

Notes on Semitic Lexicography (II) The Proto-Semitic Base (/dal-/)

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[The paper presents a model for the etymological treatment of the binary Semitic Bases, taking /dvl-/ as the sample case. Only reduplication and internal expansive intensifications or lengthenings of these binary bases are taken into consideration, leaving aside for the moment the external expansions of these consonant clusters. Comparative analysis allows the reconstruction of the binary base quoted and of its semantic shifts in the different languages, starting from an original seme, according to acceptable semantic patterns.]

Etymology and semantics. The proto-language

In the first instalment of this series of “Notes”¹ we dealt with a kind of lexicographical problem which can be labelled as ‘Context-Etymological Semantics’. The problem arose from an Ugaritic *hapax* (*trrt*) of uncertain meaning for which the position or context afforded some clues but not enough to clarify it. In this connexion different ‘parallel’ lexemes, taken from cognate languages and with different radical lexematic values (‘roots’), provided support for the proposed meaning, based on the near and distant context. The purpose of the ‘Note’ was to ‘put order’ in the etymological proposals put forward and to strengthen the preferred solution with parallel semantic patterns, taken from other contexts.

In fact this method breaks the dichotomy of ‘context’ *versus* ‘etymology’, by postulating a sort of methodological hybrid that we have called ‘Context-Etymological Semantics’ and which is actually the method inevitably in use among interpreters of ancient texts: no-one will forego the context. The weight given or to be given to each of the elements of the binomial depends on the nature and position of the lexeme under discussion. If it belongs to a context that is linguistically clear and semantically supported by other positions, the resort to etymology in order to uncover a more ‘profound’ sense may be completely out of the question, since the context provides the historical level of semantic development that particular lexeme has reached in this particular language and which may be more remote from the ‘original’ or etymological meaning to be gathered by comparison with that reached in other languages. The dictum “the

1. Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, “Notes on Semitic Lexicography (I). The Proto-Semitic Cluster /ṭ(r:w:y)/ and Ug. *trry/t*”, *AuOr* 16 (1998) 187-192

meaning of a word is its meaning in its own language, not its meaning in some other"² becomes a rule with no exceptions.

The problem arises when the context is not clear enough or simply is not clear at all, as in the case of a *hapax*. The weight then 'leans' over etymology or better said over the parallel use in a cognate language, according to the scale of cognacy. The resort to etymology (i.e. to the 'a-contextual' meaning of a lexeme drawn from the neutral semantic use in various cognate languages, or from the most ancient value in any of them, which may explain the semantic development in others) is unavoidable as the last resort and in some cases may be more 'objective' and fruitful than the resort to comparative material in virtue of the dictum quoted above.

But leaving aside this kind of 'contextual' semantics, that is interpretative in character, pure etymological semantics aims at 'reconstructing' the 'original' or most ancient morphemes (lexical as well as grammatical) in the perspective of a 'proto-language' from which all the cognate languages are supposed to derive through a long and diversifying process of phonological and semantic shift, in which some of those morphemes (both lexical and grammatical) are retained by all of these languages and others remain confined to a restricted group of them, or even to a single one. The phonological shift is normally easy to follow, while the semantic shift often eludes clear justification. A stop is to be put then to unwarranted speculation and one must renounce postulating any etymological connexion between what appear as separate homonyms.

But 'proto-language' is a vague and almost mythical concept. It seems to point to the most primitive stage of language as acquired and formed by man, as such a language is either simple or manifold at its very inception: if the linguistic constellations had no connexion between them, there would have been several proto-languages. Nonetheless, even at such a primitive stage, the language cannot be considered as a unified and definite system at a specific moment, but as a process in which the complexity of language develops step by step. We do not know which were the first linguistic elements nor do we know the way in which the rest were generated, either by complementary imitation of the first ones or by derivative modulation of them.

In any case, leaving aside this absolute stage of language acquisition, the proto-language of a linguistic sub-family may well be defined as the verbal communication system of a group in a concrete moment of its social organisation. But such a system would be 'proto' only in a relative sense, since its roots always derive from another 'older' system, before the splitting of the differentiated group. Thus this proto-language will always be a 'deutero-language'. Consequently it has to remain open to the former and to define its relationships to it as a point of reference and as the base of its forward development. As this is the case, it is reasonable to attempt to organise first those 'deutero-languages' of the well attested language sub-families in order to open the way towards reaching of the proto-language of the primitive group, whose lexical and grammatical morphemics are shared by all of them. This must be done independently without mixing up the various sub-families. In this case 'transversality' would disturb the reconstruction of both the proto- and deutero-languages, by blurring the diachronic processes. So the reconstruction of any 'deutero-language' must be carried out mainly from within its own constituents, even if the resort to transversal data may appear tempting and it can be permitted in some cases by the way of confirmation and 'erudition'. In this way a sort of 'pyramidal' linguistic structure is outlined, which exemplifies the aim of this evasive effort called 'etymology', a journey into the past along the various

2. Cf. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1968, p. 90. Cf. in general *The Semantics of Biblical Hebrew*, Oxford 1969, by the same author, in particular pp. 100ff. ('the root fallacy'), 107ff. ('Chapter Six. Etymology and Related Arguments'). He recognizes nevertheless the significance of comparative etymology for defining the meaning of badly witnessed words, although it has to be used together with the context (p. 158).

routes human speech has followed. The journey ends inevitably in some dark, nebulous heights/depths where it is necessary to stop marching on, to avoid data becoming mere 'phantoms'.

It is this kind of restricted etymological 'ordering' (in the long run, etymology is nothing else but diachronic lexematic ordering) which we will now attempt. It involves, of course, a great deal of hypothetical 'reconstruction' that must be kept under the control of the empirical data which support it. The two possible aims of such a reconstruction (reductive or deductive) have been considered elsewhere³. For the moment, the starting point of our research will be a 'base' (not a 'root') of the type /XvY-/ (= /C₁vC₂/-), in which the original vowel as well as the inflectional position must be always kept in mind as original. Furthermore, this kind of 'biconsonantal' base normally appears as intensified or internally expanded in the third position (sometimes in the second or vocalic position) which resolves itself in the type /C₁vC₂- = C₁vC₂C₂-, giving rise to a triconsonantal morphology of a special kind. All the implications involved in this way of thinking, as far as the phonological structure and the semantic change are concerned, have been discussed in our study on the Semitic 'root' (quoted earlier⁴). Here, we intend to offer only a sample of etymological organisation of a lexical morpheme based on the comparative material, in order to show the possibilities and limitations of etymological research⁵. This linguistic field is either largely ignored or developed without enough evidence in the Semitic studies, but has now acquired new impetus.

In this connexion we cannot avoid putting forward a basic or rather primary 'meaning' of the phonetically biconsonantal 'base', even if this suggestion may sometimes prove to be hazardous⁶. Any etymological attempt which does not include a semantic definition falls short of its main purpose and may conceal the larger problem involved here, namely 'homonymity'. Phonology and semantics have to be present on an equal footing in any etymological analysis, even if we recognise the difficulty semantic change represents. Only in this way can we hope to put some order in the lexicographical continuum, making clear at the same time the many data that cannot be etymologically 'ordered' in the present state of our knowledge. This means that in fact we are obliged to accept many homonyms (or more accurately, consonantal homographs) which cannot be reduced to etymological 'unity' and suppose different levels of 'etymology' and historical derivation. This goes against the 'principle' of the uniqueness or 'univocity' of the original lexical sign, but we cannot enforce such a principle by proposing an unwarranted frame of semantic cognateness and derivation. Phonology and semantics must play against each other in order to keep 'etymology' within some credible and acceptable limits.

From the point of view of semasiology, an equivocal sign is not a sign at all. Thus homonymy raises the question of the 'originally' pure independent homophones/homographs in a proto-language. The possibility of such lexical radical morphemes seems to be ruled out as forming the first axiom of lexical etymology: "pure homographs/homophones cannot be either original or primary"; in other words:

3. Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, *Questions de Linguistique Sémitique. Racine et lexème. Histoire de la recherche (1940-2000)*, in press (*Chapitre V: 'Lexicographie sémitique comparée et étymologique'*).

4. Accordingly, we will not take into account the 'external' expansions by means of 'affixed complements' (nor even those called 'functional' or grammatical), as is customary among scholars who deal with this problem. That is left for a later stage. For a general overview one may consult the classical study of S.Th.H. Hurwitz, *Root-Determinatives in Semitic Speech*, New York 1913; and the articles of An. Zaborski, "Prefixes, Root-determinatives and the Problem of Biconsonantal Roots in Semitic", *Folia Orientalia* 11, 1969, 307-313; id., "Biconsonantal Verbal Roots in Semitic", *Prace Jezykozawcze* 35, 1971, 51-96; id., "Biconsonantal Roots and Triconsonantal Root Variation in Semitic: Solutions and Prospects", in A.S. Kaye, ed., *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau ...*, 1991, pp. 1675-1703.

5. In this connexion cf. the sound reflexions of F.??H. Renfroe, *Arabic and Ugaritic Lexicography*, DD Yale University 1989, pp. 7ff. ('The question of etymology').

6. Cf. Zaborski, "Biconsonantal Verbal Roots ...", p. 53.

"homonymy is etymologically secondary". This means that any original semantic variation must also imply either an internal phonological variation of the cluster or an alternative extension, either vocalic or consonantal. The homographs then arise in the process of semantic derivation or are the result of secondary formation. But when they are attested in various languages, above all in different language subfamilies, it is necessary to determine the 'original' pattern of semantic diversification or to accept our ignorance in this respect, when the formal or textual evidence is not convincing enough on the basis of well contrasted derivational patterns. In our search for 'etymology', sufficient room is to be made for this acceptance, otherwise we run the risk of making etymology a play of mirrors full of mirages.

In this regard, an attempt is to be made in order to distinguish between the 'first' or main meaning and the 'secondary' meanings in the various languages, so that only the former should be taken into account, leaving the latter for the study of their historical semantic evolution, generated largely by metaphor and metonymy. This independent evolution may produce many apparent semantic coincidences which have no connexion with the etymological origin of the lexical morpheme under consideration, at the same time reducing the apparent amount of homonymity. Nevertheless, we are prepared to accept a large number of lexemes in the various Semitic languages whose 'origins' are uncertain.

The Semitic base /dvl-/

In dealing with this base we will avoid repeating opinions previous to D. Cohen's *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* ... (Paris 1970-) to which we refer for those bibliographical references. Many of them can also be found in the lexica and dictionaries quoted to define the meaning of the lexemes in the various languages⁷. As for the quoted lexemes, only the simple ones will be taken into account, leaving aside as a rule the nominal and verbal derivatives, either morphological or lexical⁸.

The Semitic lexical morpheme /dvl-/ has in fact different realisations, nominal as well as verbal, within different semantic fields that are not easily correlated. They may be set out as follows:

/dal-/ (1)

The apparently primary phonemic cluster or epiphoneme (voiced dental + high middle vowel + sonant) offers a V/Nb (verbal-nominal base), broadly attested mainly in Southwest and Southeast Semitic, but also to some extent in Northwest Semitic. Its common/proto-semantic value points to "a kind of unstable movement: 'to pend, hang, dangle > swing'" (Fr. 'pendre > 'se balancer', Sp. 'pender > oscilar, ondear [al viento]'), due to a vertical hanging position⁹. It is perhaps in complementary distribution with 'to turn' (Sp. 'girar sobre, dar vueltas'; /svb(b)-/: horizontal fixed position), with some reflexes in other

7. They will be referred to according to the list of abbreviations given below. For other modern peripheral dialects (Arabic, South-Arabian and Ethiopic) we refer mainly to DRS, CDG and EDG. – This base is not recorded in

8. In this regard the alleged "non-ordonnement" or reversibility of the "étymon" /dl/ // /ld/ based on Ar. *daliya*, "être stupéfait", *ladda*, II "jeter dans la stupéfaction", is irrelevant and unacceptable. The Ar. verb *daliya* does not appear in Kazimirski's dictionary, Bohas' normal source of information, but can be seen in AEL as a very rare lexeme (maybe an allomorph), inexistent anymore in modern Arabic (cf. DMWA, *a. l.*; and Ar. *daliha*), and on the other hand according to Kazimirski Ar. *ladda* means "se quereller avec quelqu'un" (AEL: "he was violent"), while *laddada* has as first meaning "diffamer quelqu'un" and in the second place the alleged "jeter dans la stupéfaction" (AEL only: "he rendered him notorious"), to be eventually derived by semantic shift from the first meaning and in the long run from the original seme 'violence' as a 'cause' of animic trouble or stupefaction. So the 'coincidence' is clearly secondary and derivative.

9. Cf. DRS 261-2: "Le séquence consonantique (/DL/) se retrouve dans quelques racines come DLDL, DLW/Y, DLL, SDL (?) qui comportent parmi leurs valeurs celle de 'pendre, être pendant' peut-être aussi de 'hisser'; Zaborski, "Biconsonantal Verbal Roots in Semitic", p. 59 (*D-L₍₂₎ 'to hang down'); Hurwitz, *Root-Determinatives in Semitic Speech*, pp. 78, 94 postulates a root /dl/, 'to lift', /dll/ 'to hang' (intensive) (> /dly/).

Semitic branches. Such a meaning turns out to be non-agential (intransitive), and consequently action and subject are lexematically coincident and equally primary ('the hanging' = 'something hanging')¹⁰.

/daldala/ (NWS, SES)

We begin with this morphemic schema, which according to a widespread opinion reflects better than any other the primary character of the biconsonantal cluster, both phonologically and semantically¹¹. In this regard, it often assumes an ergative (factitive/causative) value, in parallel with the D-stem (qittel). Both schemes coincide morphologically.

MHeb. *dıldēl*, *dıldūl* "herabhängen lassen", 'das Herabhängende' (WTM 407), pp. *m^edūldāl* 'loosely hanging down' (DTT 310); Syr. *dandel* 'commovit', 'etidandal' 'pendit' (LS 159); Ar. *daldala*, *taldaldala* 'he put in motion ... or moved about a thing suspended' / 'it was ... in a state of motion; ... > 'to go' (AEL 901); Amh. *dälla* 'to go', but cf. *infra* /dal-/ 2b1); *duldulu* 'people wavering', > 'affair difficult' (AEL 902); MaghrAr. *daldal* 'pendre, être suspendu' (DRS 261f.); Soq. *ndldl* 'se balancer' (DRS 261f.); Tig. *gālgālā* 'to hang down on all sides' (WTS 547). Cf. *infra* on Eth. /dldl/ 'to level (uneven ground)' (/dal-/ 3).

Other semantic shifts may take place by metonymy from a partial seme of this nuclear meaning, e.g. 'slowness': YemAr. *daladala* 'lentement' (DRS 261); Gur. *adälā* to 'work slackly' (EDG 205). More hypothetical as derivations from this seme are developments such as Jib. 'endeldel/ændeldél' 'to drag, sweep the ground (clothes, tail)' (JD 39).

/dalla/ (NWS; SWS, SES)

Heb./MHeb. *dālal* 'to dangle' (HALOT 223; DTT 310); (Mér)SouthAr. *dalla* 'laisser tomber les bras aux côtés' (DRS 265); >(?) Jib. *edlel* 'to let dangle' (JD 38); Tig. *dalla*, *tadalala* 'to turn aside, to turn to' / 'to wave, to walk waddling' (WTS 510); *dāl* 'expulsion', 'get away!' (WTS 510); LW (loanword)? cf. JewPalAram. *dal* 'nimm weg!' (WTM 406), *infra* /dal-/ (2b1).

Both expansions and intensification (/daldala/ and /dalla/) function as alternatives with similar semantic development patterns based on the seme 'hanging/swinging movement', an unavoidable proof of their derivation from a primary binary base /dal-/. Both expansions show, in the various languages (as in Eng. 'to hang', Sp. 'colgar') the double ergative/stative value which has been pointed out.

On the other hand and depending on the 'nature' of the thing/subject 'hanging', different nominal homonyms have been generated with the same basic sememe: 'something dangling, waving'. Their differentiation is an areal semantic (not phonological) shift of the same primitive and original lexical morpheme /dal-/.

/dal-/ (1a) (NES, NWS)

According to the intransitivity (non-ergativity) of the 'action' mentioned, a PN (primary name) of this base is developed from the original seme mentioned ('something hanging/ floating') to 'signify' an implement which could be used to close (the entrance). It appears in East- (Akkadian) and Northwest Semitic as a nominal lexeme, dimorphic in character (masc. and fem. with -t morpheme) and uniform in meaning: /dal-/ 'door'. But such a meaning presents a cultural semantic problem: a 'door' is a turning

10. On this consideration of the primary lexical morphemes cf. Del Olmo Lete, forthcoming (supra n. 3: *Chapitre II: Structure de la racine sémitique. Problématique générale*).

11. Cf. W. Eilers, "Apokopierte Vollreduplikation", *Orientalia Suecana* 33-35, 1984-1986, 85-95; W. Fischer, "Die Entstehung reduplizierter Wurzelmorpheme im Semitischen", in R. Contini, F.A. Pennacchietti, M. Tosco, eds., *Semitica. Serta philologica Constantino Tsereteli dicata*, Turin 1993, pp. 39-61.

device to close/open the entrance/exit of a 'house', that is to say, it is a KW (Kulturwort). Nevertheless, resorting to the described V/Nb base /dal-/ and its basic seme, it is possible to see here a more general or neutral sense, not immediately related to the 'house', as a closing/opening implement of the 'abode'. This could be a hut, tent or even a cave, but the 'hanging implement' would have a similar function¹² in the life of the speaking group.

dal-: Phoen. *dl* (DNWSI 248); Heb. *dal* (HALOT 221f.); ImpAram. *dš* (DNWSI 262; pl. *dššy*); JewPalAram. *daššā*' (DTT 326).

dal+t-: Akk. *daltu* (CDA 54); Ug. *dlt* (DUL 271); Phoen./Pun./EpHeb. *dlt* (DNWSI 250); Heb. *delet* (HALOT 223f.); JewPalAram. *daltā*' (DTT 311: TargJob., perhaps as a LW). Ge. *dede* > **dadde* > **dalte* by palatalization of Heb. pl. *daltê* (cf. in this regard DRS 260). But Leslau, CDG 123, considers such a rapprochement doubtful: Ge. goes with Amh. *dägg* (AED 1826), by pseudo-correction /d/ > /g/, and with Tig. *däggä*, by /d/ > /g/, 'edde(?)' (cf. CDG 123), and represents a problem peculiar to this sub-family.

The simple biconsonantal original character of this nominal base is supported by the alternative morphemes it manifests by intensification/strengthening of /C2/ as well as by morphemic suffixation (+ - t). This last morpheme may be viewed as an alternative compensation to intensification, leading both to trilateralism, and so very primitive a witness to the simple cluster /dal-/ (the high middle vowel is favoured in this case in all the realisations by the following lateral sonant). Such a strengthening tendency is normal in any binary radical lexeme¹³. The phonetic anomaly of the Aram. morpheme, on the other hand, apparently depends on this intensification/strengthening of the sonant phoneme /l/, which has become a full consonant (originally /š/, but transcribed /š/ in epigraphic Aramaic) by partial unusual assimilation through the lateral feature of both of them¹⁴, possibly due to the influence of Akkadian. The secondary character of the fem. extension pleads seemingly for the Gr. *deltos* as a LW from Semitic, quite suitable in the semantic field of writing (DRS 260)¹⁵. In fact, the meaning 'tablet' for /dal+t-/ , which the lexeme possibly has in Phoen. and Heb. (DNWSI 250; HALOT 224) is a semantic metaphorical derivation even if we do not know exactly its bias (metaphorical application because of the shape?)¹⁶. In this regard, the etymology of the same Eng. lexeme 'tablet' provides a good example of the semantic pattern ('semantic chain') here developed: 'tablet' < LW Fr. 'table' = Sp. 'tabla' < Lat. *tabula*.

/dal(l)-/ (1b) (SWS, SES)

By a very common metaphorical derivation (basically in South-Semitic) and later borrowing has been produced the seme 'hair' / 'chevelure' < also 'something dangling, waving' (cf. Sp. 'ondear, ondulación' said of the hair; cf. CDG 131 for etymology), but this time from the intensified morpheme /dall-/:

Heb. *dallāh* 'loose hair' (HALOT 222; Song 7:6, a *hapax*, possibly a LW; also possible etymon of *d'hlāh*)¹⁷; Ar. *dalāl-* 'chevelure du front' (SDA 455); MaltAr. *dliel* 'losse hair' (HALOT 222); Ge. *dalala*, *dallala* 'to comb the hair' (CDG 131), *dallāle* 'woman's hairdo' (CDG 131), *dellul* 'combed', 'toupet' (CDG 131); Tig. *dalāla* 'to wave', cf. Fr. 'onduler', Sp. 'ondular' (WTS 510; cf. CDG 131); Amh. *dällälä* 'to trim one's hair' (AED 1706).

12. Cf. HALOT 223: "eig. Vorhang". Notice that this sememe 'door' appears in culturally developed Semitic groups.

13. Cf. Del Olmo Lete, forthcoming (cf. *supra* n. 1).

14. On the 'lateral' character of de /š/ see I.M. Diakonoff, *Afrasian Languages*, Moscow 1988, pp. 34ff. A similar process can be seen in the Eth. realisation (palatalization), *pace* Leslau; cf. in this regard the excellent phonological treatment by the same scholar in EDG lii and f.

15. Cf. H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996, p. 377.

16. In Ugaritic the existence of such a lexeme is very doubtful (KTU 5:7), *pace* Bordreuil, *CRAI* 1986/293; cf. DUL 271.

17. Also 'thrum', 'warp', things that hang, dangle, from the weaving vocabulary (HALOT 222).

/dal-/ (2a) (NES, SWS)

A second apparent homograph of /dal-/ presents a double verbal intensification, consonantal /da|-/ as well as vocalic /'glide' /da|-/ , both involving the seme of movement. Of the first one the Semitic subfamilies supplies sememes related to 'the manifestation/indication/ information concerning one's own ideas or sentiments towards others'. The semantic nuance is different in each language, according to the degree of subjectivity/objectivity put forward, apparently unrelated to that seme. But I propose to see here a semantic shift (by gestural metonymy or deixis)¹⁸ from the original value of physical motion that the base /dal-/ (1) presents: 'to shake, hang, wave', when it is the human person who makes the movement, namely, express itself by a sort of 'non-verbal' gestural/deictic communication (*semasiopoeia*)¹⁹. The 'movement' may resolve itself into 'self-manifestation' ('to boast'; cf. Fr. 'se balancer', Sp. 'contonearse' as a manifestation of pride and as a way of attracting attention) or be directed (convey information) to some other ('guide', 'indicate the way to be followed') or even to oneself ('to know'). In the case of Akk. the semantic shift is favoured by what perhaps was its cultic first acceptance, while in Ar. the derivation has a more subjective meaning. In both cases the derivation follows similar lines: metonymy of a movement as a sign of 'indication' (to another, to oneself). In any case this semantic cluster manifests a series of more 'culturally' developed meanings than the 'physical' sense inherent in the primary base /dal-/.

/da| = dall-/ (2a1) (NES, SWS)

Akk. *dalālu* 'to praise' (CDA 54²⁰); cf. conjectural Hb. *dalal* 'to proclaim glorify' 1 Chr 3,3 2 Sm 3, 3 [HALO 223]); Ar. *dalla(u)* 'to glorify, to boast' / 'to favor'/'to embolden' > 'adalla' 'to act with boldness' (AEL 900; DMWA 289); cf. the lexical variation Ar. *dalla(i)* 'to be coquettish, flirt', *dall-* 'amorous gesture ... of a woman with coquettish boldness and feigned coyness ...', 'coquetry, flirtation' (AEL 901; DMWA 289); also 'to confer a gift' > *dullat-* 'a favor', as 'proof of appraisal or affection' (AEL 900f.); Tig. *dällälä*, 'to cajole', 'to flatter' (AED 1706f.); Amh. *tädällä*, *adälla* 'to be favored', 'to favor' (AED 1704f.); (a)dälla 'to be partial by showing favor' (EDG 205).

/da| = dall-/ (2a2) (SWS, SES)

Ar. *dalla (u)* 'to direct aright', 'to show, to lead...' (AEL 900; DMWA 289) > *dalil-* 'a right director, a guide' (AEL 901; DMWA 289) > Mand. *dalil* 'indication, guide' (MD 100); Ar. *dalālat-* 'signification', *dilālat-* 'direction' (AEL 901; DMWA 289); a special semantic shift is Ar. *dallāl* 'auctioneer, agent' (DMWA 289), > *dallala* 'vendre à l'encan', 'être *dallāl* courtier' (Dozy 455, AndAr.), >? LW Tig. 'adlala, *dalāl* 'to/the offer for sale' (WTS 510); > Tigñ *dällälä* 'to be a broker, a middleman' (TED 2045); Amh. *dällala*, 'broker' (AED 1701); Syr. *dallēl* 'explicavit' (LS 154 > perhaps by enantismy 'dimixit uxorem'); also Tur. *dalāil* 'Anzeichen, Symptome' (NST 102); *dallāl* 'ausrufer', *dālōlo* 'ausrufer, makler' (NST 103), perhaps as Ar. LW; ESA *dll* 'bring report about the enemy' / 'to guide' > *dlwl* 'scout' / 'guide' (SD 35; DOSA 82); Meh. *del(l)* 'to know, to show, to guide' (ML 69s) > *dellōl* 'guide' (ML 70); Jib. *dell* 'to know, to guide' (JL 38); Tig. *dalā* 'to know exactly' (WTS 512) supposes perhaps a phonetic form analogous to /dalaya/; the exchange between those two patterns of intensification/ expansion is

18. It may suppose a sort of cause-effect by metonymic derivation (reinforced perhaps through the directional marker /l-/ > /dal-/ + /l-/: 'to shake, wave something (stick, hand ...)' to indicate the direction of ... or as a way of showing authority, power, symbolised by the stick (cf. Sp. 'directiva' = 'orden').

19. Cf. in this regard the splendid study by M.I. Gruber, *Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in the Ancient Near East* (Studia Pohl, 12/1-2), Rome 1980.

20. Cf. An. Zaborski, "Biconsonantal Verbal Root in Semitic", p. 58.

frequent in Semitic. – In this southern Semitic context Ug. *dll* ‘courier, messenger’ (DUL 270)²¹ is surprising and is perhaps an important indication of the special relationship of that language to Arabic.

/dal-/ (2b)

The second, vocalic (‘glide’), intensification /dal-/ points to a sort of ‘turning motion’, in this case also with the human person as a subject, and turns out to be a common Semitic lexical morpheme, easily derived from the original meaning of /dal/ (1) ‘to shake, wave’ as a kind of semantic specification: ‘to turn around’.

/dal- = /dā (wa)la/ (2b1)(NES, NWS, SWS, SES?)

*) Akk. *dālu* ‘to move, roam around’ (CDA 54) > *dayyal* ‘scout’ (CDA 58); *dayyal* ‘hunting foray’ (CDA 58); Syr. *dal* ‘se movit (‘teluric’ and many other ‘excited movements’)’ (LS 144); Ar. *dāla* ‘to come round (the days)’ (AEL 934; DMWA 302) > *dawl*, *dawlat* ‘a turn, vicissitude’ for the best (AEL 934f.; DMWA 302) and for the worst *dūlat*, *duwalat* ‘misfortune, calamity’ (AEL 935); YemAr. *dawl* ‘tour à tour’ (DRS 235); MarazAr. *dāla* ‘tour, fois’ (DRS 235); but Tig. *dalo* ‘time’ (WTS 510; according to DRS 235; Tig. *dol* ‘fois temps’; cf. *supra* on Tig. *dalā* ‘to know’); Amh. *dālla* ‘to go’ (AED 1740), alternation of /dall-/ and /dāl-/.

As a derivative line of the seme ‘turn’ applied to time, the meaning ‘old’ related to age appears chiefly in Arabic: Ar. *dāla* ‘to become old, worn out’ (AEL 934), *dawil* ‘one/two year old (plant)’ (AEL 935); DathAr. *dāl*, *dawwal* ‘devenir vieux’ (DRS 235); MarazAr. *dōla* ‘longtemps’, *dawwel* ‘séjourner longtemps’ (DRS 235); Meh. *dəwayl* ‘old’ (ML 75); Jib. *dewil* ‘old’, *edbel* ‘to age’ (JL 42).

**) More difficult to trace is the derivation pattern of the seme ‘power, authority’ also found with this intensified cluster, but a general derivative (metaphorical) semantic pattern going from the turning movement to controlling power is quite common (Fr. ‘tour de force’, Sp. ‘golpe de timón, de tuerca’ ...). On the other hand, a similar semantic shift is to be ascertained in the use of ‘door’ (cf. *supra* 1b) for ‘power’ (‘La Sublime Porte’, ‘The Gates of Hell’, ‘of the Kingdom’, ‘of the City’), which connects the two derived semes. The range of meanings manifested by Mand. is the best witness of this semantic shift: ‘government, power, state, change of fate, fortune’ (MD 99), possibly borrowed from Arabic. It is also possible that the sememe ‘power’ is generated from the seme ‘turn, fortune’: ‘the turn to prevail over...’, ‘a thing that is taken by turns...’, ‘transition from one state to another’, ‘prevalence’ and ‘succession’ > ‘dynasty’ and by metonymy: ‘state, empire, monarchy’ (cf. AEL 934; SDA 476). The semantic shift pattern is rather common: power as ‘a turn of fortune’. The shift in any case is pre-Islamic (ESA).

Mand. *dawla*, *dula* ‘government, power, fortune’ (MD 99 < Ar?); Tur. *daula* ‘Glück’, ‘Herrschaft, Regierung’ > *daulätli* ‘vom Glücke gesegnet’ (NST 121), perhaps LW < Ar.; Sab. *dwl* ‘realm’ (SD 36); Ar. *dawlat* ‘power, state, empire’ (AEL 935; DMWA 302); > MarazAr. *dāl* ‘prendre, s’emparer de, faire prisonnier’ (DRS 235; *dwila* ‘proche, parent’, secondary derivation by metonymy as belonging to the same *dawla*[?]); Meh. *dolet* ‘sultan’ (DRS 235, not in MD; with fem. morpheme, like *ḥalīfat*); Ge. *dawal* ‘region, territory’ (CSG 145), by cause/effect metonymy (< Ar. LW?) in Ethiop. subfamily > Ge. *dawwala* ‘delimit, define’ (CDG 145), but all of them from the same expansion with ‘glide’; Tig. *dawal* ‘district, country’, *dulät* ‘government’ (WTS 536). Further metonymic derivation: Tigñ. *dällätä* ‘to gather, collect’ > ‘to collect and form a pond (water) > “to be marshy” (TED 2047); Amh. *dulät* ‘assembly’, *dulläta* ‘discussion, counsel, plot’ (AED 1711; *dollätä* ‘to meet in assembly’ (WTS 1710s); Gur. *dulät* ‘assembly

21. Cf. F. Renfroe, *Arabic-Ugaritic Lexical Studies* (ALASP 5), Münster 1992, p. 95. ‘To guide’ and ‘to convey a message’ are unquestionably akin. The shift to ‘broker’ from the same base shows the flexibility of the semantic changes.

of the tribe' (EDG 206), "taken perhaps from Ar. *dawlat*, derived from *ta-dāwala* 'confer, take counsel' (for the Ar. use cf. SDA 476).

/da|_ = /dā(wa)la/ (2b2) (SES)

This vocalic intensified base /daw(a)la/ produces another lexeme whose seme is easily explained from the first value of the simple cluster /dal-/ 'dangle, hang ...', but restricted to the Ethiopic family, and prototypically exemplified by Gurage *dol*, *dul*.

*) Ge. *dawal*, *dawwala* 'bell, to ring the bell' (CDG 145); Tig. *dāwāl*, 'Glocke', *dāwwälä*, *dāwwänä* 'to ring the bell' (WTS 256f.); Tigñ. *dāwwälä* 'to ring (a phone)' (TED 2144); Amh. *dāwāl* 'bell', *dāwwälä* 'to ring a bell' (AED 1820) > *dāwāl* 'periphery of the church' (?) according to CDG 145; Gur. *dol*, *dul* 'bell attached to the neck of a small child or a cow' (EDG 205), *dāwāl* 'church bell', *dāwälä* 'to ring the bell' (EDG 224).

**) Also from this intensified base we have a very common Semitic lexeme with the value 'bucket', primarily said of an implement to draw water from a well. In this case also the semantic derivation is very easily made from the basic seme of the cluster /dal-, related to 'something hanging', as was the case with other sememes (cf. *supra*). But in the Semitic languages in general, such a lexeme turns out to be a deverbative derivation from the expanded base /dalaya/, which we now leave out of consideration; only in Aramaic, and perhaps in Arabic as a LW, does it exhibit a vocalic/glide intensification. At all events, it is interesting to ascertain the alternative secondary derivations which this sememe exhibits in the various languages, thus giving proof of their complementary distribution (/dalla/, /dāla/, /dalaya/) and witnessing the basic seme of the original binary cluster. On the other hand, from this same sememe 'bucket' a whole denominative semantic field related to 'irrigation' is derived in various languages (originally as water drawn from a well by means of a bucket) [DRS 235]

JewPalAram *dūl* 'to wind, draw water', *d^owal*, *d^owawl*, *daw^owlā* 'bucket' (DTT 283, 285; WTM 383: *dalwā*); Syr. *dawlā* 'situla' (LS 145; TS 904); Ar. *dawl-* 'bucket' (AED 934; *dilāl-* is the pl.; cf. DRS 265) >? DamAr *dwlt*, *dōle* 'metal vessel for making coffee' (DMWA 302), but also *dallat-* 'cafetière' (SDA 455). Evidently this is a KW and appears, apparently, as a LW in SES: Meh. *dellēt*, *delēl* 'coffee-pot' (ML 70); Jib. *délél* 'coffee-pot' (JL 38); cf. Hars. *dalleh*, *medele*, *medle* 'cafetière' (DRS 265).

/dal-/ (3)

The same primary phonemic cluster provides a common Semitic nominal (adjective) as well as verbal lexemes with spontaneous consonantal intensification and the same meaning: "(to be in) low condition, physical and social". As in the first case, both noun and verb are equally original (N/Vb):

/da|_ = dall-/:

Akk. *dallu* 'small', *dalālu* 'to be small' >? *dullu* 'trouble, work' (CDA 54, 61); Ug. *dl(t)*, 'poor', *dlt*, "weakness, poverty", D *dll* 'to oppress, subdue' (DUL 270f.); Pun. *dl* 'poor, deficient' (DNWSI 248); Hb./MidHeb *dal* 'arm, dürftig', *dallūt*, "Armut", *dalal* 'spärlich, dürftig, dünn sein', 'to be or become little, tiny' (WTM 406; DTT 310; HALOT 223); > den. *dīldēl* 'schwächen, verringern', 'to reduce' (WTM 407; DTT 308); JewPalTalAram. *d^olal* 'to thin', *d^olil* 'thin' (Sokoloff 150; DDT 310); Syr. *dyalā* 'tenuis, macer'; *d^olilā*, *dalilā* 'facilis, paucus' > *itdelal* 'être diminué' (LS 154; TS 883, 901s); Mand. *dalil* (subs.) 'uneasiness, discomfiture' (MD 100); Tur. *dālāl* 'arm', by enantiosis 'schön' (NST 110); Ar. *dalla* 'être flexible, bas, maigre, petit' (DRS 265; not in AEL, SDA or in DMWA); Soq. *delel* 'humilier' (DRS 265); Amh. *ḡel* 'fool', *ḡälä* 'to be foolish' (?) (AED 1852, cf. DRS 265); Gur. *däll* (*beä*), *där* (*balä*) 'become

flexible because of being wet' (?) (EDG 205)²². - Here perhaps belongs the reduplicative expansion /dldl/ to be found in Ge. *daldala*, Tigñ. *däldälä*, Amh. *däläddälä* 'to level (uneven ground)' (CDG 131, AED 1712ff.); Gur. *däläddälä* 'level off the ground' (EDG 206); > Tig. *däldälä* 'to build a bridge' (WTS 512); Ge. *deldeyy* 'bridge' (CDG 131); Tigñ. *däldäl* 'bridge' (TEL 2053), Amh. *däldäl*, *däldäy* 'bridge', *däldälä* 'to build a bridge' (AED 1714); Gur. *dildil*, *däldäy*, 'bridge' (EDG 206), taking into account the NWS sememes²³.

Its relationship to /dal-/ (1) is difficult to establish. Most probably this is an allophone of /ḡal-/ generated by original phono-semantic differentiation of related 'traits' (and in this regard somehow semantically connected: hanging > unstable > feeble ...). The decisive argument comes from ESA. /dll/ 'be humbled, abased' > 'make vile', Heb. *zalat* 'to be thoughtless, rash; to be despised' (DOS 95; SD 39; HALOT 272; HAL 261); JewPalAram. *zll* 'to be of little value' (DJPA 177s); Syr. *dall* 'vilescere' (TS 900). Therefore they are two different phonological clusters²⁴. But a possible semantic contamination (by phonological cognacy ...) from /dal-/ (1) is very feasible and it is to be seen the best in the semantic range offered by Heb./MidHeb. quoted above: *dälal* 'to be thin, swing, hang', 'dangle' >? 'to be poor' (HALOT 222; DTT 310)²⁵.

Many other semantic derivations from this cluster /dal-/ 'hang, shake, swing' are perhaps at work in the various Semitic languages, but we cannot ascertain their derivational pattern, since most of them occur in one language only, producing many apparent consonantal homographs. It is possible to appreciate among them certain specific semantic fields, such as 'body parts', 'animals' and 'plants'. Others are clear 'Kulturwörter' for which a deverbal descriptive derivation is quite feasible, but which cannot be checked as such. Their 'etymology' is now a question of historical lexicography to be elucidated from within the development of each language. The main body of those homographs (from the point of view of the consonantal cluster) is concentrated in the peripheral area of South-Semitic:

Akk.

dalilu/dallalu 'a type of frog' ('poor creature'?) (CDA 54).

dilitu 'a stringed instrument' (CDA 59), JB lex (perhaps a KW by metaphorical derivation, and related to /dalaya/(?): 'something hanging'(?); cf. in this regard Ps. 137:2 (*tälînû kinnörôtênû*), as a possible 'etymologisation').

dillatu 'a cereal' (CDA 59), JB lex.

adudil(l)u 'praying Mantis' (CDA 5), JB.

Phoen. /Pun.

dl 'with' (DNWSI 248f.); functor < /d+l/.

22. This may be an Afro-Asiatic 'root' according to *HSED*, p. 147 (!).

23. If we assume, nevertheless, that *däldäl/dildil* was the original morpheme which generated the denominative verbs (by metonymy: cause/effect), it could be related to the original /dldl/ with the same 'hanging, dangling'. That would correspond to the primitive shape and function of a 'bridge' (?).

24. Cf. Hurwitz, *Root-Determinatives in Semitic Speech*, p. 104 (but in p. 78 he refers to /dl/, 'to lift': 'dependent, weak'); Zaborski, "Biconsonantal Verbal Root in Semitic", p. 60.

25. Cf. Hurwitz, *Root-Determinatives in Semitic Speech*, p. 104; Zaborski, "Biconsonantal Verbal Root in Semitic", p. 60.

Heb./Syr./Ar.

dālīt, 'Laubwerk', 'foliage' (HALOT 222); Syr. *dalītā* 'palmes' *dawlītā* 'trabs' (TS 905); JewPalAram *dālīt* 'Zweig', Ast, eig. Erhobenens' (WTM 408); Neo-Syr. *dālyā* (HALOT 222); Ar. *dāliyat* 'hung fruit' (AELe 909) < /dalaya/.

JewPalAram./Syr.

dīl 'proprius' (TS 881), functor < /dī+l/

d̥wēl, 'etwas anfertigen, weben, spinnen', *d̥wīl*, 'das Angefertigte', *dūlālā* 'das Gewebe, Gespinnt' (WTM 383); Syr. *dall* 'filum textit', *dawlā* 'filum', 'trame' (LS 154); *delāl* 'subtegmen telae' (LS 154) < allophone of /zūl/ (but Ar. *zāla* does not seem to have such a meaning).

dalītā 'varix' (TA 905).

dandālā / *dandālāyā* 'scolopendra' (LS 159) < Akk. (?).

NeoAram.

dalāle 'sich zierend' (NST 110) ('with hanging earrings, pendants', Sp. 'pendientes?').

Ar.

duldul-, *duldūl* 'hedge-hog' (AEL 902)

dawlat- 'stomach (of a bird)', 'intestines, gizzard', 'leathern waterbag with a narrow mouth' (AEL 935).

dawāliy- 'a sort of grapes' (> 'which hangs?') (AEL 935).

Jib.

dololat / *délél* 'kind of slow-moving snake' (JL 38) (> "winding, bending?").

Soq.

dll 'tenir' (DRS 265).

Ge.

dalāy 'male genital organs' (CDG 133).

dālle, *dalle*, 'bone of the back, buttocks' (CGD 130).

Tig.

d̥la 'whosoever' (WTS 510); functor pron. /d+l/.

dāla bela 'to sprout and to flower' (WTS 510).

dāldāla 'to keep ready, to make firm' (WTS 512) <? /dldl/

dāldāla 'firm wall, dam' (WTS 512) < *dāldāla*.

dāwla 'pack-saddle for mules' (WTS 536) <? Ge. *dāle*.

gāllā 'to draw water from the well' (WTS 560) <? /dalawa/.

dulāt 'dish of chopped tripe ...' (WTS 1711)

Tigñ.

dəl, *dil* 'victory' (TED 2044).

dəldul 'robust' (TED 2053).

//*dawella* 'light pack-saddle' (TED 2144); cf. Tig. *dāwla*.

Amh.

dəl, dəlo 'victory' (AED 1706). cf. Tigñ.

dəl, däl, eəlo 'skin lesions caused by leprosy' (AED 1705).

dälla 'to be comfortable' (AED 1704)

dalle 'hips' (AED 1706).

däläl 'layer of mud, sediment', *dulollo* 'wadi' (AED 1707).

dolä 'to put in, to add' (AED 1706).

dulla 'club, cudgel' > 'strong, powerful' (AED 1705).

dawəlla 'kind of saddle blanket' (AED 1821); cf. Tigñ.

dawəlla 'a measure' (AED 1821) < Amh. *däl* 'liquid/large measure' < *supra* /dal-/ 'bucket'.

Gur. (+ Arg., Gaf., Har. ...)

däl, dän, dänn 'abdomen, belly' (EDG 205).

dälla 'make a mistake' (EDG 205).

dəl 'victory' (EDG 205), cf. Amh.

dole 'be lame, limp' (EDG 205).

dulla 'club' > *dula* 'big, large' (EDG 705), cf. Amh.

dələdälä 'level off the ground' (EDG 706)

(*tä*)*dələdälä* 'become abundant' (EDG 706) > *dələdälä*.

däwäl, dolollo "red earth" (EDG 206, 223) > Cush.

For the etymological definition of all these lexemes, that are apparently irreducible to the above analysed common Semitic bases, one has to take into account, besides the unrecognised semantic shift by metonymy and metaphor, possible loans from the adstrate languages. But in this connexion we should also be aware of "die Grundsatz der Randgebiete" which must impose the acceptance of some PW only preserved in those peripheral areas, mainly in such semantic fields such as the 'body parts'²⁶. The alternative primitive vocalic realisation /dəl-/ could be present here, disguised under its phonetic shift /dal/ imposed by the contiguous sonant /l/.

While the phonological development of the Semitic base /dvl-/ is the one usual in this kind of lexical morpheme (/dvl-/ = /dall-/; /dvl-/ = /däl-/; /daw:y(a)l-/; /dvlvdl-/; /dvl(v)-w:ya/), we may sum up and draw the following schema of its semantic development:

/dal-/ (1) (CS, simple base and primary seme): 'to/something hang(ing) dangling'

/daldala/ (NWS, SES): "to loosely hang down"

/dalla/ (NWS; SWS, SES): 'to dangle'

By semantic objectivisation:

26. Such a lexical morpheme does not appear either in *SED* or in *SIEPE*, while *HSED*, p. 146, points out "*dal- 'buttocks'" as witnessed in Semitic (Ge. and Amh., cf. *supra*) and Central Chadic in prefixed forms (!), and *RPAA*, p. 130, registers a Proto-Afroasiatic 'root' *dul- 'to raise, put above', corresponding to Modern South Arabian *dlw 'to pull up by rope', but there is no Pre-Proto-Semitic Root (p. 496) (!). The confusion of this incomplete analysis is obvious. Furthermore, *HCVAA*, p. 28, mentions 1) *dl, 'bar, barrier, door' (> *dlw/y, Sem. = Akk. *dalt-*, etc.; Eg. *dn-y*, 'dam'); 2) *dəl, 'sprout, shoot' (> *dy/wl; Tig. *däla*); 3) *dvl, 'to burn' (no direct Sem. witness); 4) *dlw, *dwl (metath.), *dl, 'pail, bucket' (Sem. /dlw/). There is no semantic analysis: points 1) and 4) are not well distributed and points 2) and 3) have no clear Semitic correspondences. Nonetheless, /d-l-/ seems to be a well attested afroasiatic base. Cf. in this regard Eg. /dl/, 'shake, tremble' (*CDME*, p. 309) and Ber. /DL/, 'couvrir', with many semantic derivatives related to house, tent, hair, etc., < 'something hanging > covering > closing ...' (*DRB*, pp. 323ss).

/dal-/ (1a) (NES, NWS): 'door'

/dal(l)-/ (1b) (SWS, SES): 'hair'

/dal-/ (2) By consonantal intensification and semantic metonymisation of 'non-verbal communication'
deixis (*semasiopoeia?*):

/dal-/ (2a) (NES, SWS): 'to show feeling/idea'

/dal- = dall-/ (2a1) (NES, SWS): 'to praise'

/dal- = dall-/ (2a2) (SWS, SES): 'to direct aright'

By vocalic intensification:

/dal-/ (2b)

and metonymic/metaphorical semantic shift:

/dal- = /dā(wa)la/ (2b1) (NES, NWS, SWS, SES?): 'to move, roam around'

*) 'turn' (CS)

**) 'power, authority' (NWS, SWS, SES)

by variant semantic objectivation:

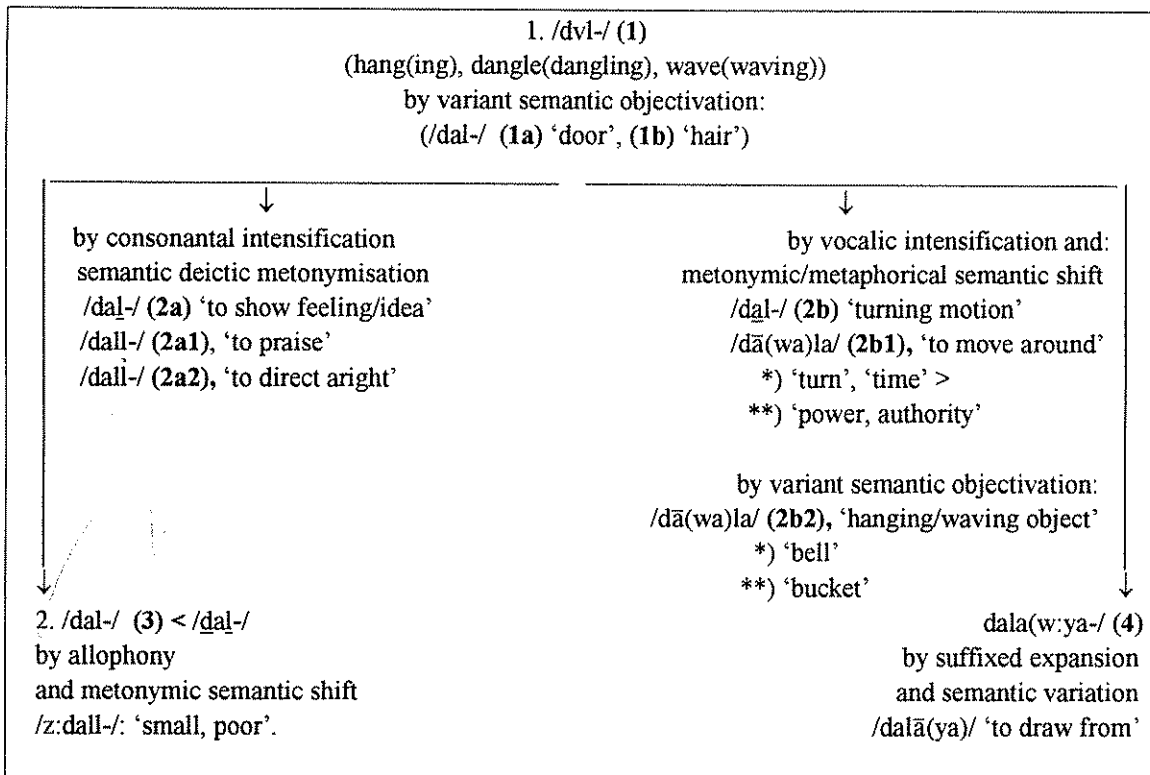
/dal- = /dā(wa)la/ (2b2) (SES): 'hanging/dangling object'

*) 'bell' (SES)

**) 'bucket' (NWS, SWS, SES)

/dal-/ (3) and metonymic semantic shift:

/dal- = dall-/: 'small, poor' (CS): an allophone of /dll/.



Semantic diagram of Sem. N/Vb /dvl-/

Abbreviations of quoted sources

- AED T.L. Kane, *Amharic-English Dictionary*, Vols. I-II, Wiesbaden 1990.
 AEL E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Dictionary*, London 1863/Cambridge 1984.
 CDA J. Black et al., *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, Wiesbaden 2000.
 CDG W. Leslau, *A Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*, Wiesbaden 1991.
 CDME R. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford 1996.
 DJPA M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, Bar Ilan 1990.
 DMWA H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1966.
 DRB K. Naït-Zerrad, *Dictionnaire des racines Berbères (formes attestées)*, Paris 1998-.
 DRS D. Cohen (et al.), *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ...*, Paris 1970-.
 DSA J.C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic. Sabaean Dialect (HSS 25)*, Chico CA 1982.
 DTT M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli ...*, Vols. I-II, New York 1950.
 DNWSI J. Hoftijzer, K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, Vols. I-II, Leiden 1995.
 DUL G. del Olmo Lete, J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, Leiden 2002.
 EDG W. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*. Vols. I-III, Wiesbaden 1979.
 HALOT L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the O.T.*, Leiden 1994.
 HCVA I-M- Diakonoff et al., "Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian", *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 5, 1995, 4-32.

HSED	Vi.E. Orel, Ol.V. Stolbova, <i>Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Materials for a Reconstruction</i> (HdO I, 18), Leiden 1995.
JL	T.M. Johnstone, <i>Jibb āli Lexicon</i> , Oxford 1981.
LS	C. Brockelmann, <i>Lexicon Syriacum</i> , Halle 1928/Hildesheim 1966.
MD	E.S. Drower, R. Macuch, <i>A Mandaic Dictionary</i> , Oxford 1963.
ML	T.M. Johnstone, <i>Mehri Lexicon</i> , London 1987.
NST	H. Ritter, <i>Ṭūrōyo. Die Volkssprache der syrischen christen der Ṭūr °Abdīn</i> , Beirut 1979.
RPA	Chr. Ehret, <i>Reconstructing Proto-Afroasiatic (Proto-Afrasian). Vowels, Tone, Consonants, and Vocabulary</i> (University of California Publications in Linguistics 126), Berkeley 1995.
SB	A.F.L. Beeston et al., <i>Sabaic Dictionary</i> , Louvain-la-Neuve/ Beyrouth 1982.
SDA	R. Dozy, <i>Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes ...</i> , Vols. I-II, Leiden 1881/ Beirut 1991.
SED	A. Militarev, L. Kogan, <i>Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Vol. I. Anatomy of Man and Animals</i> (AOAT 278/1), Münster 2000.
SIEPE	S. Levin, <i>Semitic and Indo-European: The Principal Etymologies</i> (CILTh 129), Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1995.
TED	T.L. Kane, <i>Tigriña-English Dictionary</i> , Wiesbaden 2002.
TS	R Payne Smith, <i>Thesaurus syriacus</i> , vols. I-II, Oxford 1879/Hildesheim 1981.
WTM	J. Levy, <i>Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim</i> , Vienna 1924/Darmstadt 1963.
WTS	E. Littmann, M. Höfner, <i>Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache</i> , Wiesbaden 1956-1962.

Language abbreviations

Akk.	Akkadian
Amh.	Amharic
Ber.	Berber
CS	Common Semitic
Eg.	Egyptian
EpHb.	Epigraphic Hebrew
Eth.	Ethiopic
Gur.	Gurage
Heb.	Hebrew
ImpAram.	Imperial Aramaic
Jib.	Jibbali
JewPalAram	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
MaghrAr	Maghrebi Arab
MHeb	Modern Hebrew
NAram	Neo-Aramaic
NWS	North-west Semitic
Phoen.	Phoenician
Pun.	Punic
SES	South-east Semitic
Syr.	Syriac
Tig.	Tigre
Tigñ.	Tigriña
Ug.	Ugaritic
YemAr.	Yemeni Arab