PWS *rḥb 'to be wide, broad' > PWS *raḥbat 'free, open space' > Mehri rəḥbēt 'town' || Arb raḥbat- 'free, open space' > Yemeni Arabic 'to thresh'

Basic source: Kogan 2015, 95

Postulated shifts:

– PWS *rḥb* 'to be wide, broad' > PWS *raḥbat-* 'free, open space' > *rəḥbēt* Mehri 'town'

– Arb *raḥbat-* 'free, open space' > Dialectal Arabic *raḥba* 'threshing floor' > Dialectal Arabic denom. *raḥab yirḥab* 'to thresh'

– possible: PWS *rḥb* 'to be wide, broad' > Ug. *rḥbt* 'amphora'.

Overall picture:

PWS reconstruction: *rḥb* – 'to be wide, broad' (Kogan 2015, 95)

Hebrew: *rḥb* (HALOT 1210-11, BDB 931)

>   *rāḥab* Qal: 'to make wide, extensive'

>   *rāḥāb* – 'broad, wide, spread out'

>   *rōḥab* – 'breadth'

Ug.:

rḥb – adj. 'wide' (DUL 736)

>   KTU 1.16 I 6-9 // 1.16 II 44-47, Keret: (par: *ʾadr* 'magnificent, strong' (DUL 20f.)

>   >   *tbkyk ab ġr bʿl*

>   >   *ṣpn ḥlm qdš*

>   >   *nny ḥlm ʾadr*

>   >   *ḥlm rḥb mknpt*

>   >   'Will the mountain of Baʿlu weep for you, father,

>   >   Ṣapānu, the holy citadel,

>   >   Nannaya the mighty citadel,

>   >   the broad-spread citadel' (from Context of Scripture, p. 339).

>   KTU 1.5 III 2: (par *rbt* 'great, large' DUL 727f.):

>   >   [*r*]*ḥbt. ṯbt.* x[   ]

>   >   *rbt. ṯbt. ḥš*[n   ]

rḥbt n.f. – 'amphora, jar' (DUL 737):

>   KTU 1.15 IV 4-9 command // (par. IV 15-19 – fulfillment), text restored from both sources, Keret:

>   >   *ṭbḫ šmn mrʾik*

>   >   *ptḥ rḥbt tn*

ṣḥ šbʿm ṯry

ṯmnym ṯbyy

ṯr ḫbr rbt

ḫbr ṯrrt

'Slaughter the best of your fatlings,

open jars of wine,

invite my seventy bulls,

my eighty gazelles,

the bulls of Ḫubur the great,

of Ḫubur the well-watered' (from Context of Scripture, p. 338).

KTU 1.4 VI 44-54 (par: *dkrt* meaning is uncertain, cf. DUL 269):

ṣḥ aḫḫ b-bhth

aryh b-qrb hklh

ṣḥ šbʿm bn aṯrt

špq ilm krm yn

    špq ilht ḫprt

špq ilm alpm y[n]

    špq ilht arḫt

špq ilm kḫṯm yn [11]

    špq ilht ksat

špq ilm rḥbt yn [11]

    *špq ilht dkr*t

'He invites his brothers into his house,

    his kin into his place.

He invites the seventy sons of *ʾAṯiratu*.

He provides the gods with rams (and) wine,

    He provides the goddesses with ewes;

He provides the gods with bulls (and) wine,

    He provides the goddesses with cows;

He provides the gods with chairs (and) wine,

    He provides the goddesses with seats;

He provides the gods with jars of wine,

    He provides goddesses with barrels(?)'. (from Context of Scripture, p. 262).

There reason to restore *yn* in each with goddesses line following KTU is far from obvious. Also broken parallelism "god – masculine object, goddess – feminine object" in lines 53-54 is of importance.

Ph. *yrḥb* – 'to enlarge, to extend' (Yiph) (DNWSI 1066-1067, Krahmalkov 2000 443, hapax):

KAI 26 A I 1 – 5 (Azatiwada):

1) *ʾnk ʾztwd hbrk bʿl ʿbd*

2) *bʿl ʾš ʾdr ʾwdk mlk dnnym*

3) *pʿln bʿl l-dnnym l-ʾb w-l-ʾm*

4) *dnnym yrḥb ʾnk ʾrṣ ʿmq ʾdn l-mmṣʾ š*

5) *mš w-ʿd mbʾy*

Translation from Krahmalkov: 'I'm Azatiwada, whom Baal blessed, the servant of Baal, Great Man, Evarch, King of the Danunians. Baal made me a father and mother to the Danunians. I enlarged the territory of the Vale of Adana from East to West'.

Arb. *rḥb* 'to be wide', etc. (Lane 1051)

Sab. *rḥb* 'to be wide'. (SD116)

Intensive stem: *w-bql w-rḥb w-wdn w-qrw wyn-hw ʾṯʾbw b-srn qrẓn w-wynn ḏ-šqtm b-ḍrʾ*, **MQ-ʿAlma 1/7.-8.**, "und er hat seinen Weingarten ʾAṯʾabū im Tal Qaraẓān und den Weingarten ḏū-Šiqqatim in Ḍurāʾ angepflanzt, erweitert, mit einer Umfassung versehen und (dafür) *Kanäle angelegt*" (From http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=7771&showAll=0).

Saf. *rḥbt* 'shallow depression where water collects' (DSI 116)

Gez. *rǝḥba* – 'be wide, be large, be broad', etc. (CDG 466)

rǝḥbat – n. 'width, being (n) wide (large, broad)' (CDG 466)

marḥǝb – n. 'large plot of land, plain, wide place, public place, forum, square, market place, street, quarter, arena' (CDG 466)

Soq.

ráḥab – 'large' (LS 397)

ráḥbɛb – with C_3 reduplication (?) 'broad, large' (CSOL II 564)

Mehri. *rǝḥbēt rḥǝ- / rǝḥōyǝb* – town (ML 320) < PWS *raḥbat-* (Watson 2012, p. 58; Rubin 2018, p. 86)

Ḥarsūsi. *reḥebét / reḥāyeb* – 'place, land; town' (HL 103)

**Akkadian: absent. Nothing to add to Kogan 2015, 96.

Data overview:

Arb. *rḥb* (Lane 1051)

raḥabat- and *raḥbat-* – 'the court, open area, or spacious vacant part of portion' (Lane 1051).

Dialectal Arabic

rḥb yirḥab – 'to thresh' (NJD II 436)

Postulated meaning shift (Behnstedt):

'free, open space', 'Stierarena' > 'village square', 'threshing floor' > 'to thresh'

Independent evidence:

1) First stage is attested passim.

Lane 1051: 'the court, open area, or spacious vacant part of portion'.

BK 835: 'Espace large, vaste; aire, cour, place; plaines, pays plat, habité et cultivé'.

Wehr 330: 'public square (surrounded by buildings)'.

A.-L. de Prémare, Dictionnaire Arabe-Français: Tome 5, p. 71: edroit plat, aire plane et libre; espace entouré de constructions.

BH 329: *raḥaba* 'open space, square'.

2) 'Stierarena' cf. DO, p. 516:

Alc. 'corro del toro, cosso do corren el toro'

Daumas V. A. 484.– 'L'arène où l'on combat les taureaux'

cf. Russian «гумно» (Vasmer Band I 321).

2) Second stage is in Moroccan Arabic:

ṛăḥba – aire à dépiquer les céréales, aire à batter [béd] (A.-L. de Prémare, Dictionnaire Arabe-Français: Tome 5, p. 71).

In adjacent areas (following WAD II, p. 273):

– Ist in Algerien "endroit, lieu, large espace, place, halle, marché" (BEAU);

– in Tunesien speziell "Platz, wo Getreide verkauft wird" (ABD 404).

For the meaning 'market of natural products' cf. WAD II, p. 42, not on the map.

For the meaning 'market' in medieval sources cf. DO p. 516. and GAR 278:

"On peut noter la présence de places ou d'emplacements réservés le plus souvent à des marchés et appelés *raḥba* ou parfois *ʕarṣa* ".

Explanation of the meaning shift from WAD Band II 356f. (translated):

'The threshing itself can be done by kicking cattle, by a threshing stone that is pulled across the threshing area by animals, by means of threshing carts or sleds – modern also by tractors, as in Dakhla – or by beating with sticks and whips, or by simply hitting the sheaves on the ground.

For the former, a smooth, wider surface is required, and as a result there are a number of formations that can be derived from the corresponding basic meanings'.

Maps from WAD II, p. 355, 388.
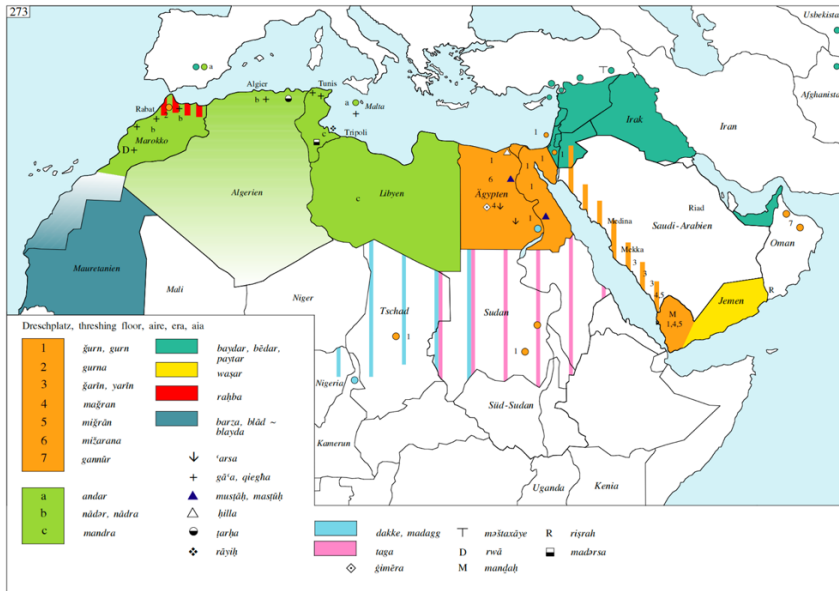
273 Dreschplatz
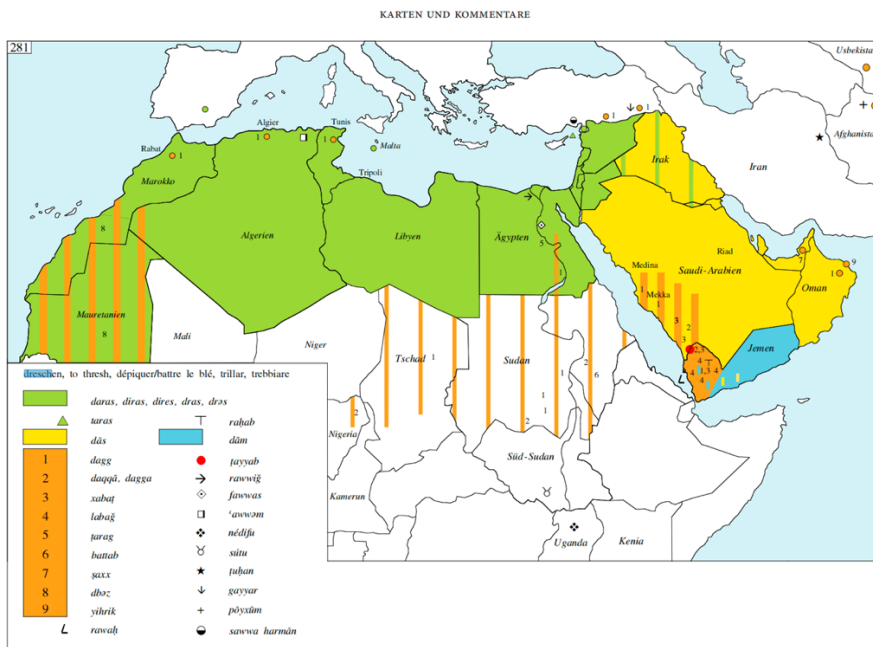
281 dreschen

Conclusion: 'wide, open space' > specialization > 'threshing floor' > denominal derivation > 'to thresh'.

Mehri

rəḥbēt rḥə- / *rəḥōyəb* – 'town' (ML 320) (Watson 2012, p. 58; Rubin 2018, p. 86)

dim. *rəḥbēnōt* / *rəḥbēnáwtən* – little settlement (ML 320)

Seems to be an Arabic loan, but the exact meaning is unattested in Dialect Arabic dictionaries (cf. above).

Examples:

nakam tīn / aḥād man ṣ̌ḥayr w-aḥād man abadyat w-aḥād man arhabēt 'some came to us from the mountains, some from the desert and some from the town.' (Watson 2012, p. 262)

xəṭərāt bā nəwās yəsūkən bə-rḥəbēt wə-ðə-yəxáwdəm hāl ḥōkəm ð-arḥəbēt 'Once Ba Newas was living in a town and working for the ruler of the town.' (Rubin 2018 20:1)

Ḥarsūsi

reḥebét / *reḥāyeb* – place, land; town (HL 103)

Conclusion: 'to be wide' > derivation > 'wide, open space' > borrowing, specialization > 'town'.

IE related concepts

Source: Buck, 1949; NIL.

NIL, pp. 564-566:

PIE **pleh₂* 'flach, breit' derivates:

germ. Feid, field etc.

aksl. usw. *polje*

'thresh' (Buck 1949, 8.34):

"The tokens of 'threshing floor' are partly from 'to thresh' (mostly in combination with 'floor'). Most of 'them are from the notions of 'open space', 'floor', 'flat surface', with specialization" (Buck 1949, 8.35).

The only token without the element "to thresh":

Greek: ἅλως (also 'garden, cultivated land') – 'threshing floor' > Greek. ἀλοάω 'to thresh'.

'village' (Buck 1949, 19.16):

"Words for 'village' are based on the notions of 'dwelling place' (whence the modest 'village', only rarely the 'town, city') or 'field, piece of land', 'settlement'. etc. A few are 'connected with words for 'people' or 'multitude', that is, denoted first the group of inhabitants".

'city, town' (Buck 1949, 19.15):

"Many of the words < 'inclosed and fortified place'. Several are specializations of 'place' or 'dwelling place', and one group is narrowed from 'state'".

NIr: *baile mōr*, lit. 'large place' while *baile* – 'place, town, village'.

Thus, in IE there is connection between the concepts 'broad' > 'plot of land, field', 'plot of land, field' > 'village' and 'village' > 'town', but there are no languages in which this semantic shift has gone all the way.

PS *ʾanp- 'nose' > PArm *ʾapp-ayni 'face' (Kogan 2015, 41)

Main source: Kogan 2015, 41, 378-379, 540.

Overall picture

PS reconstruction: *ʾanp- 'nose' (Kogan 2015, 41)

Akk. *appu* 'nose' (CAD A$_2$ 184)

Ug. *ʾap* 'nose' (DUL 87)

Hebr. *ʾapp* 'nose' (HALOT 76)

Dual: *ʾappayim* 'face' (HALOT 77)

PArm reconstruction: *ʾapp-ayni* (Kogan 2015, 379)

Anc. Plm. *ʾp* 'face' (DNWSI 83).

Off.Arm. *ʾnp* 'face, front side' (DNWSI 83).

Dem. *ʾnp* 'face' (DNWSI 1253).

Bib. *ʾanpōhī* (pl.sf.3 ms.) 'face' (BDB 1081).

Syriac. *ʾappayyā* 'face' (SL 85).

Jud. *ʾappa* (also 'face') (Jastrow 99);

JPA. *ʾp* 'nose' (DJPA 69), *ʾpyn* 'face' (DJPA 70)

JBA. *ʾanpē*, *ʾappē* 'face' (DJBA 152)

Sam. *ʾp, ʾnp* 'nose', *ʾpym* 'face' (DSA 50)

Mnd . *anpia* 'face, forehead' (MD 27).

Maalula. *ffōya* 'Gesicht, Öffnung' (GNDM 24).

Arb. *ʾanf-* 'nose (Lane 116)

Gez. *ʾanf-* 'nose' (CDG 28).

Data overview

Old. Arm:

Examples from Kogan 2015, p. 378:

KAI 222A 27–28

[*ys*]*ḳ twy ʿl ʾpy ʾrḳh* 'The *twy*-insect? will come up upon the face of its land'.

ibid. 42

w-ymḥʾ ʿl ʾpyh 'One strikes her on the face'.

Nothing to add in this regard to Kogan 2015, p. 378-379 and 229:

"The reflexes of *ʾanp- replace those of *pan- 'face' (SED I No. 215), marginally attested in Official Aramaic only (DNWSI 918). In a concomitant shift, the meaning "nose" came to be

expressed by derivatives of PS *naḫīr- 'nostril' in many Aramaic dialects (SED I No. 198). The latter shift did not affect the language of the Old Aramaic inscriptions".

"As one can judge from *rwḥ ʾpwh* 'the spirit of his nose' in KAI 224:2 (Old Arm Sfire stele), the first step of this development was a total mixture of these two concepts: both "face" and "nose" were expressed by the reflexes of *ʾanp-. In later Aramaic, such a picture seems to be still present in SArm. and JPA (DSA 50, DJPA 69)":

DSA 50:

ʾnp and *ʾp* vs *ʾpym*

– *ʾnp* 'nose' as in:

w-nsb gbrh qdšh d-dhb… w-šwh ʿl ʾnph 'the man took a gold nose ring… and put it in her nose'.

– *ʾp* 'nose' as in:

w-nsb gbrh qwdš dhb… w-šwy ʿl ʾph 'the man took a gold nose ring… and put it in her nose'.

– *ʾpym* 'face', pl. tant.

hlʾ kst ʾph 'for she had covered her face'.

DJPA 69 from the Palestinian Talmud, *Šab* 10c(4):

hdʾ ʾyttʾ dšdqh ʾph 'the woman who puts red coloring on her nose'.

Kogan 2015, p. 379, fn. 1082: "In Eastern Neo-Aramaic, the meaning "face" is usually expressed by reflexes of PS *piʾ-at- 'front' (SED I No. 204): Tur. *foṯo* (Jastrow 2002:162)".

Biblical Aramaic

– two times.

Dn. 2₄₆ (pt.):

בֵּאדַיִן מַלְכָּא נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר נְפַל עַל־אַנְפּוֹהִי וּלְדָנִיֵּאל סְגִד

«Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face and prostrated before Daniel».

Dn. 3₁₉: – diagnostic passage

בֵּאדַיִן נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר הִתְמְלִי חֱמָא וּצְלֵם אַנְפּוֹהִי אֶשְׁתַּנּוּ עַל־שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ וַעֲבֵד נְגוֹ עָנֵה וְאָמַר לְמֵזֵא לְאַתּוּנָא חַד־שִׁבְעָה עַל דִּי חֲזֵה לְמֵזְיֵהּ

«Then Nebuchadnezzar became filled with rage and the expression of his face changed concerning Schadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego. He commanded to heat the furnace seven times more it was usually heated».

Kogan 2015, p. 379 PArm. *ʾapp-ayni* 'face' represents a semantic evolution of PS *ʾanp- 'nose' (SED I No. 8), whose incipient stage is also present in Hbr. *ʾappayim* (HALOT 76–77).

Relevant passages:

1) אַפַּיִם אַרְצָה 'face down' as in Gn 19₁ or 1Sam 24₈.

2) וַתִּפֹּל עַל־אַפֶּיהָ 'she fell on her face' (par. usage as in Dn. 2_{46}).

3) זֵעַת אַפַּיִם 'sweat of the face' as in Gn 3_{19}.

Conclusion

PS *ʔanp-* 'nose' > derivation, metonymy > Arm 'face' in:

– Old Arm (DNWSI 83).

– Official Arm (DNWSI 83).

– Palmyrean (DNWSI 83).

– Demotic (DNWSI 1253).

– Biblical Aramaic (BDB 1081).

– Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (DJBA 152)

– Syriac (LSyr. 39, SL 85).

– Mandaic (MD 27).

– Maalula. *ffōya* 'Gesicht, Öffnung' (GNDM 24).

Polysemy, sg. 'nose' vs pl. 'face':

– Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (DJPA 69f.)

– Samaritan Aramaic (DSA 50)

Outer related concepts

'face' (Buck 1949, 4.204):

"The words for 'face' are most commonly based on the notion of 'appearance, look', most of these derived from verbs for 'see, look', or in some cases on the notion of 'form, shape'. There is some times interchange between 'face' and 'cheek' in the same word or group".

Buck postulates no tokens of shifts between these two concepts.

But cf. (from https://datsemshift.ru/shift0492):

Kurd. *pōz* «нос» < cognates > Sogd. p`z «лицо» (ЭСИЯ 3, 49)

'nose' (Buck 1949, 4.23):

Most of the words for 'nose' belong to an inherited group. The others are of obscure origin.

Again, no connection with 'face'.

PS *ʾanp- 'nose' > Ug, Hebr, Moab 'to be angry'; 'anger'

Main source: SED 1, No. 8.

Overall picture:

Noun:

    Arb. (not related to the latter cases):

        Noun: *ʾanf-* 'nose' (Lane 116)

        Phrasal mng: *ḥamiya ʾanfuhu* 'He became vehemently angry, or enraged' (Lane 116)

        Derivates:

            ʾanafat- 'disdain, scorn' (Lane 117, BK 63)

            ʾanūf- 'a main very disdainful, scornful, or indignant' (Lane 117, BK 63)

        Verb: Arb. *ʾanifa min* – 'to disdain, to scorn' (Lane 113)

    UG: *ʾap* – 'anger' (by metonymy) (DUL 87-88)

    Hebr: *ʾap* – 'anger' (HALOT 76)

Verb:

    Moab: *ʾnp* – 'to be angry' (DNWSI 83)

    Hebr: *ʾnp* – 'to be angry' (HALOT 72)

Data overview

    Hebrew

In phraseology:

    hāra ʾappō 'his nose became hot' –> 'he turned angry' (HALOT 76) / *ḥărōn ʾappō*

Independent:

    Hab 3:8: *hă-bi-nhārīm ḥārā* YHWH || *ʾim ba-nnəhārīm ʾappäkā* || *ʾim ba-yyām ʿäbrātäkā* || *kī tirkab ʿal-sūsēkā* || *mirkəbōtēkā yəšūʿā* 'Is the Lord angry against rivers? || Is your wrath against the rivers? || Is your rage against the sea? || That you ride on your horses, || On your chariots towards victory?'

    Ψ 78:21: *la-kēn šāmaʿ* YHWH *wa-yyiṯʿabbār* || *wa-ʾēš niŝŝəqā bə-yaʿăqōḇ* || *wə-ḡam ʾap̄ ʿālā bə-yiŝrāʾēl* 'Therefore the LORD heard and was full of wrath; || And a fire was kindled against Jacob || And anger also mounted against Israel'

    Ugaritic

Passages:

KTU 1.6 V 19 – 21

tn aḫd b-aḫk ispa

w yṯb ap d anšt

«give one of the brothers for me to eat,

and the anger that I wrathed with will stop»

KTU 1.40:20-25 // 29-34 "Ritual of National Unity"

The ritual texts that is intended to ensure the unity, expiation and rectitude of the inhabitants of Ugarit. The departure of the ideal is described in the following section (restorations are in accordance with the following section of the text):

20' *u l-p ddmy u l-p ḫry u l-p u l-p alty u l-p ġbr*

21' *u l-p ḫbtkn u l-p mdlkn u l-p qrzbl*

22' *u ṯḫtin b-apkn u b-qṣrt npškn u b qṭt*

23' *tqṭṭn u ṯḫtin l-bḥm w-l-ṯˁ dbḥn ndbḥ*

24' *hw ṯˁ nṯˁy hw nkt nkt ytši l-ab bn il*

25' *ytši l-dr bn il il l-mpḫrt bn il l-ṯkmm w šnm hn ˁr*

20') be it according to the statement of the DDMY, be it according to the statement of the Hurrian, be it] according to the statement of the Hittite, be it according to the statement of the ʔAlashian, be it according to the statement of] ĠBR,

21') be it according to the statement of your oppressed ones, be it according to the statement of your impo[verished ones, or according to the declaration of QRZBL;

22') whether you sin: be it in your anger, or in your impatience, or in (some) turpitude

23') that you commit; whether you sin: with regard to the sacrifices and with regard to the *ṯˁ*-offering. The sacrifice, it is sacrificed,

24') the *ṯˁ*-offering, it is offered, the slaughter is done. May it be brought to the father of the sons of ʔIlu]

25') let it be brought to the Circle of the sons of *ʔIlu*, to the Assembly of the sons of *ʔI*[*lu*, to *Ṯukamuna-wa Šu*]*nama*: here is the ram.

Thus, chiastic building with such parallels: *ḤṬʔ b-ʔapp // b-qṣrt npš || QṬṮ b-qṭt*

Discussion, see Pardee 2000, p. 120-123.

Moab:

The only example from the Meša stele (KAI 181):

Line 4-6:

ʿmry mlk yšr-ʾl w-yʿnw ʾt-mʾb ymn rbn

Omri, King of Israel, he oppressed Moab for many days

ky yʾnp kmš b-ʾrṣh w-yḥlph b-nh

because Kemosh was angry with his land. And his son succeeded him

w-yʾmr gm hʾ ʾʿnw ʾt-mʾb b-ymy ʿmr k(n)

and he also said: "I will oppress Moab." It was during my days that he said th(is)

PCS *ḥarb- 'sword' > Arabic ḥarb- 'war' > Sab ḥrb 'to wage war'

Main source: Kogan 2015, 211.

Overall picture

Ugar: *ḥrb* (DUL 367)

Hebrew: *ḥäräb* (HALOT 349)

Aram:

      Sam. *ḥrb* (DNWSI 403) – from Panamuwa

      Old Arm. *ḥrb* (DNWSI 403) – the sole example from KAI 224, Sfire

      Official Arm. *ḥrb* (DNWSI 403) – several examples.

      Syr. *ḥarbā* – sword; spear point; plowshare; a mortal smiting, killing, war, slaughter, avenging (SL 486)

Arb:

      ḥarb 'war' (Lane 540)

      ḥarbat- 'dart, javelin' (Lane 541)

Sab.

      ḥrb 'war' (SD 69)

      ḥrb 'to wage war' (SD 69)

I don't discuss it here, but cf. Kogan 2015, p. 211 with the short discussion on this root in Eth and MSA and Bulakh's remark on polysemy of terms for "spear"/"war" characteristic for EthSem.

Data overview

Ugaritic

KTU 1.96:4

tspi širh l bl ḥrb

'it devours it's flesh certainly without a knife'

Sabaic

      – 'to wage war'

CIH 407/19.-21.:

      b-kn ḥrb-hmw mrʾ-hmw šmr yhrʿš b-srn ḏ-ḍmdm "Als ihr Herr Šammar Yuharʿiš im Tal von Ḍamadum Krieg (gegen) sie führte"

      w-bn-hw f-tʾwlw w-ḥrbw b-ʿynm w-hʿn l-ḏ-mḫrm b-ʿly-hmw ḏ-sʾr bn hmt ʾḥbšn w-ʿkm w-ḏ-stṣrw b[n ...] , **Ja 575/6.-6.**

      "but from there they returned and made war in ʿAynum, and the next day undertook what of those Abyssinians, ʿAkum and whom they had asked for help from [the ...], (still) was left, a (military) expedition against them [...]".

PS *ḥVṯṯ- 'arrow' > Arb. ḥaḏḏ- 'fortune' isosemantic parallel with Arb sahm- 'arrow' > polysemy > 'lot, portion'

Main source: Kogan 2015, p. 326

Overall picture

PCS reconstruction: *ḥVṯṯ- 'arrow' (Kogan 2015, p. 327)

Akkadian:

uṣṣu/ūṣu 'arrow' (CAD U 289)

Ugaritic:

ḥṯ 'arrow' (DUL 382)

ḥṯt adj. fem. 'happy, lucky' (DUL 383, hapax), ambiguous.

Phoenician: ḥṣ (DNWSI 397, Krahmalkov 193f.) – examples are ambiguous, cf. Ulanowski 2013.

Arabic:

ḥaṯṯ- 'fortune' (Lane 595)

ḥaṯṯa 'to be fortunate' (Lane 595)

ḥaṯwat-, ḥiṯwat-, ḥuṯwat- 'a small arrow, a cubit of length' (Lane 596)

ḥaṯiya 'to be fortunate' (Lane 595)

Hebr:

ḥēṣ 'arrow' (HALOT 342) *ḥiṣṣ-

ḥēṣī (by-form) 'arrow' (HALOT 343, from 1Sam and 2K)

ḥāṣā 'to divide' (HALOT 342)

ḥăṣī 'half' (HALOT 343)

Sab

ḥṯy 'favor, goodwill of overlords' (SD 75)

tḥṯyt 'completion' (SD 75)

yḥṯṯyw 'be successful'

ḥṯy 'bowman, archer' (SD 75)

Mehri

ḥəḏ 'luck, share' (ML 167)

Gez

ḥaṣṣ 'arrow, dart' (CDG 247)

Similar meaning shift as in Arb: sahm- 'arrow; lot, portion' (Lane 1454) (cf. Kogan 2015, 327)

Arb: sahm – 'arrow; lot, portion' (Lane 1454)

Data overview

Kogan 2015, p. 327: "As is well known, the whole scope of meanings connected with favor, luck etc. eventually goes back to PS *ḥVṯṯ- 'arrow' (Renfroe 1992:54–55), with a meaning shift also present in Arb.

sahm- 'arrow; lot, portion' (Lane 1454)".

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Sabaic	Mehri	Arb
ḥ-ṯ-y/w	?	to divide, half	??	favor, success, arrow (?)	–	arrow
ḥ-ṯ-ṯ	arrow	arrow	arrow	–	luck, share	fortune

    Example for *ḥaṯṯ* 'share, allotment':

    Arabic: Qurʾān, 28:78, the story of Qārūn:

qāla ʾinnamā ʾūtītu-hu ʿalā ʿilm-in ʿindī ʾaw-lam yaʿlam ʾanna ḷḷāh-u qad ʾahlaka min qabl-i-hi min-a l-qurun-i man huwa ʾašadd-u min-hu quwwat-an wa-ʾakṯar-u ǧamʿ-an wa-lā yusʾalu ʿan ḏunūb-i-him-u l-muǧrimūn

'He (Qārūn) replied, "I have been granted all this because of some knowledge I have."[1] Did he not know that Allah had already destroyed some from the generations before him who were far superior to him in power and greater in accumulating ˹wealth˺? There will be no need for the wicked to be asked about their sins.'

    Sabaic, MṢM 147/5.-7 'favour':

    w-l-ḏt yhsʿdn ʾlmqh ʿbd-hw hwŝn nʿmtm w-ḫṯym w-bry ʾdnm w-mqmm , MṢM 147/5.-7., "und dafür, daß ʾAlmaqah seinem Diener Hawwāśān Glück, Gunst und Gesundheit des Verstandes und des Standes schenken wird"

I.e. par. *nʿmt, bry ʾḏn w-mqmm*

PS *dwr 'to go round' > WS varia, mostly NWS, but also 'to stay, dwell'

Main source: EDA II OT159 (forthcoming).

PS Reconstruction: *dawr-/*dawar- 'period, cycle' > *dwr 'to go round, to turn' (Sed Online).

As mentioned in forthcoming EDA II, in various Semitic languages acquired the meaning "to stay permanently in one place, to dwell".

Hebrew: 'to live' (HALOT 217, marginal)

Aramaic:

Biblical: *dwr* 'to dwell' (BDB 1087)

JBA: *dwr* 'to dwell, live' (DJBA 321)

JPA: *dwr* 'to dwell' (DJPA 142)

Syriac: *dwr* 'to dwell' (SL 287)

Samarian: *dwr* 'to dwell' (DSA 175)

Mandaic: *dur* 'to dwell, to stay in' (MD 105)

Soqotri: *der* (LS 124, CSOL I 530, CSOL II 380)

Yemeni Arabic: *dār* (NJD 394, WAD 405 with the map №375) – in Yemeni Tihama.

Data overview:

EDA II concerning Hebrew:

The Hebrew verb is reliably attested in Ps 84:11 (*kī ṭōb yōm ba-ḥăṣēräkā ǁ mē-ʾäläp bāḥartī ǁ histōpēp bə-bēt ʾălōhay ǁ mi-ddūr bə-ʾohŏlē räšaʿ* "To spend a day in your courtyards is better than a thousand days (elsewhere). It is better to stand at the threshold of the house of my Lord than to dwell in the tents of iniquity".

Soqotri:

der múgšem díʾyheʰ ke-bíyyoʰ wa-díʾyheʰ ke-ḳaḳáyhi ʿaf yaʿáḳor 'The boy stayed with his mother and his two brothers until he grew up.' (CSOL II 14:19).

Three usual destinations of nominal derivates:

"dwelling place, house"

– Hebrew (HALOT 217) comparison with *ʾōhäl rōʿī* 'shepherd's tent'.

– Mnd. *daura* "home, abode, dwelling" (MD 90)

– Arb. *dār-* "house" (Lane 931)

"shed for animals":

– *dyr* "shed, sheepfold" (DCPA 83)

– *dīrā* "shed for animals" (DJBA 336)

"enclosed space, courtyard" and eventually "enclosing space"

– Plm. *dwr* "enclosed space" (DNWSI 243)

– ≈ Yemeni Arabic. *dōr* "Saum, Umfassungsmauer eines einzelnen Hauses" (Behnstedt 394, GD 879, Piamenta 160)

For the rest of the examples and a broader discussion than this one cf. EDA II OT159 (forthcoming).

PS *rāḥ-at-, *riḥ-at- 'palm of a hand' > raḥat Hebr. 'winnowing showel', Jud. riḥătā 'winnowing

Main source: SED I №230.

Attested in (the whole list is in SED I №230):

Vocalism is unknown:

– Ugaritic (DUL 738) (parallels *l ṯr rḥtm // ʿl ydm*, KTU 1.4 VIII 6);

*rāḥ-at-:

– Eblaite *la-ʔa₃-tum* /rāḥatum/ (Kogan-Krebernik 2021b), *ra-ʔa₃-tum* (VE 517);

– Arb *rāḥat-* (Lane 1181 syn. كَفّ or as كَفّ with fingers);

– Geez: *ʔərāḥ* (CDG 38)

– Tigre: *räḥat* 'palm of the hand, sole of foot' (WTS 147, in CDG 38 considered to be an Arabic loan)

*raḥt-:

– Hebrew: *raḥaṯ* 'winnowing shovel' (HALOT 1222)

– Jud. Arm.: *raḥaṯ* 'winnowing shovel' (Jastrow 1996, p. 1470) – likely to be borrowed from Hebrew

*riḥ-at-:

– Akkadian *rittum* (CAD r 383) – ? (SED I №230);

– Jud. Arm.: *riḥăṯā* 'winnowing shovel' (Jastrow 1996, p. 1470)

– Mehri: *rəḥāt* (ML 333)

– Jibbali: *iróḥót* (JL 218)

– Harsusi: *ərḥāt* (HL 107)

– Soqotri: *ríḥo* (CSOL I 634)

Data overview

Hebrew: *raḥaṯ* (HALOT 1222) is only in Is 30₂₄:

wə-hā-ʔălāp̄īm wə-hā-ʿăyārīm ʿōḇəḏē hā-ʔăḏāmā bə-līl hā-mīṣ yō(ʔ)ḵēlū ʔăšär zōrä ḇā-raḥaṯ ū-ḇa-mmizrä

'And the oxen and the donkeys which work the ground will eat salted fodder, which has been winnowed with shovel and fork'.

So the parallel is *mizrä* (HALOT 566) < *nomen instrumenti* < *zarā* 'to scatter, to winnow' (HALOT 280)

Also attested in Judaic Aramaic as *raḥaṯ* and *riḥăṯā* (Jastrow 1996, p. 1470), but as pointed in SED I №230, the meaning is likely to be influenced by Hebrew.

PS *ṯahr- 'back' > MSA prep. 'on, over' and Akkadian ṣēr 'back; over, upon, above, on top of, in addition to, towards to, against'

Main sources: Kogan 2011, p. 217, Kogan 2015, p. 127, 575. SED I No. 284.

Examples

Shift 'back' > 'on, over':

Akkadian:

In anatomic meaning (few):

Gilg VI 2: *unassis qimmassu elu ṣērīšu* 'he tossed his hair over his back'.

Without prepositions (very few, only in SB and NB (cf. CAD ṣ 140):

Nebuchadnezzar II C37:

te-me-en-ša la-bi₂-ri a-ḫi-iṭ ab-re-e-[ma] *zi-ki-ir₄ šu-um ša* ᵈ*nin-kar-ra-ak-a a-ši-ba-ˀat*ˋ E₂*-ul-la ṣe-e-ri* UR.GI₇ *ḫa-aṣ-ba ša-ṭi-ir-ma i-na qe₂-er₄-bi-šu in-na-mi-ir-ma* ˋ*e*ˋ*-li te-me-en-ni-šu la-bi₂-ri uš-šu-šu u₂-ki-in-ma*

 "(As) I examined (and) checked its original foundation(s), the mention of the name of the goddess Ninkarrak, who dwells in Eulla, (which) was written on a clay (figurine of a) dog, was discovered and (thus) I laid its (new) foundation(s) on top of the (original) foundation(s)".

With prepositions: cf. CAD ṣ 140.

Ugaritic:

Anatomic meaning (not many (two)):

KTU 1.3. III 32-35:

hlm ˤ*nt tph ilm*

*bh p*ˤ*nm ṯṭṭ*

*b*ˤ*dn ksl ṯṯbr*

ˤ*ln pnh td*ˤ

ṯġṣ pnt kslh

anš dt ṯrh

"As soon as Anat saw the two deities,

her feet shake,

above, her back muscles snap,

above, her face sweats,

the sinews of her back

the muscles of her back shake,

her back ____ "

Par:

Par. *ksl* 'back, shoulder' (DUL 461)

Pardee (COS 252):

etymological approach, to derive from Akk. *enēšu* 'to be weak' (CAD E 166): "her spine goes weak"

Del Olmo (DUL 83):

strange etymological approach: < Heb. גִּיד הַנָּשֶׁה (HALOT 729) 'sciatic nerve'. But the point is evident: it's the only SC verbal form, if it's a verbal form, in the row of PC.

With prepositions:

KTU 1.2. I: 13 – 39:

tġly ilm rišthm

l-ṯr brkthm

w l-kḫ̱ṯ zblhm

"The gods bowed down their heads

Upon their knees,

Upon their princely thrones".

MSA:

Mhr: *ḏār* 'after; instead of; on behalf of; for; (from) on, up; out of; from (the company of) (ML 86, put by Johnstone under the root *ḏyr*).

Jib: *ḏér* 'on, over' (JL 50).

Ḥar: only Arabic borrowings, HL 29.

Soq: *ṭᵃhar* 'on, above' (LS 200 'sur', CSOL I 684, CSOL II 617)

In all the MSA only in prepositional usage, no anatomic meaning is found.

Example:

wa-báˤad ḥaʰ ḥez óʔoz ṭaharésen wa-ḷaṭ ṣ́óṭar bésen be-ˤamḳ be-ri di-ḷéḳhɛm 'Then he slaughtered a goat on them (on the mats) and hid in the upper part of the tree.' (CSOL I 24:19)

Similar shifts: cf. WLG p. 50:

BACK (body part) > (6) UP (SPATIAL)

Susu *fari* 'back', 'surface' > 'on', 'over', 'above' (postposition); *tebeli fari* 'on the table' (Friedländer 1974: 40). Mixtec *sɨkɨ* 'animal back' > 'over', 'on top of (for horizontal surfaces off the ground)' (Brugman and Macaulay 1986; Lakoff 1987: 316). Ex.

Mixtec (Brugman and Macaulay 1986: 318)

saà	*ndéčé*	*sɨkɨ*	*itú.*
bird	fly	animal:back	cornfield

'The bird is flying over the cornfield.'

Shuswap *ikń* 'upper back', 'top', 'surface' > TOP-REGION (Svorou 1994). This transfer has been described as being due to a zoomorphic metaphor, whereby the body of four-legged animals serves as a vehicle for spatial orientation (see Heine et al. 1991: 126–7; Svorou 1988, 1994).

PS *nūb(-at)- 'bee' > PCS 'honey'

Main sources: Kogan 2011, p.212; SED II №156; Kogan 2015, 299

The list where this root means 'bee' is carefully placed in SED II №156, among them are Akkadian, Eblaite, Arabic, Eth, Mehri, Jibbali.

Those where it means (or possibly means 'honey'):

Note the devoicing of etymological *b before t in Hebrew and Phoenician (Kogan 2015, p. 299).

Hebrew: nōp̄äṯ 'honey' (HALOT 713-714):

Example, par. with dəḇaš:

Cant 4:11

nōp̄äṯ tiṭṭōpǝnā śip̄ṯōṯayiḵ kallā || dəḇaš wə-ḥālāḇ taḥaṯ ləšōnēḵ || wə-rēᵃḥ śalmōṯayḵ || kə-rēᵃḥ ləḇānōn

'Your lips drip honey, spouse || honey and milk are under your tongue || and the fragrance of your garments || is like the fragrance of Lebannon'

Ugaritic (DUL 618) – attested in parallels with 'oil' šmn and yn 'wine' (Kogan 2015, p. 299).

1.6 III 10-13 (In a dream Ilu understands that Baʿlu has Revived) // šmn:

b-ḫlm lṭpn il d pid

b-ḏrt bny bnwt

šmm šmn tmṭrm

nḫlm tlk nbtm

'In a dream of the Gracious One, the kindly god,

in a vision of the Creator of creatures,

The heavens run with oil,

The torrents run with honey'.

Phoenician (Punic) (DNWSI 749, Krahmalkov 333):

Only broken context in KAI 76, so called 'Carthage Festival inscription' that lists different objects for each day and gives orders what to do with them. It's considered that the text describes some kind of festival preparations.

KAI 76 B 7-8 are following:

ym h-ḥmšy

lšt ꜥlt ḥ-ḫdrt npt ꜥ[…]

'On the fifth day to put honey […] upon the chamber'.

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