

/XaZ-/	/ʔ/	/h/	/l/	/m/	/n/	/r/	/š/	/t/	/w/	/y/
Prefix	/ʔXZ/	/hXZ/	/lXZ/	/mXZ/	/nXZ/	/rXZ/	/šXZ/	/tXZ/	/wXZ/	/yXZ/
Infix	/XʔZ/	/XhZ/	/XlZ/	/XmZ/	/XnZ/	/XrZ/	/XšZ/	/XtZ/	/XwZ/	/XyZ/
Suffix	/XZʔ/	/XZh/	/XZl/	/XZm/	/XZn/	/XZr/	/XZš/	/XZt/	/XZw/	/XZy/

Besides these possible expansions of the biconsonantal lexemes in the three possible positions (prefixed, infixed, suffixed)<sup>17</sup>, which is the main subject of this article, the triconsonantal Semitic lexicon, also exhibits the well-known series of bases sharing two consonants, with a semantic relationship of varying strength. Once the biconsonantal series has been isolated, we will be able to ascertain whether this shared cluster has any correspondence in the biconsonantal series or whether the triconsonantal roots/bases sharing it have to be taken as aleatoric ‘allotheses’, generated either by phonetic variations within the same articulatory group or by alternative dialectal resonances, due to the functions of stress or to other analogical causes. In any case, we leave out of consideration this third class of ‘expansions’ of a hypothetical shared biconsonantal cluster. This is not, properly speaking, a radical expansion, but must be labelled the alternation or allothesis of a base that was triconsonantal in origin<sup>18</sup>. The analysis of this lexical class already corresponds to the compilation of a global comparative and etymological lexicon of the Semitic languages. We intend only to provide some contrasted material prior to this compilation, namely, the series of biconsonantal bases and their certain or probable expansions. Only one ‘original’ biconsonantal lexeme/semi with two possible contrastive vocalic realisations (/a::ə/) is assumed, leaving aside ancient or late onomatopoeias, often limited to one language or linguistic family.

This is the first instalment of a series of about thirty studies, the aim of which is to revise the whole Semitic lexicon and of which a first more detailed draft has been already set out<sup>19</sup>. The treatment here will be more sober and ‘algebraic’, and does not take account of the implicit explanations to emerge from the draft. This form of publication will make it possible for any useful criticism received to be included in the final redaction. Also the complete tabulation of the results, as far as the bearing of each expansion morpheme is concerned, will be left to the final article in the series. In the meantime, only a summary sketch is provided.

## The Series /ʔ-X-/

### /ʔvB-/

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

/ʔaB-/ 1) **PrimW** with frequent conson. intens. < /ʔab-/ 1) > /ʔab(b)-/, CS. **BS**: ‘generative and social male principle (life and power)’ > father, progenitor, head of the stirps, chief: **Akk.**: *abu(m)*, pl *abbū*, ‘father’, *abbūtu(m)*, ‘fatherhood’; **Ebl.**: *a-bu*, ‘father, one who is responsible’ (TIE I 3, 6-7); **Amor.**: ‘*ab*, ‘*aba*, ‘father’ (AOAT 271/1:406; ARES 3:200f.; APNMT:154); ‘*abum*, ‘father’ (CAAA:13);

17. Cf. W. Eilers, “Die zweiradikalige Basis der semitischen Wurzel”, in H. Jungraithmayr, W.W. Müller, eds., *Proceedings of the Fourth International Hamito-Semitic Congress, Marburg, 20-22 September, 1983* (ASThHLS; Series IV: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 44), Amsterdam / Philadelphia 1987, pp. 509-524.

18. On the problems involved here cf. G. del Olmo Lete, *Questions de linguistique sémitique*, pp. 126ff. In my opinion, to consider all the triconsonantal bases as third radical expansions is out of place; cf. C. Ehret, “The origin of third consonants in Semitic roots: an internal reconstruction (applied to Arabic)”, *JAL* 2/2, 1989, 107-202.

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

**Ug.:** *'(a)b* (> *'(i)b*), 'father, ancestor'; **NWS:** Phoen.-Pun., EpHeb., Moab., EpAram. *'b*, 'father, ancestor(s)'; Hat.: *'by*, 'lord, patrician' [< Phoen. *'bt*, 'a father's (legal) power, status of a father'(?)]; **Heb.:** *'āb* (pl. *'ābôt*), 'father, progenitor'; **Aram.:** JPAram. *'b*(*'*), 'father, ancestors'; JBAram. *'āb 'ā*, 'father, common factor'; *'īb 'ā*, 'father' (DTT:44); JA *'b*, 'father', pl. 'ancestors'; Syr. *'abā* (pl. *'abb<sup>e</sup>hātā*'), 'father'; Mand.: *ab*, *aba* (pl. *abahata*), 'father'; NAram.: *'abā 'ā-wā*; *'ābo*, 'father' (TVSyCh); **ESA:** Sab. *'b* (pl. *'abh*, *'abw*), 'father, ancestor', *'abwt*, 'ancestry, agnates'; **ENA:** Saf., Lih., *'b*; Tham. *'abwt*, 'fatherhood' (DRS:1); **MSA:** Meh. (*h*)*āyb*, (*h*)*awb*, *'īb*, 'father', (*h*)*ābū*, 'people'; Jibb./Soq. /'b/: *'iy/'ētā/iif*, 'father', *'eb/'ētā/ə'əb*, 'big', /'bw/: *yə*, *eyə/ə'əfo*, 'people'; **Ar.:** *'abū*, 'father', *abbū*, dialect. variat. of *'abū*, 'a father'; **Eth.:** Ge. *'ab* (pl. *'abaw*); Tig. *'ab*, 'father' [cf. suffix. expansion *əbāne*, 'der Starke, der Hervorgehende'(?); and by semantic (< /'ab(b)ôt/ or phonological contamination (< /'m(m)/) *abot*, 'Großmutter']; Tigñ.: *ab(u)*, 'father, ancestor, progenitor'; Amh.: *ab*, 'elder, forefather, Eternal Father' [>? *abet*, 'yes, Sir!, here I am!']; Gur. *ab*, 'father, owner'.

Apparently onomatopoeic (infantile) in origin (with the allophonic alternations /b:p/), with many semantic developments and attributions, social and religious, in most languages, Semitic and non-Semitic. One of the 'six' nouns with a long suffix vowel (except in Meh.), probably due to secondary (compensatory [/'āb- > /'ab(b)-/ versus /'āb-/ > /'ābû/]) and analogical expansion ([< *'ābiyu* < /'abû/, 'who decides' (?)]), since it affects the inflexional position (for a discussion cf. MacDonald 1963-1965:63-85; Schub 1978:223-225; Voigt 1988:64ff.; Voigt 2002:37-44; DRS 1; marker of pl. and coll. [?]).

A particular semantic shift by intens., not attested as an independent predic. base (< 'to act as a father, generator'), may occur in Akk. *abunnatu(m)*, 'umbilical cord' (AHw 9) (?); also Eth.: Tig.: *atābā*, 'to cut the umbilical cord', Amh.: *attābā* I, 'to cut the umbilical cord of a newborn baby', 'to brand government cattle with a brand which shows they are government property', 'to mark one who is baptized into the faith as a member of the Christian community', 'to indicate or mark s.th. as one's private property'; variant *attamā*. - **AA:** \*'ab-, 'father', attested in all the families (*Essai* 77; HSED 1; Murtonen 1989:79). - **Nostratic:** \*'ab- 'father, forefather' (NM 572f.). - **SF:** Family relationship.

### 1a - First level: b) intensified base

/'**āB**-/ 1) Denom. deriv. by vocal. intens. < /'ab-/ 1) > /'āb-/, as quantitative opposition of length (?), NWS.

**BS:** 1) cultural development from 'father' to 'ancestor': **Ug.** *'ab*, 'ghost, spirit' (// /'ab-/: cf. *aby*, 'ancestral' (?); but cf. Dietrich/Loretz UF 34 2002 937f.: 'gar nicht existiert'); **Heb.** *'ōb* (< /'āb-/, 'spirit of the dead' (cf. the idiom 'to be gathered to his fathers'); **Aram.:** JPA *'ōb*, *'ūbā*, 'necromancy/necromancer' (DTT:21); JBA *'ōbā*, 'underworld spirit', 'necromancer' (*'wb' tmy* < Akk. *eṭemmu*, DJBA 84/506). - 2) KW by semantic shift from < /'āb-/ 1) <sup>2</sup>, monthn., ES/NWS: the 5<sup>th</sup> Babylonian month, the 11<sup>th</sup> Jewish month: **Akk.** *abu(m)*; **Emar.** *abî* (Fleming 2000:174ff.); **MHeb.** LW *'āb* (DTT 1); **Aram.:** JB/PA *'ab*, 'Av, the eleventh month'; JA *'b*, 'Av, the fifth month'; Syr. *'ab*, 'month of August'; Mand. *ab*, 'month under the rule of Leo'; **Eth.:** Ge. *'ab*, 'the fifth Jewish month'.

Uncertain etymol.; alternatively < LW/KW < Akk. *ab/pum*, 'hole, opening (in the ground)' >> Hitt. *api-*, 'Loch, im Boden, Opfergrube' (HEG 47), possibly a phonetically conditioned second millennium LW. Less likely < Ar. /'wb/, 'to come back' (AEL 123-124; cf. HALOT 19, DRS 11; Murtonen 1989:84). Cf. DRS 1; HRCohen 1978:73f; MECohen 1993:319ff., 343f. (in relation to late Akk. and Hitt. *ab/pu*); Ebach/Rüterswörden 1980/1977; Loretz 2002:481ff. (Ug. *'ap*); Tropper 1989:189ff. The evidence from Emar.

*abū* is ambiguous (cf. Fleming 2000:186ff.). Also the relationship to **AA** \*ʔab-/ʔub-, ‘to fall, descend’, on the basis of some Chad. and Cush. dialects, is not very compelling (HSED 2).

/ʔ**aB**-/ Denom. deriv. by conson. gemin. < /ʔab-/ 1) > /ʔabb-/, CS. **BS.**: ‘primordial, generating water’: **Akk.** *abūbu(m)*, ‘flood, deluge’ (cf. *abbu*, ‘swamp’?); **Aram.**: Mand. *tababia*, ‘storms, hurricanes’; **Ar.** ʔa/ubābu, ‘vague, flot, grande masse d’eau’ (DAF 2); **Eth.**: Ge. ʔababi, ‘wave’.

Cf. Ge.-Amh. ʔabāwi/ʔabāy/abbay, ‘(father) blue Nile’ < /ʔabaw:ya/, as complementary expansions (cf. DRS 1); but cf. AED 1203, possibly < /ʔby/, ‘the big one’. The conson. intens. is also found in /ʔab-/, especially in pl. forms. It is more difficult to determine the relationship of this cluster to Pers. ʔāb, ‘water’ (CPED 1ff.).

## 2a - Second level: expanded base

Of the possible prefix. series, WS /šʔb/: Ug., Heb., Aram., ESA ‘to draw water’ and Ar. *saʔaba*, ‘to squeeze’, ‘to widen a skin for water’, *saʔiba*, ‘to be satisfied by drinking’, show only a remote semantic relationship to /ʔab-/ through /ʔab-/. Ar. *šuʔbūbu*, ‘shower, rain’ (AEL 1489) could represent such an expansion; cf. Ar. ʔa/ubābu (*supra*), but as a prefix. /š/ expansion they would be phonetically anomalous in Ar. and on the other hand, this lexeme is not attested in NWS, indicating a LW. Instead the meaning ‘impetus, sharpness, vehemence, force’ seems to be a secondary metaphor. shift. In any case, it would be a very old expansion or rather an original triliteral base of **AA** origin: cf. Eg. *šwbty*, ‘a jar’, and maybe Eg. *s3b*, ‘cross water’.

The suffixed series presents some clear radical expansions (/w:h/). The alternative form of suffixation clearly shows the expansive character of the base.

/ʔ**aBaWa**/ Denom. predic. expan. suffix. < /ʔab-/ 1) > /ʔab(a)+wa/, WS/SS. **BS.**: ‘to become a father’: **Ar.** ʔabā(w), ‘to become a father’, > *istaʔabba*, ‘to adopt as a father’, possibly in contrastive distribution with /ʔabaw:ya/; >(?) ʔubbiyyatu, ʔibāʔu, ‘self-magnification, greatness, majesty’; **Eth.**: Amh.: >? *abāy* or *abəy*, ‘one who feeds’, *abbayye*, ‘daddy!’.

A semantic derivation is possibly to be seen in JPAr. *ʔbw*, ‘stick with a metal point’ (DJPA 32); and in Sab. *tʔby*, ‘permanent residence’ // ‘ancestral boasting’.

/ʔ**aBaHa**/ Denom. predic. expan. suffix.(?) < /ʔab-/ 1) > /ʔaba+ha/, SS. **BS.**: ‘to act as a superior authority’/‘to make s.o. father’ > appoint a subordinate, give authority, entrust’: **SAE.** Sab. ʔbh, ‘appoint s.o. as an official’.

Other secondary nominal suffix. derivations may be seen in Tigñ. *ab-ša*, ‘term of respect used in addressing or referring to a woman older than the speaker’, and in Mand. *abual*, ‘offspring, young creature’. Also a suffix. /-r/ expansion may be seen in CS /ʔbr/, with the semantic connotation of ‘strength’, mainly sexual: **Akk.** *abru(m)*, ‘strong, robust’, ‘wing, fin’; Ug. *ibr*, male animal, ‘bull, horse’; Heb. ʔabbîr, ‘strong’, ʔēber, ‘wing’; MHeb. ʔēber, ‘limb, membrum virile’ (DTT 9); JAram. ʔēber, ‘limb’; ʔēbārā, ‘limb, membrum virile’ (DTT 44); Syr. ʔebrā, ‘limb, member’; Ar. ʔibratum, ‘(extremity) member’ > ‘needle’ (< ‘that stings’); and possibly by enant. (?) Tigñ. *abbārā*, ‘to be/become old’. This expan. may be also documented by **AA**: Eg. *ibr*, ‘stallion’, ʔa-bi-ra, a Sem. LW (Benz 1971 507); Chad. *abər*, ‘young animal in its prime’ (cf. Murtonen 1989:81).

## 1b - First level: simple and intensified base

\***/ʾaB-/** The simple original base is not attested, only the conson. nom./predic. intens. < **/ʾab-/** > **/ʾabb-/**, SWS. **BS.:** ‘to want, to desire, to take a decision’: **Ar.** *ʾabba*, ‘tended, directed his course, determine’; *ʾabbu*, ‘intention, projet’ (DAF 2); > **/ʾa:ib(a)b-/** > ‘desire’ > *ʾa/ibābatu*, ‘way of acting, conduct’, and by multiple suffix derivation, *ʾibbānu*, ‘time of preparing or making ready’; also **Eth.:** Ge. *ebbä*, ‘to refuse, disobey’ (by enant. contrast. alternation of *ʾabaya*).

Cf. Hurvitz 1913:77; Zaborski 1971:53-54. Moscati 1947:133 presupposes a root /hb/, an alloph. of /ʾb/; cf. *infra* - The isosemantic series or ‘chain’: ‘to will > desire > love > decide’, can be best appreciated in the polysemy of Sp. ‘querer’, as a reflex of a diversified exercise of will. The possible relationship to **/ʾab-/** 1) is not clear (‘to decide’ > ‘to act as a father/chief’; ‘to prepare himself for a journey [the first decision of a beduin chief]), taking us back to a pre-Semitic level; cf. Eg.: *3bī*, ‘to desire, wish for’, *3bw*, *3bt*, ‘desire’ (cf. *infra* **/ʾabaya/**); so for the moment it is preferable to presume two independent radical clusters: a PrimW of onomatop. origin and a nom./predic. base of phonological aleatoric formation (possibly even as a triconson. allothesis). - DRS 1 points to the ‘resonance’ {laryngeal + labial} [**/ʾBY**, **ʾWH**, **YHB**, **THB**, **HBB**, **HMM**/] as a source of allomorphs of this base/semi (?) . Cf. also **/BB/**, **/nbb/**, for other possible allomorphs (DRS 1) and *infra*.

## 2b - Second level: expanded base

In the expanded series, the set with prefixes exhibits some relevant expansions of **/ʾab-/** 2), beginning with the prefix. in EpAram.

**/YaʾaBa/** Denom. predic. prefix. expan. < **/ʾab-/** 2)? > **/ya+ʾaba/**, WS. **BS:** ‘to desire’: **Heb.** *\*yʾb/*, ‘to long for’, *hapax* in the Bible and Qumran (HALOT 381; DCH IV 70) **Aram.:** EpAram. *yʾb/*, ‘to desire’ (DNWSI 431); Syr. *yiʾeb*, ‘to desire’, *yawʾābā*, ‘to desire’.

Cf. Hurvitz 1913:89, Moscati 1947:134. To be compared with **/ʾabaya/** (cf. *infra*) and also Heb. *tāʾab*.

**/TaʾaBa/** Denom. predic. prefix. expan. < **/ʾab-/** 2) > **/ta+ʾaba/**, WS. **BS:** ‘to desire’: **Heb.** *tāʾab*, ‘to long for’/‘to make repulsive’, *tāʾābāh*, ‘longing’; JAram. *tēʾēb*, ‘to have a desire’ (DTT 1641).

Cf. Hurvitz 1913:95; Moscati 1947:134. Both could be alternative phenotypes of the same biconson. base. The multiple affix. supports this view, although a triconson. allothesis cannot be ruled out here.

The infixed series appears to be sterile; its clusters are apparently semantically unrelated either to **/ʾab-/** 1) or to 2). Nevertheless, **/ʾawb-/** could represent a denom. predic. by vocal. intens./glide < **/ʾab-/** 2) as a byform<sup>2</sup> in altern. distrib. of **\*ʾab-/**, WS. **BS.:** ‘behaving arrogantly, intensively’ (?): **Ar.** *ʾawiba*, ‘être en colère’ (DAF 67); instead **Aram.:** Syr. *ʾwb*, Etpa. *ʾeteʾawbat*, ‘to burn with desire’, could represent a spont. labialization or simply an allomorph also with prefix. *yʾb/* (cf. *supra*). The varying semantic concurrence of the three phenotypes *yʾb/*, *ʾwb/* and *ʾby/* (cf. also **/ʾab(b)-/**) seems to indicate them to be distrib., altern. expan. of the base **/ʾab-/** in the SF of primary subjective reactions. But *non liquet*.

In addition, a second phenotype of **/ʾawb-/** could also represent a denom. predic. by vocal. intens./glide < **/ʾab-/**, by enant. distrib. opposition to **/ʾab-/** 2) (?), SWS. **BS:** ‘return movement’ (< ‘decision in the opposite direction’): **?ENA.:** Saf. *ʾb*, ‘to return’ (DRS 11); **Ar.** *ʾāba*, ‘to return, repent, come’; >? meton. derivation Soq. *yʾb*, ‘to delay, doubt’. Notice the enant. development within this base: ‘desire’/‘refuse’ (cf. *supra*). - For Heb.

'ōb, 'ghost, spirit', cf. *supra* /ʾab-/ 1). It seems that Tig. *erab*, 'family', has no connection with this base, and the same applies to the multiple Tig. allophones of /ʾlb/.

**/ʾaBaYa/** Denom. predic. expan. suffix. < /ʾab-/ 2 > /ʾab(a)+ya/, WS/SS. **BS.:** 'to take a decision, positive and negative: to will/refuse' (but cf. /ʾab-/ 2): **Heb.** 'ābā, 'to be willing > 'satisfy' # 'want' (cf. HALOT 3, for other etymologies; 'abī, 'would that!' could also be taken into account); **NWS:** Phoen. /ʾbyt/, 'desire' (?); **Aram.:** EpAram. *htn'bw*, 'to long for, covet' (< /n'b/, DNWSI 710-711, cf. Heb. /n'p/); JPA 'abey / 'abah, 'to be willing' (DTT 5); **ESA.:** Min. *st'by*, 'refuser' (DRS 3); **Ar.** 'abā(y), 'refused, disliked'; **Eth.:** Ge. 'abaya, 'to refuse, be unwilling (to do), revolt, disobey, decline, say no, oppose, resist, reject, deny, disagree' > 'abuy, 'disobedient', 'abay, 'disobedience'; Tig. 'aba, 'to refuse, deny, hate' > 'abäy, 'enemy'; Tigñ. *abäyā*, 'to refuse', *abäy*, 'to fail, refuse'; Amh.: *abbäyā* 'to disobey, to rebel'; *abäya* 'refractory ox'; Gur. *abā*, 'to give, allow, permit' (EDG 5, see *waba* and the alternative phenotype *ebbā*, 'refuse, disobey').

As pointed out above (cf. \*/ʾab-/ 2), a connection of this expansion with /ab-/ 1) > 'exercise of 'paternal' authority > subjective power 'of the chief', positive and negative', is not self-evident (cf. *Essai* 77; AA [Eg.-Sem.]: original triconson. base; Murtonen 1989:79f.). Cf. Zaborski 1971:53-54, who quotes also the allomorphs /ya'aba/ (Heb., Aram. Syr.) and /ta'aba/ (Heb.).

**/ʾaHaB-/** Denom. predic. infix. expan.(?) < /ʾab-/ 2 > /ʾa+ha+ba/, NWS. **BS:** 'to show a strong desire, love': Ug. *ahbt*, 'love'; **Heb.** 'āhēb, 'to like, love'; **Aram.** , 'ahābā', 'love' (DTT 19).

Cf. Hurvitz 1913:86; Moscati 1947:133 (< /hb/). Other derivations from /ʾab-/ 2) by multiple expan. may be: Aram. 'abbāyā(y), 'prayer' (DDT 6); Mand.: 'abayah ('abayi), 'prayer; reader, preceptor'; cf. **AA:** Eg.: *3bi*, 'to desire, wish for' (CDME 2), *3bw*, *3bt*, 'desire' (GHÄD 3); cf. Murtonen 1989:79f. Also Amor. *abi'ānum*, 'poor' (ARMT 10 296); Ug. *abyn*, 'poor'; Heb. 'ebyōn, 'poor' (HALOT 5: 'to be needy'); DDT 5: 'because he 'longs' for everything') could be a secondary deriv. from \*/ʾab/-. However, Eg. *ebyən*, 'miserable, poor', seems to be a Semitic LW (cf. Lambdin 1953:145ff.).

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

This is a new base constructed from same radical cluster /ʾB/ and in vocalic distribution /ə[i:u]/ # /a/ with the former. The possible semantic relationship of this base to /ʾab-/ 1) cannot be confirmed, nor can the claim of a common base.

**/ʾəB-/ PrimW** with possible conson. inten < /ʾəb-/ > /ʾəbb-/ , CS. **BS:** 'vegetal germination': **Akk.** *ab/pu*, 'reed-bed, reeds', *apû*, a spiny plant, *apûtu*, a plant > *inbu*, 'fruit, flower'; **Ug.** 'ib-, 'fruit'; **Heb.** 'eb(b), 'fruit'; MHeb. 'eb (pl. 'ibbîn), 'the young shoots of a tree'; **Aram.:** EpAram.: 'b, 'fruit' (?) (DNWSI 3); JAram. 'ab, '(perhaps) sprout' (DJA p. 29); 'b(?), 'ibbā, '(growing) fruit' (DJPA 73); 'ib'a, 'growing fruit' (DJBA 73); > 'inba', 'fruit, produce' (DTT 80) > by meton. 'inba' / 'nb', 'louse's egg, nit' (DJBA 118); Syr. 'ebbā', 'fruit'; Mand. *aba*, 'product, swelling'; **Ar.** 'abbu, 'herbage', 'desert first fruit', 'whatever vegetable the earth produces'; **Eth.:** Tig. 'abo, 'a plant', 'oba'/'obo, 'tree with edible fruit'; Gur. *eba*, 'kind of tree', *ebbābā* 'bloom, blossom, flower', (*anābbābā*, 'bloom, blossom, flower' [but a possible deriv. < Cush. must be taken into account] and possibly by epenthetic deriv. >? *atāba*, 'a small tree with sweet edible root'; Tigñ. *abo*, 'evergreen tree', *oba*, *obo*, 'a kind of tree'; Amh. *at(i)äbu*, 'a kind of tree which has white flowers'.

Cf. Murtonen 1989:79. Akk. *i/en/mbu(m)*, ‘fruit, flower’, ‘flower(-shaped jewellery)’, suggests a possible dissimilation (/’əb-/ > /’əbb-/ , /’ənəb-/), rather than a derivation from < /’-n-b/ (cf. AHw 234; LS 2). See also JAram. *’inḫa*, ‘fruit, produce’ (DTT 80). On the other hand, cf. Ug. *’ib-*, by metaph. shift > ‘gem, precious stone’ (cf. Lat. ‘gemma’), also > Akk. *eb(b)u*, ‘pure, brilliant’ and. Mand. *aba*, ‘to bring’ > ‘to shine forth’. However, speculations on the correspondence of the bases /’-n-b/ and /’-n-b/ (< /n-b-/ ) must be set aside for the moment, but possible root contamination should be taken into account. On the other hand, Syr. *hab(b)*, *hawbobo*, ‘to flower’, *habtā*, ‘flower’, may represent another allomorphic base.

Also, a feasible allomorphic expansion and intensification /n{’}bb/ of the same base may be found in Akk. *ebbūbu(m)*, *enbūbu(m)*, *embūbu(m)* (?), ‘flute, pipe’ (cf. *ab/pu*, ‘reed-bed, reeds’, *appu(m)*, ‘tube, socket’); >? MHeb. *’abbūb*, *’ibbūb*, ‘reed, flute, pipe, tube’ (DTT 3); JAram. *’abwb’a* (abs. *’bwb*), *’ybwb*, ‘flute’ (DJBA 74; DJPA 32), *’abbūb*, *’abbūbā*, ‘reed, flute, pipe, tube’ (DTT 3); Syr. *’abbūbā’(tā)*, ‘flute’; Mand. *ambuba*, *anbuba* (Ar. LW), ‘tube, flute, (reed-)pipe’; Ar. *’unbūbatu*, ‘An internodal portion of a reed or cane’, possible metathesis *’ubnatu*, ‘a knot in a wood’. This is a multiple prefix. expansion (cf. Akk. and Ar.), with assimilation in NWS (DRS 1f.). Semantically there is an isosemantic chain of shifts: material (reed) > instrument (flute) > sound (cry) (or the other way round: sound < flute < reed, if we accept the onomatopoeic base (-bb) as original; cf. DRS 1f.). - Cf. AA: Eg. *ib*, ‘part of a plant’, ‘a sort of tree’ (WÄS I 60); \*’baw, ‘a plant’ (HSED 2). - SF: Flora.

### 1c - First level: b) intensified base

/’aB-/ Denom. predic. and deverb. by conson. intens./gemin. < /’əb-/ > /’ab-ba/, CS. **BS.**: ‘to be fruitful’: **Aram.**: *’abab*, ‘to grow, ripen’ (DTT p. 2) > *’abbā*, ‘thickets, woods, grove’ (DTT 2); **Eth.**: Tig. *’āmbābā*, ‘to flower’; Tigñ. *’ambābā*, ‘to flower’; Amh. *abbābā*, ‘to flower, bloom, blossom ...’; Gur. *ebbābā*, ‘bloom, blossom, flower’. As deverb. noun by gemin./reduplic. (‘action noun of the previous base’): **Akk.** *ababu*, ‘forest’; **NWS**: Pun. *’bb(?)*, ‘spring-fruit’; **Heb.** *’ābīb*, ‘ear’, by meton. ‘spring’ (< ‘ear time’); **Aram.**: JAram. *’abbā*, ‘thickets, woods, grove’ (DTT 2), *’abyb* (*’abyb’a*), ‘early stage of ripening, spring’ (DTT 5f.; DJPA 32); Syr. *hababā*, ‘flos’ (?) (allomorphic?; cf. *supra*); Mand.: *ababia*, ‘thickets, dense growth’.

Heb.: \*’ābab, ‘to be thick, to be heavy, to press; to surround; to twist; to be warm, to glow’, quoted by DTT p. 2, does not exist as a verbal base in Biblical Hebrew (cf. HALOT 2). In this connexion, note the correspondence with the resonances /’b/, /ḥb/, /gb/, /kb/, /qb/ and /’bd/, /’bl/, /’bq/, /’br/, /’bs/, /’bh/, /ḥbb/ (cf. also DRS 1, {laryngeal+labial}). However, the option of an onomatopoeic etymon by repetition of the labial (DRS 2) does not seem acceptable. For a possible relationship to the root /’-n-b/ cf. *supra*.

### 2c - Second level: expanded base

This base furnishes only a suffixed expansion /-ya/ with a factitive/effective semantic nuance and in clear areal distribution with /’aB-/ . The NWS semantic development is clearly secondary.

/’aBaYa/ Denom. predic. by suffix expan < /’eb-/ > /’ab(a)+ya/, ES/WS. **BS.**: ‘to produce fruit, to fructify’: **Aram.**: Mand. *aba*, ‘to bring out, to swell out, to shine forth’ > *aba*, ‘product’, ‘swelling’. From this base may also be derived < **Akk.** *apū* II and *apūtu(m)*, ‘a plant’ (cf. Akk. *abu*, *apu*, ‘reed-bed, reeds’ *supra*); *abiyaṇu*, ‘a plant’ (AHw 6); as well as **Heb.** *’ēbe(?)*, ‘reed, papyrus’ (*hapax* Job 9:26). - As a metonymic shift from /’abaya/ with the **BS.**: ‘result of being fruitful’: **Mand.** *aba*, ‘to be

thick, dark', *aba*, 'darkness, thickness, denseness' > by intens. +expan. *ababia*, 'thickets, dense growth'. Possibly also Akk. *abbuttu(m)*, 'a hair-style'.

The best witness of a semantic shift and radical contamination is to be seen in Mand. ABA I, <sup>C</sup>BA I, 'to be thick, become thick, dense, dark'; ABA II, <sup>C</sup>BA II, <sup>C</sup>BB, 'to bring out, come out, swell out', 'to grow hot, shine forth, glow'. In this connexion, a possible allophony or root contamination with /<sup>b</sup>/ and the seme 'to cover, veil ...' has to be taken into account (cf. *supra* on /<sup>ab</sup>-/).

An expan. prefix. may be seen in /na'ab-/ as a denom. predic. with privat./enant. < /<sup>ʔ</sup>ab-/ > /<sup>ʔ</sup>na+'ab:pa/, ES. **BS**: 'to lose fertility': **Akk.** *na'āpu(m)*, 'to be(come) dry'.

### 3 - Homographs/Loanwords

The cluster /<sup>b</sup>/ offers a series of radical homographs which cannot derive from the bases identified:

Heb. *hapax* 'ōb, 'bag (skin) for wine made of leather', Job 32:19 (HALOT 20) has a possible reflex in Akk. *apu*, 'a leather object', and in the hypothetical Ar. 'awwaba, 'tailleur (le cuir) en rond' (DRS 11) and even in Ar. 'ayyabu, 'porteur d'eau' (DRS 11), not to be found in AEL or in DAE (but cf. Lisan I 143: šāqqā). Cf. also the possible prefix. and infix. expansions: Ar. *sa'bu*, *mis'abu*, 'skin, receptacle of skin', 'ihābu, 'skin, hide'; and the more problematic Amh. *arrābā*, 'to make Moroccan leather' (?). In this sense above all CS /š<sup>b</sup>/, 'to draw water (with a skinbag)' (Murtonen 1989:407) could be considered as a possible /š-/ prefix. expansion, linked (?) with Heb. 'ōb, mentioned above. In any case, its derivation from /<sup>ab</sup>/ 1) > /<sup>āb</sup>/ > Heb. /ōb/, 'spirit, ghost', is uncertain in respect of the semantic shift involved. Cf. Rubiato/Lara/Gaviria 1991:145-162. The possibility that it is a LW/KW should be taken into account.

Akk. *abbū*, 'swamp fauna' (> *abbu* 'swamp'); JArām. 'ybw, 'an unclean bird'; Syr. 'abbā, 'crocodile' (generically related to Eg. *3by*, 'panther', *3bw*, 'elephant'); Gur. *abba*, 'leopard, tiger'. Also Akk. *abāya*, 'a water fowl', *abbunnu*, 'a kind of bird', *abūtu*, *abūtānu*, 'fish' (AA, cf. *Essai* 77; HSED 3). The water animals may be related to /<sup>ab</sup>-/ (cf. *supra*), as is fairly clear in Akk.; the other designations may be semantic expansion. Other radical homographs, such as Ar. 'abbaba, 'to shout, scream' (DAF 2), and by metonymic gestural deriv. >? Ar. 'abba (?), 'to be astonished' (DAF 2), Tig. 'abbā, 'to scream, shout', point to an allothesis of /y-b-b/, 'to put out a strong cry' (< /BB/ (?), of onomatopoeic origin; DRS 1f.) as corroborated by Heb. *yibbeḇ*, 'to lament'; JArām., *yabbeḇ*, 'to sound an alarm, a trumpet'; Syr. *yabeb*, 'to play the trumpet, to shout with joy, exult'; Ge. *yab(b)aba*, 'to jubilate, shout with joy', (cf. DRS 1f). Also from this allothetic cluster /y:h-b(-b)/ could derive (?) Amh. *eba*, 'monkey, monkey's cry', *anābba* 'to cry, shed tears'. Cf. possibly also Gur. *amb<sup>w</sup>a* \*balā, 'low, moo'. On the other hand, MHeb. *yibbēḇ*, 'to speak in a trembling voice, to lament' (DTT 560), JArām. *y<sup>e</sup>bab*, 'to sound an alarm' (DTT 560) and Mand. /YBB/, 'to make a hollow sound, to groan', possibly indicate a contamination of bases (/nbb/, /ybb/). Another allothesis may also be found in Ar. *hab(a)ba*, 'to blow the wind'. For Ug. *ib* cf. Heb. 'ōyyēḇ; Akk. *ayyābu(m)*, 'enemy' < /<sup>ʔ</sup>yab/ in alternation with /w<sup>b</sup>/, Ar. *wa'aba*, 'to contract oneself', 'to be disdainful', *wa'iba*, 'to be angry'; in my opinion it cannot be taken semantically as an expan. infix. of /<sup>ʔ</sup>ab-, 'əb-/ (cf. Murtonen 1989:89).

The claimed AA root \*'ab-, 'stone', from which > CS /<sup>bn</sup>/, on the basis of the only attestation in Cush, is not very convincing (HSED 1f.), especially when another common and better attested AA root \*'abun- is postulated.

Akk. *apītu*, a type of fallow land < *ab/pu*, 'reed-bed, reeds'.