hars. <sup>c</sup>*ād*, 'still, yet'; <sup>c</sup>*ed*, 'festival'; Soq. <sup>c</sup>*ad*, 'encore', and by seman. shift <sup>c</sup>*ed*(*d*), 'vie, esprit' (< 'the enduring substratum'; cf. SL 298); **Ar.**: <sup>c</sup>*idd*-, 'multitude, muchness, continual increase', <sup>c</sup>*iddat*-, 'number collected together' > <sup>c</sup>*addat*-, 'apparatus, equipment' (cf. *infra* /<sup>c</sup>adda/); **Eth.**: Ge. <sup>c</sup>*ad*(*d*), 'forever', <sup>c</sup>*adi*, 'still, again ...'; Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ādu*, 'yet' > by seman. shift <sup>c</sup>*ad*, 'tribe, family, people, village, country ...' (< numerous and enduring), <sup>c</sup>*ādat*, 'custom, use'; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*addi*, 'village, hometown, region, country', <sup>c</sup>*udāt*, 'cycle, circuit' (< 'period of time'; Amh. <sup>(c)</sup>*udāt*, 'cycle, circuit', 'procession, circumambulation of the church'; Gu. *aydo*, *īdo*, 'year'.

AA \*<sup>c</sup>ad-, 'to go' (HSED 235). The semantic shift 'duration/number > 'group, multitude, assembly' is easy to figure out. On the contrary Ge. <sup>c</sup>*ad*, 'man, male, husband', <sup>c</sup>*edaw*, 'people', may represent either an allophone of /<sup>c</sup>d/, 'lord, father' or a deriv. from Eth./AA <sup>c</sup>*ad*, 'tribe, people' (CDG 56). Even a connexion with Ug.-Heb. <sup>c</sup>*ēdāh*, 'assembly' ('the member of the assembly') could be envisaged.; for that meaning cf. the expan. /w<sup>c</sup>d/. In any case this base is to be distinguished from /ḡ-d-w/ from where Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ḡad*-, 'the next day after the present' (against HALOT 786) that does not convey the meaning of 'long, lasting future'. - SF: primary situation, universal semantic.

b) /<sup>c</sup>**ad**-/ PrimBIB, predic. expan. by conson. intens. < /<sup>c</sup>ad-/ > /<sup>c</sup>ad(a)da/, CS. **BS:** 'to be/make numerous' > 'to prolong' <> 'to repeat': **Akk.** *uddû*, 'to impregnate', 'exuberance', by secondary expan. (CDA 418); **Ug.** *d(d)*, 'o declare, respond' > *dd*, 'herald'; **Aram.:** EpAram. > *dd*, 'messenger, herald' (cf. DNWSI 827f. for other proposals); **Ar.:** *adda*, 'to number, count', IV 'to make ready, prepare' > *adad*-, 'what is numbered, number', *idād*-, 'the day of giving (counts)/last judgement' with many other semantic shifts, *adīd*-, 'numbered', *adīdat*-, 'a lot, portion'; *ma'add*-, 'side, flank' (cf. infra /<sup>c</sup>dw/); **MSA:** Meh. *dd*, 'to reckon, count' > *'addēt*, 'gear, waiting time', *'ādēd*, 'each, every', 'total, amount'; Jibb. *dd*, 'to count'; Hars. /<sup>c</sup>d(d)/, 'to count', *'ādēd*, 'amount, total'; Soq. *od*, 'marcher, aller, cohabiter'; **Eth.:** *adada*, 'to be removed to a distance' (< 'to prolong'); Tig. *adda*, 'to visit (sick people), to enter', 'to count, to determine', *adad*, 'number, limit', *adodā*, 'to wander about'; Gu. *adādä*, 'to do something in abundance' (cf. EDG 15 < Cush.?) > *adade(d) bälä*, 'to run'.

HSED 251 suggests in this connexion \*<sup>c</sup>ud-, 'count', Ar, /<sup>c</sup>dd/ (!).

c) /<sup>c</sup>**ad**-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by vocal. intens. < /<sup>c</sup>ad-/ > /<sup>c</sup>āda/, CS. **BS:** 'to make s.th. durable, insist in an action'; **Akk.** *ādu*, 'to take notice', by seman. deriv. (< 'to enumerate'); **Heb.** *ēd*, 'witness' (< 'present, confirming'; cf. DTT 1042), > *ēdāh*, 'assembly', *ēdūt*, 'witness, testimony', *ād*, 'contract, promise', Pi 'to surround', embrace' > Po 'to help' (HALOT 795); NHeb. *ūd*, 'to turn, return, occur', 'to continue, endure, exist'; **NWS:** EpHeb. *d*, 'witness', 'to testify'; EpAram. *d*, 'treaty', *dh*, 'community' (DNWSI 828); **Aram.:** Palm. *wd*, 'to visit regularly'; Syr. *wd*, 'still', *yadā*, 'custom'; Mand. *aud*, 'to exist, continue to be'; NAram. *ādat*, 'custom'; **ESA** *(w)d*, 'to retire, return', by suffix. expan /-n/ *wdn*, 'to restore (peaceful relations)'; **Ar.:** *āda*, 'to return', II 'to accustom' (> 'to visit sick people'(?), cf. *supra* Tig. *adda*, (altern. distribution of allomorphs), *awd*-, 'return' > *id*-, 'occurrence, happening' (> 'feast'), *ādat*-, 'custom', *ā'idat*-, 'favour, kindness, advantage, profit' (< 'return'); **MSA:** Meh. *wd*, 'to become accustomed', *ōdet*, 'custom, habit', *ayd*-, 'festival'; Hars. *awed*, 'to become used in', *'ādet*, 'custom'; Soq. *od*, 'marcher, aller, cohabiter', *āyed*, 'fête' (< Ar. *īd*-, 'feast day'); **Eth.:** Ge. *oda*, 'go around, to turn', *awd*, 'circle', with many seman. deriv.; Tig. *awada*, 'to be firm, steady, long lived', *ta'awada*, 'to turn around'; Amh. <sup>(c)</sup>*awwädä*, 'to go around, to encircle', <sup>(c)</sup>*ayyädä*, 'to determine, delimit' (< Ar. *ayyada*, 'to be present at'; AED 2189); Gu. *awd*, 'threshing field', *ewädä*, 'to tell, give news' (cf. EDG 111f. < Cush. [?])

Cf. J.A. Thompson, "Expansions of the <sup>c</sup>d root", *JSS* 10, 1966, 226 [<sup>c</sup>wd, 'go around']; W. Leslau, "The origin of Geez *awādi* 'herald'", *JSS* 11, 1966, 221-227 [< {[laryngeal]-w-d}, 'to tell', rather than to].

/<sup>c</sup>**ad**-/ PrimW, by conson.-vocal. intens., CS. **BS:** 'piece of wood' > 'support', > 'kind of wood': by conson. intens. **Akk.** *uddu* jB, 'a log, beam' (but cf. CDA 418: "jB < Sum.?" ), *addu*, 'throwstick', *addatum*, 'a wooden tool, *adda'u*, a dwelling' (> of wood [?]), *ūdu*, 'tools, equipment' (?); **Aram.:** Syr. *ūdā*, 'aloe'; Mand. *uda*, 'rod, stick, staff'; **Ar.** *ūd*-, 'wood, timber', 'aloe', Ar. *ūd*, 'lute' < by meton. *i:udan*-, *idw*-, 'the stones of a grave' < 'any piece of wood that is put between two other pieces' (< 'support', AEL 1979), but also *u:idwatu*, 'a stone with which a grave or a well is covered', maybe from < /<sup>c</sup>dw/; **Eth.:** Ge. *ud*, 'aloe, stem of aloe'; Tig., Tigñ. *adāy*, 'shrub with eatable fruit', 'an evergreen tree', *ud*, 'fragrance, incense (< 'aloe')' > *ud*, 'lute' (< Ar.); Amh. <sup>(c)</sup>*ud*, 'sandalwood'.

Aram. and Eth. may be loans from Ar. Other flora nouns could be related also to this lexeme: NAram *idā*, 'a weed' (DDVS 235), Ar. *udwat*-, *adawiyat*-, a plant (SF Botany), Ar. *aydān*-, 'tall palm-tree'; Ar. *adawiy*-, 'an herbage', maybe a denom. deriv. On its turn in connexion with Akk. *uddu*, we can approach Ug. *d*, 'throne, throne-room', better than suppose a deriv. from < /<sup>c</sup>-w-d/ (cf. DUL 147 < Heb. *ēd*, 'testimony', cf. *infra*; HALOT 787f., rather negative for Heb.). – SF: vegetal environment.

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

Among the possible prefix. expan. Ak *redû(m)*, ‘to accompany, lead, drive, proceed’ and *šedû*, ‘sprout’, offer certain acceptability as /r-/ and /š-/ expansions /Ra<sup>c</sup>aDa(-Ya)/, /Ša<sup>c</sup>aDa/, with double compensatory extension in the first case, but that is far from sure. The same can be said of the seeming infix. expan. /-m-/ CS /<sup>c</sup>-m-d/; in this regard Akk. *emdu(m)*, ‘aromatic tree’ sends back to /<sup>c</sup>ad-/ with the values ‘aloe’ and ‘support, beam’ from which also CS /<sup>c</sup>-m-d/, ‘to stand, support’, Akk. *emēdu*, ‘to lean on, impose’, Ar. ‘column’ could be derived. More sure are the following suffix. and prefix. expan.:

**/<sup>c</sup>aDaWa/** Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-wa/ < /<sup>c</sup>ad-/ > /<sup>c</sup>ada+wa/, CS. **BS:** ‘to (make something) to be long, much, distant, far away ...’: **Akk.** *adû(m)*, ‘a (day’s) work’ (better than from < Sum. [CDA 5]), and by meton. cause-effect shift Akk. *adû*, ‘leader’ (JB < (?) ‘who leads far away’); **Ug.** *dy*, ‘to make disappear’; **Heb.** *ādāh*, ‘to walk along’ (HALOT 789), NHeb. ‘to pass by, away’, *ca* *dē*, ‘passing light’; NHeb. *iddûy*, ‘carrying, going with child’; **Aram.:** EpAram. *dy*, ‘to pass’, Hi ‘to remove, to take away’; Hatr. *dyn*, ‘strange’; JAram. *ca* *dē*, *ca* *dā*, ‘to pass by’ > *adyā*, ‘a passing eruption, rash’; BAram. /<sup>c</sup>dy/, ‘to be annulated, removed’; JPArAm. /<sup>c</sup>dy/, ‘to pass by, be pregnant’; Syr. *dā*, ‘to come on, to overcome’; Mand. *ADA*, ‘to pass over, by’ > *adaita*, ‘a pass’, *adia*, ‘transitory thing’, *auda*, ‘transitory thing’ (but cf. MD 10 <? /ABD/), *dia*, ‘passage, transit’, *aduwē*, ‘an enemy’ (DDVS 235); NAram. *cadē*, ‘accustomed’; **ESA:** *dw/y*, ‘to move, march, go’ > *dwt*, ‘thrust, attack’; **MSA:** Meh. *dw*, ‘to assault without reason’; Jibb. *dw*, ‘to infect’; Soq. *dy*, ‘traverser’ (SL 299); **Ar.:** *adā(w)*, ‘to pass from and leave’ > *ādīy-*, ‘old, ancient’, *i:udwat-*, ‘the side of a valley’, *udawā-*, *ādīyat-*, ‘distance, remoteness, hindrance, accident, things turning away ...’, *adā-*, ‘tract’; *aduww-*, ‘enemy’, *udwān-*, ‘enmity’, and deriv., maybe deverb. from this expan. and deriv..., *adwā*, ‘mange, a (passing or contagious) disease’ < *a<sup>c</sup>dā*, ‘transitive, contagious’ (AEL 1981), *madān-*, ‘going beyond such a one’, *ta<sup>c</sup>ād-*, ‘uneven places’; **Eth.:** Ge. *adawa*, ‘to cross, pass over’, *edew*, ‘enemy’; Tig. *adā*, ‘to be infectious, to infect’, ‘to go over’, etc., *ado*, ‘enemy’, *adawana*, ‘to make crazy’, ‘to quarrel, fight’, cf. *ad<sup>c</sup>ada*, ‘to be hostile, fight’; Tigñ. *adāwä*, ‘to trespass’, *adwa*, ‘trespass, trespassing’ (CDG 57); Gu. *ode*, ‘to cross, go cross’ (EDG 14), *ādawä*, *adwät*, ‘beyond, yonder’, *āddiyä*, ‘river’ (?) (cf. EDG 19 < Gaf. *aday*, ‘plain’).

**/<sup>c</sup>aDaYa/** Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < /<sup>c</sup>ad-/ > /<sup>c</sup>ada+ya/, CS. **BS:** ‘to add, augment’, with different semantics shifts: **Akk.** *idû*, ‘rent, hire’ (cf. Eth.) >? By seman. shift *id<sup>c</sup>tu*, a kind of mash; **Heb.:** NHeb. *ādāh*, ‘adorn oneself’, NHeb. *ādī*, ‘jewellery’ (HALOT 789; Sp. ‘aditamentos’); PN Heb., Pun. \*<sup>c</sup>/-d-y/; **Aram.:** JAram. *ādītā*, ‘jewellery’ (HALOT 789; DTT ); **ESA:** *dw*, ‘pay’ (EDG 13); **Eth.:** Ge. *adaya*, ‘to pay’ (cf. CDG 57), Tig., Tigñ. *ada*, ‘debt’, *adäyä*, ‘to pay a fine, tax, debt’; Amh. *(c)* *ada*, ‘debt, tax’; Gu. *ä/ada*, ‘debt’ (EDG 13).

Ar. *adā*(‘), to pay’, if related to this base (cf. CDG 57/EDG 13), supposes the weakening of the pharyngeal in Ar.

**/<sup>c</sup>aDaN-/** Nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ān/ < < /<sup>c</sup>ad-/ > /<sup>c</sup>ada+ān/, CS. **BS:** ‘period, duration’ (from number > to duration, time); **Akk.** *adānu(m)*, *adannu*, *edānu(m)*, ‘fixed time, time limit’; > **Ug.** *dn*, ‘to assemble, store up’, ‘store’, ‘abundance’, ‘troop’, ‘gang’, keeping the original seme ‘numerous’; **Heb.:** *ca* *den*, ‘so far, still’ (HALOT 793); NHeb. *iddō:ān*, ‘period, time’; **Aram.:** EpAram. *dn*, ‘time’; BAram. *iddān*, ‘time’, ‘year’; JAram. *iddān(ā)*, ‘period, time’; JPArAm. *ydn*, ‘hen, time’; JBArAm., *ca* *da’n*, *ca* *dayīn* ‘still’, *iddānā*, ‘time’; Syr. *edanā*, ‘time, moment’; NAram. *(c)* *dānā*, ‘time’; **Ar.:** *i/addān-*, ‘time, period’; > **Eth.:** Ge., Tigñ., Amh., Gu. *admə:ä*, ‘time, period’ (EDG 16, CDG 56).

**/Wa<sup>c</sup>aDa/** Predic.-nom. deriv. by pref. expan. /wa-/ < /<sup>c</sup>ad-/ > /wa+<sup>c</sup>ada/, CS. **BS:** ‘to make something durable’: **Akk.** *adû*, ‘(treaty-)oath’; **Heb.** /y<sup>c</sup>d/, ‘to designate’, *ād*, ‘contract, promise’, *mô(w)<sup>c</sup>ed*, ‘place for meeting, assembly point’ (for Ug.-Heb.Aram. /<sup>c</sup>d/, /<sup>c</sup>dt/, ‘festival, appointed time’, ‘assembly, Church’, cf. *supra* /<sup>c</sup>ad/); MHeb. *wa<sup>c</sup>ad*, ‘meeting, meeting place’ (HALOT 419); **NWS.:**

EpAram. <sup>c</sup>d, ‘treaty’ (DNWSI 828); **Aram.:** Syr. *wa<sup>c</sup>dā*, ‘signum, locus constitutus’, Pa ‘invitavit, Etpa ‘convenit’; **Ar.** *wa<sup>c</sup>ad-*, ‘promise’, *wa<sup>c</sup>ada*, ‘to promise’, ‘to threaten’, *maw<sup>c</sup>id-*, ‘a covenant’; **ESA:** *w<sup>c</sup>d*, ‘to promise’. Possibly we have here root contamination/alternative of expan. of the same base < /w<sup>c</sup>-d/ (HALOT 787) and /<sup>c</sup>-w-d/ (DNWSI 825).

In Eth. (Ge., Tigñ., Amh. Gu.) <sup>c</sup>addama, ‘to appoint a time, convoke, invite’ has been seen as an allomorph. suffix. expan. /-ma/ of /<sup>c</sup>ad/, see Ar. *iddān-* > *admā:ä*, ‘time, period’ (cf. *supra*); its relation to Ar. *azama*, ‘to invite (to dinner)’, suggested by Leslau (CDG 56), seems rather farfetched, since the primary meaning of the Ar. verb is ‘to determine’ > ‘to invite’ (AEL 2037).

### 3 - Homographs/loanwords

Akk. *adadu*, ‘a loincloth’ (?) jB < (?).

Akk. *edadu*, ‘a flour offering’ jB < Sum.

Akk. *edēdu*, ‘to be(come) pointed’ < (?) (/h-d-d/), *iddum*, ‘sharp end, point’ < (?).

Akk. *ūdu*, ‘distress, affliction’ < (?) /<sup>c</sup>-w-d/ (?).

Heb. <sup>c</sup>ūdāh, ‘convolution, bundle’, ‘pin’ (DTT 1048) < (?).

Aram. <sup>c</sup>iddīt, <sup>c</sup>iddīta, ‘choice land’, ‘dwellings’ (DTT 1067) < (?).

Aram. <sup>c</sup>addē, ‘here is, are’ < ‘d’ (DTT 1044), <sup>c</sup>ada, ‘this’ (DJBA 844) > /hd’/

Syr. <sup>c</sup>ad, ‘cecidit’ < /<sup>c</sup>ṣ:dd/.

Syr. <sup>c</sup>ad, ‘constrinxit’ (LS 511) < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>ad <sup>c</sup>ad- / <sup>c</sup>adadat-, ‘a cry for chidding mules’ / ‘of the sand-grouse’ > onomatop.

Ar. <sup>c</sup>udd-, ‘pustules’ < /<sup>c</sup>ad(a)da/ < (?).

Tig. <sup>c</sup>awadwada, ‘to grow gloomy, dark’ < (?).

Tig. <sup>c</sup>ēdo, ‘hide of sheep’ (WTS 483: ‘ēdo?) < (?).

Tig. <sup>c</sup>ēdwān, a bird. < (?).

Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>addä, <sup>c</sup>addät, ‘mourning garment’ < Ar. <sup>c</sup>addat- (?).

Gu. *ādiya*, ‘lunch, midday meal’. < Ar. /ḡdy/.

Soq. <sup>c</sup>vd, ‘sardina’ (SL 307) < (?).

### /<sup>c</sup>vD-/

#### 1 – First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>əD-/ 1) (?) PrimBIB, predic. expan. by vocal.-conson. intens., W/SS. **BS:** ‘(to) separate, remove’, with two semantic developments: **a) stative:** ‘to be(come) separate’ > ‘to make/become inaccessible, sure’ > ‘to take refuge’: **Heb.** /<sup>c</sup>wz/, Hi ‘to bring into safety’; **MSA:** Jibb. /<sup>c</sup>wḍ/, ‘to take refuge’; Hars. /<sup>c</sup>wḍ/ > /<sup>c</sup>-t-w-d/, ‘to seek refuge’; Soq. <sup>c</sup>ód, ‘chercher refuge’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>āda, ‘to seek refuge’ (HALOT 797) > <sup>c</sup>awad-, ‘place or object of refuge’, <sup>c</sup>ūdāt-, ‘a kind of amulet’ (< ‘protection’); **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>āwaza, ‘to be timid’ (WTS 478). **b) active:** ‘to separate, strip away’ > ‘to bite’ (of animals, way of stripping) > ‘to separate’: **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>ad, ‘booty’, MHeb. <sup>c</sup>dd, ‘to cut, strip’ (?) (DTT 1043) > <sup>c</sup>ādī, ‘spoil’ (HALOT 786), with irregular phonol. correspondence borrowed from < **Aram.:** /<sup>c</sup>dy: /, ‘to strip, tear’, ‘spoil’, but cf. also JBAr. <sup>c</sup>wz, ‘to move’, with opposite anomalous phonol. correspondence (?) (but DJBA 847: metath. < /zw<sup>c</sup>/ [?]), maybe as an alternat. distrib. expan. (cf. infra /<sup>c</sup>dy/); maybe by metaph. shift **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>id(d)-, ‘a kind of plants, small and thorny’ < denom. (SF Botany), cf. <sup>c</sup>idāh-, ‘a type of thorny tree’, and deriv. < ‘that bites’ (‘thorns’ [?]), allophone/contamination of Ar. <sup>c</sup>idd-, ‘plant, thorny bush’ (?); cf. *infra*; also Ar. <sup>c</sup>ādd-, <sup>c</sup>mu<sup>c</sup>idd-, <sup>c</sup>ma<sup>c</sup>add-, <sup>c</sup>ta<sup>c</sup>dād-, ‘a kind of dates (from the steppe, thorny?)’ (SF Botany).

There maybe is a ‘resonance’ connexion between the bases /<sup>c</sup>-d-/ and /<sup>c</sup>-ḍ-/ [{<sup>c</sup> + voiced/emphatic interdental}] (cf. Moscati 1964:27f.). - SF: basic action with multiple semantic derivations.



## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

Only those two suffix. expan. can be ascertained:

/<sup>c</sup>**aD**aY:Wa/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-y:wa/ < /<sup>c</sup>əḏ-/ = /<sup>c</sup>ad(a)+y:wa/, WS. **BS**: ‘to make distant, separate: **Aram.**: BAram. <sup>c</sup>dh, ‘to touch with’, ‘to go away’, ‘be annulled’ (HALOT 1944); JAram. <sup>c</sup>dy, ‘to be annulled, removed’; JPArAm. <sup>c</sup>dy, ‘to pass by’, <sup>c</sup>dy, ‘spoil’; JBArAm. <sup>c</sup>dy, ‘to pass, pass over, remove’; by seman. enant. Syr. <sup>c</sup>dā, ‘to come over, to fall in’, Af. ‘to make arrive’, with the deriv. > <sup>c</sup>dayā, ‘paroxism’, <sup>c</sup>aditā, ‘calamity’, but also <sup>c</sup>edyā, ‘alienity’, <sup>c</sup>ma<sup>c</sup>dyā, ‘vagabond’, <sup>c</sup>ma<sup>c</sup>dyūtā, ‘separation’; Mand. <sup>c</sup>ada, ‘to pass over’, Pa. ‘to disconnect, remove’, <sup>c</sup>adaita, ‘a pass’, <sup>c</sup>adia, ‘transitory things’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>i:ady-, ‘land, pasturage, remote from the sown fields (set aside)’ > <sup>c</sup>adiya, ‘to be(come) such a land’. An allophone seman. parallel to /<sup>c</sup>ad(a)+wa/: <sup>c</sup>adā-, ‘land remote from water and tainted air’, ‘steppe’ > <sup>c</sup>adā, ‘the country was good in respect of its air’ >? <sup>c</sup>adawān-, ‘brisk, lively’.

The dialect. Ar. <sup>c</sup>adaha, ‘strip (with the teeth)’ < ‘to graze’, is maybe a denom. from nom. deriv. < /<sup>c</sup>əḏ-/ [?], in altern. distrib. with the preceding expan.

## 3 - Homographs/loanwords

Ar. <sup>c</sup>uḏuw-, <sup>c</sup>ādīn-, ‘with enough clothings and food ...’ (?) (‘insulatig’) < metaph. deriv. (?), maybe by enant.

Ar. <sup>c</sup>adawa (?), ‘to spell, divine, be an expert on wounds’ ..., ‘lie’, ‘adivination’, ‘spell’ < ? maybe by altern. distrib. with <sup>c</sup>adiya: ‘to be(come) distant in sight, to look in the distance...’.

## /<sup>c</sup>vD-/

### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>əḏ-/ PrimW, by conson. intens. mainly, CS. **BS**: ‘developped plant’, ‘wood’, ‘tree’: **Akk.** <sup>c</sup>iṣu(m), ‘tree, wood’; **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>ṣ, ‘tree, plant’; **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>ēṣ, ‘tree(s)’, <sup>c</sup>ēṣāh, ‘wood’; **NWS**: Pun., Heb., EpAram. <sup>c</sup>ṣ, ‘wood’; **Aram.**: BAram., JAram., JPArAm. <sup>c</sup>, ‘wood’, JBArAm. <sup>c</sup>āā, ‘wood’; **ESA** by meton. <sup>c</sup>d, ‘building material’ (wood; SD 13); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>iḏat-, ‘tree’ (?) [cf. HALOT 863], <sup>c</sup>iḏd-, ‘small prickly shrubs’, ‘arbres ou arbrisseaux à épines’ (DAF II 277), <sup>c</sup>iḏāh-, ‘fair-sized thorny shrubs’ (DMWA 618); **Eth.**: Ge. <sup>c</sup>ed, ‘tree, shrub’, <sup>c</sup>edaw, ‘herbs’, ‘beams forming the frame of a building’, <sup>c</sup>edat, ‘shrub, bush, tree’, denom. > <sup>c</sup>adḏa, ‘to become a tree’, by meton. <sup>c</sup>əd > <sup>c</sup>adā, ‘lot’; Tig. <sup>c</sup>əčcat, ‘tree’, <sup>c</sup>əččay, ‘wood’, <sup>c</sup>əṣ, ‘lot, die’ (cf. infra /<sup>c</sup>əṣ/, /<sup>c</sup>əṣ-/), <sup>c</sup>ədē, ‘door’ (better than < <sup>c</sup>asā, ‘to press, fence in’, WTS 490-491); Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>əd, ‘plant, tree’ (in TED 1942 trascribed phonet. <sup>c</sup>əṣ), <sup>c</sup>i:əčč, ‘wood, firewood’, <sup>c</sup>ənṣäyti, ‘wood’; Amh, <sup>(c)</sup>əd, ‘plant, herb’, <sup>(c)</sup>ət, ‘wood, tree, bush’; Gu. <sup>c</sup>äcä, ‘tree, wood’ (EDG 12 for the different Gu. dialects and Sem. Languages; also CDG 57), <sup>c</sup>ənṣ(et), ‘tree, wood’.

Maybe Ar. <sup>c</sup>gadan-, ‘tree’, represents an allophony. AA \*<sup>c</sup>üç- (HSED 252). - SF: Flora.

- a) /<sup>c</sup>**aD**-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by conson. intens., W/SS. **BS**: ‘to take a part of, firstly by biting’ > ‘to seize’ and ‘to divide’: **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>adada, ‘to bite, seize, press’, <sup>c</sup>uḏd-, ‘provender, fodder, pressed dregs’, <sup>c</sup>iḏd-, ‘a lock that will scarcely open’ (< ‘bitten, pressed’), fort, robuste’ (cf. in this regard SED I 24 <sup>c</sup>vṣā/ṣ // <sup>c</sup>vḥā/ḥ, kind of bone in Ar. and MSA), with many deriv. meanings, <sup>c</sup>adḏat-, ‘a thing to be bitten’, <sup>c</sup>iḏād-, ‘the act or fault of biting’, <sup>c</sup>adūḏ-, ‘that has a habit of biting’, and deriv. by seman. shift >? <sup>c</sup>adīd-, ‘an associate, companion’ and maybe Ar. <sup>c</sup>ta<sup>c</sup>dūd-, ‘a sort of black dates’ (<(?)); **MSA**: Soq. <sup>c</sup>ed(d), ‘force’, ‘fort, puissant’ (cf. SL 323 < Ar. <sup>c</sup>iḏd-), <sup>c</sup>edīd, ‘pêche à la ligne’; **Eth.**: Ge. <sup>c</sup>adḏa, ‘deprive’; Amh. (')aṭṭa, (')aṭṭäṭä, ‘to lack, to be deficient’ (?).
- b) /<sup>c</sup>**aD**-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by vocal.-glide intens., W/SS. **BS**: ‘to exchange one part for another’: **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>iḏat-, ‘piece, part’, <sup>c</sup>ada, ‘to substitute, exchange, compensate’, <sup>c</sup>iwad-, ‘substitute,

exchange > <sup>c</sup>awd-, adv. ‘ever’ (as an exchange’?, cf. Sp. functor ‘en cambio’); **MSA:** Soq. <sup>c</sup>ād, ‘recompenser’ (SL 303 < Ar. <sup>c</sup>āda); see **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>eḏ, <sup>c</sup>eḏā, ‘lot’ (maybe better related to <sup>c</sup>eḏ, ‘wood’ < ‘lots’ by wood pieces; CDG 57).

AA \*<sup>c</sup>aç-, ‘bite’ (HSED 234). On the contrary the relation to Heb. ḥēš, ‘arrow’, with the same function, is purely semantic); cf. Amh. <sup>(c)</sup>əṭa, ‘lot, chance’ < (?) <sup>(c)</sup>əṭ, ‘wood, tree, bush’. (cf. SED I 25) – This base is related apparently to Ar. ḡaḏḏa, ‘to lessen, diminish’ as distrib. allomorphs of the resonance [{pharyngeal/velar} + {intidental-glotalized-lateralized}]. - SF: basic and physiol. action.

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

Aside from the common suffix. expan. /-wa and /-ha/, only Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>aḏāma, ‘fine paid for hitting and injuring s.o.’, seems to offer itself as suffix. expan. /-ma/, rather dubious.

/<sup>c</sup>aḏaWa/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-wa/ < /<sup>c</sup>aḏ-/ > /<sup>c</sup>aḏa+wa-/, W/SS. **BS:** ‘to separate, distinguish parts’ > ‘to understand’: **ESA:** \*<sup>c</sup>ḏw > <sup>m</sup>cḏw, ‘malice’ (< a way of separating things; SD 13); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>aḏā(w), ‘to enchant’, ‘to understand’ (< ‘to separate or distinguish the parts’), ‘to have skill in wounds’, <sup>ta</sup>cḏiyat-, ‘the act of dividing into parts’, <sup>u</sup>:iḏw-, ‘limb, member’, cf. *supra* <sup>c</sup>iḏat-, ‘piece, part, portion’.

Ar. <sup>c</sup>aḏiha may be a denom. deriv. by suffix. expan /-ha/ < /<sup>c</sup>aḏ-/, ‘to depasture’ (cf. above <sup>c</sup>aḏaba, ‘to graze’), <sup>c</sup>iḏāh-, ‘great tree having thorns’ (< that forces the separation) and by metaph. shift < <sup>c</sup>iḏah-, ‘lie, falsehood, enchantement’ (< ‘thorn’, ‘something that hurts’).

## 2 - Homographs/loanwords

Ge. <sup>c</sup>eḏe, ‘gusano’ (< (?) Ar. <sup>c</sup>uttat-; cf. *infra*; CDG 57), maybe > Cush. Not to be found in SED 2. - (SF animals).

### /<sup>c</sup>vG-/

#### 1 - First level: simple binary base

a) /<sup>c</sup>aG-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by vocal intens. W/SS. **BS:** ‘(to make) something twisted, curved’: **Heb.** NHeb. \*/<sup>c</sup>-w-g/, ‘to draw a circle’ (HALOT 794); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>āḡ-, ‘twisted’, by meton. shift ‘ivory’ < (said of the elephant’s tusk; cf. Sp. ‘colmillo retorcido’), <sup>c</sup>awiḡa, ‘to become crooked, incline’, <sup>c</sup>awwaḡa, ‘to crook, curve’ > <sup>c</sup>awaḡ-, ‘crookedness’ and deriv.; **MSA:** Meh. <sup>c</sup>wg, ‘to divert’; Soq. <sup>c</sup>áyeg, ‘enfant, metre bas’ (cf. SL 306f. < seman. chain in many languages, cf. Heb./ḥwl:hyl/; Sp. ‘retorcerse de dolor’), denom. <sup>c</sup>ézed, ‘lac’ (SL 307; < circular’?); **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>oga, ‘to be crooked, curved’ > <sup>ta</sup>cawga, ‘to deride’ < ‘to make a scornful gesture’ > ‘to make fun of’ (> metonim. Sp. ‘torcer el morro’, Eng. ‘to make grimaces’, Lat. ‘circumvenire’; CDG 78); <sup>c</sup>ega, <sup>c</sup>ayaga, ‘to accumulate, gather’ (> ‘to fold, to encircle’?), <sup>c</sup>ayg, ‘lake, pond’, <sup>c</sup>aygan, ‘basin, tub, pitcher’ (by meton. cf. Soq., although an alloph. of /<sup>c</sup>ag-n/ is not to be ruled out; CDG 79); Tig. <sup>c</sup>āḡ, ‘male elephant’ < ‘tusk of an elephant’; maybe as a denom. > <sup>c</sup>ēḡāt, ‘neck, throat’ (?); by conson. inten. and seman. meton. <sup>c</sup>agga, ‘to make slender’ (?) (< ‘to make able to be twisted’), by meton. cause-effect <sup>ta</sup>cawaḡa, ‘to loose consciousness, to enter into foolish thoughts’, <sup>c</sup>awaḡ, functor ‘de travers’ (TWS 478), <sup>c</sup>ayeg, ‘pond, swamp’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>ayäḡä, ‘to become a pool, pond’, ‘to stagnate’, <sup>c</sup>ayyag, <sup>c</sup>ayāḡ, ‘stagnant’, ‘pool of water’ (cf. *supra* Soq.), <sup>c</sup>ag<sup>wc</sup>ag<sup>w</sup>, ‘big-cheeked’, ‘fatt and short (person)’; Amh. /<sup>c</sup>wg/ > <sup>c</sup>tawwäḡä, ‘to mock, make fun of’; Gu. <sup>c</sup>aga, ‘turn’, <sup>c</sup>agaga, ‘each in turn’, by different seman. shift > <sup>c</sup>age, <sup>c</sup>agay, ‘big clod of earth’, <sup>c</sup>ago, ‘shield’, <sup>c</sup>agäga, ‘liquid squeezed’.

Difficult to determine is the possible semantic shift from this expan. to the Ar. lexemes. <sup>c</sup>ayġ-, ‘profit, advantage’ > <sup>c</sup>ayāġ-, ‘any means of satisfying (a man’s thirst)’, (by enant. [?]), <sup>c</sup>ā(y)ġa, ‘to do not regard at, not care for’ (< ‘to turn from’ < ‘to twist, curve’ [?]). - SF: elementary condition/action with areal denom.

b) /<sup>c</sup>aġ-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by conson.intens., W/SS. **BS:** ‘to become curved, entangled’: **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>aġāġ-, ‘dust, smoke raised up by the wind’ (< ‘twisted’, Sp. ‘columna de humo’, ‘torbellino’; maybe > Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>igta, ‘smoke’; <sup>c</sup>igg bälä, ‘to smoke’) and ‘vile, foolish’ (by metaph. shift ‘twisted’ ..., Sp. ‘aturullado’), <sup>c</sup>aġāġat-, ‘that makes a predatory incursion ...’ < maybe denom., <sup>c</sup>uġāy/wat-, a nerve or tendon of the animal’s leg, maybe denom. by deriv. metaph. (< ‘curved, entangled’; recall Lat. ‘musculus’ for a similar deriv.); **Eth.:** by reduplic. Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>ag<sup>w</sup>āg<sup>w</sup>ā, ‘to swarm, to crowd, to be thick, dense’, <sup>c</sup>ag<sup>w</sup>əg<sup>w</sup>a, ‘swarming, crowding, thickening’, <sup>c</sup>əgug<sup>w</sup>, ‘thick, dense’; > <sup>c</sup>agē, ‘a shrub’, <sup>c</sup>agaw, a sort of grass; Amh. (‘)ag<sup>w</sup>ag<sup>w</sup>ät, ‘spots in the body’, by denom. shift > awäġġä, ‘kind of bush’ (?) (EDG 112).

/<sup>c</sup>aġ-/ Onomatop. animal sound with conson. intens. mainly, CS. **BS:** ‘(to) shout’, ‘to produce shouts as sing of anger’: **Akk.** agāgu(m), ‘to be(come) furious’, aggu, ‘furious’ (but cf. Sum. ug, ‘fury’); **Phoen.** <sup>c</sup>g, ‘noise, crying’ (?) (DNWSI 824); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>aġġa, ‘to cry, vociferate’, <sup>c</sup>āġġ-, ‘noisy’ (> ‘full’), <sup>c</sup>aġġat-, ‘a crying out, vociferating’, <sup>c</sup>āġi, <sup>c</sup>āġġa, ‘a cry by which a she-camel is chidden’ (pace AEL 2187), redupl. <sup>c</sup>aġ<sup>c</sup>aġa, ‘to chide the she-camel’, <sup>c</sup>aġġāġ-, ‘vociferous, noisy’ > ‘excellent’ (cf. Cat. ‘crida l’atenció’); **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>āġ, ‘a war-cry’, <sup>c</sup>agag (wadā), ‘to roar incessantly’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>agäg bälä, ‘to be about to die, to have the death rattle’, ‘to be in one’s death throes’, TA ‘to roar, bellow’, <sup>c</sup>agägta, ‘death rattle’ (Sp. ‘estertores de la agonía’); and by vocal. intens. or by suffix. expan. <sup>c</sup>ayg bälä, ‘to call oxen to make them proceed’, <sup>c</sup>aġäw bälä, ‘to be talkative, a chatterer’, <sup>c</sup>aġaw, ‘windbag, garrulous’; Amh. (‘)əgəgg alä, to coo, gurgle (baby)’, (‘)eggämm (‘)əgg<sup>w</sup>a alä, ‘to have a crackling sound’.

AA \*<sup>c</sup>og-, ‘dig, cut’, HSED 248. There is maybe root contamination with Ar. <sup>c</sup>awa(y), <sup>c</sup>awwat, ‘shout’; cf. *infra*. - SF: animal sound onomatop. Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>aġaweġ, ‘old man or woman’, <sup>c</sup>aġuġ, ‘old man or woman’ maybe < Ar. <sup>c</sup>aġūz [?], with possible contamination of bases; cf. <sup>c</sup>aġäw and <sup>c</sup>ažäw (TED 1930).

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

Only some suffix. expan. by /-w:y/ and /-n/ can be ascertained with a certain degree of trustworthiness. Others like suffix. /-t/ expan. are doubtful: /<sup>c</sup>agata/ > Ge. <sup>c</sup>agata, ‘umgeben’; Tig. <sup>c</sup>agta, ‘to fence in, to guard’ (WTS 488).

/<sup>c</sup>aġaW:Ya/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < /<sup>c</sup>ag-/ > (/<sup>c</sup>aga+ya/), E/SS. **BS:** ‘to become bended, curved, unable to stand up’: **Akk.** egū(m), ‘to be(come) lazy, negligent’, egītu, ‘negligence’; **Eth.:** Tig. aġaw bēla, ‘to wander about at random’, cf. the allomorph <sup>c</sup>āġā, ‘to be gracious’ (Sp. ‘contonearse’).

/<sup>c</sup>aġaNa/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-na/ < /<sup>c</sup>ag-/ a > (/<sup>c</sup>aga+na/), W/SS. **BS:** ‘to bend, curve’: **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>aġīn-, ‘dough’ (< something twisted, curved (?); DMWA 594) > <sup>c</sup>aġana, ‘to knead’, by metaph. exten. maybe > Ar. <sup>c</sup>aġwat- and other variants, ‘kind of dates’; **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>agna, ‘to bend, curve’, <sup>c</sup>əgno, <sup>c</sup>agin, ‘crookedness’, <sup>c</sup>aganā, ‘curved stick’, Tig. <sup>c</sup>aġġana, ‘to knead dough’ (< Ar. <sup>c</sup>aġana; WTS 486).

A suffix. /-m/ expan. of /<sup>c</sup>ag-/, ‘something twisted, curved’ (better than from /<sup>c</sup>ag-/ , onomatop. ‘(to) shout’, could be found in NHeb./JAram. <sup>c</sup>āgam/<sup>c</sup>agam, ‘to be bent, grieving’ (DTT 1041f.), Ug. <sup>c</sup>gm, ‘groan, moan’ (DUL 154), Heb. <sup>c</sup>āgam, ‘to be sad’ (HALOT 785), Ar. <sup>c</sup>aġama, ‘to bite’, while Akk. agāmu, ‘to be furious’, seems rather an allomorph of agāgum, ‘to be furious’ (cf. AuOr 23, 2004, 48). On the contrary, Tig. <sup>c</sup>aġġama, ‘to perform one’s prayers’, <sup>c</sup>əgmēn, ‘one who speaks in a foreign language’, could derive from /<sup>c</sup>agga/, onomatop., by the same suffix.

expan. On its turn, for Amh. (<sup>c</sup>)*awwäğä*, ‘to issue an edict’, (<sup>c</sup>)*awağ*, ‘decree’, no seman. connexion with those bases seems feasible (maybe through its originaly laut proclamation [?]).

## 2 - Homographs/loanwords

From this base could derive also Heb. <sup>c</sup>*ūgāh*, ‘round flat load’ [HALOT 784 (? < <sup>c</sup>ag-/ , ‘curved, round’); Ar. <sup>c</sup>*uğğatu*, ‘omelet, any food compounded’ (Sp. ‘revuelto’), dialectal postclassical Syrian according to Lane (AEL 1956) (but cf. also < Heb. [?] /<sup>c</sup>-w-g/, Ge. <sup>c</sup>*oga*, ‘to bake’; for Leslau, the other way round; maybe a LW < Eg. /<sup>c</sup>wg/; cf. HALOT 784, 794) (a dependence of Ar. on Eng. ‘egg’, as a cultural LW, is improbable, as are also D.M. Müller’s speculations; cf. CDG 78).

The many Akk. homographs are not easily reductible to this base; most of them of Sum. origin and otherwise only attested in lexical lists.:

Akk. *agû*, ‘tiara, crown’ < Sum. (or < ‘circular, curved’ [?]).

Akk. *agû*, ‘wave, flood’ < Sum. (or < ‘curved, undulating’ [?]).

Akk. *ugu*, ‘death’ (?), jB lex. < Sum.

Akk. *ugu*, ‘mother’, jB lex < Sum.

Akk. *ugu*, ‘power, strength’ jB lex. < (?).

Akk. *egu*, a kind of camel-thorn jB lex. < (?).

Akk. *egu*, *egû*, ‘kohl’, jB lex. < (?).

Akk. *igû*, ‘prince, leader’, jB lex. < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ağā*, ‘allaiter’ > ? Soq. <sup>c</sup>*ógi*, ‘élever’ (SL 297) < (?).

Eth. <sup>c</sup>*age*, ‘linen cloth, flax’ < *hage* (CDG 58).

Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*ag käl’ē*, ‘to please’ < (?).

Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*ag<sup>w</sup>a*, ‘light brown’ (cow’s coat)

## /<sup>c</sup>vH-/

### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>aH-/ Onomatop. expressive sound with vocal.-glide intens., W/SS (bedu). **BS:** Ar. <sup>c</sup>*āhi* <sup>c</sup>*āhi*, ‘a cry by which camels are chidden in order that they may confine themselves to a spot (at the journey’s end)’, with the variants <sup>c</sup>*īhi* <sup>c</sup>*īhi*, <sup>c</sup>*ah* <sup>c</sup>*ah*, <sup>c</sup>*āhi* <sup>c</sup>*āhi*, <sup>c</sup>*awhi* <sup>c</sup>*awhi*. Cf. in the series /<sup>c</sup>-X-/ : /<sup>c</sup>-h:h:h-/ for many .onomatop. alloph., above all in Amh.; <sup>c</sup>*awwaha*, ‘call, shout at (animal or person)’ > ‘to confine oneself in a place’, ‘to alight in the last part of the night’, <sup>c</sup>*ā’ihat-*, ‘a raising of the voice’ > ‘to alight at evening’ (to rest) (deriv. denom. < from the onomatop. ‘a cry to enclose (cattle ...); **Eth.:** Amh. (‘)*joha*, ‘whoa! (cry to make the plow oxen halt)’ (Sp. so!, (‘)*iyöhe*, ‘cry of distress’, (‘)*ayhehe*, ‘cry of surprise’.

Phonetically incompatible, of secondary origin, improductive in Semitic. - SF: husbandry.

## 2 - Homographs/loanwords

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*āhat-*, certain illness and denom. < (?) <sup>c</sup>*āhān-*; seman. deriv. unknown.

## /<sup>c</sup>vH-/

### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>aH-/ Onomatop. physiol. sound with conson.-vocal. intens., SS. **BS:** **Eth.:** Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*i:ah* (*bälä*), ‘to grunt (beast of burden, woman in labor)’, <sup>c</sup>*ihta*, ‘effort, strain of labor pains’, <sup>c</sup>*əḥəḥ* (*bälä*), ‘to clear one’s

throat'; Gu. *uhu/uxu barä*, 'to cough' (EDG 36), *ax barä*, *əxx balä*, 'to clear the throat and spit out', with allophony of the pharyngeal/laryngeal.

SF: onomatop. (animal) physiol. sound.

## /<sup>c</sup>vK-/

### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>**aK**-/ PrimBIB, with spontaneous conson.-vocal.-glide inten., W/SS. **BS:** '(to be) swollen, dick, heavy' > (to cause) confusion, bewilderment': **Ar.** *'awkat-*, 'colère, malheur', 'affliction, distress' (DAF 63; CDG 78), *'akka*, 'to be vehemently hot, with moisture', 'to boil'; **ESA:** Sab. *'k*, 'affliction' (DOS 9); **Eth.:** Ge. *'awkaka*, 'to go astray, confuse' (possible allophony of *'awkaka*; CDG 78), *'akaka*, 'to be full of, contain a lot of water'; Tig. *'akka*, 'to be(come) thick, mighty', *'akkē*, 'fat', *'akkat*, 'skin(-vessel) for butter', by enant. *ta'ayaka*, 'to be thirsty'; Tigñ. *'akko*, 'bitter', by enant. 'insipid' *'akkä*, 'tasteless, insipid', maybe denom. > *'akkat*, 'nut of a plant', *'akkot*, 'leather water-skin' (cf. infra /<sup>c</sup>akaya/; Amh. (')*akak*, 'itch' (?), (')*akakk alä(w)*, 'to be sick (?), (')*akkote*, 'a kind of pot' (?) (< Orom., AED 1264).

Cf. AA \*<sup>c</sup>ak-, 'be hot; fire' (HSED 237); Zaborski 1971: 95, 'to be sultry, suffocating' (Ar. *'akka* / *wa'aka*, 'to be sultry', 'hot'). For a possible alloph. cf. /<sup>c</sup>āk/. SF: natural state related to water.

/<sup>c</sup>**aK**-/ Onomatop. physiol. sound by conson.-vocal. intens., SS. **BS: Eth.:** Tig. *hak bela*, 'to clear one's throat'; Tigñ. *'ak bälä*, 'to cough and splutter, to clear one's throat of phlegm' (cf. allophon. *'əḥəḥ (bälä)*), *'akka'akka*, 'to chuckle'; Amh. (')*akk alä*, 'to hawk, clear(ing) one's throat', (')*akkata*, 'phlegm, spittle'; (')*akäkäkä*, 'cry of the partridge', (')*awwäkä*, 'to be noisy', (')*awkakka*, 'to be too talkative'; Gu. *äk barä*, 'to throw out the spittle', *äkätä*, 'thick spittle'

Possible alloph. /<sup>c</sup>h:h:h/. - SF: onomatop. physiol. sound.

### 2 – Second level: expanded binary base

/<sup>c</sup>**aKaYa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < /<sup>c</sup>ak-/ > /<sup>c</sup>aka+ya/, SS. **BS:** 'to make swollen, dick' (> 'contracted', 'tight'): **Eth.:** Tigñ. *'ak'äyä*, 'to contract, to have the fingers clenched' > *'əkut*, 'handful' (< 'contracted, closed hand'), *'ak'ay*, 'one whose hand has atrophied' > (?) 'rude, peasant', *'əkəykəy bälä*, 'to walk with effort', by enant. *'akwakwa*, 'to grow strong (baby)' (cf. Sp. 'carnes apretadas').

### 3 - Homographs/loanwords

Ge. *'akot*, 'small locust' <? Cush. // Tigñ. *'akkot*, 'a kind of poisonous wasp'.

## /<sup>c</sup>vL-/

### 1 - First level: simple binary base

a) /<sup>c</sup>**aL**-/ PrimBIB, nom.-functorial with implicit conson. intens., CS. **BS:** '(to be) on > high, superior > added' // 'to repeat, do again, a second time', 'to superimpose', 'repetition'/'superposition', applied to many actions: to drink, dye, milk, go away: **Akk.** *eli, elu, ili, ela, elat*, functor 'on, over, apart from, beyond, over and above' [> *ali, alê, al*, 'where?', 'wherever', 'surely' < (?)], with suffix. expan. /-n/ *elënu*, 'above, over', *elëñü*, 'upper', and many deriv., *elu(m)*, 'top, upper side'; **Ug.** *'l*, functor 'upon,

on the top of ...', 'above, on top' > adv. <sup>c</sup>*l-m*, 'next (day?)', in addition, afterwards' (Tropper 2002:332; cf. *infra* Ar. <sup>f</sup>*āla/ a*) and *la<sup>c</sup>alla*; cf. Akk. *ulliš*, 'later, thereafter', > <sup>c</sup>*l*, 'yoke' (cf. also Heb. <sup>o</sup>*l*, NWS/Can. *ḥu-ul-lu*, 'yoke' (< 'put on'), technical agrarian denom. that as such cannot be a PrimW [against HALOT 827f.], consequently Ar. *ḡullu* must be considered a secondary allophone); **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*al*, 'height', functor: 'on, above ...', with many syntag. nuances (HALOT 825), > <sup>c</sup>*lh*, 'burnt-offering'; **NWS:** Phoen.-Pun., EpHeb., Yaud., EpAram., Nab., Palm., Hatr., JAram. <sup>c</sup>*l(y)*, Phoen.-Pun. <sup>c</sup>*lt*, functor 'on, to, for, at, ...'; EpAram., <sup>c</sup>*l*, 'about it'; EpAram., Palm., JAram. <sup>c</sup>*l*, 'height', 'that which is situate on high', 'above'; **Aram.:** BAram. <sup>c</sup>*al*, 'upon, over ...', JA <sup>c</sup>*l*, functor 'on, upon, during, because', 'above'; JAram. <sup>c</sup>*al*, 'on, upon, about'; JPAm. <sup>c</sup>*l*, functor 'upon, against, because ...' with many syntagmatic realisations, <sup>c</sup>*l<sup>c</sup>wl*, 'storm wind' by semant. shift (< 'superior', 'force'); JBAm. <sup>c</sup>*al*, functor 'on upon, concerning ...'; Syr. <sup>c</sup>*al<sup>c</sup>el*, 'to upset, sweep away', denom. < <sup>c</sup>*al<sup>c</sup>alā*, 'tempest'; Mand. <sup>c</sup>*l*, 'on, upon', <sup>c</sup>*ala*, 'on', (<sup>c</sup>)*alau-*, 'upon'; NAram. <sup>c</sup>*ül*, 'on, upon'; **ESA** <sup>c</sup>*ly:n:m*, functor 'on, upon, against', <sup>c</sup>*lny*, 'notable, distinguished'; **Ar.** (*min*) <sup>c</sup>*al-*, 'above, in the higher part', 'from above', cf. *infra* <sup>f</sup>*alaya/*; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>*al<sup>c</sup>ala*, 'raise, elevate', *la<sup>c</sup>ala*, 'to be high, superior' (< /l+[<sup>c</sup>l(y)]/, CDG 304), <sup>c</sup>*awlo*, 'tempest, whirlwind' (CDG 78); Tig. cf. *infra* expan.; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*älät*, 'date, day', <sup>c</sup>*alcalä*, 'to be fat and hanging down'; Amh. (<sup>c</sup>)*el(l)i*, 'goal, goal line', (<sup>c</sup>)*älät*, 'day', (<sup>c</sup>)*allätä*, 'to become greatly aged'.

Zaborski 1971: 95, 'to go'. PrimW; AA Essay 88: 'être haut'; HSED 238, 247f.: ">\*<sup>c</sup>al-, 'rise', 'top', \*<sup>c</sup>ilay-, 'rise': "derived from \*<sup>c</sup>al-, 'rise'". - SF: physic. > general position; simple primary notion > action/situation, original 'pattern': 'once more', 'something different', 'other thing' (ambiguity of the 'alterity' notion: 'new and added' > 'double' = 'repeated' and 'higher in size').

- b) <sup>f</sup>**aL-** PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by explicit conson. intens. < <sup>f</sup>*al-* a) < <sup>f</sup>*al(a)la/*, **CS. BS:** 'to elevate, put on < to insist, do again': **Akk.** *alālu*, 'to hang, suspend'; *allum*, 'coefficient', *allū*, 'certainly, furthermore' (< Am. < WS; CDA 13; cf. *infra*, *illu*, 'high water, flood' (< Sum.?), *alallū*, 'device for hoisting water', *illatu(m)*, 'band, group' (cf. *infra* <sup>f</sup>*āla/*); **Heb.** \*<sup>f</sup>*ll*, 'to drink repeatedly' (Halot 834: or > 'to suck(le)?, cf. <sup>c</sup>*ōlē:āl*, 'child'), Po. 'to deal, to glean' (with a bias of superiority, 'wantonly'), 'to insert', <sup>c</sup>*ōlēlōt*, 'gleanings'; NHeb. 'to be busy' (HALOT 834), Po 'to deal with' (< 'do again, insist'), 'to glean' (intensive repetitive action); <sup>c</sup>*ālīlāh*, 'deed, action', above all divine, <sup>c</sup>*ül*, by vocal. intens. 'to enter' (in distribution with <sup>f</sup>*alla/*, cf. Aram.), Pa. 'to come in habitually', 'to bring in, insert'; **Aram.:** EpAram., Palm., Hatr., DA <sup>c</sup>*ll*, 'to enter' (> EpAram., Nab. <sup>c</sup>*llh*, 'produce'); BAram. 'to go in', H 'to bring in, introduce' > <sup>c</sup>*illā*, 'cause, reason', JA <sup>c</sup>*ll*, 'to enter', <sup>c</sup>*llh*, 'produce, crop', <sup>c</sup>*lh*, 'cause, pretext' (DJA 70); JAram. <sup>c</sup>*alal*, 'to enter' (< 'to go up, to come up'), <sup>c</sup>*ōlēlā*, 'gleanings', <sup>c</sup>*alālā*, 'harvest, provision, income' (< 'income', better than < Ar. *ḡallat-*, cf. DJAram. 71), <sup>c</sup>*alīl*, 'entrance' > 'reality'; JPAm. <sup>c</sup>*ll*, 'to enter, bring in' (< 'to increase'), <sup>c</sup>*wll*, 'child', <sup>c</sup>*wllh*, 'bunch, gleanings', <sup>c</sup>*llh*, 'harvest, dowry', <sup>c</sup>*lylh*, 'false charge'; JBAm. <sup>c</sup>*ālōtāh*, 'member of the Gaonic academy' (< 'his Highness'), <sup>c</sup>*lwly*, a type of claim (cf. Sp. 'elevar una queja'); JBAm. <sup>c</sup>*ll*, 'to enter, penetrate, fit', <sup>c</sup>*alīlūtā*, 'perversity', <sup>c</sup>*alaltā*, 'produce, revenue'; Syr. <sup>c</sup>*al(l)*, 'to enter' in many senses, <sup>c</sup>*lalā*, 'entrance' with many deriv., <sup>c</sup>*elatā*, 'cause, argument ...' with many deriv., <sup>c</sup>*alīl*, 'initiated, grown up' (Sp. 'entrado en años'), <sup>c</sup>*allanā*, 'superior, clergy member'; Mand. *all*, 'to enter', <sup>c</sup>*ilat*, 'cause, reason'; NAram. <sup>c</sup>*ülül*, <sup>c</sup>*ilil*, 'above'; NAram. <sup>c</sup>*ātūlā*, 'street, lane' (< Syr. <sup>c</sup>*l(l)*, 'to enter'; DDVS 239), <sup>c</sup>*ülaltā*, 'grape-gleaning', <sup>c</sup>*ilē*, 'illness, pain' (< Ar. <sup>c</sup>*lt-*; DDVS 239); **ESA:** <sup>c</sup>*ll*, 'malady (feet)'; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*alla*, 'to do a second time' > <sup>c</sup>*alla*, *la<sup>c</sup>alla*, functor 'maybe' (< (?) expres. of alternative), <sup>c</sup>*allat-*, <sup>c</sup>*alal*, 'a second draught', <sup>c</sup>*all-*, 'old man' ('which has doubled/ascended'); and many other deriv. including the seme 'repetition', more obscure the deriv. meanings, <sup>c</sup>*illat-*, <sup>c</sup>*alāl-*, 'accident' < 'illness' (cf. Sp. 'recaída', Lat. *accidere*, *accidens* > 'accident') < 'alteration ...', 'cause', 'pretext', <sup>c</sup>*alla*, 'to become sick'; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>*allala*, 'separate, set aside' (< 'to take up', but a Cush. origin is not to be ruled out); Tig. <sup>c</sup>*alla*, 'to fly, to float in the air', <sup>c</sup>*allā*, 'praise, honour', <sup>c</sup>*äl*, 'victory', <sup>c</sup>*älal*, 'multitude', and deriv., <sup>c</sup>*alāli*, 'upper room', <sup>c</sup>*olälē*, 'small hut'; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*allä*, 'to faint, to pass out'; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*alälä*, 'to get accustomed', <sup>c</sup>*älli*,

‘mode, manner, custom ...’, <sup>c</sup>*alal*, ‘conversation’, <sup>c</sup>*aläl bälä*, ‘to visit’, maybe <sup>c</sup>*alula*, ‘mountain grass’ (< (?), denom. ‘from the heights’); Amh. (<sup>c</sup>)*allälä*, ‘to dye, to shed, add on’, (<sup>c</sup>)*alollo*, ‘(superior) grinding stone’, (<sup>c</sup>)*awlalla*, ‘vast, open, level (plain)’ (?); Gu. *elälä*, ‘to gather, collect’ (?)

The common Semitic alternance /<sup>c</sup>l/ # /<sup>c</sup>ll/, ‘child’, favours a different expan. origin, better than a morphological deriv. (Po). The basic seme ‘to highthen, increase’ is easily realised in the different seman. developments. For HSED 239 there is an independent AA root \*<sup>c</sup>ll, ‘to drink’.

c) /<sup>c</sup>**aL**-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by vocal. intens., C/SS. BS: 1) ‘to do in excesss, again’: 1) **Heb.** \*/<sup>c</sup>wl/, Pi ‘to do unjustly’ > <sup>c</sup>*awel*, ‘perversity’, <sup>c</sup>*awlāh*, ‘badness’; **Aram.:** JAram. <sup>c</sup>*awlā*, ‘perversion, fault’; Syr. <sup>c</sup>*awlā*, ‘crime’, NAram. <sup>c</sup>*ōlā*, ‘wickedness, evil’, Mand. <sup>c</sup>*ula*, ‘evil, iniquity’, by secondary expan. /-a:ān/, <sup>c</sup>*ulana*, ‘wicked person’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*ayyālu*, ‘haughty, self-conceited’, <sup>c</sup>*alaw-*, ‘rebel’ (cf. Sp. ‘alzarse’, ‘levantamiento’, in politic sense), <sup>c</sup>*awwala*, ‘to behave with boldness’, ‘to impose a burden upon’; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>*ela*, <sup>c</sup>*ayyala*, ‘to go astray, wander about’, <sup>c</sup>*ilat*, ‘emigration’, ‘the act of roaming’ (cf. in opposite sense Heb. <sup>c</sup>*ōleh*, ‘immigrant’, both from the same seme ‘going up’), cf. infra Tig. /<sup>c</sup>alawa/; Amh. (<sup>c</sup>)*ayyälä*, ‘to be(come) strong(er), revail’, (<sup>c</sup>)*hyyal*, ‘strong, powerful’. 2) ‘to increase, to make grow’ (Lat. *allevare*’?): **Akk.** denom. > *īlu*, ‘reed bundle’ (< (?), *iltu*, ‘chaff’ of cereal < (?); **Ug.** \*/<sup>c</sup>-l/, ‘tu suck’, Gp/N ‘to be suckeld’ > <sup>c</sup>*l*, ‘offspring, young of animals’ (cf. SED II 65f.); **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*āla*, ‘to suckle’ > <sup>c</sup>*ūl*, ‘suckling’; **Aram.:** DA <sup>c</sup>*l*, ‘embryo, phoetus’; EpAram. <sup>c</sup>*l*, ‘foal’, <sup>c</sup>*wyl*, ‘child, boy’ (?), <sup>c</sup>*lym*, ‘child (not yet weaned)’ (cf. DNWSI 855, or < Ar. /<sup>c</sup>glm/?); JAram. <sup>c</sup>*ūlā*, ‘infant, child’ (< ‘that was is carried’ [?]); JPAram. <sup>c</sup>*wl*, ‘newborn child’, <sup>c</sup>*wyl*, ‘child’; Syr. <sup>c</sup>*ūlā*, ‘foetus, child’, <sup>c</sup>*ilā*, ‘colt’; Mand. <sup>c</sup>*ula*, ‘embryo, foetus’ > <sup>c</sup>*ul<sup>c</sup>ul*, ‘unborn child’; **MSA:** Meh. Š ‘to find s.th. lost’ (Sp. ‘levantar’, in the hunting vocabulary); Hars. /<sup>c</sup>wq/, S ‘to meet, find’; Jibb. /<sup>c</sup>yl/, <sup>c</sup>*él*, ‘parents, family’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*āla*, ‘to feed’, <sup>c</sup>*iyālat-*, ‘fodder, provender’, <sup>c</sup>*iyāl-*, ‘family’ > <sup>c</sup>*ayyala*, ‘to act familiarly’, <sup>c</sup>*iwal-*, ‘reliance, confidence’; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>*awāl*, ‘young of animal’; Tig. <sup>c</sup>*alu*, ‘young of the donkey’, <sup>c</sup>*awel*, ‘price, pay’ (< ‘to increase’ in economic sense), <sup>c</sup>*awāl*, ‘young of the elephant’; <sup>c</sup>*ayāl*, family; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*alēt*, ‘race, progeny’, <sup>c</sup>*alyät*, ‘tribe’, by conson. intens. <sup>c</sup>*illu*, ‘donkey’s colt’; Gu. *ewälä*, ‘to help, aid’ (EDG 113).

The two seman. shifts derive from the same BS (‘high position, superiority’), although in different direction: physic. and socio-moral. On the other hand there is seemingly a mixing up of denom. deriv. from /<sup>c</sup>yl/ and /<sup>c</sup>wl/, ‘poverty’ (*aylatu*) and ‘family’ (*iyāl-*).

aa) /<sup>c</sup>**aL**-/ Onomatop., physiol. sound with spont. vocal.-glide intens., W/SS: ‘woe’ < ‘to be in lamentable state’: **Aram.:** Mand. *ala* III, ‘to shriek’ (< /yll/ , MD 18), <sup>c</sup>*la*, ‘pain, malady’ (cf. infra /<sup>c</sup>āla/ b), MD 350) (< (?); **ESA** Gt <sup>c</sup>*tl*, ‘to importune (deity with prayers)’ (or maybe < /<sup>c</sup>l/ < ‘to rise up to’); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*awl(a)*, ‘woe, lamentation’, with deriv. like <sup>c</sup>*awīl-*, ‘a wailing’, <sup>c</sup>*awwāl-*, ‘weeping’, <sup>c</sup>*awalu*, ‘most hard to be born’ (< ‘lamentable’); **MSA:** Meh. <sup>c</sup>*ōyēl*, ‘small, insignificant person’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*āla*, ‘to be poor’, <sup>c</sup>*ā’il-*, ‘poor’, <sup>c</sup>*aylat-*, ‘poverty’, <sup>c</sup>*aylā*, ‘a woman that weeps’ > denom. <sup>c</sup>*aylān-*, ‘hyena’, as a secondary onomatop. realisation could be quoted also Ar. <sup>c</sup>*al al*, ‘to call animals’; **Eth.:** Tig. cf. infra /<sup>c</sup>alla/; **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ola*, ‘to faint’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*ulät*, ‘faintness’ (better than from Ar. *gāla*, ‘trunken machen’; WTS 477), cf. <sup>c</sup>*awälä*, ‘to faint, to have nausea’, <sup>c</sup>*awä(l)*, <sup>c</sup>*awälwəl*, ‘nausea’.

Cf. allophone /<sup>c</sup>al-/ , /<sup>c</sup>al(a)la/; *AuOr* 22, 2004, 52f. AA Essay 90.

bb) /<sup>c</sup>**aLa**/ Onomatop., physiol. sound with spont. conson. intens., E/SS. BS: ‘to cry, exclaim out of distress’: **Akk.** *alālu:a:i*, ‘a work cry’, ‘work song’, *ulālu(m)*, ‘weak, helpless (person)’; by enant. Gt ‘to sing a joyful song’, *elēlu*, ‘cheerful song’ (>) *alīlu*, ‘powerful’, *allallu*, ‘powerful’, *ullū(m)*, ‘exalted’ (< *elū*, ‘to go up, arise’; CDA 421, but cf. p. 12); **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ālala*, ‘to call much, to challenge’, to jubilate, to utter cries of joy’, ‘to call a cow in’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*allälä*, ‘to trill, make ululations of

joy (women)'; Amh. (')*ǝlall alä*, 'to ululate', (')*allälä*, 'to trill, make the *ululta*', (')*alläl*, 'rutting (animal)'; *ǝall*, 'shout of joy' (< /hll/?; cf. EDG 39).

HSED 249 records an AA \*<sup>c</sup>ol-, 'be ill', for which Ar. /<sup>c</sup>ll/ is adduced; cf. *supra* /<sup>c</sup>al-/.

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

The suffix. /-y:wa/ expan. of this base are well attested; others are very doubtful: f. i. /wa-<sup>c</sup>ala/, Ar. *wa<sup>c</sup>ala*, 'to seek the refuge in a mountain' (Zaborski 1971: 95) and /<sup>c</sup>a-<sup>c</sup>ala/, Akk. *e'ēlu/a'ālu*, 'to bind (on)' > *i'lu(m)*, 'contract, bond', 'band'; both may go back to a prefix. expan., the second one phonetically incompressible apparently. Others semantically possible expan. may be found f. i. in CS /<sup>c</sup>lm/ 'eternity' (?) /-ma/, CS /y<sup>c</sup>l/, 'mountain goat' /ya-/; Tigñ. *<sup>c</sup>allämä*, 'to instruct, train' // Amh. (<sup>c</sup>)*allämä*, 'to aim at, to signal' /-ma/, Syr. *<sup>c</sup>alana*, 'morbus' (LS 524) < (? : 'attack' as health crisis) /-na/. On the contrary, CS /<sup>c</sup>lm/, 'young man' (DJPA 399) comes from < /g<sup>c</sup>lm/ // JAram. /<sup>c</sup>lm/, 'to be strong' (DNWSI 858); there is in this case a possible root contamination.

**/<sup>c</sup>aLaY:Wa/** Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-w:ya/ < /<sup>c</sup>al-/ a) < /<sup>c</sup>ala+w:ya/, a) CS. **BS:** 'to get to the top'; **Akk.** *elû(m)*, 'to go up, arise', 'to be high', *elû(m)*, 'high', 'tall', 'upper', *alû, elû*, with conson. reduplic. *alallû*, 'device for hoisting water'; **Ug.** *<sup>c</sup>ly*, 'to go up, rise', 'to attack' > *<sup>c</sup>ly*, 'most high, exalted', 'raised place (for sacrifice)' (cf. also noun deriv. *m<sup>c</sup>lt*, 'step'; *n<sup>c</sup>l*, 'platform, palanquin'; an maybe *f<sup>c</sup>lt*, 'superior power' > 'magic'[?]); **Heb.** *<sup>c</sup>ālāh*, 'to ascend, go up' < *<sup>c</sup>āleh*, 'leaf, foliage' (< 'outgrowth, on the top'), *<sup>c</sup>ōlāh*, 'sacrifice which is wholly burned' (< 'which goes up'), *<sup>c</sup>illī*, 'higher', *<sup>c</sup>aliyyāh*, 'upper room', and by suffix. /-ān/ *<sup>c</sup>elyôn*, 'something that is higher' (cf. EpHeb. *<sup>c</sup>lyn*, 'upper'); **NWS:** Phoen., EpHeb., *<sup>c</sup>ly*, 'to go up'; EpAram., Hatr., *<sup>c</sup>ly*, 'high', EpAram., Palm., JAram., *<sup>c</sup>lyh*, 'what is upon high' (cf. Pun. *<sup>c</sup>lh*, 'altar' / 'burnt-offering'; DNWSI 851; EpAram. *<sup>c</sup>lwh*, 'burnt-offering'); **Aram.:** BAram. *<sup>c</sup>ēllā*, 'over', *<sup>c</sup>lwh*, 'burnt-offering', *<sup>c</sup>illāy*, 'superior highest', *<sup>c</sup>illy*, 'roof-chamber', *<sup>c</sup>elyôn*, 'the most high'; JA *<sup>c</sup>ly*, 'upper, upper floor'; JPAram. *<sup>c</sup>ly*, 'to evaluate, raise the price, outbid', *<sup>c</sup>lh*, 'leaf', *<sup>c</sup>ālāh*, 'burnt offering', *<sup>c</sup>lyw*, 'upper portion, heaven'; JBAram. *<sup>c</sup>ilā'āh*, 'upper', *<sup>c</sup>ilā'y*, 'above, at the top of' with different syntagmatic realisations, *<sup>c</sup>ilāwê*, 'on top of', *<sup>c</sup>illūyā*, 'elevation of status', *<sup>c</sup>illitāh*, 'upper floor or room', a measure (< to increase'); JBAram. *<sup>c</sup>ly*, 'to raise the status or price, improve', *<sup>c</sup>ly*, 'leaves'; Syr. *<sup>c</sup>elwā*, 'uter, 'follis', 'anima mortui' (< (?) denom. < /<sup>c</sup>al-/ 'quod ascendit?'); Mand. *alua*, 'tendrill, leaf', *<sup>c</sup>lai*, *<sup>c</sup>laia*, 'supreme, high', *<sup>c</sup>lauia*, 'upon, above'; NAram. *<sup>c</sup>âlê*, 'to be or become high', 'to mount', *<sup>c</sup>ilâyâ*, 'high', *<sup>c</sup>ilithâ*, 'an upper room'; **ESA:** *<sup>c</sup>lw:y*, 'to go up', *<sup>c</sup>ly*, 'high, topmost', *<sup>c</sup>ly*, *<sup>c</sup>lt*, 'high ground, highland'; **MSA:** Meh. *<sup>c</sup>lw*, 'at the top'; Hars. *<sup>c</sup>ālwa*, 'north', *b-ā'la*, 'on, on top of'; Soq. *<sup>c</sup>éyli*, 'être haut', *<sup>c</sup>élthe*, 'haut' (cf. SL 309f.; on *<sup>c</sup>óli*, 'amour', *<sup>c</sup>al*, 'ami', cf. SL 310)); **Ar.** *<sup>c</sup>alā(w)*, 'to be high', *<sup>c</sup>a:ulw-*, 'the highest part', *<sup>c</sup>alā*, 'upon' and deriv., > *<sup>c</sup>alāt-*, 'anvil', *<sup>c</sup>aliyy-*, 'high' and deriv., with double intens./expan. Ar. *<sup>c</sup>a:ulliyyat-*, 'upper chamber' (maybe loanword from Heb.; cf. AEL 2125; cf. also Tig. WTS 453); **Eth.:** Ge. *<sup>c</sup>elā*, 'fountain' (< that comes up); Tig. *<sup>c</sup>āli*, 'the admirable one' (< Ar.), *<sup>c</sup>ēlā*, 'spring, deep well', *<sup>c</sup>alā*, 'to emigrate, to live as a fugitive', *<sup>c</sup>āli*, *<sup>c</sup>āylāy*, 'fugitive, foreigner' (cf. *supra* /<sup>c</sup>āla/, better than < Ar. *gālā*, 'to surpass the measure'); Tigñ. *<sup>c</sup>ila*, 'well', *<sup>c</sup>ala*, 'force of health', *<sup>c</sup>alla*, 'pasture which fattens', *<sup>c</sup>alla*, 'large acacia', *<sup>c</sup>allāwä*, 'to look good, be in good condition'. **b) W/SS. BS:** 'to raise up, rebel': **Heb.** *<sup>c</sup>alwāh*, 'disobedience' (possible metath. of *<sup>c</sup>awlāh*); **Aram.:** Syr. *<sup>c</sup>elyā*, 'scelus, injuria'; Mand. *<sup>c</sup>luana*, 'departed spirit, ghost' (MD 351); **Ar.** *<sup>c</sup>alā(w)*, 'to behave proudly, insolently', 'to rebel' (CDG 62); **Eth.:** Ge. *<sup>c</sup>alawa*, 'to deal treacherously, rebel', *<sup>c</sup>aliw*, 'rebellion' (*pace* Leslau CDG 62; Ug. *g<sup>c</sup>lyt* does not exist), and byform *<sup>c</sup>alaya*, 'to rebel', *<sup>c</sup>eluy*, 'perverse'; Tigñ. *<sup>c</sup>alāwä*, 'to knock down, rebel'; Amh. (<sup>c</sup>)*alo*, 'lie, denial', (<sup>c</sup>)*alowān mäläsä*, 'to get revenge'.

The double realisation in Ar. and Eth. illustrates well the different seman. value of the expan. morphs /-wa/ and /-ya/ (cf. *ArOr* 22, 2004, 80f.), although the contrary would be expected. For HSED 238 there is an independent root AA \*<sup>c</sup>al-, 'leaf'.



## 3 - Homographs/loanwords

- Akk. *alallu(m)*, *elallu*, a stone < (?) (denom.?).  
 Akk. *alallû*, a plant jB < (?)  
 Akk. *ellu*, 'pure', *elēlu*, 'to be(come) pure' < /ḫ-l/  
 Akk. *uliltu*, 'dried fig' < (?)  
 Akk. *ullulu*, kind of body armour Lex. < (?)  
 Akk. *ulû(m)*, 'the best oil' < Sum. (?)  
 Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ul<sup>c</sup>ul-*, 'cartilago, penis' < (?)  
 Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ullān-*, 'ignorant, ignored' ... < (?)  
 Ge. <sup>c</sup>*allala*, 'to dye' < /ǧll/ (CDG 60-61).  
 Tig. <sup>c</sup>*alā*, 'to pour out, to heat, to smoke-dry' (WTS 453) < denom. (?)  
 Tig. <sup>c</sup>*alāl*, 'rust' < denom. (?) (< 'superposed').  
 Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ēl*, 'stupid' < (?)  
 Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*ala*, 'stalk trampled in threshing' < (?)  
 Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*allälä*, 'to dye' < Amh. <sup>c</sup>*älälä*, 'to dye' < (?)  
 Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*allälä*, 'tail of sheep and cows' < (?)  
 Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aläl*, 'kite' < (?)  
 Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*əwal*, 'kitten', 'litter of' < (?)  
 Amh. <sup>(c)</sup>*ela*, 'cistern' < (?)

/<sup>c</sup>vM-/

## 1 - First level: simple binary base

- a) /<sup>c</sup>**aM**-/ PrimW, with sponataneous conson. intens., CS. **BS**: 'clan' > '(to be) numerous group' > 'belonging to the group', 'general', 'commun' (Sp. 'amontonar', 'del montón') < 'the clan is the first, primary numerous group' > 'oncle', the individual eponimic representative in the clan system; both semes are frequently combined: **Akk.** *ḥammu(m)*, 'family head (CDA), *emu(m)*, 'father-in-law', 'family', by suffix. expan. /-ān/, *ummānu(m)*, 'army, troops' < 'crowd, common people' (CDA 422; AHw 1413); **Amor.** /<sup>c</sup>ammu/, 'paternal oncle' (Gelb 1980:15); **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>*m*, 'lineage, ancestors'; **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*ām*, 'father's brother', '(paternal) relationship, clan', 'people(s)', <sup>c</sup>*mm*, 'to pile up' >? 'to become covered/dark', cf. /<sup>c</sup>amaya/ (possible phonolog. and semant. contamination < cf. Ar. *ḡamma*, AED 2289ff); NHeb. <sup>ca</sup>*mām*, 'people', 'gentiles'; **NWS**: Phoen., Moab., EpHeb., EpAram., Nab., Hatr; JA <sup>c</sup>*mm*, 'pagan'; JAram. <sup>c</sup>*m*, 'people', <sup>ca</sup>*mam*, 'gentiles', Nab. <sup>c</sup>*m*, 'great-grandfather'; **Aram.:** BAram.: <sup>c</sup>*am*, 'nation, peolple'; JA <sup>c</sup>*am*, 'people'; JBArAm. <sup>c</sup>*amā*, 'nation, peolple', JPAram. <sup>c</sup>*am*, 'people', <sup>c</sup>*mm*, 'gentile', JBArAm. <sup>c</sup>*ammā*, 'nation, people', <sup>ca</sup>*māmê*, 'pagans'; Syr. <sup>c</sup>*amā*, 'people', <sup>c</sup>*amtā*, 'aunt', <sup>c</sup>*ammāyā*, 'gentil, vulgar', <sup>c</sup>*amîmā*, 'abject'; Mand. <sup>c</sup>*amu*, 'oncle', <sup>c</sup>*ama*, 'aunt', *ama*, 'people, nation'; NAram. <sup>c</sup>*âmâ*, 'people, nation', <sup>c</sup>*âmâ*, 'paternal oncle'; **ESA** <sup>c</sup>*m*, 'uncle, male cognate', <sup>c</sup>*mt*, 'general populace', <sup>c</sup>*mm*, 'publicity, publication', <sup>c</sup>*mm*, 'to fill (with widespread rain); **MSA**: Meh. (*w*)*m*, 'ancestor, grandfather', <sup>c</sup>*āmēt*, 'grandmother, aunt'; Jibb. <sup>c</sup>*om*, 'grandfather, ancestor'; Hars. <sup>c</sup>*ōm*, 'grandfather, ancestor', <sup>c</sup>*āmēt*, 'grandmother'; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*amm-*, 'a numerous company of men'/'a paternal oncle', <sup>c</sup>*ammāt-*, 'aunt', <sup>c</sup>*am<sup>c</sup>ama*, 'to have a numerous army'; <sup>c</sup>*amma*, 'to be common, general', <sup>c</sup>*amam-*, 'the state of being numerous', 'largeness, bigness' and deriv., <sup>c</sup>*ummiyy-*, 'of the common sort', and deriv.; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>*amama*, 'to be numerous, abundant'; Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ammāt*, 'aunt from the father's side'; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*amma*, 'general', <sup>c</sup>*ammi*, 'master, boss'; Amh. (')*ammämä*, 'to work in a row', (')*əmam*, 'line, row (of workers)'; Gu. *əmmewät*, 'maternal/paternal aunt (EDG 54), Gu. *əmməyä('ə)*, 'big, large' < 'abundant, much' (better than < *əmm*, 'mother').

HSED 239 distinguishes two different AA roots \*<sup>c</sup>al-, ‘relative, friend’ // ‘people’. In this case the intens. is morphemic, while in the simple root is compensatory or spontaneous.- On the same ‘to be dark, black, dirty’, cf. *infra* /<sup>c</sup>āma/. –

CS /<sup>c</sup>əm-/ PrimW- functor as distrib. apoph. altern., Ug. <sup>c</sup>m, ‘to, towards’, < ‘with’ (Sp. ‘ir junto a’); NWS (EpHeb., Sam., EpASram., Nab., Palm., JAram.) /Heb./JBaram. functor <sup>c</sup>im, ‘with’, JPArAm. <sup>c</sup>em, ‘with’, Syr. <sup>c</sup>am, ‘with’, Mand. <sup>c</sup>m, <sup>c</sup>amu, ‘with’, NAram. <sup>c</sup>im, ‘with’, Amh. (‘)əm, ‘from, than’, ESA <sup>c</sup>m, ‘with, in the presence of’; BS: ‘junction’ (DTT 1086), (l<sup>c</sup>)<sup>c</sup>ummāh, ‘close to, beside, corresponding’ (< ‘group’; against HALOT 842); may be connected semantically with /<sup>c</sup>am-/. - SF: family relationship.

b) /<sup>c</sup>aM-/ Denom. predic. expan. by conson. intens. < /<sup>c</sup>am-/ < /<sup>c</sup>am(a)ma/, W/SS. **BS:** ‘distinctive of the clan’, by meton. semantic shift: **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>imāmat-, ‘thing that one winds upon the head, turban’; **MSA:** Hars. <sup>c</sup>amōmet, ‘turban’; **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>amma, ‘to wind around, to veil’, <sup>c</sup>əmāmat, ‘turban’, <sup>c</sup>emām, ‘a kind of muzzle’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>umma, ‘turban’ > <sup>c</sup>ammāmā, ‘to cover the head with gauze’, ‘to put on a turban’, <sup>c</sup>amāmā, ‘to steal cattle by wrapping s.th. around thye muzzle...’; Amh. (‘)mmāmā, ‘to put on a turban’; Gu. *imama*, ‘turban’.

The derivation maybe took place from denom. < /<sup>c</sup>amama/, ‘to pile up’ (Ug.), ‘to wind around, to veil’ (Tig.).

c) /<sup>c</sup>aM-/ Denom. predic. expan. by vocal. intens. < /<sup>c</sup>am-/ > /<sup>c</sup>āma/, WS. **BS:** ‘to be numerous’ > ‘to cover’: **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>āmm-, ‘common, general’, <sup>c</sup>āmat-, ‘a thing that floats, made of branches of tress’ (made of many elements put together) > denom. deriv. ‘to float’ > <sup>c</sup>āma, ‘to sweep’ ‘to course along in/upon water’ and deriv.; **MSA:** Soq. <sup>c</sup>ym, ‘atteindre’; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>oma, ‘to cover’ > <sup>c</sup>om, ‘tree, grove, forest’; Tig. <sup>c</sup>um, ‘tree’; Amh. (‘)ayyāmā, ‘to plow a second time’ (?).

Perhaps we have better sending back the same ‘to cover’ to a base /ġ-m-/, ‘dark, obscure’ < **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>amma/<sup>c</sup>āma, ‘to cover, conceal (CDG 63); **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>oma, ‘to cover’ Heb./Nheb./Aram. /<sup>c</sup>mm/, ‘to be dim’ (HALOT 846; CDG 78), <sup>c</sup>am<sup>c</sup>am, ‘mire, marshal’ (CDG 63); by seman. shift (cf. Sp. ‘cubrir un puesto’) Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>amāmā, ‘to accomplish a task’, ‘to steal cattle by wrapping s.th. around the muzzle...’, <sup>c</sup>amam, ‘affair, task’; Mand. <sup>c</sup>UM, Af. ‘to obscure, darken’ (MD 343 < Ar. <sup>c</sup>āma) in complementary distribution with /<sup>c</sup>amama/ b) and with possible root contamination (cf. Ug. <sup>c</sup>mm, ‘to pile up’ > ‘to become covered/dark’). Cf. > WS expan. /<sup>c</sup>amaya/: **Heb.:** NHeb. /<sup>c</sup>my/, <sup>c</sup>ameh, ‘to be dark’; **Aram.:** JAram. <sup>c</sup>my, ‘to be dim’; Mand. *amm*, ‘to grow dim’, <sup>c</sup>uma, ‘darkness, obscurity’; Tig. <sup>c</sup>am<sup>c</sup>amē, ‘to get spoiled (milk)’ (< ‘dark color’); cf. *infra* /<sup>c</sup>my/.

/<sup>c</sup>aM-/ PrimW, with spontaneous implicit intens., SW/SS. **BS:** ‘time span’: **ESA** <sup>c</sup>wm, ‘year’(?); **Ar.**, <sup>c</sup>ām-, ‘year’ and deriv., <sup>c</sup>ayām-, ‘day’ >? Mand. <sup>c</sup>umama, ‘day-time’ (MD 344 < yom); **MSA:** Hars. /<sup>c</sup>wm/, ‘year’; Soq. <sup>c</sup>ám, conj./prep. ‘lorsque, quand’ (but cf. SL 312 : < yôm [?]); **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>ām(at), ‘year, epoch’; Tig. <sup>c</sup>āmat, ‘year’ > <sup>c</sup>ēmāt, ‘perennial spring; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>amāt, ‘year’, <sup>c</sup>ami, ‘last year’; Amh. (‘)amāt, ‘year, age’; Gu. *amāt*, ‘year’, *amama balā*, ‘to become nearly ripe’ (?) > *amameyā*, ‘nearly ripe’ > ‘very old’ > ‘used up’ > ‘blunt’ (EDG 49).

AA Essay 88. Maybe seman. deriv. from the former base: ‘the basic number, group of days’, the contrast. opposition /<sup>c</sup>am-/ # /<sup>c</sup>əm-/, being neutralised by the laryngeal. Compare the common Semitic alternative /šnt/. - SF: time division.

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

The possibility of seeing in Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>ammārā, ‘to grow, increase’, <sup>c</sup>əmri, ‘life’, <sup>c</sup>amil, ‘customer, client’, suffix. expan. /-ra/ and (-la) of /<sup>c</sup>am-/ are very remote.

/<sup>c</sup>**aMaYa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < /<sup>c</sup>am-/ > /<sup>c</sup>ama+ya/, W/SS. **BS:** ‘to make general, indistinguished, confuse > ‘to (be) blind’: **Aram:** Syr. \*/<sup>c</sup>my/ Itp. ‘to become mentally blinded’ < **Ar.:** <sup>c</sup>*amiya*, ‘to be or become blind’, <sup>c</sup>*amin-*, <sup>c</sup>*mā*, ‘blind’, <sup>c</sup>*am(y)an*, ‘blindly’, ‘stature, height’ (< <sup>c</sup>*ummiyyat-*, ‘pride, haughtiness’ > deriv. by seman. shift in relation to ‘blindness of mind’?), ‘dust’ (‘that blinds, makes obscure’), <sup>c</sup>*imyat-*, ‘a thing chosen, selected’ (Sp. ‘escoger a ciegas’), <sup>c</sup>*amā-*, ‘clouds’ (‘dense, covering’), <sup>c</sup>*umayy-*, ‘vehement’ (said of the heat) (Sp. ‘un sol cegador’), <sup>c</sup>*amā’at-*, ‘persistent error’, ‘ignorance’ (< ‘blindness’) > **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>*amā*, ‘to become blind’; by morph. conson. inten. Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*ammätü*, ‘to blindfold, cover the eyes’.

Cf. CS /<sup>c</sup>-w-r/, seme ‘blind’, primary notion. The base /<sup>c</sup>my/ seems a secondary seman. deriv. proper to Ar. In any case the base is to be distinguished from /ġm(m)/, although a contamination of bases can be supposed also in this case (cf. *supra*); cf. also the parallel seman. chain Heb. /<sup>c</sup>-w-n/ II # Ar. /ġ-y-n/, ‘to cover’, ‘cloud’.

### 3 - Homographs/loanwords

- Akk. *amu(m)*, ‘raft’ KW < (?)
- Akk. *amû*, a spiny plant, Ar. <sup>c</sup>*amat-* < (?) (cf. HSED 240: Eg. <sup>c</sup>*3mw.t*, ‘field plant’).
- Akk. *amû*, ‘palate’ < Sum.
- Akk. *emû*, ‘tongue (of a plough)’ < Sum.
- Akk. *immû*, ‘tablet, record’ < Sum.
- Akk. *imum*, an implement < Sum.
- Akk. *imû*, ‘tuft of black hair’ jB < (?)
- Akk. *umāmu(m)*, ‘animal, beasts’ < (HSED 251 < AA \*<sup>c</sup>u:am [?]).
- Akk. *umātu*, a wooden object jB < (?)
- Akk. *ummu(m)*, a reed rope O/jB < Sum.
- Akk. *ummu*, a bird jB < (?) (cf. Amh. <sup>c</sup>*amāto*, ‘coot’ # (‘) *amāte*, ‘a bird’ < [?]).
- Akk. *ūmu(m)*, ‘storm(-demon)’ < Sum. (?)
- Mand. <sup>c</sup>*umamata*, ‘oaths’ (MD 344 < Syr. *mūmatā*).
- Ar. /<sup>c</sup>-y-m/, ‘to long for milk’ (seme ‘thirst’, bedouin level) < (?)
- Ar. <sup>c</sup>*īmat-*, ‘the best’ < (poetic deriv.; AEL 2213).
- Ge./Tig./Amh. <sup>c</sup>*om*, ‘tree’ < LW (?)
- Tig. <sup>c</sup>*āmāmmo*, ‘first fruit’ (cf. WTS 457) < (?)
- Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*ēmä*, ‘to sleep (cows)’ < (?)
- Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*amām bälä*, ‘to be uprooted and fall (tree)’ < (?)
- Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*amim bälä*, ‘to mutter, grumble, complain’ (onomatop.?) < cf. /cal-/.
- Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*amam*, ‘food as gift’ (TED 1838) < (?)

### /<sup>c</sup>vN-/

#### 1- First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>**aN-**/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by implicit conson. intens. W/SS. **Bs.:** ‘opposite’ // ‘separate, distant’ > ‘something that lies in between’, ‘object’, ‘obstacle’ > ‘appearance’, in the double sense of ‘opposition’ and ‘presence’: **Aram.:** NAram. functor <sup>c</sup>*n*, ‘about, with respect to’; **Ar.** functor: <sup>c</sup>*an*, ‘(transition) from, for, above, because, after ...’; **MSA:** Soq. functor <sup>c</sup>*an*, ‘de, pour’, ‘tantôt ... tantôt’; **Eth.:** Amh. (‘) *enna*, ‘and’ (?); Gu. -*anna*, ‘and’; *eña*, ‘other, different’.

HSED 240 distinguishes AA \*<sup>c</sup>an-, ‘be tired, be ill’ and \*<sup>c</sup>a:in-, ‘exist’. - SF: Physic. position > functorial morpheme.

/<sup>c</sup>ǎN-/ PrimW, with spontaneous implicit. intens., CS. **BS:** ‘time span’: **Akk.** *inu* > *e:inuma*, functor ‘when, at the time of’, *anīna*, *anni* (*pace* CDA 18 < *annû(m)*, ‘this’), *ene:a:in(na:i)*, *enna*, *inanna*, ‘now’; **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>*nt*, ‘now’ (< ‘this moment’); **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*ēt(t)*, ‘point in time, occasion, time’, <sup>c</sup>*ittî*, ‘timely’, <sup>c</sup>*attāh*, ‘now’, <sup>c</sup>*ōnāh*, ‘sexual intercourse’ < NHeb. <sup>c</sup>*ōnāh*, ‘a particular time’ (< Jaram. <sup>c</sup>*ontā*, <sup>c</sup>*ūtā*, ‘time, hour’, ‘duration of cohabitation’ < ‘special time’; HALOT 855); **Aram.:** BA *k<sup>l</sup>-an<sup>l</sup>enet<sup>l</sup>et*, ‘now’; JA <sup>c</sup>*nh*, ‘period’, JPParam. <sup>c</sup>*nh*, ‘time’, denom. > <sup>c</sup>*ny*, ‘to be late’ (cf. Sp. ‘hacer tiempo’, ‘contemporizar’); **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>*enā*, ‘time, turn, place’ (CDG relates it to Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ān*, <sup>c</sup>*awān*, ‘time’ [?]); Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*an<sup>c</sup>anā*, ‘to become feeble (voice, due to old age)’, ‘to wear out (machine)’; *anna*, ‘while’; Gu. *anna*, ‘while’.

Maybe there is a connexion between the two supposed original bases. At the same time a complem. distribution with /ǎm-/ is easy to be supposed - SF: Time determination

- a) /<sup>c</sup>ǎN-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by vocal.-glide intens., WS. **BS:** ‘separation/opposition’ > ‘contrary (misdeed) or intervening action (help)’; **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*āwōn*, ‘misdeed, sin’, ‘guilt, punishment’, with epenth. /-w-/; NWS: Pun. <sup>c</sup>*n*, ‘portico, porch or colonnade’ (?) (> ‘separating’ (DNWSI 874); **Aram.:** Palm. <sup>c</sup>*wnh*, ‘division for duty of priests’/‘type of religious confraternity’ (?); NAram. <sup>c</sup>*ōnā*, ‘help, assistance’; **ESA** <sup>c</sup>*wn*/ H <sup>c</sup>*h<sup>c</sup>n*, ‘to help’, <sup>c</sup>*h<sup>c</sup>nt*, ‘help’; **MSA:** Meh. <sup>c</sup>*wn*, ‘to help’; Jibb. <sup>c</sup>*wn*/, ‘to help’; Hars. <sup>c</sup>*wn*/, ‘help’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*awān-*, ‘that lies in between’ (‘of middle age’...) and deriv., <sup>c</sup>*awn-*, ‘help’ (< ‘to avoid the distance’) (HALOT 799), with many deriv., <sup>c</sup>*mā<sup>c</sup>ūnat-*, ‘officer for rectifying the common affairs’ (< ‘intermediary’); **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>*āwana*, ‘to help’; <sup>c</sup>*ona*, ‘ruin’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*awānā*, ‘to help’; <sup>c</sup>*ona*, ‘to devastate’; Gu. *ona*, ‘empty, abandoned’ (?).
- b) /<sup>c</sup>ǎN-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by conson. intens., W/SS. **BS:** ‘something lying in between’, so that reveals or hides > interprets: **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>*nn*, ‘manservant’, ‘herald’ (DUL 170); **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*nn*, ‘to cause to become visible’, Po. ‘to interpret > pt. <sup>c</sup>*ōnēn*, ‘soothsayer’; **MSA:** by different semantic shifts Meh. <sup>c</sup>*nn*, ‘to tug unsuccessfully at s.th.’; Soq. <sup>c</sup>*én(n)*, ‘tired’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*anna*, ‘to appear, to intervene’, ‘to turn aside’ [in this connexion the suggestion of HSED 255: AA <sup>c</sup>*Vn-*, ‘to turn’ is dispensable), ‘to withhold’, and many deriv., <sup>c</sup>*anan-*, ‘opposition’, <sup>c</sup>*ann-*, ‘manner’, <sup>c</sup>*unnat-*, ‘(verbal) opposition’, ‘(sexual) incapacity’, ‘enclosure’, (> ‘rope’, ‘booth, reeds’), <sup>c</sup>*inān-*, ‘the strap of the bridle’, <sup>c</sup>*anūn-*, ‘one who presents or opposes himself’, <sup>c</sup>*unānāka*, ‘the utmost of thy power’, <sup>c</sup>*unwān-*, ‘indication’, <sup>c</sup>*ānn-*, ‘long mountain (interrupting the way)’, <sup>c</sup>*a<sup>c</sup>nān-*, ‘sides, tracts’; > (opposite to the norm) ‘defaults, anomalies’: <sup>c</sup>*anān-*, ‘flatulent’, <sup>c</sup>*unnat-*, ‘impotence’, <sup>c</sup>*innīn-*, ‘impotent’ (DMWA 647), <sup>c</sup>*m<sup>c</sup>ann-*, ‘one who interferes’, <sup>c</sup>*mu<sup>c</sup>annan*, <sup>c</sup>*mā<sup>c</sup>nūn*, ‘crazy’, ‘possessed’; **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>*anna*, ‘to befall, to fall upon’; Amh. (‘)anāt, ‘crown, top of the head’ (?); Gu. *ōnnā barā*, ‘to agree, consent’ (?) (but cf. EDG 55), (‘)āññā, ‘other, different’, *añe*, ‘to be asleep, have intercourse’ (?).

In this regard Heb. <sup>c</sup>*ānān*, ‘cloud’, <sup>c</sup>*ānānāh*, ‘raincloud’; Syr. <sup>c</sup>*nanā*, ‘clouds’; Mand. *anana*, ‘cloud’ (> ‘spouse’, by semant. shift.), NAram. <sup>c</sup>*nānā*, ‘cloud’; Ar. > <sup>c</sup>*anān-*, ‘clouds’ ...; maybe considered the ‘revealing’ and ‘hiding’ ‘object’, *kat<sup>c</sup>exochēn*. (‘‘appearing or presenting themselves, or extending sideways ...’’, AEL 2166).

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

AA: Essay 89, HSED 243; SED I 28: CS. <sup>c</sup>*y-n*/, ‘eye’ and deriv., PrimW. of the original triconson. class /XvYX-/ [> /X<sub>v</sub>YX-/], with second semiconsonants and sonants, body part. (cf. <sup>c</sup>*uzn-*, ‘anp- .../); Heb., Aram., Ar., Ge., Tigñ., Amh. <sup>c</sup>*a:āyn*, <sup>c</sup>*ayni*; by contract. Akk. *inu(m)*, Ug. <sup>c</sup>*n*, Mand. <sup>c</sup>*in*, Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ǎn*, <sup>c</sup>*in*, Gu. *e:in*; although a relationship with <sup>c</sup>*an-* by epenth. expan. /-y/, ‘that reveals’, cannot be ruled out, the metonymy is not easy to be traced.

CS <sup>c</sup>*ny*, to sing < Ar. *gana*: Syr., NHeb., Mand., NAram, Ug. ...; but the same ‘antiphone’ shares both semes: answer/sing; maybe the roots are allophonic /{pharyngo-laryngeal} + {n}/. Only suffix. expan. /-w:ya/ are feasible.

/<sup>c</sup>**aNaWa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-wa/ < /<sup>c</sup>an-/ > /<sup>c</sup>ana+wa/, W/SS. **BS:** ‘to be separated, put in bad position, opposed, oppressed’: **Ug.**, <sup>c</sup>*nw*, ‘to be/remain depressed’; **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*ānā*, ‘to be wretched, emaciated’, ‘to be troubled’, Pi ‘to oppress’, <sup>c</sup>*ānāw*, ‘bowed’, <sup>c</sup>*ānî*, ‘poor, wretched’ (EpHeb. <sup>c</sup>*ny*, ‘poor one’ (?)), <sup>c</sup>*nî*, ‘misery, oppressed situation’, NHeb. <sup>c</sup>*inw<sup>e</sup>tān*, ‘humble’; **Aram.:** EpAram. <sup>c</sup>*nh*, ‘humble’ (?), <sup>c</sup>*nwh*, ‘humiliation’ (DNWSI 874); BA <sup>c</sup>*nēh*, ‘...’, JA <sup>c</sup>*ny* Pa, ‘to afflict’, JAram. <sup>c</sup>*anyāh*, ‘poor’, JPArAm. <sup>c</sup>*ny*, ‘to be poor’, ‘poor person’, Pa. ‘to afflict’, <sup>c</sup>*nwwn*, ‘humble’, JBArAm. <sup>c</sup>*ny* Pe, ‘to become poor’, Pa ‘to afflict’, <sup>c</sup>*nê*, ‘poor person’; **ESA** <sup>c</sup>*nw*, ‘to be distressed, troubled’, <sup>c</sup>*nt*, ‘distress, trouble’; **Ar.**, <sup>c</sup>*anā(w)*, ‘to be(come) lowly, humble, submissive’, with many deriv. meanings (said of ‘flanks, urine, women, flux’), IV ‘to imprison’, <sup>c</sup>*inw-*, ‘the sides, regions’, <sup>c</sup>*anwat-*, ‘force, taking by force’, ‘the act of putting forth’, <sup>c</sup>*unwān-*, ‘indication, title’ (< ‘that separates, distinguishes’); **Eth.:** Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*anāwā*, ‘to collapse, crumble’ (cf. infra /<sup>c</sup>-y-/).

The suggestion of an AA root \*<sup>c</sup>v<sup>n</sup>aw, ‘to work, make’ > Ar. <sup>c</sup>*nw*, ‘produce (of land)’, put forward by HSED 255, is inconsistent and its AA support very weak. The authors themselves do not believe in it: “\*<sup>c</sup>v- may be a prefix”.

/<sup>c</sup>**aNaYa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < /<sup>c</sup>an-/ > /<sup>c</sup>ana+ya/, E/WS. **BS:** ‘to oppose someone > to reply, contest’ (cf. the double meaning of Sp. ‘contestar’: ‘to answer’ and ‘to oppose’): **Akk.** <sup>c</sup>*enû(m)*, ‘to change, alter’ (cf. AHW 220), <sup>c</sup>*ēnû*, ‘substitute’, by semantic shift <sup>c</sup>*unūtu(m)*, ‘tools, equipment’ < <sup>c</sup>*inītu(m)*, ‘team of plough-oxen’ (< ‘that serves to alter’ [?]); **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>*ny*, ‘to answer’, <sup>c</sup>*m<sup>e</sup>n*, ‘reply’; **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*ānāh*, ‘to reply, answer’, in legal action ‘to reply’; NHeb. <sup>c</sup>*ny*, ‘to begin to speak’, <sup>c</sup>*inyān*, ‘correspondence, relation, subject ...’, <sup>c</sup>*nāw:yāh*, ‘divine response > ‘fertility’; **Aram.:** BA <sup>c</sup>*nh* Pe, ‘to answer’, ‘to commence talking’, JPArAm. <sup>c</sup>*ny*, ‘to answer’ (cf. DA <sup>c</sup>*nyh*, ‘female oracle priest’; DNWSI 977), <sup>c</sup>*nyyn*, ‘matter, case’; JBArAm. <sup>c</sup>*ny*, ‘to respond’, <sup>c</sup>*inyāyn(ā)*, ‘matter, topic’, Syr. <sup>c</sup>*nā*, ‘answer’, <sup>c</sup>*enyanā*, ‘answer’, and by seman. shift <sup>c</sup>*nā*, ‘to be busy, idoneous’, <sup>c</sup>*enyanā*, ‘care, solicitude’ (< Ar.); Mand. <sup>c</sup>*ana*, ‘to answer’, <sup>c</sup>*niana*, ‘answer, reply’, NArAm. <sup>c</sup>*ānê*, ‘to answer’, <sup>c</sup>*inyat*, ‘conscience, design’; **MSA:** Meh. <sup>c</sup>*ny*, H ‘to decide’ intend’, <sup>c</sup>*mānî*, ‘example, intention’; Jibb. <sup>c</sup>*ny*, ‘to mean’; Hars. /<sup>c</sup>ny/ > <sup>c</sup>*mēna*, ‘meaning’; Soq. /<sup>c</sup>tny/, ‘voyager’ (SL 316); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*anā(y)*, ‘to disquiet, concern, affect’, <sup>c</sup>*aniya*, ‘to suffer difficulty, distress’, ‘to become a captive’, ‘to befall, betide, occur, happen’, by enant. ‘to have a beneficial effect’, ‘to mean, intend’, <sup>c</sup>*mānān-*, ‘meaning, intended sense’, ‘idea, quality’ (cf. <sup>c</sup>*unwān-*, ‘indication, title’), <sup>c</sup>*unyān-*, ‘difficulty, distress’; **Eth.:** Gu. <sup>c</sup>*anā*, ‘consider’ (but cf. EDG 54).

### 3 - Homographs/loanwords

Ug. <sup>c</sup>*n*, ‘furrow’ < (?).

Heb. <sup>c</sup>*wn* III, ‘to dwell’ < Ar. /ḡny/, ‘to dwell’ (HALOT 799f.), cf. ESA <sup>c</sup>*m<sup>e</sup>n*, ‘dwelling’.

JPArAm. <sup>c</sup>*n*, ‘sheep’, JBArAm. <sup>c</sup>*ana*, ‘small cattle’ (DJPAram 871); Nheb. <sup>c</sup>*an(’)*, ‘small cattle’ (DTT 1091), Mand. <sup>c</sup>*ana*, sheep, Syr. <sup>c</sup>*anā*, ‘pecus, oves’ < Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ḏa’an-*, ‘sheep’, <sup>c</sup>*ānat-*, ‘a herd of wild asses’ <? denom. (?) AA?

JBArAm. <sup>c</sup>*ana*, ‘portion of a ship’ (DJBAram. 871) < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*awānat-* ‘a certain creeping thing’ < (?).

Jibb., <sup>c</sup>*nn*, ‘to try to mount (bull), to jump on’ < (?).

### /<sup>c</sup>vP-/

#### 1 - First level : simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>**aP**-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by vocal.-glide intens., W/SS. **BS:** ‘bird’/‘flying’: **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>*p*, ‘to fly’/‘bird’; **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*āp*, ‘to fly’, <sup>c</sup>*ōp*, ‘everything that flies’; **NWS:** Phoen. <sup>c</sup>*p*, ‘to fly’, <sup>c</sup>*pt*, ‘winged disk (?)’ (DNWSI 878); **Aram.:** BAram. <sup>c</sup>*ōp*, ‘bird’, JPArAm. <sup>c</sup>*ōp*, ‘bird, fowl’, JBArAm. <sup>c</sup>*ōpā*, ‘bird, fowl’, Syr. <sup>c</sup>*awpā*, ‘birds’, ‘swarm’; **MSA:** Soq. <sup>c</sup>*ef(f)*, ‘voler, monter’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*ā(w)fa*, ‘to circle over (birds)’, <sup>c</sup>*ā(y)fa*,

‘to augure (from the birds)’ > Ar. <sup>c</sup>*awf-*, ‘state, condition, fortune, omen’ (< aruspicy); **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>*ofa*, ‘to fly’, <sup>c</sup>*of*, ‘fowl, bird’; Tig. <sup>c</sup>*of*, ‘bird, bat’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*u:of*, ‘bird, fowl’ (> ‘luck, good fortune’), <sup>c</sup>*af bälä*, ‘to rise, get up’; Amh. <sup>(c)</sup>*of*, ‘bird’; Gu. *of, üf<sup>v</sup>, äfw*, ‘bird’.

SED II 69ff. The redupl. phenotyp Ug. <sup>c</sup>*p<sup>c</sup>p*, ‘pupil (of eye)’ (cf. Ebl. *ib-ib-ba-tum*, VE 1204), Heb. <sup>c</sup>*ap<sup>c</sup>apayim*, ‘eye-lashes’ (better ‘eyelid’ in both cases; cf. *infra* /<sup>c</sup>a:əq-/) is not easily related to this root, maybe by a metaph. shift to the ‘flying’ movement (!) of the ‘eyelid’; cf. SED I 19. The same must be said of Tig. <sup>c</sup>*apā*, ‘to view (exactly), to be astonished’, <sup>c</sup>*apē*, ‘visible, notable, beautiful’; it could be taken as a denom. < AA Essay 89, Eg. <sup>c</sup>*py* - SF: fauna

- a) <sup>C</sup>**əP-**/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by vocal.-glide intens., W/SS. **BS:** ‘limit’, ‘end’, ‘to feel at the end’, terminal situation’ > ‘the last’, ‘the rest’ > ‘to get to the limit ... situation in which one remains ...’; >(?) ‘to be of no value’: **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*āyēp*, ‘(become) tired’; **Aram.:** Syr. <sup>c</sup>*ap*, ‘to get tired’, <sup>c</sup>*pā*, ‘busy’, <sup>c</sup>*payā*, ‘*mucor in pane*’, ‘pretext’, Mand. <sup>c</sup>*upia*, ‘weariness’ (cf. /<sup>c</sup>apawal/); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*ā(y)fa*, ‘to dislike, loath’, maybe by confusion with <sup>c</sup>*afafa* and <sup>c</sup>*afaya*: <sup>c</sup>*ayfat-*, ‘woman that recently gave birth and with milk suppressed ...’ (cf. *infra* <sup>c</sup>*ufāfat-*), <sup>c</sup>*īfat-*, ‘a good thing’, ‘the choice’ (cf. *infra* <sup>c</sup>*ifwat-*, ‘the best, choice’ < ‘final situation’); **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>*uf*, ‘a measure’ (?), Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ofā*, ‘to be complete, brim-full’, in health seman. field Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*if bälä*, ‘to feel sick to one’s stomach’ > <sup>c</sup>*aftāwä*, ‘to suffer indigestion due to overeating, to swell up (stomach)’; Gu. *epä, aypä*, ‘to do, make’ (?) (EDG 80, maybe < Cush.).

Cf. Zaborski 1971: 95, ‘to refrain’ (Ar. *na<sup>c</sup>afa*, <sup>c</sup>*affa*, <sup>c</sup>*afā*, ‘to refrain’, <sup>c</sup>*āfa*, ‘to feel abhorrence’ (cf. *inra* /<sup>c</sup>appa/). - SF: basic situation, physic. and physiological.

- b) /<sup>C</sup>**əP-**/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by conson. intens., W/SS?. **BS:** ‘to put a limit, end to ...’, ‘abstain from ...’: **Aram.:** JBAr. /<sup>c</sup>pp/, ‘to fold, double’; Syr. <sup>c</sup>*op<sup>c</sup>ap*, ‘duplicavit’, <sup>c</sup>*ī:epā*, ‘duplex’, <sup>c</sup>*papā*, ‘involucrum’, <sup>c</sup>*pīpā*, ‘duplex; Mand. <sup>c</sup>:*app*, ‘to double, wrap, bend’, <sup>c</sup>*pia*, ‘veils, coverings’ (?) (MD 355), *apapa*, ‘roll of manuscrit’, and the allophone. *aup*, ‘to double’, *aupa*, ‘increase, doubling’, NAr. <sup>c</sup>*pīpā*, ‘doubled’; and many deriv. with possible root confusion: ‘duplicare’/‘involvere’ < Ar. *da<sup>cc</sup>afa*, ‘to double’ by metanalysis ... (DJBAram. 874); **MSA:** Jibb. <sup>c</sup>*ff*, ‘to give up a bad habit’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*affa*, ‘to abstain’, ‘to suck’ > ‘(not) to lieve rest’, <sup>c</sup>*afāf-*, ‘abstemious’, <sup>c</sup>*af-f-*, ‘abstinent’ > ‘excellent’, ‘righteous’, by semantic shift <sup>c</sup>*uffat-*, ‘old woman’ (< ‘exhausted’), <sup>c</sup>*ufāfat-*, ‘milk remaning in the udder’; <sup>c</sup>*ifāf-*, a medicine; <sup>c</sup>*uffān-*, ‘moment of abstain’; **Eth.:** Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*afāf bälä*, ‘to sprout, beguin to come up’ (to overcome the limit) > <sup>c</sup>*afāfa*, ‘cast-off snakeskin’, <sup>c</sup>*afaf*, ‘chaff (grain), snakeskin, fish scales’ (a sort of limit), <sup>c</sup>*afafat*, ‘slough’ (?) (< outside the limit); Amh. (‘) <sup>c</sup>*affāfā*, ‘to trim the edges, to reap with a sickle’ (?).

In the health seman. Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*afāfā*, ‘to be(come) snotty, to have a runny nose’, <sup>c</sup>*af<sup>c</sup>af*, ‘snotty’, ‘runny-nosed’, are maybe alloph. of < /<sup>c</sup>-p/ > /<sup>c</sup>-n-p/ < Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*af<sup>c</sup>afā*, ‘to bubble, foam’, ‘to swell’, <sup>c</sup>*af<sup>c</sup>af*, ‘flabby, flaccid’. Cf. on the other hand AA \*<sup>c</sup>af-, ‘health’ (HSED 236 < Ar. <sup>c</sup>*āfiy-at-*, Hars. <sup>c</sup>*āfyet*, Meh. <sup>c</sup>*āfyēt*, Šh. <sup>c</sup>*afyet*, ‘health’), related maybe by meton. to the seme ‘to abstain’.

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

No other expansion but the normal suffix. /-w:y/ is ascertained for this base.

- /<sup>C</sup>**aPaWa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-wa/ < /<sup>c</sup>əp-/ > /<sup>c</sup>apa+wa/, W/SS. **BS:** ‘to arrive to / feel at the limit’: **Aram.:** EpAram. <sup>c</sup>*py*, ‘to strive, to do one’s utmost’; Mand. <sup>c</sup>*upia*, ‘weariness, infirmities’; **ESA:** <sup>c</sup>*wfyn*, ‘famine’; **MSA:** Meh. <sup>c</sup>*fw*, ‘to release’; Jibb. <sup>c</sup>*fw*, ‘to pardon, let off a debt’; Hars. /<sup>c</sup>fw/, S ‘to improve in health’, <sup>c</sup>*māffi*, ‘one who comes forward out of a party to assure s.o. of their peaceful intentions’; **Ar.:** <sup>c</sup>*afā(w)*, ‘to become effaced, to perish, to come to an end’, <sup>c</sup>*afw-*, ‘land in which is no sign ...’ (< ‘at the limit’), ‘to forgive’ (in this connexion HSED 251 points out for this Ar. phenotyp <

AA \*<sup>c</sup>uf-, ‘to heal, cure’ [!]; but it records for it also another AA root \*<sup>c</sup>Vf-, ‘to give’ [!]), <sup>c</sup>afwat, ‘bloodwit because by means of it pardon is obtained ...’; **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>apā, ‘to cure’ (?); Gu. *af barä*, ‘to forgive’, *efä*, ‘to cover’ (but cf. EDG 19 for another explanation and other SS languages: Har., Amh., Tig), *efä*, ‘to pass, go away’ (?) (but cf. EDG 19: < *alläfä*).

/<sup>c</sup>**aPaYa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < /<sup>c</sup>əp-/ > /<sup>c</sup>apa+ya/, CS. **BS:** ‘to go beyond the limit’ > ‘be abundant, to have a rest’, ‘to cover as to put a limit to s.th.’, ‘lid, sheath’: **Akk.** *apû*, ‘to become veiled, cloudy’ (<? ‘to overflow’), *apātu*, ‘numeours, teeming’, *upû(m)*, ‘cloud’; **Heb.:** <sup>c</sup>opî, ‘dense foliage’ (but maybe < Akk. *apu(m)*, *apû*, cf. *infra*; HALOT 860; EDG 19); **Aram.:** BAram. <sup>c</sup>opî, ‘foliage’; Syr. <sup>c</sup>awpā, ‘branch’, <sup>c</sup>pā, ‘to wrap, cover’, ‘to get something’ > ‘to blossom, to be luxuriant’. <sup>c</sup>awpyā, ‘flower’, <sup>c</sup>awpyanā, ‘business’, Etp. ‘to be busy’, <sup>c</sup>awpayā, ‘sepulcre’ < Etpa. ‘to be covered, buried’; Mand. *aupa*, ‘branch, stem, foliage’, ‘the foam of the water’, *apa*, ‘to be healed, recover’, *aupa*, ‘character, disposition’, <sup>c</sup>pia, ‘veils’ coverings’, NAram. <sup>c</sup>ūpāyā, ‘the burial service’, funeral’ (cf. Sp. ‘el finado’); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>apā(y), ‘to be abundant’, <sup>c</sup>afw-, ‘redundant portion’, ‘that remains over’ > ‘the best, benefit’ (< ‘beyond the limit’), <sup>c</sup>afwat-, ‘foam of cooking-pot’ (< ‘the best or the rest’), <sup>c</sup>ifwat-, ‘the best, choice’, and many other semantic deriv.; **Eth.:** Amh. *afot*, ‘sheath, foreskin’; Gu. *ifä*, ‘lid, cover’, *efä*, ‘to cover’ (EDG 19); Gu. *afäya*, ‘health’ (cf. EDG 23 < Ar. <sup>c</sup>āfiya).

A mixing of both allophone roots /<sup>c</sup>apaw:ya/ is semantically ascertainable: ‘to be abundant’ / ‘to cover’.

### 3 - Homographs/loanwords

Akk. *apu(m)*, ‘reed-bed’, *apû*, a spiny plant < AA \*<sup>c</sup>af-, ‘grass, plant’, Eg. <sup>c</sup>f.t, kind of plant (HSED 235).  
 Akk. *uppu(m)*, ‘tube, socket’ (CDA 424, but cf. EDG 19 < Ar. *ḥafā*).  
 Ar. /<sup>c</sup>-w-p/, ‘a plain’, ‘a guest’, ‘an animal’, ‘a plant’ ... < (?).  
 Ar. <sup>c</sup>a:i:ufw-, ‘young ass’ (AEL 2094) < (?).  
 Ar. <sup>c</sup>uffat, ‘a fish’ < maybe denom (?).  
 Ar. <sup>c</sup>awf-, ‘lion’, Tig. <sup>c</sup>of-, ‘leopard’ < (?).  
 Soq. <sup>c</sup>éyfi, ‘chevreau’ (cf. SED II 68f. < CS \*<sup>c</sup>ayp- / \*<sup>c</sup>pa(y)<sup>c</sup>, ‘kid’).

## /<sup>c</sup>vQ-/

### 1 - First level: simple binary base

a) /<sup>c</sup>**aQ**-/ PrimW, with spontaneous conson. intens. mainly, W/SS. **BS:** ‘small clot’ / ‘slit, hole’, concave/convex perspective: by metaph. shift > **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>q, ‘pupil’ (‘eyeball’); **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>āqāh, ‘eyeball’ (?) (cf. the seme ‘slit’ in Heb. *neq<sup>c</sup>bāh*); **Aram.:** with intens./gemin. cf. *infra* /<sup>c</sup>qq/, NAram. <sup>c</sup>ū:āqîq, a gem, ‘agate, cornelian, chrysolite’ (cf. by suffix. deriv. /-an/: Ar. <sup>c</sup>iqyān, ‘native gold’; Sp. ‘pepita de oro’); **ESA** <sup>c</sup>wq, ‘bank, embankment’ (?); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>aqq-, ‘any cleft, hole’ > <sup>c</sup>aqîq-, ‘cleft, split’, <sup>c</sup>aqîqat, ‘river, rivulet’ (with other denom. deriv. ‘fillet’, ‘prepuce’, ‘some wool’, ‘hair’ ..., related to the seme ‘to slit, cut’), but also <sup>c</sup>aqāq-, ‘embryo, pregnancy’, <sup>c</sup>aqūq-, ‘pregnant’, <sup>c</sup>uqq-, ‘a children’s play’; **Eth:** by metaph. deriv. Ge. <sup>c</sup>eq<sup>w</sup>ōn, ‘cream, butter’; Amh. <sup>(c)</sup>aq, ‘measure of four cubits of cloth’.

Cf. Zaborski 1971: 95, ‘to restrain, check’; Ar. <sup>c</sup>āqa, <sup>c</sup>aqā, like Aram. <sup>c</sup>qy, ‘to press, narrow’, appear to be a denom. deriv. from /<sup>c</sup>aq-/, ‘small clot’ / ‘hole’ with the seme ‘something tight, narrow’; cf. *infra* Heb. and Ug. - SF: physic. element > body part.

b) /<sup>c</sup>**aQ**-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by conson. intens., CS. **BS:** ‘to reduce to / to hurl clots’ (> ‘to mash, pulverize’), ‘to split’: **Akk.** *uqqu*, ‘to incise’, *eqēqu*, ‘to paralyse’, *uqqu*, ‘paralysis’ (?); **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>qq,

‘destructive’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*aqqa*, ‘to clive, slit, rent’ (?), ‘to be disobedient’ < ‘to break the obedience’, cf. *supra* the simple base for deriv.; **MSA:** Soq. <sup>l</sup>*qq*/, ‘attacher’ (SL 324 [?]); **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>*aqqa*, ‘to cut, wound, furrow’; by semantic shift > Amh. (‘) <sup>ə</sup>*qäq*, ‘compensation for an injury’, (‘) <sup>a</sup>*qäq mäqäq*, ‘pestle and mortar’, (‘) <sup>a</sup>*aqqama*, ‘sandspur’.

The Ar. meanings ‘to shoot the arrow’, and ‘to come up, rise (the bucket)’ (poet. < ‘to rise swiftly, cleaving the air’; AEL 2095, 2218), also found in <sup>l</sup>*aqaya*/, may be due to root contamination.

c) /<sup>C</sup>**aQa**/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by vocal.-glide intens., WS. **BS:** ‘to make small, to reduce’ < ‘to hinder’ : **Aram.:** JPAr. <sup>c</sup>*wq*, ‘to be distressed’, ‘distress’, Pa ‘to trouble’ (but cf. *infra* JA <sup>c</sup>*qh*, ‘trouble’), JBAr. <sup>c</sup>*wq*, ‘to cause trouble’, Syr. <sup>c</sup>*eqa*, ‘taedit’, <sup>c</sup>*aqtā*, ‘dolor’, <sup>c</sup>*ayiq*, ‘angustus’, Mand. <sup>a</sup>*auq*, ‘to be anxious, worry’, <sup>a</sup>*aq* ‘distress, adversity’, ‘harmful, (of eye) evil’, <sup>c</sup>*iqû(i)*, ‘misery, affliction’, may all come from < /<sup>ɸ</sup>*dyq*/ (cf. LS 517), an allophon, above all for the Aram. family; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*ā(w:y)qa*, ‘to hinder, impede, ...’, ‘to cleave’, <sup>c</sup>*awq-*, ‘one who hinders ...’, ‘a place of bending’, ‘time’, <sup>c</sup>*uwaq-*, ‘hindering’, <sup>c</sup>*ūq-*, ‘one in whom is no good’, by semant. shift <sup>c</sup>*awaq-*, ‘hunger’.

/<sup>C</sup>**aQ-**/ Onomatop. with vocal. intens., bird sound/singing, WS: **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*āq-*, ‘crow’s cry’, with gemin. onomatop. of phonol. symbolism > **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*aq<sup>c</sup>aq-*, ‘magpie’ (< because of her cry, AEL 2097). Other animal physiol. sound onomatop. <sup>c</sup>*awīq-*, <sup>c</sup>*uwāq-*; also <sup>c</sup>*ayq-*, ‘a cry used in chiding’; **MSA:** Jibb. <sup>c</sup>*aq<sup>c</sup>aq*, ‘frog’;

SF: onomatop. animal sounds

/<sup>C</sup>**əQ-**/ Onomatop. breathing sound, SS: **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>*iq’ bälä*, ‘to hiccough’, <sup>c</sup>*iq’ta*, ‘hiccough’ > <sup>c</sup>*aq’aq’ bälä*, ‘to creak, squeak (door)’ > ‘to call s.o. repeatedly’; Amh. (‘) <sup>ə</sup>*qq alä*, ‘to hiccup, to sob’, cf. also (‘) <sup>ə</sup>*qqwa alä*, ‘to walk making a clapping noise’, (‘) <sup>o</sup>*q*, ‘sound for urging on a horse’

SF: onomatop. physiol. sound.

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

Eth. Ge. <sup>c</sup>*wq*, ‘to know’ < by an hypoth. metaph. shift of infix. expan. /-w-/ or vocal. intens. < <sup>l</sup>*q*/, ‘pupil’ > ‘to reduce/sharpen the pupil’ [cf. Sp. ‘aguzar la vista achicando la abertura ocular’ > the gesture of aiming at] > ‘to look at attentively’; but better to suppose a Cush. origin (CDG 78-79); Amh. <sup>(c)</sup>*awwäqä*, ‘to know’, <sup>(c)</sup>*awaqi*, ‘intelligent, wise’, <sup>(c)</sup>*əwqät*, ‘knowledge’; Gu *awaqi*, ‘clever, wise’

Of other possible expansions only suffix. /-ma/ seems to offer a certain probability as a seman. deriv. < ‘to reduce, cut’: Eth. <sup>c</sup>*aqqama*, ‘delimit, define’, but **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*aqama*, ‘to dry (the backbones), to become rigid’, ‘to become barren’; in SS (Tig., Tigñ., Amh., Gur.) the root expresses the seme ‘ability’ (cf. CDG 67; EDG 80), only Amh. <sup>(c)</sup>*aqem*, presents the meaning ‘limit, confine’. More sure are the following suffix. expan.

/<sup>C</sup>**aQaYa**/ (?) Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < <sup>l</sup>*aq-* > <sup>l</sup>*aq+ya*/, W/SS. **BS:** ‘to compress’: **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*aqah*, ‘pressure’; **Aram.:** JA <sup>c</sup>*aqēt*, <sup>c</sup>*aqtā*, ‘anguish, trouble’, Syr. <sup>c</sup>*qā*, ‘supinum postravit’, <sup>c</sup>*eqā*, ‘torques’ (<? <sup>l</sup>*nq*/, itself a infix. expansion of <sup>l</sup>*q*/), <sup>c</sup>*eqyā*, ‘retroversio’, Mand. (‘) <sup>a</sup>*aqta*, ‘distress’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*iqy-*, ‘first excrement of an infant’ and denom.; **Eth.:** Gu. *e’ä* (< *aq’ä*), ‘crunch’, ‘be sick’ (EDG 2), *i’ina:ä’ä’enna* (< *aq’ä*), ‘ache, pain’ > *i’inām*, ‘sick, ill’, *a<sup>cc</sup>a*, ‘crunch grain’ (< *aq’ä*; cf. EDG 81f.: < /<sup>h</sup>*aqäyä*/ (?) > <sup>ə</sup>*qqəya*, ‘ache, pain’.

/<sup>C</sup>**aQaWa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < <sup>l</sup>*aq-* > <sup>l</sup>*aq+wa*/, W/SS. **BS:** ‘to reduce > to take for a clot’: **ESA** <sup>c</sup>*qw*, ‘to commit an abomination’, ‘abomination, sacrilege’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*aqā(w)*, ‘to dislike, to hate’; ‘to hinder’.



## 3 - Homographs/loanwords

Without clear seman. shift:

Akk. *eqû*, 'to anoint, smear' < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*uqq*, 'bitter water' < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*iqqûn*, 'trunk', 'stump' < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ayqat*, 'beach, patio', <sup>c</sup>*aqwat*, 'surroundings of the house, patio ..., stopping place...' < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ayyâq-*, <sup>c</sup>*ayyûq-* 'a bright star', maybe denomin < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*uqq-*, 'bitter(ness)' < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ayq-*, 'a share of water' < (?).

Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*iqqa*, 'a plant, sisal' < (?).

Tigñ. \*<sup>c</sup>*äqäyâ/tä<sup>c</sup>aqqäyâ*, 'to take service with s.o.' < (?).

/<sup>c</sup>vR-/

## 1 - First level: a) simple binary base

- a) /<sup>c</sup>**aR**-/ PrimW with vocal./conson. intens., CS. **BS**: 'protection, envelope, skin': **Akk.** *erru(m)*, 'ring, band' (> 'intestines' (?); but cf. SED I 23), *a:e:iria*, 'side by side'; **Ug.** *gr*, 'skin', but *t<sup>c</sup>rt*, 'sheath, quiver'; **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*ôr*, 'envelope, sheath' > 'skin/chaff (of a person, animal or vegetal)', <sup>c</sup>*îr*, 'conmotion' (by 'hide bristling') or < *infra* /<sup>c</sup>araya/; **NWS**: Pun. <sup>c</sup>*wr*, 'hide' (?) (DNWSI 834), <sup>c</sup>*rh*, 'hide' (DNWSI 887); **Aram.:** BA. <sup>c</sup>*ûr*, 'chaff', JPArAm. <sup>c</sup>*wr*, 'chaff' (maybe by metaph. shift EpArAm. <sup>c</sup>*r*, 'bearded vulture' (DNWSI 884; cf. Sp. 'peludo' and *infra* deriv. /ša<sup>c</sup>r-/ ), Syr. <sup>c</sup>*ûrâ*, 'straw'; **ESA** <sup>c</sup>*t<sup>c</sup>yr*, 'delimitation'; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*arr-*, 'mange, scab', <sup>c</sup>*urr-*, 'purulent pustules in the neck' (hide disease) > 'a vice, fault' > 'evil, mischief' > <sup>c</sup>*urrat-*, 'madness', 'diabolic possession' (and denomi. > 'dung', 'dirt, filth, ...'), <sup>c</sup>*arar-*, 'manginess' > <sup>c</sup>*arîru-*, 'a stranger', doubtful reading (meton. shift: by the skin?) (but cf. DUL 325), <sup>c</sup>*yr-*, 'prominence, protuberance ...' (< 'hide'), *physiol.* and of any other kind; **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>*əro*, said of skin: 'freckled dark and light (like a leopard)', <sup>c</sup>*arat*, 'pure white', <sup>c</sup>*ərat*, 'white spot (on an animal)', cf. <sup>c</sup>*arrara*, 'to be stained'; by morph. expan. Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*əroway*, 'multicolored, spotted'; Amh. (')*ərro*, 'a kind of paste smeared on a bride's skin'; (')*əyyər*, 'cartridge, shell case', (')*awr*, 'large chunk of rosk salt' (?); Gu *ur*, 'beam for the roof' (EDG 83) (?).

AA Essay 90: 'peau, cuir'. Ug. may suppose a secondary alloph., while the Arabic testimony is very clear (correct DUL 325: Ar. *ğawr* with this meaning does not exist) - SF: body part.

- b) /<sup>c</sup>**aR**-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by vocal.-glide intens, W/SS. **BS**: 'protect, defend, guard/to watch over (cf. Eng. 'to hide' and 'hide' ['skin']): Sp. 'guardar' = 'to hide' // 'to defend', It. 'guardare' = 'to look at', Fr. 'garder', 'regarder'): **Heb.** /<sup>c</sup>yr/, 'to protect, keep'; **Aram.:** JAram. <sup>c</sup>*yr*, 'guardian, overseer' (?) (cf. DNWSI 842); JPArAm. <sup>c</sup>*yr*, 'awake', <sup>c</sup>*wr*, 'to awake', Af 'to awaken', JBArAm. <sup>c</sup>*wr*, 'to awaken', <sup>c</sup>*yr*, 'awake', 'angel'; **Eth.:** Amh. (')*ara*, 'freeman' (?), maybe (')*awra*, 'dominant male animal', 'chief, head' < (')*awawər*, 'above all, principally' (AED 1274).

In Heb. <sup>c</sup>*ər* a contamination of bases (/<sup>c</sup>ar-/ // /<sup>c</sup>ər-/), 'protector/watcher', may be present, unless we assume an altern. expan. of the same base with semantic distribution. By the rest, this semantic chain would favour the relationship between /<sup>c</sup>ar-/, 'protection', and /<sup>c</sup>ər-/, 'to be alert' and their deriv. 'blind' (< 'hide' + 'to watch'; cf. *infra* /<sup>c</sup>-w-r/). The AA correspondence (Essay 90) would be 'parties cachées chez la femme' ...

- c) /<sup>c</sup>**aRa**/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by conson. intens., NWS. **BS: 1)** 'to take off the skin' (Sp. 'pelar'?, Eng. 'to peel'): **Akk.** *urrû* jB, 'trimmed, pruned'; **Heb.** /<sup>c</sup>rr/, 'to strip oneself', byform of /<sup>c</sup>ry/ (HALOT 889); **NWS:** EpArAm. <sup>c</sup>*rr*, Pu 'to be denuded, stripped'; **ESA** <sup>c</sup>*rwr*, 'devastation'; **2)** 'to put

on the skin', 'to cover' **MSA:** Meh. <sup>c</sup>rr, 'to back off'; Jibb. <sup>f</sup>rr/, 'to dam, staunch (blood)'; Soq. <sup>c</sup>ér(r), 'enfermer, surveiller, retenir' (SL 329); **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>f</sup>rr/, 'become blind', byform of <sup>f</sup>wr/, cf. *infra* (CDG 71), <sup>c</sup>arert, 'kind of eye-disease', <sup>t</sup>arir, 'desert area' (cf. Sp. 'monte pelado'; but cf. Leslau CGD 71); Tig. <sup>c</sup>arrat, 'meadow'; Amh. (')arrärä, 'to reap, mow, glean' (cf. a)), (')arur, 'ball of hardwool or of woven leather'

Cf. Zaborski 1971: 95, 'to bare, denude' (Ar. <sup>f</sup>-r-r/, <sup>f</sup>-w-r/, <sup>f</sup>-r-y/; Akk. *ūru(m)*, 'nakedness' > 'pudenda').

**<sup>f</sup>ar-/** Onomatop. human sound, SS: a) **Eth.:** 1) Tig. 'arro, 'shout of the shepherds when separating the flocks' (EDG 82); Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>arä, 'cry to make oxen go' (cf. Sp. '¡arre!'; military marching command '¡ar!'), <sup>c</sup>ar, 'cry for driving sheep', 'arar, 'interjection used to call a cat' (EDG 83 < <sup>f</sup>rr/); Amh. (')arrr, '(repeated) cry for chasing away goats', (')arrr, 'word used for scaring off birds, shoo!', (')ur(r)/urro, 'cry for calling a cat' (but cf. EDG 83); Gu. arr, interjection used to chase away an ox', urr, 'interjection used to incite sheep to go to their assigned place'. 2) Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>aro (*bälä*), 'to sing the praises of a newborn infant'; <sup>c</sup>arär, 'to tire in calling', Amh. (')arä, 'exclamation of surprise', (')arri/(')arroyo alä, 'to cry for help', (')arriy, 'cry of alarm', arri, 'shout of disapproval' (EDG 83); Gu. ararr, 'shout of joy' (but cf. EDG 91 < aläll)

SF: onomatop. sound used a) in husbandry; b) in human communication.

**<sup>f</sup>ar-/** PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by vocal.-glide intens., CS. **BS:** '(to be) awake, to watch over, to be excited' > 'to be alert' / 'to be shaken', in **a**) positive ('vigilance') and **b**) negative way ('shame') according to areal distribution (E/WS # SS): **a**) **Akk.** *ēru(m)*, 'to be(come) awake', *ēru*, 'awake', cf. *arāru*, 'to be convulsed'; **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>r, 'to become agitated, irritated'; **Heb.:** <sup>c</sup>ēr, 'protector', <sup>c</sup>ōr, 'to be awake, stir', Po 'revile' (cf. CDG 80), Hi. 'to wake up, to excite', <sup>c</sup>īr, 'shock, agitation'; NHeb. <sup>c</sup>īr, 'guardian, angel'; **NWS:** EpAram. by conson. intens. <sup>c</sup>rr, 'to incite, stir up'; **Aram.:** BA <sup>c</sup>īr, 'angel', JBaram. <sup>c</sup>īr, 'awake', 'angel', JPAraram. <sup>c</sup>wr, 'to awake, awaken s.o.' and maybe by meton. exten. < Syr. <sup>c</sup>ūrītā, 'aculeus, ansa' (LS 545), <sup>c</sup>aryatā, 'occupationes' from an alloph. < <sup>f</sup>araya/, Syr. <sup>c</sup>ar, 'to watch', <sup>c</sup>īrā, 'watcher, angel', Mand. <sup>c</sup>ria, 'the wakeful ones'; **b**) **ESA:** Sab. <sup>c</sup>yr, 'disgrace, shame', <sup>c</sup>wrt, 'unprotected situation' (?) (SD 23); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>ar-, 'disgrace, shame' (or from < <sup>f</sup>ar-/); > **MSA:** Meh. <sup>c</sup>ōr, 'disgrace, shame' (?) (ML 38); Soq. <sup>c</sup>wrr, 'être éveillé' (cf. Jibb. <sup>f</sup>rw/, 'to stay awake [with worry, pain, duty]'); Hars. <sup>f</sup>yr/ > <sup>c</sup>ār, 'disgrace'; Šh. <sup>c</sup>er, 'disgrace' (CDG 80), cf. Jibb. <sup>f</sup>yr/, <sup>c</sup>er, 'shame, disgrace'; **Eth.:** Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>ēr bälä, <sup>c</sup>ararä, 'to be sour, bitter'; Amh. (')arari, 'eliciting pity' (< /rara/) (?).

Cf. R. Murray, "The origin of Aramaic <sup>c</sup>īr 'angel'", *Or* 53/2, 1984, 303-317. For Ug. <sup>c</sup>r, Heb., Phoen., EpHeb. <sup>c</sup>īr, 'town', cf. the possible relat. to ESA <sup>c</sup>r, 'mountain', 'citadel' < 'watch and guard tower', e *infra* <sup>f</sup>āra/, 'to cover, defend, guard'; but better < as a KW of Sum. origin (URU), rather than the other way round (cf. HALOT 821; Steiner, *Fs. Fronzaroli*, does not include this among the "akkadische Lexeme im Sumerischen"); see the other Semitic synonyms: *qrt/qaryat-*, *madinat-*, *balad-*. I find also out of place the etymol. connexion of this lexeme with Tig. <sup>c</sup>era, 'to come home' (suggested by WTS 480). - SF: psychical state.

## 2 – Second level: expanded binary base

The common suffix. expan. /-y:wa) appear well attested. Also the prefix. expan. /n-/ and /y-/, as well as the suffix. /-m/ are fairly sure as witnessed in Ug. <sup>n</sup>r, 'to shake', 'to unmake' and <sup>y</sup>r, 'to be excited > frightened' (better than metath. of /yr<sup>c</sup>/; cf. DUL 947) < <sup>f</sup>ar-/ , <sup>y</sup>r, 'razor' KW < <sup>f</sup>ar-/ a). On the contrary the relation of the possible infix. expan. /-w(v)-/ to the base (<sup>f</sup>ar-/) is very doubtful. We should rather postulate an original base <sup>f</sup>-w-r/ with the BS 'blind' as a primary body defect (cf. *infra*). – AA? Essay 89f.

/<sup>c</sup>**aRaYa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < /<sup>c</sup>ar-/ a > /<sup>c</sup>ara+ya/, CS. **BS:** **a** ‘to wrap, tie up’: **Aram.:** JBAr. <sup>c</sup>ry, ‘to hold, attach’ (the navel), Syr. <sup>c</sup>rā, ‘to hold, contain, conceive, carry (the phoetus), offer, understand ...’ (cf. Lat. *comprehendere*.), > Mand. <sup>c</sup>ra, ‘to pour out, mix’; <sup>c</sup>aran, ‘wall of enclosure’ (>? protection, hide’); **Ar.** maybe by metaph. shift . <sup>c</sup>ariyyat-, a palm tree < denom. of ‘skin’ (ġ), <sup>c</sup>urwān-, a plant (< denom. de ‘skin’ (?), cf. Sp. ‘peludo’); **Eth.:** Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>aräyā, ‘to separate, pacify, reconcile’ > <sup>c</sup>arit, ‘peace, justification’, > <sup>c</sup>arräyā, ‘to fix, repair’; Gu. *ere*, ‘to reconcile’ (cf. EDG 82f.), *arar balä*, ‘separate two animals that are fighting’ (EDG 91); **b** ‘to take off the skin’ > ‘to remain naked’ (Sp. ‘pelar’ = ‘quitar la piel’): **Akk.** *arû*, ‘to cut off, prune’, *erû(m)*, ‘to be naked’, *erium*, ‘naked’, *ûru(m)*, ‘nakedness’, i.e. pudenda’, by meton. *eri(y)ärtu*, ‘cold weather’ (?); **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>ry, ‘naked’ (?); **Heb.** /<sup>c</sup>rh/, ‘to expose oneself’, <sup>c</sup>erwāh, ‘nakedness’ (byform <sup>c</sup>rr; cf. SED I 26; Ar. <sup>c</sup>awrat-); **NWS:** Phoen. <sup>c</sup>ry, ‘to strip of’; EpAram., <sup>c</sup>rh, ‘naked, stripped’ > ‘lacking, devoid of’ (?), <sup>c</sup>ry, ‘cold’; EpHeb. <sup>c</sup>ryh, ‘shiver’ (cf. DNWSI 887); **Aram.:** Syr. by meton. <sup>c</sup>rawîtā, <sup>c</sup>a<sup>c</sup>rîtā, ‘feber’ (< Ar. <sup>c</sup>urawā), <sup>c</sup>arya, ‘cold’ (< Ar. <sup>c</sup>arî); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>arā(y), ‘to be(come) naked, free of’, <sup>c</sup>arā, +‘nakedness’, <sup>c</sup>aran, ‘a hard and elevated plain’ (Sp. ‘monte pelado), <sup>c</sup>ury-, ‘a horse without saddle’; <sup>c</sup>uryat-, ‘unclad (girl)’, <sup>c</sup>uryān, ‘naked, nude’, <sup>c</sup>awrat-, ‘pudendum’, by metath., and by meton. cause-effect > <sup>c</sup>uriya, ‘to be affected with feber’, ‘to yearn vehemently for’, <sup>c</sup>urawā, ‘shivering, feber’, <sup>c</sup>arāt-, ‘intensity of cold’, <sup>c</sup>arî, ‘cold wind’ (felt in the skin, Sp. ‘piel de gallina’); **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>aruy, ‘stratum, cellular texture’, ‘fat in the body of the cow, stratum of fat’, ‘skin for sausages’, Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>aräy, ‘illness of cattle’.

/<sup>c</sup>**aRaWa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-wa/ < /<sup>c</sup>ar-/ a > /<sup>c</sup>ara+wa/, WS. **BS:** **a** ‘to feel without protection, naked’, by meton. deriv. from the function of the hide and its effects: **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>rw, ‘to be consumed’; > **b** ‘to seek protection’: **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>arā(w), ‘to repair to someone seeking for his beneficence’ > ‘to come upon’, by enant. <sup>c</sup>irw-, ‘one who is not disquieted’ > (?) ‘a company of men’, <sup>c</sup>urwat-, ‘a thing by means of which another thing is rendered fast or firm’ (> hide in itself and as staff for making ...).

/<sup>c</sup>**aYaRa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by infix. vocal.-glide expan. /-y-/ and conson. inten. <? /<sup>c</sup>ar-/ > /<sup>c</sup>a+yy(v)+ra/, W/SS. **BS:** ‘to strip off the skin > by metaph. shift ‘to revile’ (cf. Sp. ‘despellejar’): **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>ayyara, ‘to revile’; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>ayyara, ‘to rebuke, despise’; Tig. <sup>c</sup>ayara, ‘to insult’... (CDG 80; from Cush.?).

/<sup>c</sup>**aRaMa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ma/ < /<sup>c</sup>ar-/ a > /<sup>c</sup>ara+ma/, CS. **BS:** ‘to cover’: **Akk.** *arāmu*, *erēmu*, ‘to cover’, *ermu(m)*, ‘covering, envelope’; **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>rm, ‘cloak’; **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>aram, ‘skin (untanned)’, Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>āram, ‘Fell von Kopf’.

But instead of assuming a denom. nomin. deriv. by infix. expan./epent. /-w-/ < /<sup>c</sup>ar-/ > /<sup>c</sup>a+w(v)+r-/ /<sup>c</sup>awara/, W/SS. **BS:** ‘(semi-)awaking, excitation state’, ‘to watch’ and by enant. opposite deriv. ‘to (be) blind’, I prefer to presume an original primary tril. root /<sup>c</sup>-w-r/: **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>wr, ‘blind man’; **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>iwwēr, ‘blind’ > Pi. ‘to blind’: **Aram.:** EpAram. <sup>c</sup>wr, ‘to be blinded’; JAram. <sup>c</sup>awîr(ā), ‘blind’, Syr. <sup>c</sup>warā, <sup>c</sup>wîrā, ‘blind’, <sup>c</sup>war, ‘to blind’, Mand. <sup>c</sup>uira, ‘blind’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>awira, ‘to be(come) blind of an eye’, <sup>c</sup>āra, ‘to blind’ > ‘to destroy’, <sup>c</sup>awarat-, ‘blindness of an eye’, <sup>c</sup>awar-, ‘weakness’; <sup>c</sup>awir, ‘having no guardian’, by metath. and enant. (cf. /<sup>c</sup>araya/) <sup>c</sup>awrat-, ‘pudendum’, ‘any place of concealment, ‘gap, opening’, <sup>c</sup>ariyyat-, ‘blindly’, <sup>c</sup>awar-, ‘blind of an eye’, <sup>c</sup>urān-, ‘a well in a state of demolition’ (Sp. ‘cegado’); <sup>c</sup>awār-, ‘fault, defect’; <sup>c</sup>ariyyat-, ‘a loan without anything in exchange’ (< blind, without precautions); **MSA:** Meh. <sup>c</sup>wr, ‘to go, be blind’, <sup>c</sup>awēr, ‘blind’ >? <sup>c</sup>awēr, ‘to hurt’; Jibb. /<sup>c</sup>wr/, ‘to go blind’, <sup>c</sup>áyér, ‘blind’; Hars. /<sup>c</sup>wr/, ‘to go blind’; Soq. <sup>c</sup>ér, ‘devenir aveugle’; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>ora, ‘to be blind’, <sup>c</sup>awir, ‘blind’, <sup>c</sup>awar, ‘blindness’; Tig. <sup>c</sup>ora, ‘to be(come) blind’, <sup>c</sup>awar, ‘blindness’, <sup>c</sup>awar, ‘shame’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>irā, ‘to be blind’, <sup>c</sup>owwer, ‘blind’, (?) <sup>c</sup>awrerū, ‘to be blind’, <sup>c</sup>urāt, ‘blindness’, <sup>c</sup>awārā, ‘to become blind’; Amh. (<sup>c</sup>) <sup>c</sup>awwarā, ‘to blind’, (<sup>c</sup>) <sup>c</sup>awre, ‘beast, wild animal, brute’ (?); Gu. *or*, ‘wild animal, beast’ (EDG 83), *ūr*, ‘blind’, *äwer*, ‘blind’, (*t*) <sup>c</sup>awwārā, ‘to be blind’; Soq. <sup>c</sup>ér, ‘to become blind’.

Also CS /š<sup>c</sup>-r/, ‘hair’, seman. related to /<sup>c</sup>ar-/, ‘hide’ as a prefix. expan. /š(v)-/ (cf. Lat. *pelis/capillus*, Sp. ‘piel’/‘pelo’) would imply a phonetic change /š-/ > /s-/ not easy to explain. I prefer, like in the case of /<sup>c</sup>-w-r/, to see here a primary physiol. tril. root (body part). Of their possible pre-Proto-Semitic relationship we have not data.

### 3 - Homographs/loanwords

CS: Akk. Mari *ḥāru*, (*ḥ*)*a'*:*yarū* (DUL 178); WS, Ug. <sup>c</sup>*r*; Heb. <sup>c</sup>*ayr*, Ar. <sup>c</sup>*īr* -, ‘ass, donkey’, ‘caravan’ (maybe a pl. form), <sup>c</sup>*ayrānat*-, ‘swift she-camel’ > <sup>c</sup>*iyār*-, ‘standard of measure’ (< Sp. ‘asnada’; cf. Heb. *ḥmwr/ḥmr*, ‘donkey’s load’) >(?) by seman. shift ‘prominent line or part’ > dimin. Ar. <sup>c</sup>*uyayr*, ‘fatuous’ > denom. > <sup>c</sup>*ā(y)ra*, ‘to go, journey’; Tig. <sup>c</sup>*āyro*, ‘young camel’: PrimW /<sup>c</sup>yr/, belonging to the series with second ‘sonant’ (cf. /byt/) < AA Essay 89 (?); HSED 243; SED II 69ff.

CS: Ug., Heb. <sup>c</sup>*r*, ‘tamarisk’; Aram.: Syr. <sup>c</sup>*arā*, ‘tamarisk’, <sup>c</sup>*ar<sup>c</sup>ūrā*, ‘manna, resina tamaricis’; Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ar<sup>c</sup>ar*-, a tree, <sup>c</sup>*arār*, ‘a plant; vengeance, talion’; Syr. <sup>c</sup>*ar<sup>c</sup>rīnā*, ‘onobrychis Cast.’; Tig. <sup>c</sup>*arē*, ‘aloe’, <sup>c</sup>*āyarā*, a tree with eatable fruits; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*ē:āra:o*, ‘aloe’, <sup>c</sup>*ēr<sup>c</sup>ēr*, ‘reed with round blades’, Amh. (‘) *eret*, ‘aloe’ < ?

NWS: Heb. <sup>c</sup>*ar*, ‘enemy’ (?); < Aram.: BA <sup>c</sup>*ar*, ‘enemy’, JPAr. <sup>c</sup>*r*, ‘enemy’ > /<sup>c</sup>rr/, ‘legal claim’, ‘to make an objection’, ‘to make a claim...’, JBAr. <sup>c</sup>*arōrē*, ‘claims’, <sup>c</sup>*arā*, ‘rival wife’, Syr. <sup>c</sup>*yartā*, ‘revenge, punishment’, <sup>c</sup>*arātā*, ‘pellex’ < /š-r/, by idiosyncratic Aramaic phonetic shift (cf. /<sup>c</sup>rš/ > /<sup>c</sup>r<sup>c</sup>/).

CS (Ar., Tigñ. Meh., Jibb.) <sup>c</sup>*ry*-, ‘lion’, ‘tom-cat’ < alloph. of /<sup>c</sup>ary/? (cf. CDG, EDG, ML, JL, a.v.; but SED II 60f.).

Akk. *erū*, ‘eagle’ (cf. SED II 58ff.)

Hb. <sup>c</sup>*ārāh*, ‘stem’/‘pistil’ < Eg.: <sup>c</sup>*arūm*, <sup>c</sup>*arōm*.

JBAr. <sup>c</sup>*ry*, ‘to pour out’ (DJPAr. 881) < (?) (denom. from BA <sup>c</sup>*ūr*, ‘shell’).

JBAr. <sup>c</sup>*ārā*, ‘bay tree’ < Ar. *gār*- (but cf. /<sup>c</sup>r<sup>c</sup>/).

Syr. <sup>c</sup>*rawrā*, ‘tempest’ < (?) (denom. cf. Sp. ‘cielo tapado’ [?]).

Syr. <sup>c</sup>*rarā*, ‘sheep bleating’ <(?) onomatop.

Syr. <sup>c</sup>*ar*, ‘to neglect’ < Ar. /<sup>c</sup>rr/.

Syr. <sup>c</sup>*raytā*, ‘prandium’ <(?)

Nab. <sup>c</sup>*yr*, Pa ‘to change’, ‘another’ (< Ar. *gayr*-)]

Eth. Ge. <sup>c</sup>*arar*, ‘lead’, KW, LW (CDG 71) < Cush. Cf. Tig., <sup>c</sup>*arar*, ‘lead, bullet’, id. Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*ārar*, <sup>c</sup>*arār*, ‘lead, bulett’.

Amh. <sup>c</sup>*arar*, (<sup>c</sup>)*arār*, ‘lead portion of a bullet, ball, lead’.

Eth. Ge. <sup>c</sup>*arara*, <sup>c</sup>*arraya*, ‘to be equal’, Tig. (*tā*)<sup>c</sup>*rora* (CDG 71),\*<sup>c</sup>*aroru*, *ta<sup>c</sup>aroru*, ‘to be eminent’, ‘to be equal’ = <sup>c</sup>*arē*, ‘pacifier’, <sup>c</sup>*arru b*, ‘to reach’ ... <sup>c</sup>*aryā*, ‘peace’... < Cush. (CDG 71).

Eth. Ge. <sup>c</sup>*arāt*, ‘bed, couch’, id. Tig, Tigñ. < Cush. (CDG 71) or from /<sup>c</sup>rš/?

Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ār*, ‘coutume/custom’ < ?

Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ēra*, ‘to come home’ < ?

Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*ē:ira*, ‘since, because’ <(?)

Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*arrā*, ‘a kind of greyish granite’ > ?

Soq. <sup>c</sup>*ar<sup>c</sup>er*, ‘sonner’ < Ar. *gārgāra* (SL 329).

Soq. /<sup>c</sup>ry/, ‘parler’ < /qr’/ (SL. 326f).

#### /<sup>c</sup>vS-/

##### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>aS-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by conson. intens., CS. **BS**: ‘(to) crush(ing), grind(ing), smash(ing)’:

**Akk.** *essū*, ‘hole in ground, clay pit’; **NWS**: by meton. (?) cause/effect (juice, humour), EpAram. <sup>c</sup>*s*, ‘must, young wine’; **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*āsās*, ‘to crush underfoot’ > <sup>c</sup>*āsīs*, ‘grape juice’; **Aram.:** Syr. <sup>c</sup>*s(s)*, ‘to snare, trapp, deceive’, <sup>c</sup>*sasā*, ‘stretching, disturbance’, ‘anguish’ (better than < Ar. /<sup>c</sup>šš/), Mand. ASA, ASS, ‘to press, press down, oppress’, *asaita*, ‘oppression’; **MSA**: and by vocal allophonic inten. Meh. /<sup>c</sup>šš/ > <sup>c</sup>*āšā*, ‘rude, boorish’ (ML 33); Jibb. <sup>c</sup>*ašiš*, ‘unfilial, rude’ (cf. Sp. ‘aplastante’); Soq. *m<sup>c</sup>ešiš*, ‘qui a les mains coupées’ (SL 330 < Ar.); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*assa*, ‘to go round’, ‘to press’ (?) (Zaborski 1975:95); **Eth.:** by altern. meton. (cause-effect) shift, Ge. /<sup>c</sup>ys/, <sup>c</sup>*esa*, ‘to soften, grow soft’, *ta<sup>c</sup>esa*, ‘be patient’ (cf. possible

alloph. 'ys (?) CDG 80); Tig. <sup>c</sup>*awəso*, 'kind of junket, milk after butter has been extracted from it', by meton. shift cause/effect. by 'squeezing', <sup>c</sup>*aso/aso*, 'fever, malaria', Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*āso*, <sup>c</sup>*aso*, 'fever'; Amh. (')*aššä*, 'to rub with the fingers or hands'; Gu. *asäsä*, 'to sip milk with bread' (?) (EDG 98).

Cf. Zaborski 1971: 95: 'to tread down' (Ar., Heb.). - SF.: elementary physic. action.

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

Along with the normal suffix. expan. /-wa/, we must presume two prefix. ones /ma-/ and /wa-/:

/<sup>c</sup>**aSaWa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-wa/ < /<sup>c</sup>as-/ > /<sup>c</sup>asa+wa/, W/SS. **BS**: 'to crush, squeeze': **Heb.**: NHeb. /<sup>c</sup>š:sh/, 'to squeeze' (HALOT 892), in constr. distribution wit <sup>c</sup>*āsās* (with phonetic allomorphy /š:s/); **Aram.**: by metaph. shift, JPAr. <sup>c</sup>*sy*, 'to deride' (< 'to squeeze'), JBAr. <sup>c</sup>*sy*, <sup>c</sup>*šy*; 'to force, compel'; Mand. *asa*, 'to despise'; **ESA** <sup>c</sup>*s<sup>3</sup>/n*, 'to dig out'; **Ar.** /<sup>c</sup>ašw/ 'to become tight' < <sup>c</sup>*āš(in)*, 'tough, hard'; by meton. shift **Eth.**: Tigñ: <sup>c</sup>*assäwä*, 'to be malarial, to get ill with fever', 'to turn stale, moldy', <sup>c</sup>*as<sup>c</sup>asä*, 'to rot, go bad' (?); **MSA**: by metaph. shift Jibb. /<sup>c</sup>sy/, 'to be bored' ...

Cf. Zaborski 1971: 95 points out Ar. *ma<sup>c</sup>asa*, 'to tread', and *wa<sup>c</sup>asa*, 'to crush', as possible prefix. expan. of this base. But I find the semantics rather uncertain and in any case there is not confirmation by other Semitic languages- In ESA is maybe there a mixing up of bases.

## 3 – Homographs/loanwords

[The ambiguous realisation of the sibilants in Eth. makes difficult to distribute the lexemes]

Akk. *asisû*, a word for copper < (?) denomi. ('smashed?); cf. *uššu(m)*, a copper vessel.

Ge. <sup>c</sup>*āšā*, 'fish', Tig., Tigñ., Amh., Gu., Gaf. <sup>c</sup>*asa* < Cush. (CDG 73) (cf. Essay 86 > Ar. *hišāšā*, 'petits animaux')

Tig. <sup>c</sup>*as*, 'to call for goats and sheep', Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*ās/<sup>c</sup>as*, 'cry for driving goats on' < onomtop.

Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ašša*, 'to apologize' < cf. Ar. *gāšša*, 'täuschen' (WTS 466).

Tig. <sup>c</sup>*isā*, 'a prophesying black and white bird' (crow) < (cf. AA \*<sup>c</sup>ač-, HSED 234 [?]).

Tig. <sup>c</sup>*as*, 'a dry measure', Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*assi*, 'a wooden measure for cereals', Gu. *asa*, 'fish', KW < (?).

/<sup>c</sup>**vŠ-**/

## 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>**aŠ-**/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by conson.-vocal-glide. intens., CS. **BS**: 'primary subsistence' / 'primordial abode where to live', 'nest' > 'to live in', the place as first condition for life (cf. Sp. 'vivo en', Eng. 'to live in'): **Akk.** *ašû*, 'living creatures', *ašašū(m)*, a kind of nest made by water fowl; **Aram.**: Syr. <sup>c</sup>*as*, 'to be recreated' < 'to be given life' (cf. LS 516); **ESA**: Sab. <sup>c</sup>*s<sup>2</sup>t*, 'cornland' (?), 'peaceful life, public order'; **MSA**: Meh. <sup>c</sup>*yš*, 'to live, survive'; Jibb. /<sup>c</sup>yš/, 'to live, survive'; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*āša*, 'to live', <sup>c</sup>*ayš-*, 'life' > 'mean of life', 'food' (wheat, bread, seed), <sup>c</sup>*īšat-*, 'a state, sort of life', <sup>c</sup>*ušš-*, 'nest' and deriv.; **Eth.**: by meton. deriv., Tig. <sup>c</sup>*āyaša*, 'to nourish', <sup>c</sup>*āš*, 'bread' (WTS 481).

Cf. Zaborski 1971: 95: 'to live'. Maybe we have to reckon here with a PrimW /<sup>c</sup>yš/ (?). - SF: basic vital activity/objet.

/<sup>c</sup>**əŠ-**/ PrimW, with conson. intens. and expan., W/SS **BS**: 'late part of the evening' > 'darkness': **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*išā*, 'the time of nightfall, the beginning of the darkness', <sup>c</sup>*ašiyy-*, the late part of the evening' > <sup>c</sup>*ašā*, 'the meal of the nightfall' > <sup>c</sup>*ašā*, 'to eat the evening meal, to fed with evening-feed or supper', 'pasture in the evening', <sup>c</sup>*ašwat-*, 'darkness', <sup>c</sup>*ušwat-*, 'a fire seen by night', <sup>c</sup>*ašwā*, 'state of perplexity without guidance', by meton. shift cause-effect, <sup>c</sup>*ašan*, 'weakness of sight' < 'darkness', <sup>c</sup>*ašā*, 'weak-sighted',

cf. *ʿašiya*, ‘to be weak-sighted, ‘not to see by night’; **MSA**: Meh.; Jibb. /<sup>ʿ</sup>šy/, ‘to give supper’, *ʿišē*, ‘supper’; Soq. *ʿoše*, ‘matin’ (SL 330) > *ʿšy/š(š)*, ‘se lever’ (cf. SL 331; cf. infra /<sup>ʿ</sup>əš/); **Eth.**: by metaph. shift (Sp. ‘poner negro [de ira]’), Tigñ. *ʿasʿas bälä*, ‘to get annoyed, angry’ > Gu. (*t*)*esäsä*, *es bälä*, ‘to be mad, crazy’ (?) (cf. EDG 98), *iša*, ‘evening prayer’ (cf. Ar. *ʿišā*; EDG 100).

The possible relations between both bases (‘nest’/‘late part of the evening’) is not manifest (< ‘where to spend the night’ [?]). Maybe the three semes (life-food/meal at night/nest) are related: eat and abide at night ... - SF: time division.

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

The proposed suffix. expan. /-ya/ is seman. and phonol. uncertain in its different realisations:

/<sup>ʿ</sup>**aŠaYa**/ Predic.-nom. deriv. by suffix. expan. (?) /-ya/ < /<sup>ʿ</sup>aš-/ > /<sup>ʿ</sup>āš(a)+ya/, W/SS. **BS**: ‘to bring about, to bring to life’ (?); **Akk.** *esû*, ‘to effectuate, bring to pass’, by anormal phonet. correspondence; **Ug.** *ʿšy*, ‘to make’; **Heb.** *ʿāšāh*, ‘to do, make’, *ʿāšôt*, ‘worked’ (HALOT 896); **NWS**: Moab., EpHeb., *ʿšy*, ‘to make’; Phoen., ESA (cf. HAALOT 889f.); **ESA** *ʿs<sup>l</sup>y*, ‘to make, do’, ‘to acquire’; **MSA**: Meh. *ʿšy*, *Š* ‘to decide spontaneously to do s.th.’; **Ar.** *ʿašiya*, ‘to wrong someone’, ‘to act gently’ (AEL 2055 > ‘to astute ... gently’), /<sup>ʿ</sup>sy/, ‘agir, aller’ (Essay 87); **Eth.**: Gu. *aše*, ‘to do, make’ (cf. EDG 99).

If these correspondences are correct, there is a phonetic confusion about the original value of the sybilant: Ug. and ESA against Heb. and Ar., Akk. going its own way. Cf. Essay 87 < Cush. < AA (?); HSED 246: \*<sup>ʿ</sup>ič- - The prefix. expan. /na-/, suggested by Zaborski 1971: 95 on the basis of Ar. *naʿaša*, ‘to enliven’ (?) is rather uncertain, as pointed out by himself.

/<sup>ʿ</sup>**vš**/

### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>ʿ</sup>**a:əš**/ PrimBIB, predic. expan. by conson. intens. CS. **BS**: ‘mouvement of search’: **Akk.** *ašašu(m)*, ‘to catch (esp. birds)’; **Aram.**: Syr. *ʿas*, ‘to explore, scout’, Naram. *ʿūsās*, ‘a night watchman’; **MSA**: Jibb. /<sup>ʿ</sup>šš/, ‘to get up’, ‘to protect’; **Ar.** *ʿassa*, ‘to go round-about, patrol’; *ʿisās-*, ‘a trace, vestige’; **Eth.**: Tig. *ʿassa*, ‘to fly, to run quickly’ and denom., *ʿasti*, ‘track, sign’; Amh. (ʿ)*assäsä*, ‘to scout, scan, search’ > maybe denom. (ʿ)*əsest*, ‘chamaleon’;

SF: movement.

/<sup>ʿ</sup>**a:əš**/ Onomatop. exclam. SS: **Eth.**: Tig. *ʿas*, ‘call for goats and sheep’; Tigñ. *ʿas*, ‘cry for driving goats on’; Amh. *əšš*, ‘hush!’, *əšš älä*, ‘to chase away birds’; Gu. *āša*, ‘interjection used to stop a donkey’, *əš*, id. ‘hush!’ (Sp. ‘so!’; EDG 99), *ašš*, ‘interjection used to chase away a child, a cow’ (?); *ašt*, *ayš*, ‘interjection used to chase away a cow’; **MSA**: Jibb. /<sup>ʿ</sup>šš/, imp. *ʿašéš!*, ‘get up’

SF: onomatop. human sound, mainly in husbandry.

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

Only the suffix. expan. /-ya/ can be pointed out with security:

/<sup>ʿ</sup>**aŠaYa**/ Predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < /<sup>ʿ</sup>a:əš/ > /<sup>ʿ</sup>aš(a)+ya/, CS. **BS**: ‘to reach the end of the searching movement’: **Heb.** *ʿāšāh* for (?) *ʿāšāh*, ‘to turn towards’; **ESA**: Sab. *ʿs<sup>l</sup>*, ‘to dig out’ > by suffix. expan. /-n/ *ʿs<sup>l/3</sup>n*, ‘to excavate, to lay lower courses (of a well)’; **MSA**: Soq. *ʿáse*, ‘peut-être’;

**Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*asā(y)*, ‘to be near to (about to do)’, ‘it may be that’, incohesive meaning (deriv.: ‘adapted, probable, supposed ...’; the relation wit Ar. *ḡašāw:y* implies a double phonological anomaly; cf. HALOT 893); **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>*asā*, ‘to revolt, to rebel’ (< Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ašā*, ‘to rebel’ (?), WTS 465; cf. *infra*: secondary meaning?); Amh. (‘) *āssēt*, ‘reward, remuneration’.

### 3 - Homographs/loanwords

CS \*<sup>c</sup>*aw/yš-*, \*<sup>c</sup>*aw/ys-*, \*<sup>c</sup>*ašw/y-*, \*<sup>c</sup>*asw/y-*, ‘kind of disease, fever’: Akk. *ašū*, ‘a disease’, ESA <sup>c</sup>*ws*<sup>1</sup>, ‘plague, pestilence’, Tig., Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aso*, ‘fever’, Jibb. <sup>c</sup>*ayās*, ‘cold in the head’ < /ḡ-š/ (?), Ar. *ḡusās-*, ‘an camel illness’, maybe allophony; cf. SED I 27.

Akk. *ešū(m)*, ‘to confuse, make unclear’, *ašītu*, ‘chaos, confusion in battle’ < (?), unless by enant.

Akk. *ašašu*, a kind of moth (‘Fischmotte’, AHW 79) < (?).

Ak *ašašu(m)*, ‘to be distressed’ < (?).

Heb. <sup>c</sup>*ayš*, star name < Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ayyūt-*, Syr. <sup>c</sup>*ayuta*: ‘Leo’. LW (HALOT 823); cf. Heb. /<sup>c</sup>š/ III (HALOT 895) < (?).

Heb. /<sup>c</sup>š/, ‘pus’ < Ar. *ḡatta*, (HALOT 804, 895).

Aram. <sup>c</sup>*āšaš*, ‘to be strong’, <sup>c</sup>*āšašīt*, ‘wrought iron’, ‘cristal’, glass ball’ (DTT 1127-8) may derive <> Heb. <sup>c</sup>*āšaš*, ‘to glitter, be polished’, <sup>c</sup>*ešeš*, ‘a crystal or ball reflecting the light’ (cf. DTT 130s.), KW and in the long run < /<sup>c</sup>š-/ ‘fire’.

Mand. <sup>c</sup>*uša*, ‘marsh, swamp’ (MD 346) < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*asw-*, ‘wood, stick’, <sup>c</sup>*ās-*, ‘thick’ < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*asa*, ‘to become aged’ < denom., <sup>c</sup>*a’sā*, ‘hard’ < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*asan-*, ‘green dates’ < (?); <sup>c</sup>*ušwān-*, ‘a species of dates’ < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ayas-*, ‘whiteness towards red’. < (?).

Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ašā*, ‘field’ < (?).

Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*ašša*, ‘foolish’ > <sup>c</sup>*aššāwā*, ‘to become stupid, to be fool’. < (?).

Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aššāššā*, ‘to be full of dust’ < <sup>c</sup>*āšaš*, ‘dust particle’, ‘darkening’ < (?).

Soq./Meh. <sup>c</sup>*ys*, ‘couteau, épée’ (SL 308) < (?).

### /<sup>c</sup>aš-/

#### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>aš-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by vocal. intens., WS. **BS:** ‘(to) project, take advise’: **Heb.** /<sup>c</sup>wš/, ‘to make a plan’, <sup>c</sup>*ēšāh*, ‘advice, plan’; **Aram.:** DA /<sup>c</sup>wš/ Itp ‘to take counsel with’, JPArAm. <sup>c</sup>*wš*, ‘to advise’, JBArAm. <sup>c</sup>*wš*, ‘to advise’; **NWS:** DA, EpArAm. <sup>c</sup>*šh*, ‘counsel’.

SF: Basic human behaviour.

/<sup>c</sup>āš-/ PrimW, with conson.-vocal-glide intens. and expan., W/SS. **BS:** ‘stick’ <>, ‘bone’ > connoting hardness > ‘hard implement’ > to show up difficult, hard to tackle: **a)** by conson. intens. **Ar.** with spontaneous conson. intens./redupl. <sup>c</sup>*uš<sup>c</sup>uš*, ‘caudal bone’, <sup>c</sup>*ašan*, ‘staff, stick’ (DMWA 617f.) < by metaph. shift <sup>c</sup>*ušāš-*, <sup>c</sup>*ušaš-*, <sup>c</sup>*aša<sup>c</sup>šat-*, ‘(to be) disobedient, rebel’ in complement-ary distribution with /<sup>c</sup>aš(a)+ya/, what enhances the existence of such original binary base.; **MSA:** Soq. <sup>c</sup>*tzy*, ‘mépriser’ (cf. SL 304); **Eth.:** by meton. Tig. <sup>c</sup>*ēšāt*, ‘back (of men and animals)’, ‘loins’ > ‘support’, and according a general metaph. shift, <sup>c</sup>*āš*, ‘lot, die’ (by (knuckle-)bones (?), Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*āša*, ‘lot’ (but cf. Ge. <sup>c</sup>*ādā*, ‘lot’, *supra*), <sup>c</sup>*aš<sup>c</sup>aš bālā*, ‘to be vexed, angry’ (cf. Ar. ‘(to be) disobedient, rebel’); Amh. <sup>c</sup>*eša*, ‘lot’; cf. *infra* /<sup>c</sup>-t/. **b)** by vocal.-glide intens. **Aram.:** Syr. <sup>c</sup>*aš*, ‘to constrain’, <sup>c</sup>*ayš*, ‘depressed (place)’, <sup>c</sup>*ayšā*, ‘constrain’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*awiša*, ‘to be(come) difficult’ <sup>c</sup>*awīš-*, ‘difficult thing’, and denom., <sup>c</sup>*tš-*, ‘a dense, tangled wood’ (the basic seme being ‘difficulty, hardness’, not ‘wood’, for which cf. Ar. /<sup>c</sup>d/, even if a possible contamination can be taken into account); by concomitant conson. inten. **Eth.:** Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*oššāšā*,

‘to have very tough fiber and hence be hard to break (wood)’, ‘to be very thin and stiff’, ‘to be unwilling to obey (child)’, <sup>c</sup>*aṣāṣ*, ‘thin, hard’; by seman. shift Amh. (‘) *ayṣ*, ‘executioner’.

SF: elementary implement > animal body part > quality [cf. SED I 24]. To be distinguished, although sometimes contaminated with, from /<sup>l</sup>d/, ‘wood’ (cf. *supra*), as a staff to build up a ‘stick’ (cf. JBArām. <sup>c</sup>*št*, ‘door bolt’ (Sp. ‘tranca’); Tig. <sup>c</sup>*aṣā*, ‘door’, but cf. WTS 490-91) and above all from /<sup>l</sup>-z/ (cf. *infra*).

## 2 – Second level: expanded binary base

Besides the suffix. expan. /-w:ya/, /-m/ expan. is better to be related to /<sup>l</sup>-z/ > CS /<sup>l</sup>-z-m/, ‘bone’, with possible contamination of both roots as alloph.; cf. Tig. <sup>c</sup>*aṣəm*, ‘strong’, ‘bone’ > <sup>c</sup>*aṣmāy*, ‘a plant’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aṣṣāmā*, ‘to be hard’, <sup>c</sup>*aṣam*, ‘bony’, <sup>c</sup>*aṣmi*, ‘bone’; cf. *infra*.

/<sup>C</sup>**aṣaY:Wa/** Predic. deriv. by suffix. /-w:ya/ expan. /-y:wa/ < /<sup>l</sup>ṣ-/ > /<sup>l</sup>aṣ(a)+y:wa/, E/WS. **BS:** ‘acting hartly, show himself hart’: **Akk.** *eṣū*, ‘to slit, cut into’, maybe by denom. deriv. *ūṣu*, ‘arrow(head)’; **Aram.:** EpAram., Hatr. <sup>c</sup>*ṣy*, ‘to remove, erase’ // ‘to force, compel’ (?) (cf. DNWSI 880); JPArām. <sup>c</sup>*ṣy*, ‘to oppress, constrain’, Syr. <sup>c</sup>*ṣā*, ‘to pull up (eyes)’, ‘to tighten up’, Af. ‘to oppress, to conflict’, <sup>c</sup>*ṣatā*, <sup>c</sup>*eṣyonā*, ‘strength, toughness, necessity’; Mand. <sup>c</sup>*ṣa*, ‘to rebel’, NArām. <sup>c</sup>*āṣi*, ‘to be difficult’, ‘disobedient, rebellious’, <sup>c</sup>*ūṣyā*, ‘hard, difficult’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*aṣā(w)*, ‘to streak, beat’ [denom.], < <sup>c</sup>*aṣan*, ‘staff, stick, rod’ > ‘certain bone’, etc.; <sup>c</sup>*aṣā(y)*, ‘to rebel against, to oppose’ [stat.] > ‘to become hard’ VIII, <sup>c</sup>*āṣi*, ‘disobeying, rebelling’ (cf. Hb. \*<sup>c</sup>*eṣāh* (II) (?); HALOT 867); **MSA:** Meh. <sup>c</sup>*ṣw*, ‘to carry on fighting’; Jibb. /<sup>l</sup>ṣy/, ‘to disobey’, ‘to persist in fighting’; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>*aṣawa*, ‘to cut off, detach’ (i) (‘to close’ < Ar. /ḡḍy/, ‘to close the eyes’, according to CDG 75, but Eth. has nothing to do with ‘eyes’); Tig. <sup>c</sup>*aṣā*, ‘to press, compel, fence in’, <sup>c</sup>*aṣuy*, ‘narrow place between mountains’, <sup>c</sup>*aṣit*, ‘narrow pass, road’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aṣāwā*, ‘to shut, close, fence in’, <sup>c</sup>*aṣəwa*, ‘closure’, <sup>c</sup>*aṣay*, ‘excuse’; Gu. *aṣā*, ‘to close’.

Possible relation with the deriv. aloph. from /<sup>C</sup>ṣd-/ and /<sup>l</sup>-z/. - Cf. AA, Ber., Cush. Essay 87.

## 3 - Homographs/loanwords

Akk. jB Lex. *eṣṣu*, an small animal < *iṣu/wiṣu*, ‘little, small’ < /waṣūm/; cf. *infra* Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aṣa*.

Akk. <sup>c</sup>*aṣuṣi*, una planta < deriv. o denom., KW; cf. *infra* Mand. <sup>c</sup>*uṣa*; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aṣa*.

Aram. <sup>c</sup>*ṣyṣ*, ‘flower pot’ (DJPAram 415) < (?)

Syr. <sup>c</sup>*aweṣ*, ‘to cry (child)’, ‘to whistle (mouse)’, ‘to mew (cat)’, onomatop. animal cry; cf. *infra* Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aṣ bālā*, ‘to whimper, whine’ (cf. *infra* < /<sup>l</sup>az/).

Mand. <sup>c</sup>*uṣa*, ‘(palm-)leaf’ (MD 344 < /ḥṣ/).

Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aṣa*, ‘kind of barley’ < (?)

Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aṣa*, ‘nits, eggs of lice, larva of bees’ < *supra* Akk. *eṣṣu*, an small animal < *iṣu/wiṣu*, ‘little, small’ < /waṣūm/.

## /<sup>C</sup>vT-/

### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>C</sup>**a:ṣT-/** PrimBIB, predic. expan. by vocal. intens., W/SS, **BS:** ‘bent, crooked position’ > ‘bad attitude’ > ‘to show evil attitude towards ...’: **Heb.** /<sup>l</sup>wt/, Ni. ‘to be crooked, deceptive’, Pi. ‘to bend, falsify’, by metaph., moral shift (?); cf. Ar. <sup>c</sup>*atat-*, ‘durété’, ‘rudesse de paroles’ (DAF 160); **Eth.:** Gu. *ayāta*, ‘rude, ill-mannered’ // /<sup>C</sup>**aTa/** Denom. predic. deriv. by conson. intens. W/SS. **BS:** ‘to show evil attitude towards ...’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*atta*, ‘enuyer, importuner’ (DAF II 160), complementary distribution of byforms in



Ar. and Heb.; **Aram.:** Syr. /<sup>c</sup>tt/ 'to deceive' (Smith 1889-1901:3008) > (?) **Eth.:** Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>itta, 'marsh, morass', 'marshy, slush' > 'very filthy or grimy person'.

Maybe Akk. *atātum*, 'layers [of reeds]', belongs here. - SF.: basic physic/psychic position or state, mostly in social context.

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

Besides the normal suffix. expan. /-y:wa/, some seman. connexion is showed by forms like Akk. *atāku*, 'to be(come) bent, crooked' (!), Mand. *atana<sup>c</sup>tana*, 'mesh, network', Ge. <sup>c</sup>attama, 'become angry', Tig. <sup>c</sup>awtē, 'victory'; but no sure lexical connexion can be proved.

/<sup>c</sup>**aTaY:Wa**/ Predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-w:ya-/ < /<sup>c</sup>at-/ > /<sup>c</sup>ata+y:wa/, **WS. BS:** 'to show a crooked, bad attitude': **Aram.:** Mand. *ata<sup>c</sup>ta*, 'to accuse'; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>atā(y:wa), 'to behave proudly', 'to be immoderate' > > 'to be advanced in age, in a declining state', <sup>c</sup>āt(in), 'proud, immoderate', 'a<sup>c</sup>tā', 'who act corruptly'.

## 3 - Homographs/loanwords

Heb. <sup>c</sup>t, 'moment' < <sup>c</sup>attāh < /<sup>c</sup>-n-t/ < <sup>c</sup>n, *supra*.

JPArm. <sup>c</sup>wt, 'to prepare, fix' (rare) < (?), maybe metaph. deriv. < /<sup>c</sup>āta/.

Amh *attütä*, 'comment on' < (?).

Amh. *atet*, 'fortune, luck' < Orom.?

## /<sup>c</sup>vT-/

### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>**a:əT-**/ PrimW, with conson. intens. **CS. BS:** 'small creeping animal' / 'corruption': **Akk.** *ašāšu*, 'a kind of moth' jB (Ug. <sup>c</sup>t does not exist); **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>āš, 'clothes moth'; **Aram.:** JAram. <sup>c</sup>aššā, 'moth'; Syr. <sup>c</sup>ašā, 'pediculus'; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>utt-, 'book-worm' > <sup>c</sup>uttat-, 'old woman, a woman foul or obscene in tongue', denom. < <sup>c</sup>atta, 'to eat, fret (the moth-worm)', <sup>c</sup>iāt-, 'vipers'; **Eth.:** **Ge.** <sup>c</sup>de, 'vermin, worm, moth, carterpillar...' (CDG 57) < <sup>c</sup>aḍaya < <sup>c</sup>ašaya < <sup>c</sup>ašaya, 'breed worms, rot, perish' (CDG 57, 74).

AA: \*<sup>c</sup>ačuč, 'insect' (HSED 233; SED II 63f.). Akk. *ašū*, 'living creatures' (cf. *supra* \*/<sup>c</sup>aš-/) and *ašum*, 'a disease of the head' may be related to this base. - SF: fauna (insect).

## 2 - Second level: expanded binary base

Other expan. beside suffix. /-w:ya/ cannot be ascertained. Heb. <sup>c</sup>āš, 'pus' (HALOT 895) < Ar. *gātūt-*, may represent allophon.

/<sup>c</sup>**aTaY:Wa**/ Predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. (/ya/) < /<sup>c</sup>a:ət-/ > /<sup>c</sup>ata+w:ya/, **CS. BS:** 'to corrupt': **Akk.** *āšu*, 'to retch' (?); **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>atā(w:y), 'to act corruptly', altern. /<sup>c</sup>ātā/, by infix. /-ya-/ < <sup>c</sup>ā(y)ta, 'to act corruptly'; **Eth.:** maybe by enant.or metaph. ('to soften' as a kind of corruption or change of the normal state) shift Ge. /<sup>c</sup>ys/ 'soften, to grow soft' (?) (< Ar. <sup>c</sup>aytat-, 'a plain, soft tract of land').

### 3 - Homographs/loanwords

Heb. <sup>c</sup>*āš*, <sup>c</sup>*ayiš*, ‘constellation of Leo’ (HALOT 895); cf. Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ayyāt*-.

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*āṭa*, ‘to raise the voice with singing’ < (?) .

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ayyāta*, ‘to search or grope for a thing with the hand’ > (?) .

Ar. <sup>c</sup>*ayyāt*-, ‘the lion’ < (?) (deverb. < <sup>c</sup>*ayyāta*/ [?]).

#### <sup>l</sup>*ᶜvṭ*-/

#### 1 - First level: simple binary base

<sup>l</sup>*ᶜaṭ*-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by different intens. and expan. deriv., W/SS. **BS:** ‘something inaccessible’ > ‘lacking’ or ‘casual’ > ‘lot, chance’: > **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*aṭā(w)*, ‘non to reach (the hand)’, <sup>c</sup>*aṭw*-, ‘the act of rising the hands to take a thing’ > <sup>c</sup>*āṭā*, <sup>c</sup>*aṭā*, ‘to give’ (< ‘to make to raise the hand’, as non verbal communication sign), <sup>c</sup>*aṭw*-, ‘stretching itself up towards the trees to take thereof’, <sup>c</sup>*aṭā*, ‘a gift’, as a denom. deriv. in complementary distribution with <sup>c</sup>*ā(y)ṭa*, ‘to be long in the neck’, denom. < <sup>c</sup>*ayṭ*-, ‘length of the neck’; **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>*āṭā*, ‘to marry’ (> Ar. <sup>c</sup>*āṭā*, <sup>c</sup>*aṭā*, ‘to give’; WTS 490), and as by another non-verbal communication sign <sup>c</sup>*āṭaṭa*, ‘to conjure, to threaten’; Tigñ. maybe <sup>c</sup>*əṭa*, ‘lot’ (< Amh., cf. <sup>c</sup>*əṣ*, <sup>c</sup>*ə:iṣa*), <sup>c</sup>*äṭäyṭäyā*, A ‘to dawdle, not to do promptly’, <sup>c</sup>*äṭäyṭäyā* A, ‘to idle, to demur, to grumble’, <sup>c</sup>*i:əṭṭ*, ‘refusal’, by suffix. expan. and meton. shift <sup>c</sup>*aṭṭawa*, ‘to grow strong, big and fat’, <sup>c</sup>*aṭṭewa*, ‘robustness, strength’; Amh. (<sup>ʔ/c</sup>)*aṭṭā*, ‘to be engaged, to marry’, (<sup>ʔ/c</sup>)*əṭ*, ‘larva’ (?) (something imperfect, lacking), (<sup>ʔ/c</sup>)*aṭṭ*, ‘to lack, to be wanting’, (<sup>ʔ/c</sup>)*əṭot*, ‘lack, need’, (<sup>c</sup>)*aṭ*, ‘wilderness, waste land’ (?), (<sup>ʔ/c</sup>)*attätä*, ‘to lack, want s.th., to be deficient’, (<sup>c</sup>)*əṭa*, ‘lot, chance, fate’ (cf. Tgña.).

SF: primary experience.

<sup>l</sup>*ᶜaṭ*-/ Onomatop., physic. sound, by conson.-vocal.-glide intens. and expan., W/SS. **BS:** ‘(to make an) incisive, sudden sound’: **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*āṭ*, ‘to shout’; **MSA:** Meh. <sup>c</sup>*yṭ*, ‘to cry out’; Hars. <sup>l</sup>*yṭ*-, ‘to cry out’; **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>*aṭaw (wadā)*, ‘to crack (new leather)’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aṭäṭä*, ‘to worry, to lament’, <sup>c</sup>*aṭäṭ bälä*, ‘to squeak, creak, to make a breaking sound (leather, wood)’, <sup>c</sup>*aṭäṭṭa*, ‘squeak, creak, crack’ < <sup>c</sup>*asäs bälä*, ‘to squeak, to make a sound like breaking wood’; Amh. (<sup>ʔ/c</sup>)*a:əṭṭ*, ‘exclamation of dislike or disgust’, (<sup>ʔ/c</sup>)*əwṭä*, ‘exclamation de pleasure, good!’, (<sup>ʔ/c</sup>)*awṭaṭ*, ‘cry of dismay’.

Heb. <sup>c</sup>*ayṭ*, bird of prey (HALOT 816f.) < maybe denom. from <sup>l</sup>*āṭ*-, ‘to shout’. **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>*ṭ*, a kind of bird (better than a fish) (?) is dubious in this regard. - **SF:** Onomatop.

<sup>l</sup>*ᶜəṭ*-/ PrimW, with conson.-vocal.-glide intens. W/SS. **BS:** ‘reed/cane (as tearing instrument)’: **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>*ēṭ*, ‘reed’ > ‘stylus’ (cultural semantic loan from Akk.); < **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>*aṭṭa*, ‘to slide, rend the garment’, <sup>c</sup>*aṭṭ*-, ‘a garment slit, rent’, and in contrast. distrib. <sup>c</sup>*āṭa*, ‘to be momentarily unproductive, immature’ (< as a reed); **Eth.:** Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aṭṭaṭ*, ‘a kind of thorny plant’; Amh. (<sup>c</sup>)*aṭ*, ‘wilderness, wasted land’, (<sup>ʔ</sup>)*aṭaṭ*, ‘a kind of thorn tree’; Gu. *aṭaṭ*, ‘kind of bush’, *otəyyä*, ‘kind of bush’ (?).

Akk. *ū:ṭu(m)*, ‘span, half-cubit’, as KW could be a deriv. from < <sup>c</sup>*ēṭ*, ‘reed’. **SF:** Flora > cultural instrument.

### 3. Homographs/loanwords

Akk. *eṭū*, ‘to be(come) dark’ < (?) cf. *iṭṭu(m)*, ‘bitumen’ (?) Sum.

Heb. <sup>c</sup>*āṭā*, ‘to wrap up’; cf. EpAram. <sup>c</sup>*ṭy*, ‘to cover’ < Ar. <sup>l</sup>*ḡṭw*-, ‘to cover’.

Heb. <sup>c</sup>*āṭāh*, ‘to delouse’ < (?) .

Syr. <sup>c</sup>*ayṭā*, ‘ira’; Mand. *ayṭa*, ‘anger’ < Ar. *ḡayṭu*; cf. Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>*aṭaṭ bälä*.

Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>əf, ‘a disease’ < (?).  
Soq. <sup>c</sup>ʔf, ‘dévorer’ < Ar. *ġawwaṭa* (SL 305).

/<sup>c</sup>vW:Y-/

**1 - First level: simple binary base**

/<sup>c</sup>a:əW:Ya/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by different intens. and expan. deriv., W/SS. **BS:** ‘to spoil the right shape’ / ‘something out of order’, ‘ruin’: **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>î, ‘heap of ruins’ < Heb. <sup>c</sup>awwāh, ‘ruins’; **NWS:** Moab. <sup>c</sup>y, ‘ruin’; cf. **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>awā, ‘to bend, twist’; **MSA:** by metaph. shift Meh. <sup>c</sup>yy, Š ‘to feel compassion’, ‘to be ashamed’ (cf. Sp. ‘derrumbarse’); Hars. /<sup>c</sup>y(y)/, S ‘to pity’; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>āw, ‘bending, curvature’; Tig. by suffix. exten. /-n/ <sup>c</sup>onā, ‘desert, ruin’, ‘to devastate’ > by metaph. shift <sup>c</sup>əwāno, ‘stupid, weak’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>u:ona, ‘ruin, ruins’, <sup>c</sup>anāwä, ‘to collapse, crumble’, <sup>c</sup>əna, ‘wet dung trampled into the earth’, <sup>c</sup>awwan, ‘stupid, fool’ and deriv., <sup>c</sup>awänwän bälä, ‘to be puzzled, confused’; Amh. (‘)əw(w)aw, ‘looking askance’.

SF: basic situation, physic. and human // space/landscape.

/<sup>c</sup>aW-/ Onomatop., human and animal sound, by conson. intens., CS. **BS:** ‘cry, shout’: **Akk.** cf. *infra* /<sup>c</sup>awaya/; **Aram.:** Syr. by redupl. <sup>c</sup>aw<sup>c</sup>î, ‘to wail (baby)’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>ā, <sup>c</sup>aw-, ‘cries by which sheep are chidden’, <sup>c</sup>awwat-, ‘a crying out, shouting’, <sup>c</sup>ā<sup>c</sup>ā, ‘to chid sheep by the cry <sup>c</sup>ā’ > <sup>c</sup>awā, ‘the dog that howls’, and denom. (constellation); **Eth.:** Tigñ: <sup>c</sup>iw, ‘sound for driving on sheep’, <sup>c</sup>aw bälä, ‘to be loud (voice), to shout, cry ou, bellow’, <sup>c</sup>aw<sup>c</sup>aw, ‘shouting’, <sup>c</sup>awta, ‘loudness’, <sup>c</sup>awät, ‘cry soldiers make in an assault’, ‘cry of victory, joy’ > ‘victory, triumph’, TA <sup>c</sup>tā<sup>c</sup>awwätä, ‘to be victorious’, <sup>c</sup>əwwut, ‘victorious’; Amh. (‘)awu, ‘hyena’s cry’ >? (‘)əww alä, ‘to thunder, rumble’, (‘)əwəwa, ‘bullroarer’; Gu. u \*balä, ‘to shout’ (EDG 1), ū’ū barä, ‘to shout’.

Cf. Zaborski 1971: 95, ‘to howl, to weep’. AA \*<sup>c</sup>iw:y, ‘cry’, HSED 248 - SF: onomatop. human / animal sound.

**2 - Second level: expanded base**

Beside the suffix. expan. /-y/, a prefix. /na-/ expan. could be witnessed in Ar. *na<sup>c</sup>ā(w)*, ‘to to announce his death’ > ‘to deplore, to weep over’.

/<sup>c</sup>aW:YaYa/ Predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < /<sup>c</sup>a:əy-/ > /<sup>c</sup>awa+ya/, CS. **BS:** ‘to make something wrong, deviated’, ‘to go the wrong way, to be unable, mistake the way’: **Akk.** *ewûm*, ‘to impose on’ (?); HALOT 796), *iwîtu*, ‘malicious talk’; **Heb.** /<sup>c</sup>wh/, ‘to do wrong’, N ‘to be bent’ Hi ‘to twist, to go astray’; **Aram.:** Jaram. <sup>c</sup>āwê, ‘to curve’, Af. ‘to be wrong’, <sup>c</sup>āwāyā, ‘curve, wrong’ > ‘iniquity’, by metaph. shift. <sup>c</sup>iwyā, ‘serpent’; < **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>awā(y), ‘to bend’ (better than Ar. /ġwy/, ‘to err’; HALOT 796f.; CDG 80; with possible root mixing), by secondary conson. intes. (?) <sup>c</sup>ayya, ‘not to find the right way’, <sup>c</sup>ayā, ‘an incurable disease’; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>ayaya, ‘to err, wander from, stray’; seman. neutralized Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>ayäyä, ‘to do, work’, ‘to play’, <sup>c</sup>əyyo, ‘work’.

/<sup>c</sup>aWaYa/ Predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < /<sup>c</sup>aw-/ > /<sup>c</sup>awa+ya/, W/SS. **BS:** ‘to cry, shout’: **Akk.** *awûm*, ‘to speak’ (implying usually a loud voice; cf. Cat. ‘cridar’), *awātu(m)*, ‘word’; **Aram.:** Jaram. <sup>c</sup>āwê, ‘to cry’, Syr. <sup>c</sup>wā, ‘to groan, moan’, ‘to howl’, <sup>c</sup>awatā, ‘cry, clamour’, Mand. *awafua*, ‘to howl, cry’, <sup>c</sup>uai uai, ‘woe!’, Naram. <sup>c</sup>āwê, ‘to howl’, <sup>c</sup>âyâ, ‘jackal’ (DDVS 236); **MSA:** Jibb. /<sup>c</sup>wy/, ‘to bark, whine, howl’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>awā, ‘to cry loudly (said of some animals)’, ‘to bark’, ‘to call’ (cf. Cat. ‘cridar’ for ‘to call’); **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>awya, ‘moan, wail’, <sup>c</sup>awyawa, ‘wail in mourning, howl, lament’; Tig. <sup>c</sup>əwāy, ‘din, throng, crowd of people’, > maybe denom. <sup>c</sup>āyā, ‘falcon’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>awäy, ‘to cheer, shout for joy’, ‘to

shout, to stir up'; Amh. (')*awäy*, 'exclamation of scorn', (')*awwäy*, 'cry of sorrow, alas!', (')*ayäw*, 'cry hey!', (')*ayyeyye*, 'to utter the cry of mourning, woe!'; Gu. *ayyo barä*, 'cry out with pain'.

### 3. Homographs/loanwords

Tigñ. *ayyä*, 'a very large tree' < (?) .

Tigñ. *ay(y)ät*, 'dry season' < (?) .

Tigñ. *ayyät*, 'suckling lamb', *ay<sup>c</sup>ayta*, 'prematurely born calf', 'small locust' < (?) .

Amh. (')*ayyu*, 'rich, wealthy person' < (?) .

Amh./Gu. *awo*, 'yes' and in other SS languages < Ar. *'aywa*, better than from /<sup>c</sup>aw/ as 'cry of approval' (EDG 110).

Soq. *ey*, 'venir en retard' (cf. SL 306: < Ar. *ḥayya*, 'avoir honte' [?], alloph).

#### /<sup>c</sup>vZ-/

##### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>əZ-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom expan. by conson. intens., CS. **BS:** '(to be[come]) strong': **Akk.** *ezēzu(m)*, 'to be(come) angry, rage', *uzzu(m)*, 'anger, rage', *ezzu(m)*, 'furious, angry' (< 'to show up strength') > by reduplic. *izuzzum*, 'to stand' (by meton., 'on foot, stable'); **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>z, 'strength, strong', <sup>c</sup>z(z), 'to be strong'; **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>az, <sup>c</sup>oz, 'strength, might, strong', /<sup>c</sup>zz/, 'to show oneself strong', <sup>c</sup>zûz, 'might, power, <sup>c</sup>izzûz, 'the mighty one'; **NWS: Phoen.** <sup>c</sup>z, 'strong, mighty'; **Pun.** <sup>c</sup>zz, 'strong'; **Aram.:** EpAram. <sup>c</sup>zz, 'to be strong', 'strong'; JPAram. <sup>c</sup>zyzw, 'strength'; JBAram. <sup>c</sup>azzîz, 'strong, intense'; Syr. <sup>c</sup>az, 'to become strong, grave', <sup>c</sup>ûzā, 'strength', <sup>c</sup>azîzā, 'strog'; Mand. <sup>c</sup>iz, *az*, 'power', *azz*, *czz*, 'to strengthen, invigorate', *aziza*, 'strong'; **ESA** <sup>c</sup>zt, 'strength, vigour', \*<sup>c</sup>zz H <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>zz, 'uphold, respect (law)'; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>izz, 'might, power' > <sup>c</sup>azāz-, 'hard ground', <sup>c</sup>azîz-, 'mighty, potent' and denom.; <sup>c</sup>izzat-, 'a party of men' (as an expression of strength); **MSA:** Meh. <sup>c</sup>āzz, 'honour'; Jibb. <sup>c</sup>azzat, 'honour'; Hars. <sup>c</sup>āzîz, 'honour'; Soq. <sup>c</sup>zz, 'raffermir, donner de la force'; **Eth.:** Ge. <sup>c</sup>azzaza, 'to be strong, steadfast', <sup>c</sup>əzaz, 'power, strength', and probable < <sup>c</sup>as<sup>c</sup>ozaza, 'to become cramped, grow stiff' (*pace* Leslau CDG 81); Tig. <sup>c</sup>azza, 'to be strong, mighty', <sup>c</sup>aziz, 'mighty'; Tigñ., <sup>c</sup>aziz, 'impressive, important', <sup>c</sup>əzuz, 'august, magnificent', <sup>c</sup>əzzi, 'superiority, advantage', <sup>c</sup>əzaz, 'abundance', <sup>c</sup>azāzä, 'to be superabundant', <sup>c</sup>az<sup>c</sup>aza, 'to swell' > by seman. shift <sup>c</sup>azāz *bälä*, 'to fall asleep' (> Sp. 'reparar fuerzas?'); Amh. (')əzz, 'command', (')azzāzä, 'to roder, command', (')azzat, 'large-mouthed fish', by vocal. intens. (')awaze, 'strong condiment' (?), > (')awaz, 'attractive, tasty', (')azzo, 'a paste of bean-flour and mustard'; Gu. *äz*, 'guarantor' (EDG 119), *ezāzä*, 'to order, command', (t)ezāzä, 'to be glued, stick together' (EDG 122).

SF: physic. and physiol. quality.

/<sup>c</sup>aZ-/ Onomatop. of soft sound: **Akk.** *azāzu*, 'to buzz'; **Eth.:** Gu. *azáz*, 'beginning of group mourning early in the day' (EDG 122).

Maybe there is allophony with Syr. <sup>c</sup>aweš, 'to cry (child)', to whisle (mouse)', 'to mew (cat)'; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>aš *bälä*, 'to whimper, whine'. Each language is idiosyncratic in onomatop., although the phonetical correspondence be anomalous. - SF: onomatop. animal / human sound.

##### 2- Second level: expanded binary base

/<sup>c</sup>aZaY:Wa/ Predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < /<sup>c</sup>əz-/ > /<sup>c</sup>aza+ya/, **WS. BS:** 'to be(come) strong': **Aram.:** Syr. <sup>c</sup>azî, 'to be patient, to dare' (< Ar. <sup>c</sup>azā'); **NWS:** Palm. <sup>c</sup>zy, 'as much as possible'; **Ar.**

<sup>c</sup>azā(w), ‘to assert the relationship of son’ < ‘to strengthen the tribal links’, <sup>c</sup>azā(y), ‘to be(come) patient, enduring, <sup>c</sup>azā’, ‘patience, endurance.’.

No other expan. can be ascertained in a sure way. Only forms like Ar. <sup>c</sup>azama, ‘to determine, resolve’, Ge. <sup>c</sup>azama, ‘conjure, cast spells’ (CDG 81); Amh. <sup>c</sup>azzāmā, ‘to practice sorcery, cast spells’ offer some semantic possibility of being a suffix. expan. /-ma/; close related to this last phenotype are Jibb. <sup>c</sup>zm, ‘to decide’, Hars. <sup>c</sup>zm, ‘to come close’, ‘to intend, decide’.

### 3 – Homographs/loanwords

Ug. <sup>c</sup>z, ‘caprine animal = Heb., OPun. OAram, JPAraam., Ar., Mand. < /<sup>c</sup>nz/ (HALOT 804f.; MD 353; HSED 240; SED II 53f. ).

Heb. /<sup>c</sup>wz/, ‘to take refuge’ < (<sup>c</sup>-d), Ar. (HALOT 797, 806).

NHeb.-Aram. <sup>c</sup>wz, ‘bird of prey’ (DJPA 398), Syr. <sup>c</sup>iḏyā, ‘a bird’, Ar. <sup>c</sup>azizat-, ‘eagle’, as well as the metath. nom. base /<sup>c</sup>nz // <sup>c</sup>zn/, ‘eagle’, in Akk., Heb. and Ar., may be denom. deriv. < (?) /<sup>c</sup>əz-/ (cf. SED II 71f.).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>awz-. ‘berry of the grape-wine’ < (?).

Ar. <sup>c</sup>awaz-, ‘weakness, faultiness’, <sup>c</sup>awiza, ‘to be(come) wanting, not found, unattainable’, maybe < /<sup>c</sup>əz/, by enant.

Amh. (‘)azzo, ‘crocodile’ < maybe denom. < (?) /<sup>c</sup>əz-/.

Soq. mā<sup>c</sup>se, ‘veston’ < /<sup>c</sup>wz/ (SL 317; cf. p. 331, mā<sup>c</sup>šiš)

## /<sup>c</sup>vZ-/

### 1 - First level: simple binary base

/<sup>c</sup>a:əZ-/ PrimBIB, predic. expan. by conson. intens. and suff. expan. deriv., WSS. **BS:** ‘(instrument / exercise of) violence’: cf. supra, Akk. ešû, ‘to slit, cut into’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>azza, ‘to ill-treat, handle roughly’, <sup>c</sup>azzat-, ‘fureur, violence’ (DAF 291), <sup>c</sup>azā(w), ‘to damage’ (DAF 294); **MSA:** Meh. <sup>c</sup>zaw, Š ‘to worry about’.

SF: animal / human basic attitude.

A possible suffix. /-ma/ expansion of this base can be seen in CS ‘bone’ (AA \*<sup>c</sup>ačem, HSED 233; SED I 25) of which Meh. <sup>c</sup>āzāyāz, ‘bone’, Hars. <sup>c</sup>āzāyāz, ‘bone’, and Jibb. <sup>c</sup>iḏēz, ‘(badly set bone) to turn into scar’ (JL 8), represent maybe the expanded forms of the simple inteis. base /<sup>c</sup>əz(z)-/: **Ug.** <sup>c</sup>zm, ‘bone’, ‘imposing, powerful’, ‘power, excellence’; **Heb.** <sup>c</sup>šm, ‘bone’; **NWS:** EpHeb., Phoen.-Pun., <sup>c</sup>šm, ‘bone’, ‘mighty deed’; **Ar.** <sup>c</sup>azm-, ‘bone’, <sup>c</sup>azmat-, ‘pride, haughtiness, insolence’; **ESA** <sup>c</sup>zm, ‘whole, totality’ (?), by meton.; **Eth.:** Tig. <sup>c</sup>ašəm, ‘strong’, ‘bone’ (cf. supra) > <sup>c</sup>ašmāy, ‘a plant’; Tigñ. <sup>c</sup>aššāmā, ‘to be hard’, <sup>c</sup>ašam, ‘bony’, <sup>c</sup>ašmi, ‘bone’; Amh. <sup>(c)</sup>ašəm, ‘bone, skeleton’; Gu. ašəm, ‘bone’ (cf. CDG 58); cf. SED I 25f. for the allophony of the clusters /<sup>c</sup>-š/, /<sup>c</sup>-š̄/, /<sup>c</sup>-č/, /<sup>c</sup>-č̄/. On the contrary Ug. <sup>c</sup>rz, ‘terrible’ cannot be taken surely as an infix. /-r-/ expan, although an apparent sonantal intens.

### 2 – Homographs/loanwords

Ar. <sup>c</sup>azā(y), <sup>c</sup>iḏāyat- ‘a certain reptile’ < denom. (?).

Jibb. /<sup>c</sup>zy/, ‘to come late’, ‘to be delayed’ < (?).

\* \* \* \* \*

Following the scheme of the previous series, let us sum up the different kinds of external (second level) expansions in order to visualise their productivity. Internal expansion (vowel and consonant intensifications by lengthening and germination/reduplication) are left are not taken into account.

### Prefixation

Expansion by prefix. is rare in this series. We can propose, with a certain degree of probability, only the expansions by /na-/, /ta-/, /wa-/ and /ya-/:

- \*/la<sup>c</sup>aba/ < [l<sup>c</sup>ab-/] > ml<sup>c</sup>b, 'land irrigated by canal' (ESA).
- /na<sup>c</sup>ara/, 'to awake' < [n<sup>c</sup>ər-/] (NWS).
- /ta<sup>c</sup>aba/, 'to make/be s.th. shameful' < [t<sup>c</sup>əb-/] (NWS).
- /wa<sup>c</sup>ada/, 'to make something durable' < [w<sup>c</sup>ad-/] (CS).
- /ya<sup>c</sup>aba/ < [j<sup>c</sup>ab-/] > ya<sup>c</sup>būb, 'torrential river' (Ar.).
- /ya<sup>c</sup>ara/, 'to awake' < [j<sup>c</sup>ər-/] (NWS).
- /ya<sup>c</sup>ar-/, 'implement to peel hair from the hide' < [j<sup>c</sup>ar-/ a] (NWS).

### Infixation

In fact, vocal. intens.. and glide may be taken as forms of infix. On the other hand there is the possibility that some /C<sub>2</sub>/ sonants could turn out to be altern. infix. intens. of binary basis.

- \*/a<sup>c</sup>ana<sup>c</sup>ba/ < [a<sup>c</sup>ab-/] > [a<sup>c</sup>ənab-/, 'wine-berry', 'grape' (CS).
- /a<sup>c</sup>aya<sup>c</sup>ra/, 'to strip off the skin' > by metaph. shift 'to revile' <? [a<sup>c</sup>ar-/ a] (CS).

### Suffixation

Also in this series the suffix. expan. /-ya/ shows a more active seman. bias in front of the more stative expan. /-wa/, the most productive also in this series.

- /aba+la/, 'to be(come) large, big, bulky' < [ab-/] (Ar.).
- /aga+ma/, 'to be bent, to grieve' < [ag-/ a] (WS) (?).
- /ara+ma/, 'to cover' < [ar-/ a] (CS).
- /ada+na/, 'period, duration' < [ad-/] (CS).
- /aga+na/, 'to bend, curve' < [ag-/ a] (SS).
- /aba+ša/, 'to dry up' < [ab-/] (Ar.).
- /ada+wa/, 'to make something to be long, much, distant, far away' < [ad-/] (CS).
- /ada+wa/, 'to separate, distinguish parts' < [ad-/] (W/SS).
- /aga+wa/, 'to become bended, curved, unable to stand up' < [ag-/ a] (E/SS).
- /ana+wa/, 'to be separated, put in bad position, opposed, oppressed' < [an-/] (W/SS).
- /apa+wa/, 'to arrive to the limit' < [əp-/] (SS).
- /aqa+wa/, 'to reduce, to take for a clot' < [aq-/] (SS).
- /ara+wa/, 'to feel without protection, naked' / 'to seek protection' < [ar-/ a] (W/SS).
- /asa+wa/, 'to crush, squeeze' < [as-/] (W/SS).
- /aṭa+wa/, 'to be(come) high, unreachable' < [at-/] (SS).
- /ada+y:wa/, 'to make distant, separate' < [əd-/] (WS).
- /ala+y:wa/, 'to get to the top' < [al-/ a] (CS).

- /<sup>c</sup>aša+y:wa/, 'acting hartly, show himself hart' < [/<sup>c</sup>əš-/ [/<sup>c</sup>aš(a)+ya/] (E/WS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>ata+y:wa/, 'to show a crooked, bad attitude' < [/<sup>c</sup>at-/] (WS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>aṭa+y:wa/, 'to corrupt' < [/<sup>c</sup>a:əṭ-/] (CS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>aza+y:wa/, 'to be(come) strong' < [/<sup>c</sup>əz-/] (WS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>aba+ya/, 'to make absorbe', 'inflate' < [/<sup>c</sup>ab-/] (WS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>ada+ya/, 'to add, augment' < [/<sup>c</sup>ad-/] (CS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>aka+ya/, 'to make swollen, dick' > 'contracted' < [/<sup>c</sup>ak-/] (SS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>ama+ya/, 'to make general, indistinguished, confuse > 'to (be) blind' < [/<sup>c</sup>am-/] (WS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>ana+ya/, 'to oppose someone > to reply, contest' < [/<sup>c</sup>an-/] (E/WS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>apa+ya/, 'to go beyond the limit' > 'be abundant, to have a rest' < [/<sup>c</sup>əp-/] (WS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>aqā+ya/, 'to compress' < [/<sup>c</sup>a:əq-/] (SS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>ara+ya/, 'to wrap, tie up' / 'to take off the skin' > 'to remain naked' < [/<sup>c</sup>ar-/ a)] (CS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>aša+ya/, 'to bring about, to bring to life' (?) < [/<sup>c</sup>aš-/] (W/SS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>aša+ya/, 'to reach the end of the searching mouvement' < [/<sup>c</sup>a:əš/] (W/SS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>aw:yā+ya-/ 'to make something wrong', 'to go the wrong way' < [/<sup>c</sup>a:əy-/] (CS).  
 /<sup>c</sup>awa+ya/, 'to cry, shout' < [/<sup>c</sup>aw-/] (W/SS).

The etymological pertinence of many homographs is not easily ascertained, because of the astray realisation of the phoneme /<sup>c</sup>/ in the different Semitic languages, as pointed out at the beginning of this paper. Furthermore, the actual seman. (either metaph. or meton.) shift is not surely traceable in many cases. For the rest, the general feature of this series does not differ substantially from that of the previous one.

#### *Complementary abbreviations*

[cf. *AuOr* 22, 2004, 83-88]

#### *Default lexical sources (not quoted)*

HL T.M. Johnstone, *Ḥarsūsi Lexicon and English- Ḥarsūsi Word-List*, London 1977.

#### *Secondary Bibliography*

SED A. Militarev, L. Kogan, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Vol. II. *Animal Names* (AOAT 278/2), Münster 2005.  
 Tropper 2002 J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (AOAT 273), Münster 2002.

#### *Languages abbreviations*

BHeb.	Biblical Hebrew
DA	Deir <sup>c</sup> Alla
EA	El Amarna
Hars.	Harsusi
Nab.	Nabatean
Palm.	Palmirene
PAram.	Persian Aramaic
Yaud.	Yaudic

#### *General abbreviations*

allomorph.	allomorphic
BIB	binary intensifiable base
complem.	complementary
expres.	Expressive
metath.	metathesis, metathetic
meton.	metonymy
morph.	morphemic.
physic.	physical
physiol.	physiological
PrimBIB	primitive binary intensifiable base
seman.	semantic
univ.	Universal