Artikel

Isolated Nouns in the Semitic Languages[1]

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Part A. Role of the Pattern in the Isolated Nouns

In the formation of nouns in the Semitic languages, triconsonantal roots are interleaved with patterns which consist of vowels and slots for root consonants, in some cases with afformatives. Some of the patterns are productive, and some carry with them well-defined meanings. For example, in most Semitic languages, the patterns descended from Proto-Semitic *$qātil$[2] indicate the G active participle. But not all nouns are formed in this manner. Nouns not derived from a root and a pattern, called the "isolated" nouns, have distinct characteristics that distinguish them from the majority of Semitic nouns.

An "isolated noun" is defined as a substantive that does not share a consonantal root with another word of similar meaning, whether verb or noun. Therefore, unlike most nouns, the isolated noun is not separable into root and pattern by comparison to other words that have the same root but a different pattern.

Adjectives are excluded from the definition of "isolated noun" because of their close connection to the verb in Semitic: an adjective such as *$kabid$ "heavy," which exists in a number of Semitic languages and so is reconstructed for Proto-Semitic, forms a stative predicative/perfect[3] by the addition of suffixes, as well as a prefixal imperfect/preterite. In all Semitic languages, the adjective meaning "X" has an associated verb "to be X," except for demonstrative adjectives and denominative (relative) adjectives formed by suffixation to a noun (e.g., the Arabic nisbe ending *$-iyy$). Since a verb of the same root existing alongside a noun makes the noun non-isolated, the adjectives are here excluded.

Because this definition of isolated nouns is focused on distinguishing those nouns in which root and pattern are not separate elements in the derivation of the word, it excludes those which have another noun from the same root, as well as those which

[2] Q, t, and l are mere place-holders for the three radical consonants, without reference to whether the $\sqrt{qtl}$ root or any given pattern with $\sqrt{qtl}$ exists in any given language. (In Syriac and Hebrew, for example, the root is $\sqrt{qtl}$.) C_1, C_2 and C_3 are also used, particularly when specific radical positions must be indicated.

[3] See Huehnergard 1987b: 221.

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have a verb of the same root. There are a very few of reconstructible nouns with a common root, yet with no reconstructible verb from the root, for example, *ʾimm "mother," alongside *ʾumm-at/-ān "people, army." Because the great majority of the non-isolated (derived) nouns have a verb from the same root, the verb is often treated as the etymon from which the nouns are derived.[4]

There are similar, although not identical, categories of nouns referred to in the literature as isolated,[5] primitive,[6] unmotivated,[7] or primary.[8] Definitions of the terms differ slightly, although in practice there is a large overlap between the various categories.

One approach to these nouns, based on the techniques of Indo-European, assumes that most "roots" in the Proto-Indo-European sense – full reconstructed lexemes, not reconstructed abstract triconsonantal units – are verbs, from which most nouns are derived. The few "roots" (in the Indo-Europeanists' sense) that are nouns, then, are "primitive" nouns by this definition. These nominal "roots" can form denominal nouns and verbs.[9]

Alternately, the "primitive" noun is often defined as a simple concrete term for a common item,[10] such as the nouns on the Swadesh list (Swadesh 1952: 455-57).[11] As Proto-Semitic is reconstructed here, the nouns that fit our definition of the isolated noun often have a conceptually simple, concrete meaning, but the overlap is not complete. Still, the semantics of the nouns may help point the way to the isolated nouns, even though their status must be confirmed by an examination of the lexica of the Semitic languages.

The "primitive" nouns may also be defined as the set of all the nouns which can be reconstructed in full – in form and meaning – to the proto-language.[12] This

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[4] See Brockelmann's (VG: 330 [§ 114]) objections to this principle.

[5] E.g., "Isolirt" (Barth 1894: 1 [§ 1]).

[6] E.g., Kautzsch 1910: 225 (§ 82).

[7] E.g., "immotivato" (Fronzaroli 1963: 120). Buccellati (1996: 69-75) discusses the class of "unmotivated" noun, which includes both the "primary" nouns (corresponding to the definition of "isolated" used here) and loanwords. I received Buccellati's study, with an important investigation of the nature of the unmotivated noun, only after the submission of the present article, and so I was unable to fully incorporate its conclusions.

[8] E.g., "Primär" (BLe: 445 [§ 60]).

[9] My thanks to Gideon Goldenberg, who pointed out the intrusion of such concepts from the study of the Indo-European languages into Semitics (Spring 1995).

[10] Some treatments of primitive nouns are associated with discredited theories of a trend in the psychological diachronic development of language from primitive and simple to modern and sophisticated. These theories assume that conceptually "primitive" nouns are the only nouns existing in an earlier stage of human development. Voigt (1988: 47-50) discusses some of the misconceptions about the character of proto-languages, and cites the literature.

[11] Swadesh (1952: 455)describes his list of words (which includes various parts of speech, not just nouns) as drawn from the "'intimate' vocabulary," as opposed to the "'cultural' part of the vocabulary."

[12] A formal definition of "primitive" nouns as all those which are reconstructible should not be taken to imply that the linguistic ancestor of the Semitic languages had only those nouns. The formal method of reconstruction used here reconstructs to the proto-language only morphemes

definition of "primitive" nouns does not exactly overlap with the definition used here for Proto-Semitic isolated nouns: if an exclusive criterion of reconstructibility were to be applied, it would include, in the set of "primitive nouns," such nouns as $*^c umq$ "depth," and $*kabid$ "heavy, liver," nouns which are reconstructible, and so "primitive" by this definition; yet these nouns show verbs of the same root, and so are not "isolated," by the definition used in the present article. Nonetheless, it is a remarkable fact of the reconstruction of Proto-Semitic that most of the isolated nouns are reconstructible while most, although not all, of the nouns derived from roots *cannot* be reconstructed as a complete unit of root, pattern, and meaning. This indicates that the derived nouns have undergone language-specific re-formation by analogy, applying roots to patterns.

The special nature of Proto-Semitic isolated nouns, as they are understood here, is that they do not share triconsonantal roots with other reconstructed nouns or verbs. Thus, they do not participate in this typically Semitic means of word formation. It is this characteristic of the set of isolated nouns as opposed to the derived nouns that leads Bergsträsser, for example, to state the "system [of root and pattern] holds almost without limit in the realm of the verb and those nouns that stand in some relation to the verb; it does not pertain to the substantives proper, the primary nouns" (Bergsträsser 1983: 6).

Not only do the consonants of the isolated nouns lack morphemic status, but they fail to follow the phonological co-occurrence restrictions on root consonants typical to the Semitic languages (Fronzaroli 1963: 120-21).[13] In most triconsonantal root morphemes, homorganic consonants are not found in C_1 and C_2, nor in C_1 and C_3 (although the latter restriction is less complete). Except for those cases in which C_2 and C_3 are identical, the geminate roots, homorganic consonants are not found in C_2 and C_3. Among the isolated nouns, many violations of the restrictions are found. There are isolated nouns which have homorganic C_1 and C_2, like $*^{\circ}ahl$ "tribe, tent," $*^{\circ}ahad$ "one," and $*\theta aday$ "breast"; there are some isolated nouns with homorganic C_2 and C_3, like $*gurn$, "granary, threshing floor," $*šid\theta$ "six"; and other isolated nouns with homorganic C_1 and C_3, like $*rigl$ "foot," $*rahil$ "ewe," and $*tiš^c$ "nine" or even identical C_1 and C_3, like $*\theta al\bar{a}\theta$ "three."[14]

This difference between the isolated nouns and other Semitic words indicates another sense in which the isolated nouns do not have roots. The co-occurrence restrictions on Semitic roots do not apply to the entire Semitic word. Morphemes other than the root can have consonants homorganic with the root consonants. For example, a root with t or d in it can take the third person feminine singular verbal prefix t-, while, a root with m or n can take an D participle with m-. Therefore, the co-occurrence restrictions are characteristic of the root, and the failure of the isolated nouns to follow these restrictions is another difference between the consonants in the isolated nouns and the ordered sets of consonants that form a root.

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which are found in wide-spread descendant languages, whereas it is quite possible that a morpheme found in the linguistic ancestor was lost in all but one language, or even that it was completely lost.
[13]   Greenberg (1950) discusses the co-occurrence restrictions and the exceptions to them among the isolated nouns. (See especially pp. 168-69).
[14]   Greenberg 1950: 168, 172, 175, and 177.

Even though the isolated nouns are not formally analyzable into roots and patterns, the concept of "pattern" does have relevance to the isolated nouns, if only in the strictly formal sense of an arrangement of vowels and slots for consonants. First, even isolated nouns are analyzed for root and pattern in derivation of denominal words and inflection of broken plurals in all the Semitic languages, and thus also in Proto-Semitic; second, the patterns of the isolated nouns are not scattered at random among all the available patterns, but rather are strongly clustered among a few types. In a synchronic analysis of any of the Semitic languages, there are almost no truly isolated nouns, that is, nouns which do not share a root with any other word, since the Semitic languages can extract roots from any word and create verbs and nouns on the basis of the new roots. For example, Arabic *kalb*[15] and Syriac *kalbå* "dog" have associated with them the denominal verb *kaliba* and *klaḇ* "to be rabid," in Arabic and Syriac respectively, as well as the denominal *kallāb* and *kallåḇå* "dog-trainer, dog-handler." It is clear that the denominal nouns are formed directly from "dog," and not derived from the denominal verbs, because there are no verbs of the root √*klb* meaning "to raise/train dogs."

A Proto-Semitic which is reconstructed according to the characteristics of the daughter languages must be reconstructed with this Common Semitic root-extraction ability, and so in this sense, even in Proto-Semitic, all nouns, including isolated nouns, can be analyzed as having a root. Yet many nouns can still be reconstructed as isolated nouns for Proto-Semitic, because these nouns occur in widespread Semitic languages, while no other words of the same root show the same wide distribution. The derivatives of such nouns, when they exist, are language-specific developments.

For this reason, even though the definition of "isolated noun" can in principle apply to nouns of the attested languages, the concept should be understood, for the purposes of this article, as relevant mostly to the reconstructed system (Fronzaroli 1963: 123).

In inflection, too, forms may be developed on the basis of roots analyzed from the isolated nouns. Arabic, some Ethiopic languages, and Modern and Old South

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[15] Standard citation forms are used. In Akkadian, the unbound singular is cited, along with of mimation in those forms attested in mimated dialects and time periods. In Arabic, the singular is listed, without case vowel or nunation. In Gəʿəz, the nominative singular is given. In Hebrew, the absolute singular is listed only when it is attested. Allomorphs such as the construct state, the form before suffixes, or the plural appear when the absolute singular is unattested or when they contribute to the reconstruction of the pattern. In Mehri, the singular is given in the citation form. When the word begins with *h* which is not part of the proto-form (but rather developed from a prefixed article), the *h* is separated with a hyphen. In Sabaic, the singular is given when attested; otherwise, the attested form is used. In Syriac, the "emphatic state," along with the absolute state when available, is cited.

Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic are transliterated as follows: *â* is *qåmɛṣ*, *a* is *páṭaḥ*, *o* is *ḥólɛm*, *u* is *šurɛq* or *qibbuṣ*, *i* is *hirɛq* (with or without *yoḏ*), *e* is *ṣere* (with or without *yoḏ*), *ɛ* is *sgol*, and *šwå* goes unindicated. Ḥåṭep vowels are indicated by superscription. Spirantization is indicated by underlining.

Syriac is transliterated with the vowels *â*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *i*, *ẹ*, and *e*, indicating the distinctions of vowels preserved in the Eastern tradition.

Arabian languages form broken plurals from almost all substantives, whether isolated or not. Occasional broken plurals are also formed in other languages, even for isolated nouns: Hebrew ʾaḥim < *ʾaḥḥīm- "brothers" as the plural of ʾåḥ, and Babylonian abbū, Assyrian abbāʾū "fathers" as the plural of abum "father." Northwest Semitic, too, has a regular broken plural, formed by the addition of an *-a- infix to the pattern of *qatl, *qitl, and *qutl nouns; this infix occurs together with the regular plural suffix, *-āt or *-īm (Huehnergard 1991: 284; Ginsberg 1970: 102). This infix is seen in the -å- infixed after C_2 in the absolute plural of Hebrew nouns (e.g., klåḇim "dogs" as the plural of kéléḇ); also, the since-lost *a is evident in the spirantization of C_3 in the plurals of monovocalic[16] Aramaic nouns such as kalbe (or kalḇayyå) "dogs" and in the construct plurals of monovocalic Hebrew nouns, such as kalḇe "dogs of." Ugaritic shows a similar formation through its alephs, as for example rašm /raʾašīma/ "heads," the plural of riš /raʾšu/ "head," and also in syllabic transcription, as for example ḫa-ba-li-ma /ḫabalīma/ "ropes, lots," and na-bá-ki-ma /nabakīma/ (beside syncopated na-ab-ki-ma /nabkīma/) "springs" (Huehnergard 1987c: 282, 304).[17]

The Northwest Semitic *-a- infix has important consequences for the significance of the pattern as a component of the isolated nouns. Because this plural-formation procedure applies only to *qvtl nouns, the pattern, even the pattern of isolated nouns, has a role in the inflectional system as a conditioning factor for a morphological rule.

If we can reconstruct the broken plural to Proto-Semitic, then the pluralization of nouns is yet another type of analysis of isolated nouns into root and pattern in Proto-Semitic, since the broken plural preserves the root, but replaces the pattern (sometimes choosing a plural pattern on the basis of the singular). And in fact, there is ample evidence from throughout the Semitic family for the broken plural. Not only do Arabic, some of the Ethiopic family, the Modern South Arabian family, and the Old South Arabian family include productive broken plurals, but Northwest Semitic has the productive *qvtl → *qvtal+īma plural. Remnants of the broken plural in Akkadian include the reflexes of *qutalāʾ, found also in Arabic (Huehnergard 1987a: 181-88), as well as abbū "fathers," aḫḫū "brothers," and iṣṣū "trees," which show a doubling of the second consonant. Languages in which the broken plural is not productive have some plural nouns whose pattern has no relation to that of the singular, as for example Hebrew rékeḇ "horsemen," and Syriac qritā "town," plural quryā, and ḥmārā "donkey," plural ḥemrā.[18]

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[16] *Qvtl* patterns should not properly be termed "monosyllabic," since they are bisyllabic in the reconstruction *qvtlum with case vowel and mimation. A syllabic division of the qvtl pattern, by itself, is impossible. But the qvtl pattern has only one vowel, and so should be termed monovocalic. Likewise, qvtvl patterns should be termed bivocalic.

[17] Thus, for the plural of qvtl nouns, Ugaritic has both qvtalīma and qvtlīma. The latter is formed with an optional syncope role (Huehnergard 1987c: 280-82).

[18] These Syriac plurals are marked with syåme, indicating that they were considered plurals by the scribes.

Even though patterns are not defined for the isolated nouns as units of meaning, the distribution of formal patterns is not random: some patterns have no isolated nouns, while others have a large number.

In order to examine this distribution, a count was conducted of the formal patterns of the isolated nouns, as reconstructed in the list below. Some uncertainty will necessarily remain, but clear trends are evident in the distribution of the patterns. Most of the nouns are monovocalic patterns, i.e., *qvtl (60% of the isolated nouns), and most of the monovocalics are *qatl nouns (63% of the monovocalic isolated nouns and 29% of all the isolated nouns are *qatl). Among the *qvtl nouns, next in frequency after *qatl is *qitl (25% of the monovocalic isolated nouns) and then *qutl (12% of the monovocalic isolated nouns).

Among the bivocalics, the *qatv̆l nouns are in the majority (70% of the bivocalic isolated nouns with ungeminated C₂). By far the largest group of bivocalics is the set of *qatal isolated nouns (75% of the *qatv̆l isolated nouns). Some *qatal nouns with a collective sense may owe their second *a vowel to back-formations from the plural, if they are based on a *qvtal(v̄ma) form with the *-a- plural infix seen regularly in *qvtl nouns in Northwest Semitic and in some Arabic and Ethiopic broken plurals (Huehnergard 1995: 16). If so, however, the plural or collective semantics are no longer consistently apparent. There is a smaller group of isolated *qatil nouns (23% of the *qatv̆l isolated nouns). Among these, a semantic group that stands out is a group of nouns for body parts, a pattern seen most clearly in Hebrew and Arabic, and to some extent in Akkadian.[19] These nouns are *ᶜaqib "heel," Akkadian eqbum, Arabic ᶜaqib, Hebrew ᶜå̄qeḇ; *katip "shoulder," Arabic katif (beside kitf), Hebrew kå̄ṯep (construct kéṯep from *qatl or *qitl), Syriac katpå̄; *kariś "belly," Akkadian karšum,[20] Arabic kariš, Gəᶜəz karś, Hebrew kå̄reś, Syriac karså̄; and *warik "thigh," Akkadian warkatum, Arabic warik (beside wark, wirk, warak), Hebrew yå̄rek (construct yérɛk). In this group may also be *rahim "womb" (if this is an isolated noun and not related to a verb from *√rhm "love, have mercy"), Akkadian rêmum, Arabic raḥim (beside raḥm and riḥm), and Syriac raḥmå̄, but Hebrew rɛ́ḥɛm (following the synchronic pattern for *qatl noun from strong roots; there is also rá̄ḥam, the expected form for a II-guttural *qatl noun). In addition, *kabid "liver" is reconstructible to Proto-Semitic, although it is not an isolated noun, since it coincides with *kabid "heavy." Nouns from *kabid "liver" include Akkadian kabittu, Arabic kabid (beside kabd and kibd), Gəᶜəz kabd, Hebrew kå̄ḇed, and Syriac kaḇdå̄. A correlation between the *qatil pattern and the semantic category of body parts constitutes evidence for a role of patterns, albeit a small one, in the semantics of the Proto-Semitic isolated noun.

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[19] In Ethiopic, the *i is lost. In Aramaic, the *i is lost in the emphatic state, and the anaptyctic *i in *qvtl nouns means that *qatil is indistinguishable from *qvtl in the absolute and construct states. In Akkadian, the *i should be visible after C₂ in forms without vocalic endings, but the available forms do not provide unequivocal evidence. Since the body-part nouns are substantives, and Akkadian consistently distinguishes underlying qvtl from qatvl stems for substantives and adjectives respectively (Kienast 1989: 279-80, 286), it is quite likely that the *qatil patterns of body-part nouns merged fully into the *qatl pattern.

[20] The construct state karaš is attested, indicating that karšum is not from *qatil, but rather from *qatl or *qatal.

Many of the *qatil body-part nouns have *qitl or *qatl biforms in both Hebrew and Arabic, and so this alternation is reconstructed for Proto-Central-Semitic. In Hebrew, the construct state often shows a proto-pattern different from that of the absolute state (e.g., kåṭep ~ kéṭɛp and yårek ~ yérɛk), and in Arabic, the nouns often appear in several different patterns with no semantic distinction, possibly on a dialectal basis (e.g., katif ~ kitf and warik ~ wark ~ wirk).

There are no **qatuls among the isolated nouns, except perhaps for *ṣabuᶜ "hyena." Arabic dabuᶜ (with the biform dabᶜ),[21] and Hebrew ṣåḇoaᶜ suggest Proto-Semitic *qatul. Syriac ʾapᶜå,[22] Gəᶜəz səᶜb,[23] and Akkadian būsum (if from *baᶜus̟)[24] could come from *qatul among other patterns. Thus, the reconstruction *qatul is the only Proto-Semitic pattern supported by all the languages.[25] The Hebrew, Gəᶜəz, and Akkadian forms could also come from *qutul, and the analogical re-shuffling of Aramaic patterns could produce the Syriac form from *qutul as well. The metatheses in this word – the consonants appear in the orders *ṣbᶜ, *bᶜṣ, and *ṣᶜb – suggest that this may be a Proto-Semitic taboo word. Its precise reconstruction is therefore difficult.

The order of frequency of the vowels seen in the *qv̆tl monovocalics, *a, *i, *u, is also present here in the *qatv̆l bivocalics. In the West Semitic perfect based on the Proto-Semitic predicative form of the verbal adjective *qatv̆l, the same order of frequency of internal patterns occurs. Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic have the order of frequency *a, *i, and *u, and in Gəᶜəz, qatala verbs (*a theme vowel) outnumber qatla (*i or *u theme vowel). Thus, the distribution of the vowels of the West Semitic perfect stem – the Proto-Semitic verbal adjective – is like that of the isolated noun patterns. In Akkadian, on the other hand, the most common vowel for the verbal adjective is *i, with *u and *a far less common. Akkadian *qatil- and West Semitic *qatal- as the bases of the suffixal conjugations probably spread through leveling in the respective sub-families of Semitic.

*Qv̆tl and *qatv̆l patterns are the main triconsonantal forms for the isolated nouns. There are also quite a few Proto-Semitic biconsonantal *qv̆l nouns[26] (11% of the Proto-Semitic isolated nouns).[27] Again, the order of frequency of the vowels of the

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[21] According to Lane (1766) these biforms have origins in different dialects, dabuᶜ from Qays and dabᶜ from the Tamīm.

[22] The initial ᶜ < ṣ dissimilates to ʾ under the influence of the following *ᶜ, as in Syriac ʾurdᶜå "frog" (compare Hebrew ṣpardeaᶜ, Arabic ḍifdiᶜ, Mehri ṣəfdēt) and ʾelᶜå "rib" (*ṣilaᶜ) or Biblical Aramaic ʾåᶜ "tree, wood" (from the root *√ᶜṣ). The proto-pattern of ʾapᶜå could be *qatl or *qatv̆l.

[23] The development *qatul to *qutul by a rule of assimilation around gutturals is possible for this word, but a reconstruction of səᶜb as proto-*qitl, *qutl, or *qutul is equally possible.

[24] Būsum could be from *qutl as well as *qatul.

[25] See Brockelmann VG: 337 [§ 120].

[26] According to Voigt (1988: 61-64, 209-10), only among the isolated nouns are truly biradical roots found (other than, perhaps, among the geminate roots). Nöldeke (1910) discusses these in detail; many of the nouns mentioned there are particular to Arabic or to Central Semitic and not reconstructible to Proto-Semitic.

[27] *Pv̆/pvm "mouth," may be a monoconsonantal. There is also Ugaritic g "voice," although this is not reconstructible.

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biconsonantal isolated nouns, like the order of frequency of the vowels of the *$q\breve{v}tl$ and *$qat\breve{v}l$ isolated nouns, is *a, *i, *u.

The definition of the isolated nouns implies that all *$q\breve{v}l$ nouns are isolated nouns. The non-isolated nouns are those derived from a verbal root, and the biconsonantal structure *$q\breve{v}l$ does not allow for derivation from a triconsonantal root. There are some derived *$q\breve{v}l$ nouns (e.g., *$\theta\bar{u}m$ "garlic"), and some *$yvq\breve{v}l$ "hollow" forms of the *$yvqtvl$ form, but these are synchronically analyzed by the languages as triconsonantal, with a glide as C_2.

The quadriconsonantal patterns constitute 11% of the Proto-Semitic patterns. These include a variety of pattern types, including a number of *$C_1vC_2C_1vC_2$ patterns, with no formal consistency.

There are a few isolated Proto-Semitic nouns scattered among other triconsonantal patterns. The *$qat\breve{v}l$ patterns constitute only 3% of the Proto-Semitic patterns. However, to the extent that so few data may be relied on, the picture is similar to that of the *$qat\breve{v}l$ nouns: these too show main vowels in the order of frequency *a, *i, and *u. There are also a few *$qital$, *$qit\bar{a}l$, and *$qut\bar{a}l$ patterns (5% of the isolated nouns), again with no significant consistency of form.[28]

The great rarity of *u among the isolated nouns is partially the result of the assumption of labialization used here for nouns with a labial consonant and with evidence for proto-*u is some languages and *i or *a in others. (See below, p. 12) The fact that most apparent reflexes of *u are attributable to labial consonants lends support to Diakonoff's thesis (1975: 134) that the vowels commonly reconstructed as *i and *u come from a common source, which he denotes ∂. Still, *i and *u are well-distinguished in the systems of verbs and derived nouns, so their separate reconstruction is required.

Gemination is nearly or completely non-existent in the reconstruction of the isolated nouns. Nouns with gemination (see the list below) include *$kamm\bar{u}n$ "cumin" and *$rumm\bar{a}n$ "pomegranate," although these words may be *voces peregrinatae*, culture-words which were borrowed from one Semitic language to another, or even from outside the Semitic language family. ʾ*Ayyāl* "ibex" may be isolated, if not related to the root *$\sqrt{ʾwl}$ "strong, first." Hebrew *peḥåm* "coal" comes from *$qattal$, but Arabic has *$qatl$ and other languages do not allow the determination concerning the presence of gemination. Hebrew *peḥåm* may be the product of semantic analogy with *gaḥélɛt* (*$qattalt$) "coal," (plural *gɛḥålim*). *ʾ*Immar* "sheep," found in Akkadian, Aramaic, and Ugaritic, is another isolated noun apparently reconstructible with geminate C_2, although the evidence for gemination is only clear in Akkadian.

Another important constraint on the distribution of the patterns of the isolated nouns is that *a is by far the most common vowel for the first syllable of the triconsonantal bivocalics, *$q\breve{v}t(t)\breve{v}l$. (Of the *$q\breve{v}t(t)\breve{v}l$ nouns, 73% have *a in the first syllable.)

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28 There may be another pattern for isolated nouns, *$qutul$, suggested by Hebrew (e.g., *bḵor* "first-born" and *ḥᵃlom* "dream"), but these are exceedingly rare. In any case, it is impossible to reconstruct a Proto-Semitic *$qutul$ isolated pattern, since the other languages contradict Hebrew (e.g., Arabic *bikr*, Biblical Aramaic *ḥélɛm*, Arabic *ḥulm*. Gaʿᵊz *ḥᵊlm* could be *$qutul$, *$qitl$, or *$qutl$).

The near absence of afformatival patterns is an important pattern-based restriction on the isolated nouns.

There are a number of isolated nouns with sufformative *-at, a morpheme analyzable[29] as a marker of the feminine and nomen unitatis. For example, *kall-at "bride, daughter-in-law"[30] has the feminine sufformative *-at (which is productive on feminine attributive adjectives and occurs on many other words as well); but this noun does not share a triradical root such as *√kll with reconstructible nouns or verbs of similar semantics, and it may be termed isolated.

Interestingly, Proto-Semitic isolated nouns are not otherwise reconstructible with afformatives, even though by the definition applied here, a noun with afformatives could be an isolated noun. For example, if there were a reconstructible noun in the semantic category of "location" beginning in *ma-, with the pattern *maqtal, but not sharing the last three consonants with another word of related meaning, then that would be an isolated noun with an afformative.[31]

With isolated nouns ending in *-ān, it can be difficult to determine if the *-ān is to be considered an afformative. *Lišān[32] "tongue" is isolated within Semitic, but the *-ān suffix/sufformative is recognized on other words within Semitic. Despite the likelihood that at the Proto-Afroasiatic stage of reconstruction "tongue" lacks the *-ān suffix,[33] there is no reason, given the Semitic evidence, not to consider *lišān an sufformativeless Proto-Semitic isolated noun with pattern *qitāl. *ʾAtān "jenny" presents a similar problem. On the other hand, in Hebrew ʾåḏon "lord," and Ugaritic ʾadānu (UT 351-52; Huehnergard 1987c: 104), besides ʾadu "lord, father," the evidence of the Ugaritic ʾadu may permit the separation of the *-ān suffix.[34] Another possible isolated noun with *-ān is "oak," Hebrew ʾallon and ʾallå, Ugaritic ʾallānu (Huehnergard 1987c: 107), Akkadian allānu, since the existence of Hebrew ʾallå (a hapax legomenon), without *-ān, may allow the analysis of the sufformative as a separate element.

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[29] This morpheme is analyzable in the sense that there are other pairs of words distinguished only by its presence or absence, even though in the isolated nouns with *-at it follows from the definition that there is no noun with similar meaning and form, but lacking *-at. See Aronoff 1976: 10-11.

[30] Some other examples are *ʾam-at "female slave," *dal-t "door," *miʾ-(a)t "hundred," *dimʿ-at "tear," *ḫimʾ-at "curds, butter," and perhaps *hawa/āt "word, speech" (Huehnergard 1987c: 302, n. 25). See the list of isolated nouns below.

[31] An alternate definition of an isolated noun, not used here, may impose the additional condition that an isolated noun be monomorphemic. In that case, the isolated noun would have to be without analyzable afformatives, besides being without root and pattern in the sense defined above.

[32] Hebrew and Ugaritic (Huehnergard 1987c: 143) have *lašān, while Akkadian, Ethiopic, and Arabic have *lišān. Aramaic has *liššân, represented by Syriac leššânâ, Biblical Aramaic liššân. The first vowel may be shifted from *a under the influence of the sibilant š (Nöldeke 1904a: 32). The doubling of the š seems to be a regular phonological rule in Syriac, #CišV > #CiššV. Other examples are nešše "women," ʾeššâṭâ "fever" (from *ʾiš "fire"), heššoḵâ "dark." (J. Huehnergard, personal communication, Spring 1996). There is also the absolute/construct state qeššaṭ "bow," with doubled š, compared to the emphatic qeštâ with quššâyâ on the t.

[33] Skinner (1987: 79-83) suggests *nši(m) for Proto-Afroasiatic, and says that *lš is possible for a stage immediately preceding Semitic.

[34] ʾAdānu may, however, be a loanword from Hurrian.

Some afformatives have been proposed on comparative Afroasiatic grounds for isolated nouns, but they are not analyzable within the Semitic languages or Proto-Semitic, and so such nouns should be regarded as *afformativeless* Proto-Semitic isolated nouns. The nouns with the proposed *-b sufformative for wild animals or *-l for domesticated animals (Diakonoff 1988: 570) fall into this category.

Most isolated nouns show an important characteristic that differentiates them from most derived nouns – they may be reconstructed in whole. In derived nouns, the patterns may be reconstructed, and the roots may be reconstructed, but the root, pattern, and meaning that make up an internally-formed Semitic word generally do not show enough consistency among the Semitic languages to allow reconstruction of the whole word. There are exceptions, of course, in both categories: there are isolated nouns whose patterns are difficult to reconstruct (see items marked with a minus sign in the list below), and derived nouns which show consistency among the Semitic languages (like the aforementioned *kabid "heavy, liver," and *ʿumq "depth").

The isolated nouns are a self-contained group of Proto-Semitic words which do not interact with the remainder of the linguistic system through the medium of a root. They show several notable features: their meanings tend to be simple and concrete; their consonants, formal vowel patterns, and meanings show far more consistency throughout the Semitic languages than other nouns. Thus, the isolated nouns give us a glimpse into a Proto-Semitic that is uninfluenced by the analogizing tendencies of the root and pattern system.

Part B. Reconstruction of the Isolated Nouns

The following is a list of Proto-Semitic isolated nouns. The inclusion or exclusion of items from this list can never be certain: when languages have verbs of the same root as a noun, there is no way of determining whether the verbs are denominal. Occasionally, especially in the South Semitic Gəʿəz and Mehri, only an *m*-preformative noun exists beside a verb (e.g., Gəʿəz *mabraq* "lightning"), suggesting that the *m*-preformative noun is derived from a root, but in these cases, the evidence of other, widely-spread Semitic languages, prevails. When the formal roots and meanings are cognate, but patterns are not, more than one proto-pattern is listed. Since this list is primarily intended to collate the patterns of the isolated nouns, not all biforms and allomorphs are listed, although the ones with significance in reconstruction are. Because of the special developments that they undergo, proper nouns are almost entirely excluded, even when they are the only available cognate of an isolated noun found in other languages.

We can never know the full lexicon of the language spoken by the linguistic ancestors of the Semites. The reconstruction here uses a formal convention for Proto-Semitic: a word that occurs in two of the three groups East, Central, and South Semitic is included in the list.[35] A word that is found in only one subgroup is

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[35] The classification adopted here follows the system of Hetzron (1974; 1976: 101-6) as modified by Huehnergard (1991: 283; 1992). The place of the Old South Arabian languages in the

excluded according to this convention. A word found in only Central and South Semitic is included, even though only a reconstruction to Proto-West-Semitic is allowed by attestation in these groups. This convention does not exclude the possibility that an isolated noun was lost in most of the Semitic languages but that it wass preserved in one language, or in a few closely related languages. But words found in widespread languages are less likely to be the result of independent language-internal developments, unless borrowing can be shown, and so the exclusion of nouns found only in one language group brings consistency to the process of reconstruction. When loanwords are listed, a notation is made that they are loanwords.

An unequivocal reconstruction (marked with + in the list below) is made when at least two widely separated Semitic languages agree on a proto-pattern, and no languages contradict; or, when a language contradicts, there is an explanation for the change in pattern that allows the reconstruction, such as analogy and borrowing. Often, not all of the Semitic words are perfect cognates in root and pattern, and sometimes more than one Proto-Semitic pattern is given (marked with ° below). This does not mean that the proto-language is reconstructed with biforms, but rather that two possible patterns present themselves for reconstruction. In these cases, the pattern that appears in more than one language, preferably in widely distributed languages, is listed first, if there is such a pattern. Usually, however, when there are alternate patterns, none of them appears more likely than the others, and then *qatl is listed first, followed by *qitl, *qutl, *qatal, *qatil, and so on. When the languages suggest quite different proto-patterns, all are listed, but these reconstructed patterns (marked with −) are not included in the counts. It is assumed in these cases that some of the words may have undergone a complete morphological pattern replacement, rather than just a phonological development, and no reconstruction is possible. In these cases, one pattern is arbitrarily chosen to head the entry, but that pattern has no priority over the others. Even when a few alternate patterns are listed, the minus sign indicates that no clear reconstruction of a pattern can be made.

In the statistical count, all quadriradical patterns are treated together.

In order to take into account both the nouns for which only one pattern (+) and those for which more than one pattern (°) is reconstructed, while not giving each of the latter type of pattern as much weight as the former, calculations of the relative frequency of the patterns in Proto-Semitic in this analysis use a "pattern value" equal to the sum of the number of words for which a given pattern is reconstructed exclusively (marked with +) plus half the number of words for which the pattern is reconstructed alongside others (marked with °). For example, for 68 of the isolated nouns, only *qatl is reconstructed (marked with +), while for 29 other nouns, some languages attest to *qatl and other languages attest to other patterns, with no simple explanation for the alternate pattern such as borrowing or semantic analogy (these

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classification scheme has not yet been definitely fixed. There is a strong basis, however, for classifying them in Central Semitic, along with Arabic and Northwest Semitic (Voigt 1987: 13-14; Nebes 1994: 78).

cases are marked with °). The pattern value, then, is $68 + \frac{1}{2} \times 29 = 82.5$. Nouns marked with a minus sign are not counted in this calculation.

If we were to use only those nouns for which a unique pattern may be reconstructed (+), the results would not be very different. For the larger groups of patterns, the result gained by the latter method shows a relative fraction of the group of patterns (out of the set of isolated nouns) that varies by only 5% or less from the result gained by the "pattern value" method. All the statements made about the relative frequency of various groups of patterns remain the same regardless of which method is used.

An approximate gloss is listed for the Proto-Semitic words. When the reflex in one of the languages has an exceptional meaning that diverges greatly, it is provided after the entry for that language. For reasons of space, the debates that often surround the glosses of the nouns and the relations between the glosses in the languages are not summarized, since the primary interest of this list is the forms of the isolated nouns.

Some developments are given less weight in reconstruction than others. When languages are known to change patterns without phonological regularity, these possibilities are taken into account in reconstruction. Thus, for example, Arabic often has dialectal biforms like *qatil ~ *qitl, as for example raḥil ~ riḥl "ewe," so these biforms are given less weight than forms from other languages. Aramaic has frequent alternations and allomorphic biforms among the reflexes of *qv̆tl and *qv̆tv̆l, because of anaptyxis and analogy,[36] and so the Aramaic evidence is given less weight in this regard. If Aramaic disagrees with the other languages on which of the *qv̆tl or *qv̆tv̆l patterns is to be reconstructed, the pattern suggested by the other languages is reconstructed unequivocally. Also, because the historical phonology of Modern South Arabian is understood less than that of other languages, the Modern South Arabian evidence is allowed to influence the reconstructions only when the proto-pattern of the Modern South Arabian word is evident.

When the vowel *u appears in the vicinity of a labial consonant in some languages, while *i, or less commonly *a, appears in other languages, the *u is assumed to be the result of labialization, even if the development is not phonologically regular. For example, Semitic "mother" is reconstructed as Proto-Semitic *ʾimm, on the assumption that the *i shifted to *u in the vicinity of the *m in some of the languages, such as Akkadian, Arabic, and Ugaritic (and perhaps Gəʿəz). Other examples are *š(i)m, *ʾamm-at, perhaps *ʾabn, *ʾalp, *ʿamm, *barr, *gapn, *karm, *matn, *š/samm, *šamn, *biʾr, *birk, *libb, *riʾm, *ramḥ, and *θipr. (See the list below for glosses and reflexes.) The variant vowel *u appears in some cases in many Semitic languages and in some cases in a few, but in all cases in which labialization is possible, the variants with *a or *i have been preferred in reconstruction to the variant with *u.

Sources used are Barth 1894: 1-9 (§§ 1-3); BLe 445-506 (§§ 60-61); Diakonoff 1970; LaSor 1990 (the data in this article are to be treated with caution); Leslau 1958; Nöldeke 1910; and Rabin 1975 as well as the dictionaries AHw, BDB, BGMR, Brockelmann-Lex Syr, Dillmann 1865, the glossary of UT (alphabetic

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[36] See Muraoka 1976, Spitaler 1968, and Blake 1953: 14-15.

sources for Ugaritic), Huehnergard 1987c (vocalized Ugaritic words from syllabic sources), Johnstone 1981, 1987, Lane, Leslau 1938, 1956, 1979, 1989, EDH, and CDG, Littmann and Höfner 1956-62, and CSD. Other sources are cited in the notes. Forms from a representative sample of the Semitic languages, Akkadian, Arabic, Gəʿəz, Hebrew, Mehri, Sabaic, Syriac, and Ugaritic, are given. Modern South Arabian languages other than Mehri, Ethiopic languages other than Gəʿəz, and dialects of Aramaic other than Syriac are adduced only when they make an important contribution to the reconstruction not made by the primary dialect. Hebrew citations are mostly drawn from Massoretic Biblical Hebrew, with some references to Mishnaic and Hexaplaric Hebrew, and Arabic citations are mostly from the Classical form of the language, with some references to modern spoken dialects. References to Akkadian are primarily to Old Babylonian, but evidence from other dialects is adduced when it can contribute to the reconstruction. The reconstructions to Proto-Semitic are by the author of the present article. The forms are sorted in the list by pattern, using the following characteristics of the pattern in this order of precedence: number of radicals;[37] mono- or bivocalic (for triradical nouns); quality of first vowel; quality of second vowel if any; quantity of first vowel; quantity of second vowel if any; C_2 ungeminated or geminated. Within each pattern, nouns with +, °, and – are gathered together (as mentioned above, the sorting of nouns in the latter two classes may be arbitrary). Within each of these classes, nouns are sorted by Proto-Semitic root, with the consonants taken in this order (based on the Latin order): *ʾ, *ʿ, *b, *d, *ð, *g, *γ, *h, *ḥ, *ḫ, *k, *l, *m, *n, *p, *q, *r, *s, *ṣ, *š, *ś, *ṣ́, *t, *ṭ, *θ, *θ̣, *w, *y, *z.

List of Reconstructible Isolated Nouns[38]

°*qv̄; *pv̄, const. *pv̄;[39] "mouth"; Akk pûm, OAk paʾum, pīum; Arab fam, const. fv̄/fam; Gəʿəz ʾaf, with suffix ʾafv̄-; Heb pɛ, const. pi, pl. piyyōt, pīpiyyōt; Sab f "voice"; Syr pummā̊; Ug p

+*qal; *ʾab, const. *ʾabv̄; "father";[40] Akk abum, const. ʾabī; Arab ʾab, const. ʾabv̄; Gəʿəz ʾab, with suffix ʾabv̄; Heb ʾå̄b, const. ʾabī;[41] Meh h-ayb (h- is a prefix originating in a MSA article); Sab ʾb; Syr ʾaḇā̊; Ug ab

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+*qal; *ʾaḫ, const. * aḫv̄, pl. *ʾaḫḫ-; "brother"; Akk aḫum, pl. aḫḫū; Arab ʾaḫ,
const. ʾaḫv̄; Gəʿəz ʾəḫ^(w), ʾəḫəw, with suffix ʾəḫ^(w)v; Heb ʾåḫ, const. ʾaḫi, pl.
ʾaḫim (*ʾaḫḫv̄ma); Meh ġā; Sab ʾḫ; Syr ʾaḥå; Ug aḫ[42]

+*qal-at; *ʾam-at; "female slave"; Akk amtum; Arab ʾamat; Gəʿəz ʾamat; Heb
ʾåmå; Sab ʾmt; Syr ʾamtå/ʾåmat; Ug amt

+*qal-t; *dal-t; "door"; Akk daltum; Galilean Aram daltå; Heb déleṭ, with suffix
dalto, also const. dal (from absolute dål); Syr pl. ʾåḏlåṯå, ʾeḏlåṯå (Perhaps an
Akkadian loanword, related to edēlum "to lock," or the result of prosthesis
from *dlåṯå?); Ug dlt

+*qal; *dam; "blood"; Akk damumum; Arab dam; Gəʿəz dam; Heb dåm; Sab dm; Syr
dmå/dem; Ug damu

+*qal; *ham, const. *hamv̄; "husband's father"; Akk emum; Arab ham, const. ḥamv̄
"husband's male relation"; Gəʿəz ham, with suffix ḥamv̄-; Heb with suffix
ḥåmíḵå; Meh haym; Syr ḥmå

+*qal; *maʾ; "water"; Akk mû, OAk māʾ ū; Arab māʾ; Gəʿəz māy; Heb máyim, pl.
meme; Meh hə-mō; Sab mw; Syr mayyå; Ug my, mym

+*qal-t; *qaš-t; "bow"; Akk qaštum; Arab qaws; Gəʿəz qast; Heb qéšeṭ, with suffix
qašti; Syr qeštå/qeššaṭ; Ug qaštu

+*qal-at; *śap-at; "lip"; Akk šaptum; Arab šafat; Heb såpå; Syr septå/spå; Ug špt

+*qal; *śaw; "sheep" (collective); Akk šûm MA, NA šūbu (šu-(ú)-be-(e)), SB šuʾu,
thus Proto-Akk *šuʾ-/*šuw-;[43] Arab šāʾ; Galilean Aram šīṯå; Heb śe, const.
śe, with suffix śeyo and śyehu; Sab dual s²hn; Ug š

+*qal; *yad; "arm, hand"; Akk idum "side"; Arab yad; Gəʿəz ʾəd; Heb yåḏ; Meh
h-ayd; Sab yd; Syr ʾiḏå/yad; Ug yd

°*qal/qil; *naš/niš;[44] "people"; Akk nišū "people"; Arab nisāʾ, niswat "women";
Biblical Aram nšehon; Heb nåšim "women"; Syr nešše "women"; Ug
našūma "people"

-*qal-at; *raḥ-at; "palm of hand"; Akk rettum; Arab rāḥat; Gəʿəz ʾəråḥ; Heb råḥat
"winnowing shovel"; Syr laḥṯå (irregular consonant correspondence)

+*qil; *ʾil; "god"; Akk ilum; Arab ʾilāh; Heb ʾel, ʾᵉloah; Sab ʾl; Syr ʾallåḥå; Ug ʾilu

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41 *ʾibb "bud, fruit" may be reconstructed to Proto-Northwest Semitic. Note also Hebrew ʾåḇiḇ
"ripe wheat" and Amharic abäba "flower," with the same root and similar meaning. Yet the
semantic difference between *ʾibb and "father" is significant, and *ʾibb may be related to Arabic
ʾunbūb "internodal joint of a cane or reed" and Biblical Aramaic (with suffix) ʾinbeh "fruit"
(Hebrew pl. construct ʾibbe, Syriac ʾebbå).

42 aḫ is the usual writing, but there also appear a nominative singular construct state uḫ /ʾuḫū/,
and a genitive singular with suffix iḫḫ /ʾiḫīhu/. The Ugaritic rule of vowel assimilation around
gutturals sometimes operates across the morphological boundaries between the word base and the
case vowel; sometimes, however, paradigm leveling causes the vowel of this noun to remain a,
since the internal pattern does not otherwise vary with case (Huehnergard 1987c: 272-73, including
nn. 29, 30).

43 J. Huehnergard, personal communication, Fall 1995.

44 Compare also nouns with the consonants *ʾnš: Arab (ʾu)nās "mankind," ʾanas "people"; Heb
ʾᵉnoš "man, mankind," ʾᵃnåšim "people"; Meh ans "humans" (collective, loanword?); Syr <>nåšå
"man, mankind," Biblical Aram ʾᵉnåš, ʾᵉnoš; also, with *ʾyš: *ʾīš; Heb ʾiš "man," ʾéšeṭ "woman"
(const.), pre-suffixal form ʾišti; Sab ʾys.

+*qil(-āt);[45] *ʾiš(-āt); "fire"; Akk išātum; Gəʕəz ʾəsāt; Heb ʾeš, with suffix ʾiššo, ʾiškɛm;[46] Syr ʾeššåṯå "fever"; Ug ʾištu[47]

+*qil; *ʕiš; "tree, wood"; Akk iṣum, pl. iṣṣū; Arab ʕidat; Biblical Aram ʕå̄; Gəʕəz ʕəd; Heb ʕeṣ, pl. ʕeṣim; Sab ʕd; Ug ʕṣ, pl. ʕiṣṣūma

+*q(i)l;[48] *b(i)n, pl. *ban-; "son"; Akk (rare) binum, bunum; Arab (i)bn, sound pl. banūna; Heb ben, pl. bå̄nim, with suffix bn-; Meh bər, həbre; Sab bn-m; Syr brå/bar, pl. bnin; Ug bn

+*qil-(a)t; *miʾ-(a)t; "hundred"; Akk meʾat, meʾtum, mētum; Arab miʾat; Gəʕəz maʾt; Heb meʾå, const. məʾat, pl. meʾot, dual må<>tåyim; Sab mʾt; Syr m<>å; Ug miʾtu

+*qil-at; *piʾ-at; "corner, forehead, temple (of head)"; Amharic fit "face"; Akk NB, Assyrian pātum "edge," pūtum "forehead" (corner/edge of head); Arab fiʾat; Gəʕəz fit; Heb peʾå "corner, temple (of head)," const. pʾat; Soqotri fío "front"; Syr p<>åṯå; Ug piʾtu

+*qil-at; *riʾ-at; "lung"; Akk irtum "chest" (with metathesis); Arab riʾat; Heb, Mishnaic reʾå; Meh rəyē̆; Syr ra<>ṯå, rå<>ṯå, rå̄ṯå; Ug ʾiratu (with metathesis)

+*q(i)l; *š(i)m; "name"; Akk šumum; Arab (i)sm; Gəʕəz səm; Heb šem, const. šem, šɛm, with suffix šmi, šimkå̄; Meh ham; Sab sˡm; Syr šmå/šum; Ug šm

+*q(i)l; *š(i)t; "buttocks"; Akk išdum (relation to *š(i)t uncertain); Arab (i)st; Heb šet; Meh šīt; Syr štå, eštå, masc. šet

+*q(i)l; *θ(i)n; "two"; Akk šinā; Arab (i)θnān; Gəʕəz sanuy "Monday," sānəy "the next day"; Heb šnáyim, fem. štáyim;[49] Meh əṯrō̆; Sab θny; Syr tren, fem. tarten; Ug θn(m)

+*qul; *mut; "man, husband"; Akk mutum;[50] Gəʕəz mət; Heb pl. mtim; Ug mt

+*qatl; *ʾabn; "stone"; Akk abnum; Gəʕəz ʾəbn; Heb ʾɛḇɛn, with suffix ʾaḇno; Sab ʾbn; Syr ʾaḇnå

+*qatl; *ʾahl; "tribe, tent"; Akk ālum "city"; Arab ʾahl, ʾāl "family"; Heb ʾōhɛl "tent";[51] Sab ʾhl; Syr yahlå "(a tribe of Arabs)"; Ug ahl "tent"

+*qatl-ān; *ʾall-ān; Akk allānum; Heb ʾallon "oak," ʾallå "oak"; Ug ʾallānu

+*qatl; *ʾalp; "ox, thousand"; Akk alpum "ox"; Arab ʾalf; Gəʕəz ʾəlf "thousand"; Heb ʾɛlɛp, const. pl. ʾalpe "ox, thousand, clan"; Meh ʾåf "thousand"; Sab ʾlf "thousand"; Syr ʾalpå/ʾålep "thousand"; Ug alp "ox, thousand"

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[45] See Huehnergard 1987c: 302, n. 25.

[46] See Blau 1972: 62-65.

[47] Thus van Soldt, 1990: 732; Huehnergard (1987c: 110) reads ʾišītu.

[48] This and other nouns listed here as *q(i)l may in fact be better designated *ql, a word-initial consonant cluster with a consonantal or semi-vocalic second element (Testen 1985).

[49] For this transliteration of šnáyim and štáyim, see Hoberman 1989.

[50] Akkadian shows u, which may be the product of the labial m. The forms from languages other than Akkadian could have proto-*i or *u. Because there is no definite *qil form, the reconstruction is left here as *qul. As the only *qul form, this word is exceptional. Yet, as mentioned above (p. 12), *u is generally the rarest of the vowels among the isolated nouns.

[51] This may represent *ʾahl, shifting to *ʾāl before the Canaanite Shift, then developing to [ʾol], which is pointed by the Massoretes with consonantal h (Huehnergard 1995: 12). Compare also móhar (*mahr) and sóhar (*θahr) below.

+*qatl-at; *ʾamm-at; "cubit"; Akk ammatum; Gəʿəz ʾəmmat; Heb ʾammå; Sab ʾmt; Syr ʾammṯå/ʾammå; Ug amt

+*qatl; *ʾanp; "face, nose"; Akk appum; Arab ʾanf; Gəʿəz ʾanf; Heb ʾap, with suffix ʾappi; Syr ʾappå; Ug ʾappu

+*qatl; *ʾarṣ́; "earth"; Akk erṣetum; Arab ʾarḍ; Heb ʾérɛṣ, with suffix ʾarṣi; Sab ʾrḍ; Syr ʾarʿå/ʾaraʿ; Ug ʾarṣu

+*qatl; *ʾary; "wild animal"; Akk arium "buck"; Arab ʾurwīyat "mountain goat"; Heb ʾaryɛ, ᵃri "lion"; Gəʿəz ʾarwe "wild beast"; Sab ʾrwy-n "mountain goat"; Syr aryå "lion"

+*qatl; *ʾarz; "cedar"; Arab ʾarz; Gəʿəz ʾarz; Heb ʾérɛz, const. pl. ʾarze; Syr ʾarzå; Ug ʾarzu

+*qatl; *ʾayn;[52] "nothing"; Akk yaʾnu, yānu (metathesis); Arab ʾayna interrogative; Gəʿəz ʾənbi "refuse"; Heb ʾáyin; Ug in

+*qatl; *ʿamm; "clan, army, paternal kinsman"; Akk ummānum;[53] Arab ʿamm "paternal uncle"; Heb ʿam, ʿåm; Sab ʿm "uncle, male agnate"; Selti umi "maternal uncle"; Syr ʿammå; Ug ʿm

+*qatl; *ʿarš́; "bed, couch"; Akk eršum; Arab ʿarš "throne"; Heb ʿérɛś, with suffix ʿarśi; Ug ʿrš

+*qatl-; *ʾašt-ay/ān; "one"; Akk ištēn(um),[54] ištiānum, fem. ištiat, ištēt; Heb ʿašte (only as part of "eleven"); Ug št (only as part of "eleven")

+*qatl; *ʿaθm; "bone"; Akk esemtum; Arab ʿaẓm; Gəʿəz ʿadm; Heb ʿɛṣɛm; Meh ʾāẓ́ayẓ́; Syr ʿaṯmå "thigh"; Ug ʿzm

+*qatl; *ʿayn; "eye, source"; Akk īnum, Assyrian ēnum; Arab ʿayn; Gəʿəz ʿayn; Heb ʿáyin; Meh ʾāyn; Sab ʿyn; Syr ʿaynå; Ug ʿēnu

+*qatl; *baʿl; "lord, husband"; Akk bēlum; Arab baʿl; Gəʿəz båʿl; Heb baʿal, with suffix baʿli; Meh bāl, Jibbāli baʿal; Sab bʿl; Syr baʿlå/bʿel; Ug baʿlu

+*qatl; *baqq; "gnat"; Akk baqqum, baqbaqqu; Arab baqq "bedbug"; Galilean Aram baqqå; Syr båqå.

+*qatl; *barr; "grain"; Akk Mari burrum (loanword?); Arab burr "wheat"; Heb bar, bår; Sab br; Meh bər

+*qatl(-at); *bayṣ́(-at); "egg"; Arab bayḍ; Heb pl. bɛṣim; Meh bīḍáyt; Syr bɛʿtå

+*qatl; *bayt; "house"; Akk bītum, Assyrian bētum; Arab bayt "tent"; Gəʿəz bet Heb báyiṯ; Meh bayt; Sab byt; Syr baytå; Ug bt

+*qatl; *daθʾ (with metatheses); "grass, spring"; Akk dīšum, OAk dašʾum; Arab θaʾd "moistness, moist soil," daθaʾiyy "rain after hot season"; Galilean Aram diṯʾå; Heb déšɛ<ʾ>; Jibbāli dɔṯɛ̄ʾ; Sab dθʾ; Syr ted<ʾ>å

+*qatl; *gabb/ganb; "back, side"; Arab ǧanb; Gəʿəz gabbo; Heb gaḇ, with suffix gabbi; Syr gabbå

+*qatl; *gady; "kid"; Akk gadû; Arab ǧady; Heb gḏi, pausal gédi; Syr gadyå; Ug gdy

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52 See Faber 1991: 414.
53 Rather than *√ʿmm, this may be related to Hebrew ʾummå, Arabic ʾummat, Syriac ʾummṯā "tribe, people."
54 For the Akkadian shift #ʿašt > #išt compare ʿaštar > Ištar "(name of a goddess)" (J. Huehnergard, personal communication, Spring 1996).

+*qatl(-at); *gann(-at); "garden"; Arab ǧannat; Gəʕəz gannat; Heb gan, with suffix
    ganni, also gannå, const. ginnat; Sab gny-n "(garden) crop"; Syr gannṯå; Ug
    gn

+*qatl; *gapn; "grape vine"; Akk gapnum, gupnum; Arab ǧafn; Heb gépɛn; Syr
    gupnå, gpettå; Ug gpn

+*qatl; *gawz; "nuts, walnuts"; Arab ǧawz; Gəʕəz gawz; Heb ʾɛgoz; Syr gawz(t)å

+*qatl; *habl; "rope, field"; Akk eblum; Arab ḥabl "rope"; Gəʕəz ḥabl; Heb ḥéḇɛl,
    with suffix ḥaḇlo; Sab ḥbl "course of stones," ḥblt "terrace field"; Syr
    ḥablå/ḥbel; Ug pl. ḥabalūma

+*qatl; *harʾ; "excrement"; Amharic ar; Arab ḫarʾ, ḫurʾ; Heb const. pl. hᵃre, pl.
    with suffix ḫarʾehɛm, hᵃrihɛm; Syr herʾå

+*qatl; *h/ḥayl; "force"; Arab ḥawl, ḥayl "horses, cavalry"; Gəʕəz ḥayl; Heb ḥáyil;
    Syr haylå

+*qatl-at; *kall-at; "bride, daughter-in-law"; Akk kallatum; Arab kannat (irregular
    consonant correspondence); Heb kallå; Syr kallṯå

+*qatl;[55] "cup"; Akk kāsum; Arab kās, kaʾs; Heb kos; Syr kåså; Ug ks

+*qatl; *kabś; "lamb, ram"; Arab kabš "ram"; Heb kéḇɛś, kéśɛḇ (with metathesis);
    Meh kábś; Syr kebšå (irregular consonant correspondence)

+*qatl; *kalb; "dog"; Akk kalbum; Arab kalb; Gəʕəz kalb; Heb kélɛḇ, const. pl.
    kalbe; Meh kawb; Syr kalbå; Ug kalbu[56]

+*qatl; *kapp (See also *kanap, p. 24);[57] "hand"; Akk kappum; Arab kaff; Heb kap,
    pl. kappot; Meh kaf; Syr kappå

+*qatl; *karm; "vineyard, vine"; Arab karm; Gəʕəz kərm; Heb kérɛm, with suffix
    karmi; Syr karmå; Ug krm

+*qatl; *kasp; "silver"; Akk kaspum; Heb késɛp, with suffix kaspi; Syr kespå; Ug
    kaspu

+*qatl; *lahm; "food"; Arab laḥm "meat"; Heb léḥɛm "bread"; Soq léhem "large
    fish"; Syr laḥmā "bread" Ug lḥm "bread"

+*qatl; *lahy; "cheek"; Akk lētum,[58] Nuzi, SB laḫû "back side" (irregular
    consonant correspondence);[59] Heb lḥi; Arab laḥy "jowl, jaw"; Meh ləḥyēt
    "chin," melḥáw "jaw"; Tigre lähe "jaw"

+*qatl; *lawh; "tablet"; Akk lēʾum; Heb luaḥ;[60] Syr luḥå; Arab lawḥ; Gəʕəz lawḥ;
    Ug lḥ

+*qatl; *mahr; "brideprice"; Arab mahr; Heb móhər;[61] Meh mēhər; Syr mahrå; Ug
    mhr

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[55] Or *kās with no *ʾ, the Arabic kaʾs being a hypercorrect form, in which case "cup" should go under *qatal.
[56] Van Soldt 1990: 732.
[57] *Kapp and *kanap are semantically similar, and the languages with the assimilation rule $nC_1 > C_1C_1$ allow the reconstruction of the two with the common root √knp. If this reconstruction is correct, then, *kanap and *kapp may be non-isolated. However, Arabic kaff and Mehri kaf do not show **n, as would be expected if *kapp came from **kanp.
[58] AHw (vol. 1: 546) relates this to Hebrew loaʕ, Syriac loʕå "jaw."
[59] Tropper (1995: 61-66) gives examples of Akkadian ḫ for West Semitic *ḥ, thus relating Akkadian laḫû to West Semitic *laḥy.
[60] See Steiner 1987: 121.

+*qatl; *malk; "king"; Akk malkum, Mari mālikum "prince"; Arab malik (probably an Aram loanword);[62] Gəʿəz ʾamlāk (pl. form) "God"; Heb mέlεk, with suffix malki; Sab mlk; Syr malkå; Ug malku

+*qatl; *marʾ; "son, lord, man"; Akk mārum, OA marʾum, merʾum "son"; Arab marʾ[63] "man"; Sab marʾ "man, lord"; Syr måryå/måre[64] (*mārī) "the Lord"

+*qatl; *matn; "hip"; Akk matnu "sinew"; Arab matn "back"; Heb mótǝn; Meh mótǝn; Syr pl. matnåt̰å

+*qatl; *naʾd; "waterskin"; Akk nādum; Heb no<ʾ>d; Meh hə-nīd; Ug nādu[65]

+*qatl; *naḫl; "stream, wadi"; Akk naḫlum, naḫallum; Heb náḥal, const. pl. naḥle; Syr naḫlå; Ug naḫal(l)u

+*qatl; *napš; "soul, breath, neck, self"; Akk napištum, OAk, Assyrian napaštum, later napuštu; Arab nafs "self," nafas "soul, breath"; Gəʿəz nafs; Heb nέpεš, with suffix napši; Meh hə-nōf; Sab nfs "dispute, risk of life"; Syr napšå; Ug npš

+*qatl; *paʿm; "leg, foot"; Akk pēmum; Heb paʿam, const. pl. paʿáme; Meh fέm, Jibbāli faʿm; Ug pʿn

+*qatl; *qamḥ; "flour"; Akk qēmum; Arab qamḥ "wheat"; Čaha qamä; Gəʿəz qamḥ "produce"; Heb qέmaḥ; Syr qamḥå; Ug qmḥ

+*qatl; *qarn (non-Semitic loanword?); "horn"; Akk qarnum; Arab qarn; Gəʿəz qarn; Heb qέrεn, with suffix qarni; Meh kōn; Syr qarnå; Ug qrn

+*qatl; *qaww; "thread, line"; Akk qû;[66] Arab quwwat; Heb qaw; Soq qā; Syr qwe

+*qatl; *raʾš; "head"; Akk rēšum; Arab raʾs; Gəʿəz rəʾs; Meh hə-rōh; Heb ro<ʾ>š, pl. rå<ʾ>šim; Sab rʾsˡ; Syr rešå

+*qatl; *raht; "watercourse"; Akk rātum; Heb ráhat; Syr rahtå

+*qatl; *ramḥ; "lance"; Arab rumḥ; Gəʿəz ramḥ; Heb rómaḥ; Meh rəmḥat; Sab rmḥ; Syr rumḥå; Ug mrḥ (with metathesis)

+*qatl; *ṣalm; "image"; Akk ṣalmum; Arab ṣanam (irregular consonant correspondence, loanword?); Heb ṣέlεm, with suffix ṣalmo; Sab ṣlm, ẓlm; Syr ṣalmå/ṣlem

+*qatl; *šabʿ; "seven"; Akk sebûm, absolute state sebe (irregular consonant correspondence);[67] Arab sabʿ; Gəʿəz sabʿ; Heb šέbaʿ, with suffix šibʿå; Meh hōba, yəbáyt; Sab sˡbʿ; Syr šab̠ʿå/šbaʿ

+*qatl; *š/samm (some of these may be loanwords); "grass, incense, drug"; Akk šammum; Arab samm, summ; Heb pl. sammim; Meh sǝm; Syr samm

+*qatl; *šamn; "fat, oil"; Akk šamnum; Arab samn "clarified butter, ghee"; Heb šέmεn, with suffix šamni; Syr šumnå

+*qatl; *šawṭ; "whip"; Arab sawṭ; Gəʿəz sawṭ; Heb šoṭ; Syr šawṭå

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61 This may represent *mahr. See n. 51 above.

62 J. Huehnergard, personal communication, Fall 1995.

63 With the article, the form is al-marʾ. When undetermined, the vowel of the noun varies with the case: (i)mruʾun, (i)mraʾan, (i)mriʾin.

64 The emphatic state can be måryå (used only for God) or mårå (also used for humans rulers).

65 Van Soldt 1990: 732.

66 Sumerian gu is probably a loanword from the Semitic.

67 A change š > s may be conditioned by the labial b. See Faber 1985: 106, n. 34.

+*qaṭl; *ṣaʾn; "sheep" (collective); Akk ṣēnum; Arab ḍaʾn; Heb so<>n; Syr ʾånå; Ug sin

+*qaṭl; *ṣamr; "wool"; Gəʿəz ḍamr; Heb sémɛr, with suffix ṣamri; Syr ʿamrå/ʿmar; Ug sml[68] (irregular consonant correspondence)

+*qaṭl; *tayš; "male goat"; Akk d/taššu (SB, LB, MA, NA); Arab tays; Heb táyiš; Syr tayšå; Tigre tästay "young bull accustomed to yoke"

+*qaṭl; *taʿm; "judgement, taste"; Akk ṭēmum; Arab ṭaʿm; Gəʿəz ṭåʿm; Heb ṭáʿam, with suffix ṭaʿmo; Syr ṭaʿmå/ṭʿem; Syr ṭaʿmå/ṭʿem

+*qaṭl; *tall; "dew"; Arab ṭall; Gəʿəz ṭall; Heb ṭal, with suffix ṭallåm; Syr ṭallå/ṭal

+*qaṭl; *θaγr; "gate"; Arab θaγr "gap, front teeth, frontier way of access"; Heb šaʿar, const. pl. šaʿare; Syr tarʿå/traʿ (with metathesis); Ug pl. θaγarūma

+*qaṭl; *θalg; "snow"; Akk šalgum; Arab θalǧ; Heb šélɛg; Meh falg (irregular consonant correspondence[69]); Syr talgå

+*qaṭl; *θawr; "bull"; Akk šūrum; Arab θawr; Gəʿəz sor; Heb šor, with suffix šoro, pl. šwårim; Meh tawr; Sab θwr; Syr tawrå; Ug θr

+*qaṭl; *θaby; "gazelle"; Akk ṣabītum; Arab zaby "oryx"; Heb ṣbi; Sab sby; Syr tabyå; Ug θby

+*qaṭl; *θahr; "top, noon"; Akk ṣērum "back"; Arab zahr "top," zuhr "noon"; Heb sohar[70] "roof," dual form såhᵃráyim "noon"; Meh ḍahr "noon," ḍar "on"; Sab b-zhr "(on the) back (of)"; Ug θr

+*qaṭl; *wayn; "wine" (non-Semitic loanword?); Arab wayn; Gəʿəz wayn; Heb yáyin; Sab wyn, yyn "vineyard"; Ug yn

+*qaṭl; *yawm; "day"; Akk ūmum; Arab yawm; Gəʿəz yom "today"; Heb yom, pl. yåmim (*qal-ūma); Meh hə-yám; Sab ym, ywm; Syr yawmå, ʾimåmå; Ug yōmu

+*qaṭl; *zayt; "oil, olive"; Arab zayt "oil," zaytūn "olives"; Gəʿəz zayt; Heb záyit; Meh zayt "oil," zaytūn "olives" (loanword?); Syr zaytå; Ug zt

°*qaṭl/qiṭl; *ʾašk/ʾišk; "testicle"; Akk iškum; Arab ʾiskat "labia"; Gəʿəz ʾaskit; Heb ʾéšɛk; Syr ʾešktå

°*qaṭl-at/qiṭl-at; *ʾanθ-at/*ʾinθ-at; "woman"; Akk aššatum "wife"; Akk iššum "woman"; Arab ʾunθà "female"; Gəʿəz ʾanəst "woman, women" (*qaṭīl-t); Heb ʾiššå; Sab ʾnθt, ʾθt "woman"; Syr ʾa<n>ttå [ʾattå] "woman"; Ug aθt "woman"

°*qaṭl/qiṭl; *ʾaθl/ʾiθl; "tamarisk"; Akk ašlum; Arab ʾaθl; Heb ʾéšɛl; Sab ʾθl

°*qaṭl/qiṭl; *ʿanz/ʿinz; "she-goat"; Akk enzum; Arab ʿanz; Čaha anz, ãnz; Heb ʿez, pl. ʿizzim; Sab ʿnz "goats" (collective); Syr ʿezzå

°*qat(a)l; *ʿaś(a)r; "ten"; Akk ešerum; Arab ʿašr, fem. ʿašarat, but ʿašara, fem. ʿašrata in "eleven" through "nineteen"; Gəʿəz ʿaśr, ʿaśartu; Heb ʿéśɛr, masc. ʿᵃśårå, as component of "ten" through "nineteen" ʿåśår; Meh ʾōśər; Sab ʿs²r; Syr ʿesrå; Ug ʿšr

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68 Dietrich and Loretz 1966: 132.

69 The consonant correspondence θ > f is also known from some neighboring dialects of Arabic (W. Heinrichs, personal communication, Spring 1996).

70 This may represent *θahr. See n. 51 above.

°*qatl/quttāl; *baql/buqqāl; "groats, sprouts, malt"; Akk buqlum, baqlu, baqiltu; Arab baql "vegetables"; Gǝʿǝz baqʷl; Sab bql "plants"; Syr buqqålå; Ug bql

°*qat(a)l; *b/paθ(a)n/m; "snake"; Akk bašmum; Arab baθan; Heb péṭɛn; Syr pattånå; Ug bθn (irregular consonant correspondence)

°*qatl/qitl/qutl; *haθθ/hiθθ/huθθ/haθy; "arrow"; Akk uṣṣum; Arab huzwat, hazwat, hizwat "arrow," hazz "portion, luck"; Gǝʿǝz hass; Heb ḥeṣ, with suffix ḥiṣṣi; Aram heṭyå; Ug hθ

°*qatl-at/qitl-at/qutl-at; *kaly-at/kily-at/kuly-at; "kidney"; Akk kalītum; Arab kulyat; Gǝʿǝz kʷǝlit; Heb kilyå; Soqotri kéloih "intestines"; Syr kulyå; Ug pl. klyt

°*qatl/qitl; *našr/nišr;[71] "vulture"; Akk našrum (loanword); Arab nasr, nisr; Gǝʿǝz nǝsr; Heb néšɛr, const. pl. nišre; Syr nešrå; Ug nšr

°*qat(a)l; *par(a)ʾ; "onager"; Akk parû "mule"; Arab faraʾ (loanword?); Heb pérɛ<ʾ>

°*qat(a)l; *qaw(a)l; "voice"; Akk qūlu "silence," relation to meaning in other languages unclear; Arab qawl; Gǝʿǝz qāl; Heb qol; Syr qålå; Ug ql

°*qat(i)l; *rah(i)m; "womb"; Akk rēmum; Arab rahim; Heb réḥɛm, ráḥam, with suffix raḥmåh; Meh rahm (loanword?); Syr rahmå

°*qatl/qitl; *sapl/sipl; "vessel"; Akk saplu; Arab sifl; Heb sépɛl; Ug saplu

°*qatl/qitl; *šamš/šimš;[72] "sun"; Akk šamšum; Arab šams; Heb šémɛš, with suffix šimšåh, pausal šámɛš, Hexaplaric šamš; Sab s²ms¹; Syr šemšå; Ug šapšu

°*qatl/qutl; *śary/śury; "balsam" (vox peregrinata?); Arab darw, dirw; Heb ṣᵒri; Sab drw; Syr sarwå; Ug θurwu (irregular consonant correspondences)[73]

°*qat(i)l; *war(i)h; "moon, month"; Akk warhum; Heb yérah, const. pl. yarhe "month," yåreah, with suffix yreḥek "moon"; Gǝʿǝz warh; Meh warx; Sab warh; Syr yarhå; Ug yrh

-*qatl; *halq; "neck, ring"; Akk lîq pi, lāq pî "gum" (with metathesis, in idiomatic construction); Arab halq; Gǝʿǝz hǝlq; Heb dual with suffix malqoḥåy "jaws" (with metathesis);[74] Meh hǝwkāt, Jibbāli halḱét; Ug hlq-m

-*qatl; *gaww; "interior, chest, back"; Arab ǧaww "interior"; Heb with suffix gawwåm "back," gewå "back," const. gew "midst," gwiyå "body"; Jibbāli géhɛʾ; Syr gawwå "interior, chest"

-*qatl; *parr; "bull"; Arab farīr/farūr "young sheep"; Heb par, with article happår, pl. pårim; Meh fōr; Ug pr

-*qatl; *talm; "furrow"; Gǝʿǝz tǝlm; Heb télɛm, const. pl. talme; Targ Aram tǝlåmå; Ug tlm

+*qitl; *ʾimm;[75] "mother"; Akk ummum; Arab ʾumm; Gǝʿǝz ʾǝmm; Heb ʾem, with suffix ʾimmi; Meh h-ām; Sab ʾm; Syr ʾemma; Ug um

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71 Several of the *qatl/*qitl variants occur with II-š roots, suggesting an early palatalization of a > i before syllable-final š (J. Huehnergard, personal communication, Spring 1996).

72 See Faber 1984: 215-19.

73 See Steiner 1977: 151.

74 CDG: 230. The Ugaritic maqqahu "(pair of) tongs" (Huehnergard 1987c: 143), which shares the m- preformative with this Hebrew word, may indicate that malqoḥåy comes from √lqh "take, receive."

+*qitl; *ʿigl; "calf"; Akk agalum "donkey"; Arab ʿiǧl; Gəʿəz ʾəgʷl (irregular consonant correspondences) "young (of animal)"; Heb ʿégɛl; Syr ʿeglå; Ug ʿgl

+*qitl; *biʾr; "well"; Akk bērum, būrum; Arab biʾr; Harari buʾur, bur "deep"; Heb bəʾer,[76] bor; Meh bayr; Syr berå; Sab bʾr; Ug bir

+*qitl; *birk;[77] "knee"; Akk birkum; Arab rukbat (with metathesis); Gəʿəz bərk; Heb bérɛk; Meh bark; Syr burkå/brok; Ug birku

+*qitl-at; *dimʿ-at; "tear"; Akk dimtum; Arab damʿ (collective); Heb dimʿå; Syr demʿṯå; Ug udmʿt

+*qitl; *ðiʾb; "wolf, jackal"; Akk zību, zibû "volture, jackal"; Arab ðiʾb; Gəʿəz zəʾb; Heb zʾeb;[78] Syr debå

+*qitl; *gild; "skin"; Arab ǧild; Heb with suffix gildi; Meh gēd; Syr geldå

+*qitl; *giyd; "sinew, neck"; Akk gīdu "sinew"; Arab ǧīd "neck"; Heb gid; Soqotri žid; Syr gyåḏå; Targumic Aram gidå

+*qitl-at; *hint-at; "wheat"; Akk ḫutetum; Arab hintat; Heb hiṭṭå; Meh hətāt; Syr hettṭå; Ug htt

+*qitl-at; *himʾ-at; "butter, curds"; Akk ḥimêtum; Heb hɛmʾå; Sab hmʾt; Soq hámi "butter"; Ug hmat

+*qitl; *hiṣn; "bosom"; Arab hidn; Gəʿəz hən; Heb hóṣɛn; Syr hannå, Galilean Aram hinnå (with assimilation of *ʿ to *n)

+*qitl; *kilʾ;[79] "two"; Akk kilallān; Arab kilā; Gəʿəz kəʾe; Heb kilʾáyim "two kinds"; Sab klʾy; Ug klat

+*qitl; *libb; "heart"; Akk libbum; Arab lubb; Gəʿəz ləbb; Heb leḇ, with suffix libbi, also leḇåḇ (*qital);[80] Meh hə-wbēb; Sab lb; Syr lebbå; Ug lb

+*qitl; *milh; "salt"; Arab milh; Gəʿəz malh; Heb mélah; Syr melhå; Ug mlht

+*qitl; *qinn; "nest"; Akk qinnum "nest, family"; Heb qen, with suffix qinno; Syr qennå

+*qitl; *riʾm; "wild-ox"; Akk rīmum; Arab riʾm "gazelle"; Heb rʾem; Syr ramå, remå; Ug rum

+*qitl; *rigl; "foot"; Arab riǧl; Syro-Palestinian Arab ʾəžr; Gəʿəz ʾəgr;[81] Heb régɛl, with suffix ragli, Hexaplaric rigl,[82] Babylonian Hebrew rigl; Sab rgl; Syr reglå, Mandaic ligrā; Ug riglu

+*qitl; *šidθ;[83] "six"; Akk šeššum, OA attributive masc. šedištum; Arab sitt; Gəʿəz səssu, masc. sədəstu; Heb šeš, masc. šiššå; Meh hət, yətīt; Sab sˡdθ (earlier period), sˡθ (middle and later periods); Syr šettå; Ug θθ

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[75] See *ʾummat/-ān below (p. 22), which may render this non-isolated.

[76] This may represent *biʾr, developing to [ber], written <bʾr>, which is repointed by the Massoretes with consonantal ʾ (Huehnergard 1995: 13). See also zʾeb (*ðiʾb), tʾenå (*tiʾn-at), and šʾer (*θiʾr), below and p. 22.

[77] Most of the languages have a D or L verb of this root meaning "to bless," but this verb is probably denominal, allowing us to retain *birk as an isolated noun.

[78] See n. 76 above.

[79] By the semantic nature of this word, it is attested in the dual, or in a frozen reflex of the dual.

[80] Perhaps formed by analogy on the plural base with *a-infix.

[81] See Kaye 1991 on the relation between Ethiopic ʾəgr and Syro-Palestinian ʾəžr.

[82] See Kaye 1991: 847-48; Huehnergard 1987c: 72, 176.

+*qitl; *šinn; "tooth"; Akk šinnum; Arab sinn; Heb šen, dual šinnáyim; Ug šnn; Sab θn "front teeth" (collective); Syr šennå

+*qitl(-at); *tiʾn(-at); "fig"; Akk tittum; Arab tīn-(at); Heb t̠enå,[84] Syr te<n>ttå; Ug tiʾnatu

+*qitl; *tibn; "straw"; Akk tibnum; Arab tibn; Heb téḇen; Syr teḇnå; Ug tibnu

+*qitl; *till "mound, hill"; Akk tīlum, tillu; Arab tall; Heb tel, with suffix tillåm; Syr tellå

+*qitl; *tišʕ; "nine"; Akk tišûm; Arab tisʕ; Gəʕəz təsʕ; Heb téšaʕ; Meh sā; Sab tsˡᶜ; Syr tešʕå/t̠šaʕ; Ug tšʕ

+*qitl; *tiyn; "mud, clay"; Akk tīdum, tīṭu, tiddu, tiṭṭu (*ṭiyntum); Arab ṭīn; Heb ṭiṭ (Akkadian loanword?);[85] Meh ṭayn; Syr ṭīnå

+*qitl; *θiʾr; "flesh"; Akk šīrum; Arab θaʾr "blood-revenge"; Heb šᵉer, Sab θʾr; Ug θiʾru, šir[86]

+*qitl; *θipr; "fingernail, claw"; Akk ṣuprum; Arab ẓifr, ẓufr; Gəʕəz ṣəfr; Heb sippórɛn; Meh ḏfer; Syr ṭeprå

+*qitl; *zipt; "pitch"; Arab zift; Gəʕəz zəft; Heb zépɛṭ

+*qitl; *ziyð; "breast"; Akk zīzum; Heb ziz; Ug zd

+*qutl; *ʾuðn; "ear"; Akk uznum "ear, authority"; Arab ʾuðn; Gəʕəz ʾəzn; Heb ʾózen; Meh h-əydēn; Sab ʾðn "permission, authority"; Syr ʾednå,[87] Galilean Aram ʾudnå; Ug udn

+*qutl-at(-ān); *ʾumm-at(-ān);[88] "tribe, nation"; Akk ummānum;[89] Arab ʾummat; Heb ʾummå; Syr ʾummt̠å; Ug ʾummatu

+*qutl; *ʾurḥ; "way"; Akk urḥum; Heb ʾórah; Syr ʾurḥå

+*qutl; *ʾury; "manger"; Akk urûm, urrû MA uraʾu; Arab ʾiry, ʾāriyy; Heb ʾuryå, ʾurwå; Syr ʾuryå

+*qutl; *buṭm/n; "pistachio"; Akk buṭnu; Arab buṭm; Heb bóṭen; Syr beṭmṭå

+*qutl; *gubb; "pit"; Akk NA, NB gubbu (loanword?); Arab ǧubb; Gəʕəz gəbb (with no labialization, possibly *qitl); Heb goḇ; Syr gubbå

+*qutl; *gurn; "granary, threshing floor"; Arab ǧurn, ǧirn; Gəʕəz gʷərn, gurn; Heb górɛn; Sab grn; Ug grn

+*qutl; *hupn; "hollow of hand"; Akk upnum; Arab ḥafnat, ḥufnat; Gəʕəz ḥəfn; Heb dual hopnáyim; Syr hupnå; Ug hpn

+*qutl; *kull; "all"; Akk kullatum, OAk, OA const. kalu;[90] Arab kull; Gəʕəz kʷəll; Heb kol, with suffix kullo; Meh kal; Sab kl; Syr kullå; Ug kl

+*qutl; *muḥḥ; "brain, top"; Akk muḥḥum; Arab muḥḥ; Heb moaḥ; Meh mēma (*maᶜmaᶜ, irregular consonant correspondence); Syr muḥḥå; Ug mḥ

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83   See Faber 1984: 215-19.
84   See n. 76 above.
85   J. Huehnergard, personal communication, Spring 1996.
86   See n. 76 above. The Ugarit evidence suggests two words.
87   Syriac shifts u > *i in some cases, such as ʾednå, šeršå, beṭmṭa, and debbå (J. Huehnergard, personal communication, Spring 1996).
88   See *ʾimm "mother" above (p. 21) which may render this non-isolated.
89   May be related to *√ʕmm. (See *ʕamm above, p. 16.)
90   Von Soden (AHw, vol. 1: 427; GAG: 51, 83) gives a III-weak base, but a biradical base for the Akkadian word is more probable. (See Huehnergard 1987a: 190, n. 51; Gelb 1955: 105.)

22

+*qutl; nuwn; "fish"; Akk nūnum; Syr nunâ

+*qutl; *šuršǝ;[91] "root"; Akk šuršum; Arab širs "thorn-bush," sirr "marrow, origin"; Gǝᶜǝz śǝrw "sinew, root, origin, tribe," śarwe "beam of wood"; Heb šóreš; Syr šeršâ; Ug šrš

+*qutl; *θuwm; "garlic"; Akk šūmum; Arab θūm; Gǝᶜǝz sum; Meh ṯǝmēt, Jibbāli ṯum; Heb pl. šumim; Syr tumâ

°*qutl/qatl; *dubb/daby; "bear"; Akk dabû, OAk dabium; Arab dubb; Gǝᶜǝz dǝbb; Heb doḇ; Syr debbâ,[92] Targ Aram dubbâ

-*qutl; *ðubb; "fly";[93] Akk zubbum; Amharic zǝmb; Arab ðubāb[94]; Heb zḇuḇ; Syr dabbâḇâ, debbâḇâ[95]

-*qutl; *ḥurl; "chickpea"; Akk ḥallūrum, ḥi/ullūru, ḥallāru; Heb ḥåru̇l, plural hᵃrullim; Syr ḥurlâ

-*qut(u)l; *qut(u)r;[96] "smoke"; Akk qutrum; Arab quṭr; Gǝᶜǝz qǝṭār; Heb qṭóreṯ "incense"; Sab mqṭr "incense altar"; Ug qṭr

+*qatal; *ʾaḥad;[97] "one"; Akk wēdum; Arab ʾaḥad, wāḥid; Gǝᶜǝz ʾaḥadu; Heb ʾɛḥåḏ (*qattal); Sab ʾḥd; Syr had; Ug ʾaḥadu

+*qatal; *ʾaθar; "place, footstep"; Akk ašrum, ašarum; Arab ʾaθar; Gǝᶜǝz ʾasar (irregular consonant correspondence);[98] Heb ᵃ²šer (relative pronoun); Syr ʾatrâ, ʾatar

+*qatal; *ᶜapar; "dust"; Akk eprum, eperum; Amharic afär; Arab ᶜafar; Heb ᶜåpår, const. ᶜᵃpar, with suffix ᶜᵃpåro; Syr ᶜaprâ; Ug ᶜpr

+*qatal; *barad; "hail"; Arab barad; Gǝᶜǝz barad; Heb båråḏ; Meh bǝrēd; Sab brd; Syr bardâ

+*qatal; *baṣal; "onion(s)" (collective); Arab baṣal; Gǝᶜǝz baṣal; Heb båṣål; Meh bǝṣǝlēt, Jibbāli béṣál; Sab bṣl; Syr beslâ

+*qatal; *baśar; "flesh"; Akk bišrum; Arab bašar; Gǝᶜǝz basor (loanword?); Harari bäsär; Heb båśår, with suffix bśåri; Meh bǝśǝrēt "skin"; Syr besrâ; Sab bšr; Ug bšr

+*qatal; *bawab; "door"; Akk bābum; Arab bāb; Meh bōb; Syr bâbâ (The West Semitic nouns may be loanwords from Akkadian.)

+*qatal; *bawam-at; "high place"; Akk bāmtum; Heb båmâ; Ug bmt "back (of an animal or person)"

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91 This may come from a reduplicated root. The radicals of some of the words are not fully cognate, but Akkadian, Hebrew, Syriac, and Ugaritic all have the root *√šrš. See Faber 1984: 213-15; CDG: 535.

92 See n. 87 above.

93 See Skinner 1977: 51-58.

94 It is likely that the Arabic pattern is formed on semantic analogy to a group of names for animals, birds, and insects in the pattern quṭāl, and with the vowel melody u – ā in general.

95 See n. 87 above.

96 Assimilation or dissimilation of the emphatic feature of C_2 to that of C_1 has led to t and ṭ for C_2 in various languages.

97 Beside *ʾaḥad, there is a variant with initial *w. In addition to the forms for "one" listed here for Akkadian and Arabic, there are Arabic waḥīd, Hebrew yåḥid, Syriac ʾiḥiḏâ "only" and Ugaritic and Hebrew yḥd "together."

98 Voigt (1994: 105, 111) attributes the ś to the influence of the r.

+*qatal; *ðahab; "gold"; Arab ðahab; Heb zåhåb̲, with suffix zhåbi; Meh d̲əhēb;
 Sab ðhb; Syr dahb̲å

+*qatal; *ðakar; "male"; Akk zikrum, zikarum; Arab ðakar; Heb zåk̲år; Sab ðkr;
 Syr dek̲rå

+*qatal; *ðanab; "tail"; Akk zibbatum; Arab ðanab; Gəʿəz zanab; Heb zånåb̲, with
 suffix znåb̲o; Meh d̲ənōb; Syr dunbå; Ug ðnb

+*qatal; *ðaqan; "beard"; Akk ziqnum; Arab ðaqan; Heb zåqån, const. zqan, with
 suffix zqåno; Syr dqan, daqnå

+*qatal; *gamal; "camel"; Akk gammalu (loanword?); Arab ğamal, ğaml; Gəʿəz
 gamal; Heb gåmål, pl. gmallim; Sab gml; Syr gamlå

+*qatal; *halab; "milk"; Arab halab, halīb; Gəʿəz halab "sour milk," ḥalib "milk";
 Heb ḥålåb̲; Meh ḥəlēb "milking" (action noun); Syr ḥalb̲å; Ug hlb

+*qatal; *hatan; "son-in-law, bridegroom"; Akk ḫatnum, ḫatanum;[99] Arab ḫatan;
 Heb ḥåtån, with suffix ḥᵃtåno; Syr ḥatnå

+*qatal; *kanap (See also *kapp, p. 17); "wing"; Akk kappum; Arab kanaf; Gəʿəz
 kənf; Heb kånåp, const. knap, with suffix knåpo; Sab knf "border, side"; Syr
 kenpå; Ug kanapu

+*qatal; *matar; "rain"; Akk mitrum "watercourse"; Arab maar; Heb måṭår, const.
 mṭar, const. pl. mitrot; Sab mtr "(rain-watered) field"; Syr meṭrå; Ug mtr

+*qatal; *namal, nom. un. namal-at; "ant(s)"; Akk SB lamattu (with metathesis,
 loanword?); Arab naml; Heb nmålå, Amarna Canaanite namlu; Meh nōmēl;
 Syr nmålå

–*qatal; *naway; "steppe"; Akk nawû; Heb nawɛ; Sab nw "environs"

+*qatal; *paraš; "horse"; Arab faras; Gəʿəz faras; Heb påråš; Sab frs¹

+*qatal; *qanay; "reed"; Akk qanû; Arab qanà, qanāt "spear"; Gəʿəz qanot "goad";
 Heb qånɛ; Meh kənēt; Syr qanyå; Ug qn

+*qatal; *sanay; "thornbush"; Akk sinû; Arab sanà; Heb snɛ; Syr sanyå

+*qatal; *śadaw; "field, mountain "; Akk šadûm, OAk šadwum; Heb śåd̲ɛ, śåd̲ay;
 Sab s²dw "mountain, irrigated field"; Ug šadû

+*qatal; *šamaʾ; "sky"; Akk šamû, OAk šamāʾum; Arab samāʾ; Gəʿəz samāy; Heb
 šåmåyim; Meh háytəm; Sab s¹my-n; Syr šmayyå; Ug šamûma

+*qatal; šawaq; "leg"; Arab sāq "lower leg"; Heb šoq "leg"; Syr šåqå "leg"; Tigre
 səqoqä "bone"

+*qatal; *tawaʾ; "chamber"; Akk taʾum; Heb tåʾ (loanword?); Syr ʾawwånå
 (irregular consonant correspondence), Targ Aram təwā

+*qatal; *talay; "kid, goat"; Arab talā; Gəʿəz tali; Heb ṭålɛ; Sab tlyn; Syr talyå

+*qatal; *θaday; "breast"; Arab θidy, θadà, θidy; Heb dual šåd̲ayim, rare šod̲; Meh
 tōd̲i; Syr td̲å; Ug θd

º*qatal/qatl; *baraq/barq; "lightning"; Akk MB, SB, NA berqu, birqu; Arab barq;
 Heb båråq; Meh bōrəq; Gəʿəz mabraq, mabrəq; Sab brq "rainy season,
 monsoonal storm"; Syr barqå

º*qatal/qatl; *lašad/lašd; "cream"; Akk SB lildu; Gəʿəz lasd; Heb låšåd̲

º*qatal/qatl; *nahar/nahr; "river"; Akk nārum; Arab nahr, nahar; Heb nåhår; Sab
 ʾnhr; Syr nahrå; Ug nhr

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99   See Goetze 1947: 247.

24

°*qatal/qatl; *tamar/tamr; "palm-tree"; Arab tamr "dates"; Gəʿəz tamr, tamart; Heb tåmår ; Meh tōmər; Sab tmr; Syr tmartå

+*qattal; *ʾayyal; "ibex, mountain goat"; Akk ayyalum; Arab ʾiyyal; Gəʿəz hayyal; Heb ʾayyål, ʾáyil; Sab ʾyl; Syr ʾay(y)lå

°*qattal/qatl; *pahham/pahm; "coal"; Akk pēntum; Arab fahm; Gəʿəz fəhm, or perhaps fəhhəm (the orthography is indeterminate); Heb peħåm (*pahham); Syr pahmå or perhaps pahhmå (the orthography is indeterminate); Ug phm

+*qatāl; *ʾarān; "chest (i.e., box)"; Akk arānum; Arab ʾirān (with dissimilation); Heb ʾᵃron (reduced first vowel, therefore *qitāl with dissimilation of *a from *ā), with article hå ʾåron (*qatāl); Syr ʾåronå (loanword?); Ug arn

+*qatāl; *ʾatān; "she-ass"; Akk atānum; Arab ʾatān; Heb ʾåton; Syr ʾattånå, Targ Aram ʾattånå, ʾtånå; Ug atn

+*qatāl; *θalāθ,[100] "three"; Akk šalāšum; Arab θalāθ, Gəʿəz śalās; Heb šåloš; Meh śhəlēt, śātáyt; Sab s²lθ (earlier period), θlθ (middle and later period); Syr tlåtå; Ug θlθ

+*qātal;[101] *ʿālam; "world"; Arab ʿālam; Gəʿəz ʿālam; Heb ʿolåm; Sab ʿlm; Syr ʿålmå; Ug ʿlm

+*qatil; *ʿaqib; "heel"; Akk eqbum; Arab ʿaqib; Heb ʿåqeḇ, const. ʿᵃqeḇ, const. pl. ʿiqḇe, ʿiqqḇe, ʿiqqḇot; Syr ʿeqḇå, ʿeḇ; Tigre ʾəqəb "leg"

+*qatil; *haθir; "court"; Arab hazīrat "pen, pound"; Gəʿəz hasr; Heb pl. hᵃserim, const. pl. hasre; Sab mhzr; Ug hθr

+*qatil; *hamiš; "five"; Akk hamšum, absolute hamiš; Arab hams; Gəʿəz hams; Heb håmeš, masc. hamiššå; Meh xáymeh, xəmmōh; Sab hms¹; Syr hammeš; Ug hmš

+*qatil; *kariś; "belly"; Akk karšum, later karašu; Arab kariś, kirš; Gəʿəz karś; Heb with suffix kreśo; Meh kērəś; Syr karså

+*qatil; *katip "shoulder"; Akk katpum; Arab katif, kitf, kataf; Gəʿəz matkaf(t) (with metathesis); Heb kåtep, const. kétep; Meh katf; Syr katpå; Tigre mäktäf

+*qatil; *lahir (with metatheses); "ewe"; Akk lahrum; Arab rahil, rihl; Heb råhel; Syr rahlå

+*qatil; *waʿil, "antelope"; Arab waʿil, waʿl; Gəʿəz wəʿəlā, waʿālā; Heb pl. yᵉelim, const. pl. yaʿᵃle; Sab wʿl; Meh wēl

+*qatil; *warik; "thigh, hip"; Akk warkatum; Amharic wärč "front leg of animal"; Arab warik, wark, warak, wirk; Heb yårek, const. yérek, with suffix yreki; Meh wərkēt; Sab wrk; Targ Aram yarkå

°*qatil/qitl; *namir/nimr; "leopard"; Akk nimrum; Arab namir; Gəʿəz namr; Heb nåmer; Sab nmr; Syr nemrå

+*qatīl; *baʿīr; "beasts"; Akk bīru, bēru "young bull," also būrum "calf"; Arab baʿīr "camel stallion"; Gəʿəz baʿr; Heb with suffix bᵉiro; Meh bəʾáyr; Sab bʿr; Syr bᵉirå

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[100] See Faber 1984: 215-21.
[101] The reconstruction of this noun is very difficult. See Jenni 1952: 199-221 for possible etymologies, and a comparative discussion of the the word in Northwest Semitic, Arabic, and Gəʿəz.

-*qatīl/qutl; *ḫarp/ḫurp; "winter"; Akk ḫarpum, ḫaruptum; Arab ḫarīf "fall"; Heb
  ḥórep; Gəʿəz ḥarif "current year"; Sab ḥrf

-*qatil; *θaqid; "almond"; Gəʿəz səg(ä)d; Heb šåqed; Syr šqaḏtå (irregular
  consonant correspondence, loanword?); Ug θuqdu

+*qātil; *ɣārib; "raven"; Amharic qura; Akk āribu, ēribum; Arab ɣurāb[102]; Heb
  ʿoreḇ; Meh yəɣəráyb; Syr ʿurbå

+*qatul; *ṣabuʿ (with metatheses); "hyena"; Akk būṣum; Arab ḍabuʿ; Gəʿəz ṣəʿb
  "hyena"; Heb pl. ṣboʿim; Syr ʾapʿå

+*qatūl; *ʿatūd; "wild sheep"; Akk etūdum, atūdum; Arab ʿatūd; Heb pl. ʿattūḏim

+*qatūl-at; *batūl-at; "virgin, young woman"; Akk batūlum "young man," batultum
  "young woman"; Arab batūl; Heb bṯulå; Syr bṯultå; Ug btlt

-*qatūl/qutāl; *ḫarūṣ/ḫurāṣ; "gold"; Akk ḫurāṣum; Heb ḥårūṣ;[103] Ug ḫurāṣu

+*qattūl; *kammūn; "cumin"; Akk kammūnum; Arab kammūn; Heb kammon
  (loanword?); Gəʿəz kammin (loanword?); Syr kammunå; Ug kmn

+*qital; *ʿinab; "fruit, grapes"; Akk inbum; Arab ʿinab; Heb ʿenåḇ; Sab ʿnb; Syr
  ʿenḇtåʿenbå; Ug ɣnb (irregular consonant correspondence)

+*qital; *šikar; "intoxicating drink"; Akk šikarum, šikrum; Arab sakar; Gəʿəz
  səkār; Heb šekår

+*qital; *ṣilaʿ; "rib"; Akk ṣēlum, ṣīlum; Arab ḍilaʿ; Heb ṣelåʿ, const. ṣélaʿ (*qatl);
  Meh ẓalaʿ; Ug ṣlʿ; Syr ʾelʿå[104]

-*qit(a)l; *dib(a)š; "date honey"; Akk dišp (with metathesis); Arab dibs; Gafat
  dəbsä; Heb dḇaš (loanword?), with suffix diḇši; Meh dabh; Sab dbs¹; Syr
  debšå

-*qital/qatl; *šiʿar/śaʿr;[105] "hair"; Akk šārtum; Arab šaʿr; Gəʿəz śəʿərt "hair"; Heb
  śeʿår, const. śaʿar and śʿar, also śaʿrå; Syr saʿrå; Ug šaʿartu "wool"

+*qittal; *ʾimmar; "sheep"; Akk immerum, Assyrian emmerum;[106] Syr ʾemmrå; Ug
  imr

-*qittal; *kinnam; "louse"; Heb pl./collective kinnåm, kinnim; Soq konem

+*qitāl; *ðirāʿ; "arm"; Arab ðirāʿ; Gəʿəz mazrāʿt; Heb zroaʿ, ʾezroaʿ; Syr drāʿå; Ug
  ðrʿ

+*qitāl; *ḥimār; "ass"; Akk imērum, Assyrian emārum; Arab ḥimār; Čaha əmor
  (Arab loanword?); Heb hᵃmor; Meh ḥayr; Sab ḥmr; Syr ḥmårå; Ug ḥmr

+*qitāl; *lišān; "tongue"; Akk lišānum; Arab lisān; Gəʿəz ləsān; Heb låšon; Meh
  əwšēn, Jibbāli lšín; Sab lsʰn; Syr leššånå; Ug lašān

+*qitāl; *tihām; "sea"; Akk tâmtum, tiāmat; Arab taham "land sloping down to
  sea," tihāmat "(geographical name for a coastal plain)"; Heb thom; Syr
  thomå (loanword?); Ug tahāmatu

-*qitāl-at/qatl/qatīl; *śiʿār-at/śaʿr/śaʿīr; "barley";[107] Arab šaʿīr; Heb śʿorå; Gəʿəz
  śaʿr "grass," śərnāy "wheat"; Sab s²ʿr; Syr sʿårtå; Ug šiʿīru

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[102] It is likely that this pattern is formed on semantic analogy to a group of names for birds in
qutāl.

[103] Greek χρυσος is probably a loanword from Phoenician.

[104] With dissimilation ṣ > ʿ (thus Biblical Aramaic) > ʾʿ.

[105] But see also *śiʿār-at/śaʿr/śaʿīr "barley" (p. 27).

[106] According to the regular sound rules, this may also be reconstructed as *qittil.

*qutāl; ʾunāš; "mankind"; Arab (ʾu)nās "mankind," ʾanas "people"; Heb ᵓᵉnoš "man, mankind," ᵓᵃnåšim "people"; Meh ʾans "humans" (collective, loanword?); Sab ʾns¹, ʾs¹; Syr <ʾ>nåšå "man, mankind," Biblical Aram ᵓᵉnåš, ᵓᵉnoš[108]. (Compare also the possibly related *ʾiyš; "man"; Heb ʾiš "man," ʾḗšɛt "woman" (const.),[109] pre-suffixal form ʾišti "woman"; Sab ʾys¹.)

+*qutāl; *burāθ, "juniper"; Akk burāšum; Heb broš, also pl. broṯim (irregular consonant correspondence, loanword?); Syr broṯå (loanword from a dialect with *ā > *ō and *θ > *t?)

+*qutāl; *kunāθ, "emmer"; Akk kunāšum; Syr kunnåṯå

+*quttāl; *rummān (*-ān may be a suffix); "pomegranate"; Akk nurmû, nurmānu, Nuzi nurumu (with metathesis), lurmûm, lurīnu, MA lurimaʾu, lurimtum (with dissimilation); Arab rummān (loanword); Gəʿəz rommān (loanword); Heb rimmon; Syr rummån

-*qutāl; *buhān and other patterns, with metatheses; "thumb, finger"; Akk ubānum "finger"; Arab ʾibhām "thumbs"; Heb bṓhɛn, also pl. bhonoṯ (*qutul [Kogut 1969-70] or *qutāl) "thumb"

-*qutāl(t); *nuhāš(t); "bronze"; Arab nuhās; Heb nhṓšɛt (*nuhušt), nhušå (*nuhūšat); Gəʿəz nāhs; Syr nhåšå

-*qutul/qitl/qatul; *bukur/bikr/bakur; "firstborn"; Akk bukrum; Arab bikr; Gəʿəz bakʷr; Heb bkor, with suffix bkori, pl. bkoroṯ; Meh bēkər; Sab bkr; Syr bukrå; Ug bkr

-*quttul/ʾuqtūl; *ṣuppur/ʾuṣpūr; "bird"; Akk iṣṣūrum, ṣibārum; Arab ʿuṣfūr; Heb ṣippor; Syr ṣepprå/ṣeppar; Ug ʿuṣṣūru, ṣpr

+*qatlad; *ʾalman-at;[110] "widow"; Akk almattum; Arab ʾarmalat; Heb ʾalmånå; Meh hərmēt; Syr ʾarmaltå; Ug almnt

+*qatlad; *ʾapʿay; "viper"; Arab afʿà; Gəʿəz afʿot; Heb ʾɛpʿɛ

+*qatlad; *ʾarbaʿ;[111] "four"; Akk erbûm, OAk arbaʾum; Arab ʾarbaʿ; Gəʿəz ʾarbaʿ; Heb ʾarbaʿ; Meh árba, ərbōt; Sab ʾrbʿ; Syr ʾarbaʿ; Ug arbʿ

+*qatlad; *ʾarbay; "locusts"; Akk erbûm; Heb ʾarbɛ; Meh harbyēt; Ug irby

+*qatlad; *ʾarnab; "hare"; Akk arnabum, annabum; Arab ʾrnb; Heb ʾarnébɛt; Meh harnáyb; Gafat: Wolane arbäňňo (with metathesis); Syr ʾarnbå; Ug anhb (UT 361)[112]

+*qatlad; *ʿaqrab; "scorpion"; Akk aqrabum; Arab ʿaqrab; Heb ʿaqråb; Tigre ʿärqäb

+*qatlad; *θaʿlab; "fox"; Akk šēlebum; Arab θaʿlab, θuʿal, θuʿāl; Heb šuʿāl; Meh yəṯáyl, Jibbāli iṯʿél; Syr taʿlå

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[107] See also *šiʿar/šaʿr "hair" (p. 26).

[108] The form with o is likely a borrowing from Hebrew.

[109] ʾḗšɛt is adopted for the absolute state as well in a few cases. ʾḗšɛt may be from *ʾiš-t (i.e., the feminine of *ʾiš), with shortening of the vowel in a closed syllable (Huehnergard 1995: 11).

[110] Not isolated if related to the roots of Akkadian lemēnum "be bad, poor," Amharic lämmänä "beg" (although the latter is probably denominal; J. Huehnergard, personal communication, Spring 1996).

[111] The languages, in analyzing this word, extract the triliteral root *√rbʿ.

[112] The consonants are not proper cognates, however. WUS (27), interprets this as "perfume," or an animal which produces a perfume, cognate to Gəʿəz nəhb "bee."

27

+*qatlad; *tawʾam; "twin"; Akk tūʾamum; Arab tawʾam; Gəʿəz māntā; Heb abs. pl. ṯʾomim, const. pl. ṯʾome, tăʾ⁴me; Syr tắ(⁴)mă

+*qatlad; *tawlaᶜ; "worm"; Akk tūltum; Amharic təl; Heb tolăᶜ, toleᶜă; Soq taᶜáleh; Syr tawľă, tawlaᶜtă

-*qatlad; *ʾakbar; "mouse"; Akk akbarum, akkabaru, agbaru; Arab (Yemenite) ᶜakbār, pl. ᶜakābur; Heb ᶜakbắr; Syr ᶜuqbră

-*qatlad/qutlud; *p/barɣaθ/s; "flea"; Akk perš/saʾum, perʾašum, paršaluʾu, puršuʾu; Arab burɣūθ; Heb parᶜoš; Syr purtaᶜnă

-*qatalid/qutl; *ɣarapil/ᶜurp (The roots*√ɣrp(l) and *√ᶜrb may have exerted analogical influence on each other.); "cloud"; Akk urpum, urpatu, erpetum; Heb pl. with suffix ᶜᵃripέ<y>hắ, ᶜᵃrắpel, pl. ᶜᵃrắḇoṯ; Syr ᶜarpellă; Ug ɣrpl, ᶜrpt

+*qatāliy; *θamāniy; "eight"; Akk absolute state samāne; Arab θamānī; Gəʿəz samāni; Heb šmonɛ; Meh ṯəmōni; Sab θmny, θmn; Syr tmănyă; Ug θmn

+*qalqal; *kabkab; "star"; Akk kakkabum; Arab kawkab; Gəʿəz kokab; Heb kokắḇ; Meh kəbkēb; Sab kwkb; Syr kawkḇă; Ug kbkb, pl. kkbm

°*qalqal-at/qatl; *laylay-at/layl; "night"; Akk liliātum; Arab layl; Gəʿəz lelit; Heb láylă, láyil, lel; Meh láylət, līlət; Sab lly; Syr lelyă; Ug ll

°*qalqal/qulqul; *qadqad/qudqud; "head, pate"; Akk qaqqadum; Heb qắdqod; Ug qdqd

-*qalqal/qitāl/qatāl; *gargar/girān/garān; "neck, throat"; Arab ǧirān; Gəʿəz gᵂərᶜe; Heb gắron, gargέrɛṯ; Syr gargartă, gaggartă

-*qitlīd; *ḥinzīr; "pig"; Akk ḥuzīrum;[113] Arab ḥinzīr; Heb hᵃzir; Meh xənzīr; Syr ḥzirắ; Ug ḥnzr, ḥuzīru

+*qitlad; *śimʾal; "left"; Akk šumēlum; Arab šimāl, šimʾal, šaʾm; Heb śmo<ʾ>l; Sab s²ʾm; Syr semmălă; Ug šmal

+*qutlud; *qunpuð; "hedgehog"; Arab qunfuð, qunfað; Gəʿəz qᵂənfəz; Hebrew qippod (irregular consonant correspondence);[114] Syr quppdă

-*qulqul; *gul/mgul/m-t; "skull"; Arab ǧumǧumat; Heb gulgólɛṯ; Meh gəmgəmot; Syr gulgultă

-*qitlad/qitl; *ʾisbaᶜ/sibᶜ; "finger"; Arab ʾisbaᶜ (most common, also ʾusbuᶜ, ʾa/sba/i/uᶜ); Gəʿəz ʾasbāᶜt; Heb ʾɛsbaᶜ; Meh šəbāʾ; Jibbāli ʾəsbāᶜ; Sab ʾsbᶜ; Syr seḇᶜtă/seḇᶜă; Ug pl. usbᶜt

-*qatlaC₄̄vC₅; *ᶜankabūθ/ᶜankabīθ, "spider"; Arab ᶜankabūt (perhaps Aram loanword, because of the t, where **θ would be expected for PS *θ); Heb ᶜakkắḇiš/ᶜakšub; Meh ʾānšέt; Targ Aram ᶜakku/åḇīṯă

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[113] This may be an Akkadian *qutayl diminutive formation, borrowed directly or indirectly by other languages, including Hebrew and dialects of Aramaic (Von Soden 1991: 1488).

[114] There is also qippoz, with the expected correspondences, glossed "arrow-snake" (BDB: 891), but this seems to be related to Arabic qiffāzat, PS *qippāz(-at).

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Abstract:

Among the Semitic nouns, the isolated nouns are distinct in that they are not built on the usual root-and-pattern structure. This article reviews the definition of the isolated nouns and related categories, and examines the distribution of (phonological) patterns among such nouns. *Qvtl nouns predominate, while *qatīl and *qvl nouns also occur in significant numbers. In each of these categories, the vowels occur in the order of frequency *a, *i, *u. Few isolated nouns have other patterns; nonetheless, some have patterns, such as *qitāl, which are rare in Semitic derived nouns.

Most of the article is devoted to a list of reconstructed nouns in which isolated nouns attested in wide-spread Semitic languages are compared, demonstrating the regularity of correspondence of isolated nouns as compared to the derived nouns.

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Palmyrene Aramaic Inscriptions and the Bible

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The Aramaic inscriptions from Palmyra are a sizable corpus of ancient texts which have at times been employed with profit for the interpretation and illumination of biblical texts, and which continue to constitute a valuable resource. A more detailed exposition of this assertion is given in this author's "Palmyrene Aramaic Inscriptions and the Bible, especially Amos 2:8,"[1] which may be consulted as the introduction to this article, a series of three notes continuing this general topic, touching: (A) the name *yhwh 'lhym* in Genesis 2-3; (B) Abraham's purchase of tomb property, and (C) the biblical Hebrew terms for 'goddess.'[2]

A. Genesis 2-3 "The god Yahweh and the Naked Couple"

Since its beginning Pentateuchal criticism, with its abandonment of the idea of authorship by Moses in favor of a discrimination of various sources (of later date), has depended heavily on the pattern of the names for the deity in the first five books of the canon. A small, but troublesome anomaly in the more or less clear pattern of divine names that can be observed is the combination of two names usually kept apart, *yhwh* and *'lhym*. This dual title *yhwh 'lhym* is prominent in the first narrative portion, the creation and paradise story of Genesis 2 and 3. There is good reason to think that this is a passage that comes from the "Yahwist," one of the principal sources distinguished by critics. So scholars have had to seek some kind of explanation for the unusual combination, since elsewhere the "Yahwist" uses just the so-called Tetragrammaton.

The problem remains unresolved in the sense that after more than a century of Pentateuchal source-criticism, there is no agreed-on explanation. For a delineation of

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[1]   *ZAH* 8 (1995) 55-62.

[2]   Abbreviations used: **BS III** = C. Dunant, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre: Vol. III Les inscriptions,* Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana (Rome: Institut Suisse de Rome, 1971); CIS always refers to one part of *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum: Pars secunda, Tomus III: Inscriptiones palmyrenae;* Inv = *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre.* (Fascicles 1-12, various editors and publishers, since 1930); NRSV = *New Revised Standard Version,* NJV = New Jewish Version, i.e. *Tanakh – The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation According to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1988); **PAT** = D. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1966); RSP = M. Gawlikowski, *Recueil d'inscriptions palmyréniennes provenant de fouilles syriennes et polonaises récentes à Palmyre* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale and C. Klincksieck, 1974); RTP = H. Ingholt, H. Seyrig, and J. Starcky, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre,* Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique (Paris: Geuthner, 1955).
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