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 affixatives. 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

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[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 $\sqrt{qṭl}$.) C_1, C_2 and C_3 are also used, particularly when specific radical positions must be indicated.

[3] See Huehnergard 1987b: 221.

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, *ʾ*imm* "mother," alongside *ʾ*umm-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 *ʿ*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 *ʾ*ahl* "tribe, tent," *ʾ*aḥad* "one," and **θaday* "breast"; there are some isolated nouns with homorganic C_2 and C_3, like **gurn*, "granary, threshing floor," **šidθ* "six"; and other isolated nouns with homorganic C_1 and C_3, like **rigl* "foot," **raḥil* "ewe," and **tišʿ* "nine" or even identical C_1 and C_3, like **θalāθ* "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

[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 *ḥ* which is not part of the proto-form (but rather developed from a prefixed article), the *ḥ* 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: *å* is *qåmɛṣ*, *a* is *páṯaḥ*, *o* is *ḥólɛm*, *u* is *šurɛq* or *qibbuṣ*, *i* is *ḥirɛq* (with or without *yoḏ*), *e* is *ṣere* (with or without *yoḏ*), *ɛ* is *sgol*, and *šwå* goes unindicated. *Ḥåṯeṗ* vowels are indicated by superscription. Spirantization is indicated by underlining.

Syriac is transliterated with the vowels *å, 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 *ʾāḥ,* 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 *kɛ́lɛb*); also, the since-lost **a* is evident in the spirantization of C_3 in the plurals of monovocalic[16] Aramaic nouns such as *kalḇe* (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 **qv̆tl* → **qv̆tal+vīma* 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 *rɛ́ḵɛḇ* "horsemen," and Syriac *qriṭā* "town," plural *quryā*, and *ḥmārā* "donkey," plural *ḥemrā*.[18]

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[16] *Qv̆tl* patterns should not properly be termed "monosyllabic," since they are bisyllabic in the reconstruction **qv̆tlum* 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, *qv̆tv̆l* patterns should be termed bivocalic.

[17] Thus, for the plural of *qvtl* nouns, Ugaritic has both *qvtalvma* and *qvtlvma*. 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 **qatvl* nouns are in the majority (70% of the bivocalic isolated nouns with ungeminated C_2). By far the largest group of bivocalics is the set of **qatal* isolated nouns (75% of the **qatvl* 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(vma)* 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 **qatvl* 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 **ʿaqib* "heel," Akkadian *eqbum*, Arabic *ʿaqib*, Hebrew *ʿåqeḇ*; **katip* "shoulder," Arabic *katif* (beside *kitf*), Hebrew *kå̱te̱p* (construct *kétep* from **qatl* or **qitl*), Syriac *ka̱tpå*; **kariś* "belly," Akkadian *karšum*,[20] Arabic *kariš*, Gəʿəz *karś*, Hebrew *kåreś*, Syriac *karså*; and **warik* "thigh," Akkadian *warkatum*, Arabic *warik* (beside *wark*, *wirk*, *warak*), Hebrew *yå̱re̱ḵ* (construct *yére̱ḵ*). In this group may also be **raḥim* "womb" (if this is an isolated noun and not related to a verb from **√rḥm* "love, have mercy"), Akkadian *rêmum*, Arabic *raḥim* (beside *raḥm* and *riḥm*), and Syriac *raḥmå*, but Hebrew *rɛ́ḥɛm* (following the synchronic pattern for **qatl* noun from strong roots; there is also *ráḥam*, 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*), Gəʿəz *kabd*, Hebrew *kå̱be̱d*, and Syriac *ka̱bdå*. 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 C_2 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., *kå̱ṯep* ~ *kǻṯep* and *yårek* ~ *yérḵ*), 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 ***qatul's* among the isolated nouns, except perhaps for **ṣ́abuʿ* "hyena." Arabic *ḍabuʿ* (with the biform *ḍabʿ*),[21] and Hebrew *ṣå̱boaʿ* suggest Proto-Semitic **qatul*. Syriac *ʾapʿå*,[22] Gəʿəz *səʿb*,[23] and Akkadian *būṣum* (if from **baʿuṣ́*)[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, Gəʿəz, 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 **ṣ́bʿ*, **bʿṣ́*, and **ṣ́ʿb* – 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 Gəʿəz, *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.

**Qvtl* 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, *ḍabuʿ* from Qays and *ḍabʿ* from the Tamīm.

[22] The initial ʿ < *ṣ́* dissimilates to ʾ under the influence of the following *ʿ, as in Syriac *ʾurḏʿå* "frog" (compare Hebrew *ṣpardeaʿ*, Arabic *difdiʿ*, Mehri *ṣəfdēt*) and *ʾeḏʿå* "rib" (**ṣ́ilaʿ*) or Biblical Aramaic *ʾåʿ* "tree, wood" (from the root **√ʿṣ́*). The proto-pattern of *ʾapʿå* 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 *səʿb* as proto-**qitl*, **qutl*, or **qutul* is equally possible.

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

biconsonantal isolated nouns, like the order of frequency of the vowels of the **qvtl* and **qatv̆l* isolated nouns, is **a*, **i*, **u*.

The definition of the isolated nouns implies that all **qv̆l* nouns are isolated nouns. The non-isolated nouns are those derived from a verbal root, and the biconsonantal structure **qv̆l* does not allow for derivation from a triconsonantal root. There are some derived **qvl* nouns (e.g., **θūm* "garlic"), and some **yvqvl* "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 **qatvl* 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 **qatv̆l* nouns: these too show main vowels in the order of frequency **a*, **i*, and **u*. There are also a few **qital*, **qitāl*, and **qutāl* 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 *ə*. 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 **kammūn* "cumin" and **rummān* "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. *ʾAyyāl* "ibex" may be isolated, if not related to the root **√ʾwl* "strong, first." Hebrew *pḥåm* "coal" comes from **qattal*, but Arabic has **qatl* and other languages do not allow the determination concerning the presence of gemination. Hebrew *pḥåm* may be the product of semantic analogy with *gaḥélɛṯ* (**qattalt*) "coal," (plural *gḥålim*). **ʾImmar* "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, **qv̆t(t)v̆l*. (Of the **qv̆t(t)v̆l* nouns, 73% have **a* in the first syllable.)

[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*. Gəʿəz *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 *$\sqrt{kll}$ 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," **dimᶜ-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 **liššån*, represented by Syriac *leššånå*, Biblical Aramaic *liššån*. 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," *ʾeššåṯā* "fever" (from **ʾiš* "fire"), *ḥeššoḳå* "dark." (J. Huehnergard, personal communication, Spring 1996). There is also the absolute/construct state *qeššaṯ* "bow," with doubled *š*, compared to the emphatic *qeštå* with *quššåyå* 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 **ᶜumq* "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 Gəᶜəz and Mehri, only an *m*-preformative noun exists beside a verb (e.g., Gəᶜəz *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

[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 $^{\circ}$ 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 ($^{\circ}$) 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 $^{\circ}$). 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

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 + ½ × 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 *raḫil* ~ *riḫl* "ewe," so these biforms are given less weight than forms from other languages.

Aramaic has frequent alternations and allomorphic biforms among the reflexes of **qvtl* and **qvtvl*, 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 **qvtl* or **qvtvl* 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

[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]

°*$q\bar{v}$; *$p\bar{v}$, const. *$p\bar{v}$;[39] "mouth"; Akk *pûm*, OAk *pāʾum*, *pīum*; Arab *fam*, const. *fv/fam*; Gəʿəz *ʾaf*, with suffix *ʾafv̄-*; Heb *pɛ*, const. *pi*, pl. *piyyoṯ*, *pipiyyoṯ*; Sab *f* "voice"; Syr *pummå;* Ug *p*

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

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[37] Of course, the "radicals" are part of a formal root, not a derivational root. Isolated nouns with repeated elements, *$C_1vC_2C_1vC_2$, are presented among the quadriradical roots below, alongside the few quadriradical nouns with no repeated consonants.

[38] Abbreviations (in addition to those listed in ZAH 1 [1988] 2-16) are as follows. Languages and dialects are Akk(adian), Arab(ic), Aram(aic), Ug(aritic), Heb(rew), Meh(ri), M(odern) S(outh) A(rabian), O(ld)/M(iddle)/N(ew)/S(tandard) A(ssyrian)/Ak(kadian)/B(abylonian), Sab(aic), Syr(iac). PS = Proto-Semitic. Grammatical terminology: Pl.= plural, sg.= singular, const.= construct, nom. un. = *nomen unitatis*. Special symbols (see above, pp. 11ff. for further explanation): "+"= definitely reconstructible, "°" = more than one possible reconstruction, "-" = no reconstruction is possible by the methods used here.

[39] See Skinner 1977: 58-62.

[40] See Nöldeke 1904b on the semantic analogy between *ʾ*ab* and *ʾ*imm* that makes their forms converge.

+*qal*; **ʾaḥ*, const. * *aḥ̄v*, pl. **ʾaḥḥ-*; "brother"; Akk *aḫum*, pl. *aḫḫū;* Arab *ʾaḫ*, const. *ʾaḫ̄*; Gəʿəz *ʾəḥ*^{w}, *ʾəḥəw*, with suffix *ʾəḥ*$^{(w)}$*v*; Heb *ʾåḥ*, const. *ʾaḥi*, pl. *ʾaḥim* (**ʾaḥ̄ma*); Meh *ġā*; Sab *ʾḥ*; Syr *ʾaḥå*; Ug *aḥ*[42]

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

+**qal-t*; **dal-t*; "door"; Akk *daltum*; Galilean Aram *daltå;* Heb *délɛṯ*, 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 *damum*; Arab *dam*; Gəʿəz *dam*; Heb *dåm*; Sab *dm*; Syr *dmå/dem*; Ug *damu*

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

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

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

+**qal-at*; **śap-at*; "lip"; Akk *šaptum*; Arab *šafat*; Heb *śåpå;* 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 *śɛ*, const. *śe*, with suffix *śeyo* and *śyehu*; Sab dual *sʾḥn*; Ug *š*

+**qal*; **yad*; "arm, hand"; Akk *idum* "side"; Arab *yad*; Gəʿəz *ʾəd*; Heb *yåḏ*; Meh *ḥ-ayd*; Sab *yd*; Syr *ʾiḏå/yaḏ*; 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 *ʾərāḥ*; Heb *ráḥaṯ* "winnowing shovel"; Syr *laḥṯå* (irregular consonant correspondence)

+**qil*; **ʾil*; "god"; Akk *ilum*; Arab *ʾilāh*; Heb *ʾel*, *ʾᵉloah*; Sab *ʾl*; Syr *ʾallåhå*; 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] *aḥ* is the usual writing, but there also appear a nominative singular construct state *uḥ* /ʿuḥū/, and a genitive singular with suffix *iḫḥ* /ʿiḫīhu/. 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 (ʾ*u*)*nās* "mankind," *ʾanas* "people"; Heb *ʾᵉnoš* "man, mankind," *ʾᵃnåšim* "people"; Meh *ʾans* "humans" (collective, loanword?); Syr <ʾ>*nåšå* "man, mankind," Biblical Aram *ʾᵉnåš*, *ʾᵉnoš*; also, with **ʾyš*: **ʾīš*; Heb *ʾiš* "man," *ʾéšɛṯ* "woman" (const.), pre-suffixal form *ʾišti*; Sab *ʾys*.

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

+**qil*; **ʿiś*; "tree, wood"; Akk *iṣum*, pl. *iṣṣū*; Arab *ʿiḍat*; Biblical Aram *ʾāʿ*; Gəʿəz *ʿəḍ*; Heb *ʿeṣ*, pl. *ʿeṣim*; Sab *ʿḍ*; Ug *ʿṣ*, pl. *ʿiṣṣūma*

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

+**qil*-(*a*)*t*; **miʾ*-(*a*)*t*; "hundred"; Akk *meʾat*, *meʾtum*, *mētum*; Arab *miʾat*; Gəʿəz *məʾt*; Heb *meʾå*, const. *məʾaṯ*, pl. *meʾoṯ*, dual *må*<ʾ>*ṯáyim*; Sab *mʾt*; Syr *m*<ʾ>*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*; Gəʿəz *fit*; Heb *peʾå* "corner, temple (of head)," const. *pʾaṯ*; Soqotri *fío* "front"; Syr *p*<ʾ>*åṯå*; Ug *piʾtu*

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

+**q*(*i*)*l*; **š*(*i*)*m*; "name"; Akk *šumum*; Arab (*i*)*sm*; Gəʿəz *səm*; Heb *šem*, const. *šɛm*, with suffix *šmi*, *šimḵå*; Meh *ham*; Sab *s*[1]*m*; 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. *šeṯ*

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

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

+**qatl*; **ʾabn*; "stone"; Akk *abnum*; Gəʿəz *ʾəbn*; Heb *ʾɛ́ḇɛn*, 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*; Gəʿəz *ʾəlf* "thousand"; Heb *ʾélɛp̱*, const. pl. *ʾalpe* "ox, thousand, clan"; Meh *ʾāf* "thousand"; Sab *ʾlf* "thousand"; Syr *ʾalpå*/*ʾåleṗ* "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 *ṣóhar* (**θahr*) below.

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

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

+**qatl*; **ʾarṣ*; "earth"; Akk *erṣetum*; Arab *ʾarḍ*; Heb *ʾéreṣ*, with suffix *ʾarṣi*; Sab *ʾrḍ*; Syr *ʾarʿåʃaraʿ*; Ug *ʾarṣu*

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

+**qatl*; **ʾarz*; "cedar"; Arab *ʾarz*; Gəʿəz *ʾarz*; Heb *ʾérez*, 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"; Selṭi *umi* "maternal uncle"; Syr *ʿammå*; Ug *ʿm*

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

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

+**qatl*; **ʿaθm*; "bone"; Akk *eṣemtum*; Arab *ʿaẓm*; Gəʿəz *ʿaḍm*; Heb *ʿéṣɛm*; Meh *ʾāźayź*; Syr *ʿaṭmå* "thigh"; Ug *ʿẓm*

+**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 *bāʿl*; 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*); **bayś*(*-at*); "egg"; Arab *bayḍ*; Heb pl. *beṣim*; Meh *bīḍáyt*; Syr *beʿṯå*

+**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 *dɔṭɛʾ*; Sab *dθʾ*; Syr *teḏ<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 *géḏi*; Syr *gaḏyå*; Ug *gdy*

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[52] See Faber 1991: 414.

[53] Rather than *√*ʿmm*, this may be related to Hebrew *ʾummā*, 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*; Gəˁəz *gannat*; Heb *gan*, with suffix *ganni*, also *gannå*, const. *ginnaṯ*; Sab *gny-n* "(garden) crop"; Syr *gannṯå;* Ug *gn*

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

+**qatl*; **gawz*; "nuts, walnuts"; Arab *ǧawz*; Gəˁəz *gawz*; Heb ʾ*goz; Syr *gawz(ṯ)å*

+**qatl*; **ḥabl*; "rope, field"; Akk *eblum*; Arab *ḥabl* "rope"; Gəˁəz *ḥabl*; Heb *héḇɛl*, with suffix *haḇlo*; Sab *ḥbl* "course of stones," *ḥblt* "terrace field"; Syr *haḇlå*/*ḥḇel*; Ug pl. *ḥabalūma*

+**qatl*; **ḥarʾ*; "excrement"; Amharic *ar*; Arab *ḥarʾ*, *ḥurʾ*; Heb const. pl. *ḥ*re*, pl. with suffix *harʾehɛm*, *ḥ*rihɛm*; Syr *herʾå*

+**qatl*; **ḥ*/*ḥayl*; "force"; Arab *ḥawl, ḥayl* "horses, cavalry"; Gəˁəz *ḥayl*; Heb *ḥáyil*; Syr *ḥaylå*

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

+**qatl*; **kaʾs*;[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 *keḇšå* (irregular consonant correspondence)

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

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

+**qatl*; **karm*; "vineyard, vine"; Arab *karm*; Gəˁəz *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*; **laḥm*; "food"; Arab *laḥm* "meat"; Heb *léḥɛm* "bread"; Soq *léḥem* "large fish"; Syr *laḥmā* "bread" Ug *lḥm* "bread"

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

+**qatl*; **mahr*; "brideprice"; Arab *mahr*; Heb *móhar*;[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 $\sqrt{knp}$. 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 *loaˁ*, Syriac *loˁå* "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 ʾ*amlāk* (pl. form) "God"; Heb *mélɛ̀k*, 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] (**mārīʾ*) "the Lord"

+**qatl*; **matn*; "hip"; Akk *matnu* "sinew"; Arab *matn* "back"; Heb *mo̱tɛn*; Meh *mōtən;* Syr pl. *ma̱tnå̱tå*

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

+**qatl*; **naḫl*; "stream, wadi"; Akk *naḫlum, naḫallum*; Heb *náḥal*, const. pl. *naḥle*; Syr *naḥlå;* 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 *nɛ́pɛš,* with suffix *napši*; Meh *ḥə-nōf*; Sab *nfs* "dispute, risk of life"; Syr *napšå;* Ug *npš*

+**qatl*; **paʿm*; "leg, foot"; Akk *pēmum*; Heb *pa͏̂am*, const. pl. *paʿᵃme*; Meh *fɛ̄m*, Jibbāli *faʿm*; Ug *pʿn*

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

+**qatl*; **qarn* (non-Semitic loanword?); "horn"; Akk *qarnum*; Arab *qarn*; Gəʿəz *qarn*; Heb *qɛ́rɛn*, 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 *ḥə-rōh*; Heb *ro<ʾ>š*, pl. *rå<ʾ>šim*; Sab *rʾs*[1]; Syr *reša̱å*

+**qatl*; **raht*; "watercourse"; Akk *rātum*; Heb *ráhaṭ*; Syr *rahṭå*

+**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 *sɛ́lem*, 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 *šɛ́ḇaʿ*, with suffix *šiḇʿå*; Meh *hōba, yəbáyt*; Sab *s*[1]*bʿ*; Syr *šaḇʿå*/*šḇaʿ*

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

+**qatl*; **šamn*; "fat, oil"; Akk *šamnum*; Arab *samn* "clarified butter, ghee"; Heb *šɛ́mɛn*, 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.

+*qatl*; **ṣaʾn*; "sheep" (collective); Akk *ṣēnum*; Arab *ḍaʾn*; Heb *ṣoʾn*; Sab *ḍʾn*; Syr *ʿånå*; Ug *ṣin*

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

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

+*qatl*; **ṭaʿm*; "judgement, taste"; Akk *ṭēmum*; Arab *ṭaʿm*; Gəʿəz *ṭāʿm*; Heb *ṭaʿam*, with suffix *ṭaʿmo*; Syr *taʿmå/ṭʿem*

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

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

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

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

+*qatl*; **θaby*; "gazelle"; Akk *ṣabītum*; Arab *ẓaby* "oryx"; Heb *ṣḇi*; Sab *ṣby*; Syr *ṭabyå*; Ug *θby*

+*qatl*; **θahr*; "top, noon"; Akk *ṣērum* "back"; Arab *ẓahr* "top," *ẓuhr* "noon"; Heb *ṣóhar*[70] "roof," dual form *ṣåhᵃráyim* "noon"; Meh *ḍahr* "noon," *ḍar* "on"; Sab *b-ẓhr* "(on the) back (of)"; Ug *θr*

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

+*qatl*; **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*

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

°**qatl/qitl*; **ʾaškʿišk*; "testicle"; Akk *iškum*; Arab *ʾiskat* "labia"; Gəʿəz *ʾaskit*; Heb *ʾéšɛḵ*; Syr *ʾešḵṯå*

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

°**qatl/qitl*; **ʾaθlʿiθl*; "tamarisk"; Akk *ašlum*; Arab *ʾaθl*; Heb *ʾéšɛl*; Sab *ʾθl*

°**qatl/qitl*; **ʿanzʿinz*; "she-goat"; Akk *enzum*; Arab *ʿanz*; Čaha *anz*, *ānz*; 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 *ʿɛśɛr*, 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"; Gəʿəz *baqʷl*; Sab *bql* "plants"; Syr *buqqålå*; Ug *bql*

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

°**qatl/qitl/qutl*; **ḥaθθ/ḥiθθ/ḥuθθ/ḥaθy*; "arrow"; Akk *uṣṣum*; Arab *ḥuẓwat, ḥazwat, ḥizwat* "arrow," *ḥazz* "portion, luck"; Gəʿəz *ḥaṣṣ*; Heb *ḥeṣ*, with suffix *ḥiṣṣi*; Aram *ḥetyå*; Ug *ḥθ*

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

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

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

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

°**qat(i)l*; **raḥ(i)m*; "womb"; Akk *rēmum*; Arab *raḥim*; Heb *rɛ́ḥɛm, ráḥam*, with suffix *raḥmåh*; Meh *raḥm* (loanword?); Syr *raḥmå*

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

°**qatl/qitl*; **śamš/śimš*;[72] "sun"; Akk *šamšum*; Arab *šams*; Heb *šɛ́mɛš*, with suffix *šimšåh*, pausal *šåmɛš*, Hexaplaric *šamš*; Sab *s²ms*[1]; Syr *šemšå*; Ug *šapšu*

°**qatl/qutl*; **śary/śury*; "balsam" (vox peregrinata?); Arab *ḍarw, ḍirw*; Heb *ṣ̌ᵊri*; Sab *ḍrw*; Syr *ṣarwå*; Ug *θurwu* (irregular consonant correspondences)[73]

°**qat(i)l*; **war(i)ḫ*; "moon, month"; Akk *warḫum*; Heb *yɛ́raḥ*, const. pl. *yarḥe* "month," *yåreaḥ*, with suffix *yreḥe̲k* "moon"; Gəʿəz *warḫ*; Meh *warx*; Sab *warḫ*; Syr *yarḥå*; Ug *yrḫ*

-**qatl*; **ḥalq*; "neck, ring"; Akk *lîq pi, lāq pî* "gum" (with metathesis, in idiomatic construction); Arab *ḥalq*; Gəʿəz *həlq*; Heb dual with suffix *malqoḥåy* "jaws" (with metathesis);[74] Meh *həwḳāt*, Jibbāli *ḥalḳɛ́t*; Ug *ḥlq-m*

-**qatl*; **gaww*; "interior, chest, back"; Arab *ǧaww* "interior"; Heb with suffix *gawwåm* "back," *gewå* "back," const. *gew* "midst," *gwiyå* "body"; Jibbāli *géhɛ̄ʾ*; 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"; Gəʿəz *təlm*; Heb *tɛ́lɛm*, const. pl. *talme*; Targ Aram *təlåmå*; Ug *tlm*

+**qitl*; **ʾimm*;[75] "mother"; Akk *ummum*; Arab *ʾumm*; Gəʿəz *ʾəmm*; Heb *ʾem*, with suffix *ʾimmi*; Meh *ḥ-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 *maqqaḥu* "(pair of) tongs" (Huehnergard 1987c: 143), which shares the *m-* preformative with this Hebrew word, may indicate that *malqoḥåy* comes from √*lqḥ* "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*; **bir*; "well"; Akk *bērum, būrum*; Arab *biʾr*; Harari *buʾur, bur* "deep"; Heb *bʾer*,[76] *bor*; Meh *bayr*; Syr *beṛå*; Sab *bʾr*; Ug *bir*

+**qitl*; **birk*;[77] "knee"; Akk *birkum*; Arab *rukbat* (with metathesis); Gəʿəz *bərk*; Heb *bérɛḵ*; Meh *bark*; Syr *burkå/broḵ*; 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 *zʾeḇ*;[78] Syr *deḇå*

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

+**qitl*; **giyḍ*; "sinew, neck"; Akk *gīdu* "sinew"; Arab *ǧīd* "neck"; Heb *giḏ*; Soqotri *žiḍ*; Syr *gyåḏå*; Targumic Aram *giḏå*

+**qitl-at*; **ḥint-at*; "wheat"; Akk *ḫutetum*; Arab *ḥinṭat*; Heb *ḥiṭṭå*; Meh *ḥəṭāt*; Syr *ḥeṭṭṭå*; Ug *ḥtt*

+**qitl-at*; **ḫimʾ-at*; "butter, curds"; Akk *ḫimêtum*; Heb *ḥɛmʾå*; Sab *ḫmʾt*; Soq *ḥámi* "butter"; Ug *ḫmat*

+**qitl*; **ḥiśn*; "bosom"; Arab *ḥiḍn*; Gəʿəz *ḥən*; Heb *ḥóṣɛn*; Syr *ḥannå*, Galilean Aram *ḥinnå* (with assimilation of *ʿ to **n*)

+**qitl*; **kilʾ*[79]; "two"; Akk *kilallān*; Arab *kilā*; Gəʿəz *kəlʾe*; Heb *kíl'áyim* "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*; **milḥ*; "salt"; Arab *milḥ*; Gəʿəz *malḥ*; Heb *mélaḥ*; Syr *melḥå*; Ug *mlḥt*

+**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, reṃå*; 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 $s^1dθ$ (earlier period), $s^1θ$ (middle and later periods); Syr *šettå*; Ug *θθ*

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[75] See **ummat/-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 *zʾeḇ* (**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 *tʾenå*;[84] Syr *te<ʾn>ttå*; Ug *tiʾnatu*

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

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

+**qitl*; **tiśʿ*; "nine"; Akk *tišûm*; Arab *tisʿ*; Gəʿəz *təsʿ*; Heb *téša*ʿ; Meh *sā*; Sab *ts*^{1}ʿ; Syr *teśʿåʾšaʿ*; Ug *tśʿ*

+**qitl*; **ṭiyn*; "mud, clay"; Akk *tīdum, ṭīṭu, ṭiddu, ṭittu* (**ṭiyntum*); Arab *ṭīn*; Heb *ṭiṭ* (Akkadian loanword?);[85] Meh *ṭayn*; Syr *ṭīnå*

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

+**qitl*; **θipr*; "fingernail, claw"; Akk *ṣuprum*; Arab *ẓifr, ẓufr*; Gəʿəz *səfr*; Heb *ṣippóren*; Meh *ḏfēr*; Syr *ṭeprå*

+**qitl*; **zipt*; "pitch"; Arab *zift*; Gəʿəz *zəft*; Heb *zépɛṯ*

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

+**qutl*; *ʾ*uðn*; "ear"; Akk *uznum* "ear, authority"; Arab ʾ*uðn*; Gəʿəz ʾ*əzn*; Heb ʾ*ózen*; Meh *ḥ-əyḏēn*; Sab ʾ*ðn* "permission, authority"; Syr ʾ*eḏnå*,[87] Galilean Aram ʾ*uḏnå*; Ug *udn*

+**qutl-at(-ān)*; *ʾ*umm-at(-ān)*;[88] "tribe, nation"; Akk *ummānum*;[89] Arab ʾ*ummat*; Heb ʾ*ummå*; Syr ʾ*ummṯå*; Ug ʾ*ummatu*

+**qutl*; ʾ*urḥ*; "way"; Akk *urḫum*; Heb ʾ*óraḥ*; Syr ʾ*urḥå*

+**qutl*; *ʾ*ury*; "manger"; Akk *urûm, urrû* MA *uraʾu*; Arab ʾ*iry*, ʾ*āriyy*; Heb ʾ*uryå*, ʾ*urwå*; Syr ʾ*uryå*

+**qutl*; **buṭm/n*; "pistachio"; Akk *buṭnu*; Arab *buṭm*; Heb *bóṭɛn*; Syr *beṭmṯå*

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

+**qutl*; **gurn*; "granary, threshing floor"; Arab *ǧurn, ǧirn*; Gəʿəz *g*^{w}*ərn, gurn*; Heb *górɛn*; Sab *grn*; Ug *grn*

+**qutl*; **ḥupn*; "hollow of hand"; Akk *upnum*; Arab *ḥafnat, ḥufnat*; Gəʿəz *həfn*; Heb dual *ḥopnáyim*; Syr *ḥupnå*; Ug *ḥpn*

+**qutl*; **kull*; "all"; Akk *kullatum*, OAk, OA const. *kalu*;[90] Arab *kull*; Gəʿəz *k*^{w}*əll*; Heb *kol*, with suffix *kullo*; Meh *kal*; Sab *kl*; Syr *kullå*; Ug *kl*

+**qutl*; **muḫḫ*; "brain, top"; Akk *muḫḫum*; Arab *muḫḫ*; Heb *moaḥ*; Meh *mēma* (**maʿmaʿ*, irregular consonant correspondence); Syr *muḥḥå*; Ug *mḫ*

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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 ʾ*eḏnā, šeršā, beṭmṯa*, and *debbā* (J. Huehnergard, personal communication, Spring 1996).

[88] See *ʾ*imm* "mother" above (p. 21) which may render this non-isolated.

[89] May be related to *√ʿ*mm*. (See *ʿ*amm* 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.)

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

+**qutl*; **šurš*;[91] "root"; Akk *šuršum*; Arab *širs* "thorn-bush," *sirr* "marrow, origin"; Gəʿəz *śərw* "sinew, root, origin, tribe," *śarwe* "beam of wood"; Heb *śóreš*; Syr *šeršå*; Ug *šrš*

+**qutl*; **θuwm*; "garlic"; Akk *šūmum*; Arab *θūm*; Gəʿəz *sum*; Meh *ṯəmēt*, Jibbāli *ṯum*; Heb pl. *šumim*; Syr *tumå*

°**qutl/qatl*; **dubb/daby*; "bear"; Akk *dabû*, OAk *dabium*; Arab *dubb*; Gəʿəz *dəbb*; Heb *dob*; Syr *debbå*,[92] Targ Aram *dubbå*

-**qutl*; **ðubb*; "fly";[93] Akk *zubbum*; Amharic *zəmb*; Arab *ðubāb*[94]; Heb *zbuḇ*; Syr *dabbåḇå*, *debbåḇå*[95]

-**qutl*; **ḫurl*; "chickpea"; Akk *ḫallūrum, ḫi/ullūru, ḫallāru*; Heb *ḥårul*, plural *ḥ*^{a}*rullim*; Syr *ḫurlå*

-**qut(u)l*; **qut(u)r*;[96] "smoke"; Akk *qutrum*; Arab *qutr*; Gəʿəz *qətār*; Heb *qṭóreṯ* "incense"; Sab *mqtr* "incense altar"; Ug *qtr*

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

+**qatal*; **ʾaθar*; "place, footstep"; Akk *ašrum, ašarum*; Arab *ʾaθar*; Gəʿəz *ʾaśar* (irregular consonant correspondence);[98] Heb *ʾᵃšer* (relative pronoun); Syr *ʾatrå, ʾaṯar*

+**qatal*; **ʿapar*; "dust"; Akk *eprum, eperum*; Amharic *afär*; Arab *ʿafar*; Heb *ʿåpår*, const. *ʿᵃpar*, with suffix *ʿᵃpåro*; Syr *ʿaprå*; Ug *ʿpr*

+**qatal*; **barad*; "hail"; Arab *barad*; Gəʿəz *barad*; Heb *båråḏ*; Meh *bərēd*; Sab *brd*; Syr *barḏå*

+**qatal*; **baṣal*; "onion(s)" (collective); Arab *baṣal*; Gəʿəz *baṣal*; Heb *båṣål*; Meh *bəṣəlēt*, Jibbāli *béṣál*; Sab *bṣl*; Syr *beṣlå*

+**qatal*; **baśar*; "flesh"; Akk *bišrum*; Arab *bašar*; Gəʿəz *basor* (loanword?); Harari *bäsär*; Heb *båśår*, with suffix *bśåri*; Meh *bəśərēt* "skin"; Syr *besrå*; Sab *bs*^{2}*r*; Ug *bšr*

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

+**qatal*; **bawam-at*; "high place"; Akk *bāmtum*; Heb *båmå*; 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 *qutāl*, 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 *yåḥiḏ*, Syriac *ʾiḥiḏå* "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 *zåhåḇ*, with suffix *zhåbi*; Meh *ḏəhēb;* Sab *ðhb*; Syr *dahḇå*

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

+**qatal*; **ðanab*; "tail"; Akk *zibbatum*; Arab *ðanab*; Gəʿəz *zanab*; Heb *zånåḇ*, with suffix *znåḇo*; Meh *ḏənōb*; 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 *ǧamal, ǧaml*; Gəʿəz *gamal*; Heb *gåmål*, pl. *gmallim*; Sab *gml*; Syr *gamlå*

+**qatal*; **ḫalab*; "milk"; Arab *ḥalab, ḥalīb*; Gəʿəz *ḥalab* "sour milk," *ḫalib* "milk"; Heb *ḥålåḇ*; Meh *ḥəlēb* "milking" (action noun); Syr *ḥalḇå*; Ug *ḥlb*

+**qatal*; **ḫatan*; "son-in-law, bridegroom"; Akk *ḫatnum, ḫatanum*;[99] Arab *ḥatan*; Heb *ḥåṯån*, with suffix *ḥ^{a}ṯåno*; Syr *ḥaṯnå*

+**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*; **maṭar*; "rain"; Akk *miṭrum* "watercourse"; Arab *maar*; Heb *måṭår*, const. *mṭar*, const. pl. *miṭroṯ*; Sab *mṭr* "(rain-watered) field"; Syr *meṭrå*; Ug *mṭr*

+**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 *frs*[1]

+**qatal*; **qanay*; "reed"; Akk *qanû*; Arab *qanà, qanāt* "spear"; Gəʿəz *qanot* "goat"; 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 *śåḏɛ, śåḏay*; Sab *s*[2]*dw* "mountain, irrigated field"; Ug *šadû*

+**qatal*; **šamaʾ*; "sky"; Akk *šamû*, OAk *šamāʾum*; Arab *samāʾ*; Gəʿəz *samāy*; Heb *šåmáyim*; Meh *háytəm*; Sab *s*[1]*my-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 *tāʾum*; Heb *tåʾ* (loanword?); Syr *ʾawwånå* (irregular consonant correspondence), Targ Aram *təwā*

+**qatal*; **ṭalay*; "kid, goat"; Arab *ṭalā*; Gəʿəz *ṭali*; Heb *ṭålɛ*; Sab *ṭlyn*; Syr *ṭalyå*

+**qatal*; **θaday*; "breast"; Arab *θady, θadà, θidy*; Heb dual *šåḏáyim*, rare *šoḏ*; Meh *_tōdi*; Syr *tḏå*; Ug *θd*

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

°**qatal*/*qatl*; **lašad*/*lašd*; "cream"; Akk SB *lildu*; Gəʿəz *lasd*; Heb *låšåḏ*

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

[99] See Goetze 1947: 247.

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

+**qattal*; *ʾ*ayyal*; "ibex, mountain goat"; Akk *ayyalum*; Arab ʾ*iyyal*; Gəʿəz *hayyal*; Heb ʾ*ayyål*, ʾ*áyil*; Sab ʾ*yl*; Syr ʾ*ay*(*y*)*lå*

°**qattal/qatl*; **paḥḥam/paḥm*; "coal"; Akk *pēntum*; Arab *faḥm*; Gəʿəz *fəḥm*, or perhaps *fəḥḥəm* (the orthography is indeterminate); Heb *pɛḥåm* (**paḥḥam*); Syr *paḥmå* or perhaps *paḥḥmå* (the orthography is indeterminate); Ug *phm*

+**qatāl*; *ʾ*arān*; "chest (i.e., box)"; Akk *arānum*; Arab ʾ*irān* (with dissimilation); Heb ʾ*aron* (reduced first vowel, therefore **qitāl* with dissimilation of **a* from **ā*), with article *håʾåron* (**qatāl*); Syr ʾ*åronå* (loanword?); Ug *arn*

+**qatāl*; *ʾ*atān*; "she-ass"; Akk *atānum*; Arab ʾ*atān*; Heb ʾ*åṯon*; Syr ʾ*attånå*, Targ Aram ʾ*attånå*, ʾ*ţånå*; Ug *atn*

+**qatāl*; **θalāθ*;[100] "three"; Akk *šalāšum*; Arab *θalāθ*; Gəʿəz *śalās*; Heb *šåloš*; Meh *śhəlēţ*, *śāţáyt*; Sab *s*^{2}*lθ* (earlier period), *θlθ* (middle and later period); Syr *tlåtå*; Ug *θlθ*

+**qātal*;[101] *ʿ*ālam*; "world"; Arab ʿ*ālam*; Gəʿəz ʿ*ālam*; Heb ʿ*olåm*; Sab ʿ*lm*; Syr ʿ*ålmå*; Ug ʿ*lm*

+**qatil*; *ʿ*aqib*; "heel"; Akk *eqbum*; Arab ʿ*aqib*; Heb ʿ*åqeḇ*, const. ʿ*aqeḇ*, const. pl. ʿ*iqḇe*, ʿ*iqqḇe*, ʿ*iqqḇoţ*; Syr ʿ*eqbå*, ʿ*qeḇ*; Tigre ʿ*əqəb* "leg"

+**qatil*; **ḥaθir*; "court"; Arab *ḥazīrat* "pen, pound"; Gəʿəz *ḥasr*; Heb pl. *ḥaṣerim*, const. pl. *ḥaṣre*; Sab *mḥzr*; Ug *hθr*

+**qatil*; **ḫamiš*; "five"; Akk *ḫamšum*, absolute *ḫamiš*; Arab *ḫams*; Gəʿəz *ḫams*; Heb *ḥåmeš*, masc. *ḥamiššå*; Meh *xáymeh*, *xəmmōh*; Sab *ḫms*[1]; Syr *ḥammeš*; Ug *ḫmš*

+**qatil*; **kariś*; "belly"; Akk *karšum*, later *karašu*; Arab *kariš*, *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 *kåţep*, const. *kéţep*; Meh *katf*; Syr *kaţpå*; Tigre *mäktäf*

+**qatil*; **laḫir* (with metatheses); "ewe"; Akk *laḫrum*; Arab *raḫil*, *riḫl*; Heb *råḥel*; Syr *rahlå*

+**qatil*; **waʿil*; "antelope"; Arab *waʿil*, *waʿl*; Gəʿəz *wəʿəlā*, *waʿālā*; Heb pl. *yʿelim*, 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 *yåreḵ*, const. *yéreḵ*, with suffix *yreḵi*; 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 *bəʿr*; Heb with suffix *bʿiro*; Meh *bəʿáyr*; Sab *bʿr*; Syr *bʿirå*

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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*; Gəˁəz *ḫarif* "current year"; Sab *ḫrf*

-*qatil*; **θaqid*; "almond"; Gəˁəz *səg(ā)d*; Heb *šāqeḏ*; Syr *šqaḏtå* (irregular consonant correspondence, loanword?); Ug *θuqdu*

+**qātil*; **ʿārib*; "raven"; Amharic *qura*; Akk *āribu, ēribum*; Arab *ɣurāb*[102]; Heb ˁ*oreḇ*; Meh *yəġəráyb*; Syr ˁ*urḇå*

+**qatul*; **śabuˁ* (with metatheses); "hyena"; Akk *būṣum*; Arab *ḍabuˁ*; Gəˁəz *səˁb* "hyena"; Heb pl. *ṣḇoˁim*; Syr ʾ*apˁå*

+**qatūl*; **ˁatūd*; "wild sheep"; Akk *etūdum, atūdum*; Arab ˁ*atūd*; Heb pl. ˁ*attuḏim*

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

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

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

+**qital*; **ʿinab*; "fruit, grapes"; Akk *inbum*; Arab ˁ*inab*; Heb ˁ*enåḇ*; Sab ˁ*nb*; Syr ˁ*enḇtå*/ˁ*enbå*; Ug *ynb* (irregular consonant correspondence)

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

+**qital*; **ṣilaˁ*; "rib"; Akk *ṣēlum, ṣīlum*; Arab *ḍilaˁ*; Heb *ṣelåˁ*, const. *ṣɛ́laˁ* (**qatl*); Meh *źalaʾ*; Ug *ṣlʿ*; Syr ʾ*elʿå*[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 *dbs*[1]; Syr *deḇšå*

-**qital/qatl*; **śiˁar/śaˁr*;[105] "hair"; Akk *šārtum*; Arab *šaˁr*; Gəˁəz *śəˁərt* "hair"; Heb *śeˁår*, const. *śaˁar* and *sˁar*, also *śaˁᵃrå*; Syr *saˁrå*; Ug *šaˁartu* "wool"

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

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

+**qitāl*; **ðirāˁ*; "arm"; Arab *ðirāˁ*; Gəˁəz *mazrāˁt*; Heb *zroaˁ*, ʾ*ezroaˁ*; Syr *ḏrāˁå*; Ug *ðrˁ*

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

+**qitāl*; **lišān*; "tongue"; Akk *lišānum*; Arab *lisān*; Gəˁəz *ləsān*; Heb *låšon*; Meh *əwšēn*, Jibbāli *lšín*; Sab *ls*[1]*n*; 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*; **śiˁār-at/śaˁr/śaˁīr*; "barley";[107] Arab *šaˁīr*; Heb *sˁorå*; Gəˁəz *śāˁr* "grass," *śərnāy* "wheat"; Sab *s*^{2ˁ}*r*; Syr *sˁårṭå*; Ug *ši šru*

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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 *ślʿ* > ˁ*lʿ* (thus Biblical Aramaic) > ʾ*lʿ*.

[105] But see also **śiˁār-at/śaˁr/śaˁīr* "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 *ʾᵉnoš* "man, mankind," *ʾᵃnåšim* "people"; Meh *ʾans* "humans" (collective, loanword?); Sab *ʾns*[1], *ʾs*[1]; Syr <*ʾ*>*nåšå* "man, mankind," Biblical Aram *ʾᵉnåš, ʾᵉnoš*[108]. (Compare also the possibly related **ʾiyš*; "man"; Heb *ʾiš* "man," *ʾéšɛ̱t* "woman" (const.),[109] pre-suffixal form *ʾišti* "woman"; Sab *ʾys*[1].)

+**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* > **ṯ*?)

+**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 *bóhɛn*, also pl. *bhonoṯ* (**qutul* [Kogut 1969-70] or **qutāl*) "thumb"

-**qutāl*(*t*); **nuḥāš*(*t*); "bronze"; Arab *nuḥās*; Heb *nḥóšɛ̱t* (**nuḥušt*), *nḥušå* (**nuḥūšat*); Gəʿəz *nāhs*; Syr *nḥåšå*

-**qutul*/*qitl*/*qatul*; **bukur*/*bikr*/*bakur*; "firstborn"; Akk *bukrum*; Arab *bikr*; Gəʿəz *bakʷr*; Heb *bḵor*, with suffix *bḵori*, pl. *bḵoroṯ*; Meh *bēkər*; Sab *bkr*; Syr *buḵrå*; Ug *bkr*

-**quttul*/ʿ*uqtūl*; **ṣuppur*/ʿ*uṣpūr*; "bird"; Akk *iṣṣūrum, ṣibārum*; Arab ʿ*uṣfūr*; Heb *ṣippor*; Syr *ṣeppråṯ*/*ṣeppar*; Ug ʿ*uṣṣūru, ṣpr*

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

+**qatlad*; **ʾapʿay*; "viper"; Arab *ʾafʿà*; Gəʿəz *ʾafʿot*; Heb *ʾɛp̄ʿɛ*

+**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 *ʾarnɛ́b̄ɛ̱t*; Meh *harnáyb*; Gafat: Wolane *arbäññ̈o* (with metathesis); Syr *ʾarnb̄å*; Ug *anhb* (UT 361)[112]

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

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

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[107] See also **śiʿar*/*śaʿr* "hair" (p. 26).

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

[109] *ʾÉšɛ̱t* is adopted for the absolute state as well in a few cases. *ʾÉšɛ̱t* may be from **ʾīš-t* (i.e., the feminine of **ʾīš*), 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 **√*$rb^{ʿ}$.

[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."

+**qatlad*; **taw*ˀ*am*; "twin"; Akk *tūᵐamum*; Arab *tawᵓam*; Gəˁəz *mäntā*; Heb abs. pl. *tᵉomim*, const. pl. *tᵉome*, *tᵃᵓᵃme*; Syr *tå(ᵃ)må*

+**qatlad*; **tawlaˁ*; "worm"; Akk *tūltum*; Amharic *təl*; Heb *tolᵃᵓ*, *toleˁå*; Soq *taˁáleh*; Syr *tawlᵉå*, *tawlaˁtå*

-**qatlad*; **ˁakbar*; "mouse"; Akk *akbarum, akkabaru, agbaru*; Arab (Yemenite) *ˁakbār*, pl. *ˁakābur*; Heb *ˁakbår*; Syr *ˁuqbrå*

-**qatlad/qutlud*; **p/barγaθ/s*; "flea"; Akk *perš/saᵓum, perᵓāšum, parša/uᵓu, puršuᵓu*; Arab *burγūθ*; Heb *parᵉoš*; Syr *purtaᵉnå*

-**qatalid/qutl*; **γarapilᵉurp* (The roots*√*γrp*(*l*) and *√ᵉ*rb* may have exerted analogical influence on each other.); "cloud"; Akk *urpum, urpatu, erpetum*; Heb pl. with suffix ᶜᵃ*ripé*<*y*>*hå*, ᶜᵃ*råpel*, pl. ᶜᵃ*råbot*; Syr ˁ*arpellå*; Ug *γrpl*, ˁ*rpt*

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

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

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

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

-**qalqal/qitāl/qatāl*; **gargar/girān/garān*; "neck, throat"; Arab *ǧirān*; Gəˁəz *gʷərᵉe*; Heb *gåron, gargérɛ̱t*; Syr *gargartå, gaggartå*

-**qitlīd*; **ḫinzīr*; "pig"; Akk *ḫuzīrum*;[113] Arab *ḫinzīr*; Heb *ḥᵃzir*; Meh *xənzīr*; Syr *ḥzirå*; Ug *ḫnzr, ḫuzīru*

+**qitlad*; **śimᵓal*; "left"; Akk *šumēlum*; Arab *šimāl, šimᵓal, šaᵓm*; Heb *śmo*<ᵓ>*l*; Sab *sᵓm*; Syr *semmålå*; Ug *šmal*

+**qutlud*; **qunpuð*; "hedgehog"; Arab *qunfuð, qunfað*; Gəˁəz *qʷənfəz*; Hebrew *qippoḏ* (irregular consonant correspondence);[114] Syr *quppḏå*

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

-**qitlad/qitl*; *ᵓ*isbaˁ/sibˁ*; "finger"; Arab ᵓ*iṣbaˁ* (most common, also ᵓ*usbuˁ*, ᵓ*a/ṣba/i/uˁ*); Gəˁəz ᵓ*aṣbāˁt*; Heb ᵓ*ɛṣbaˁ*; Meh *ṣəbáᵓ*, Jibbāli ᵓ*əṣbāˁ*; Sab ᵓ*ṣbˁ*; Syr *seḇˁṯå*/*seḇˁå*; Ug pl. *uṣbˁt*

-**qatlaC₄v̄C₅*; *ˁ*ankabūθ*/ᵉ*ankabīθ*; "spider"; Arab ˁ*ankabūt* (perhaps Aram loanword, because of the *t*, where ***θ* would be expected for PS **θ*); Heb ˁ*akkåḇišᵉakšuḇ*; Meh ᵓ*ānšɛ̄t*; Targ Aram ˁ*akku/åḇṯå*

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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 **qatv̆l* and **qv̆l* 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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