GEMINATE IMPERFECTIVES IN ARABIC MASKED
AS INTENSIVE STEMS OF THE VERB

FEDERICO CORRIENTE

The absence of geminate imperfectives in Arabic has been characteristically invoked as one of the main reasons for linking it with Northwest Semitic rather than with South Semitic, as was traditionally accepted since the founding fathers of Semitic Comparative Linguistics established the standard classification of these languages, which will remain undisputed until the Central Semitic hypothesis was introduced in the last decades[1].

We had expressed our disagreement with this hypothesis by proving the weakness of its foundations in Corriente 2003 but, apparently, our arguments have not circulated fast enough yet, or have not been sufficiently convincing, as we recently heard several strongly dissenting voices in the Barcelona Symposium on Comparative Semitics of 2004, upon dwelling again on what we believe to be a well-grounded rejection of such a notion[2]. Together with a one-by-one refutation of all the alleged foundations of that hypothesis, we had pointed to the fact that its proponents base their arguments on grammatical descriptions of merely Classical Arabic, with almost total disregard for old, medieval and modern dialectal evidence, thus obtaining a very partial picture of the best known and therefore most important Semitic language.

Therefore, as the message has not reached its addressees, or at least not all of them, some redundancy might be in order. To be more precise, we mean to delve again into just one of those alleged reasons, namely the absence of geminate imperfectives in Arabic, with the aim of offering a more encompassing survey of this matter than those found in the Classical grammars by either native or foreign authors.

As far back as in 1977[3], we had listed some Andalusi Arabic verbs with the external shape of the intensive stem, but none of its expectable matching semantic nuances, and explained them as a possible "survival of South Arabian imperfectives {ya1a22a3} metanalyzed as II measures"[4]. As part of an overall theory of the impact

---

[1] Mainly by Garbini 1960 and 1984, upheld by scholars like Hetzron 1997, Lipiński 1997 and Bennett 1998. Conversely, Moscati [1964: 4] still held onto the standard classification, which he considered based on geographical criteria, although "corresponding tolerably well (though not without certain exceptions) to the distribution of gross linguistic features".

[2] In an article of ours, forthcoming in the *Proceedings* of that symposium.

[3] In Corriente [1977: 102, fn. 159].

[4] The same idea was upheld in Corriente [1992: 99], in connection with other South Arabian features conspicuously present in Andalusi and other Western Arabic dialects.

of South Arabian on North Arabic as a whole, and most particularly on Western Arabic, we said some years later[5] that "it is reasonable to surmise that when North and South Arabian came into close contact, geminated imperfectives were metanalyzed as Form II verbs; thus many Form II verbs in Classical Arabic dictionaries do not hark back to historically intensive forms but owe their present shape only to this metanalysis". The same interpretation was repeated in Corriente [1996: 55, fn. 5], but it would be also fair to avow that we never cared to provide actual lists of those cases in Classical Arabic dictionaries, considering that this was totally unnecessary, as it suffices to leaf through any of them to find several such cases in almost every page. Only recently, our friend and colleague Andzrej Zaborski, with whom we share many an opinion on Semitic Linguistics, has recalled our attention to this subject, by kindly showing us his own list of relevant cases, drawn from Wehr's and Baranov's dictionaries, as part of a forthcoming article of his, entitled "*Qātala* as equivalent of *qatala* and traces of the old present in Arabic". However, as those two dictionaries are directed to the modern rather than to the old and medieval usage, and Zaborski is basically concerned with cases of morpho-semantic leveling of the I, II and III stems, there appears to be only minimal overlapping with our purpose and the list we have obtained from Kazimirski´s dictionary[6], which can be seen in Appendix I, as a witness to the situation in Classical Arabic.

This situation appears not to have been properly reflected by the grammars written by both native and foreign authors[7], where one finds no reference to the haphazard but frequent synonymy of the II and I stems. The same can be said about a host of cases of intransitive[8] and even quality verbs[9] in number sufficient to demand an explanation.

---

[5] In Corriente [1989: 101].

[6] We are, of course, aware of the shortcomings of this work which, however, remains unique to this date as a complete lexicon in a Western language of the Old Arabic usage. We have exercised extreme caution upon handling its entries, by collecting only absolutely or almost absolutely identical semantical doublets and discarding any disputable case.

[7] E.g., Sībawayhi [IV, 64] assigns to the II stem the function of *taktīr* ("multiple action", equivalent of *mubālaġah* in younger authors, closer to the idea of "overdoing"), when it is not synonymous with IV (ibid. 55), while Wright [I, 31 ff.] speaks of causative or factitive, declarative or estimative and denominative functions. Likewise, Fischer [1972: 87 ff.] mentions intensive, transitive and denominal nuances, Blachère & Gaudefroy-Demombynes [1952: 52ff.] list intensive, factitive and denominative meanings, not very different from the concepts found in Fleisch [1979: 288] ("intensive, causative ou simplement estimative") and Grande [1963: 123 ff.], who classifies those functions into intensive (subdivided into reinforcing, iterative, distributive or implying mutiple subjects), causative, declarative and denominal.

[8] E.g., (from Kazimirski's dictionary) *baǧǧama* "se ramasser", *barraka* "s'agenouiller", *baqqaᶜa* "s'éloigner", *tannaḫa* "s' arrêter", *dannà* "s'approcher", *saqqaᶜa* "s'en aller", *sammaṭa* "se taire", *šattà* "passer l'hiver", *ṣaddara* "s'avancer", *ṣaᶜᶜada* "gravir", *ṣammata* "se taire", *ṭassasa* "s'éloigner", *ᶜarrada* "s'enfuir", *fawwaza* "fuir", *qarrada* "se taire par sentiment de son impuissance", *qayyaẓa* "passer la saison d'été dans un lieu", *kaṭṭaʔa* "se developer", *labbaḫa* "vieillir" and *naqqaṭa* "se dépêcher", all but a few of them absent from Neo-Arabic, in which the II stem is almost exclusively assigned to transitive, most often causative meanings. Once in while, however, similar cases are also spotted in its dialects, e.g., Iraqi: *sayyas* "to float along", Egyptian: *baǧǧaḫ* "to behave impudently", *ǧahhim* "to frown", *daǧǧil* "to engage in swindling", *raqqad* "to develop ophthalmia", *ᶜawwid* "to return", *qarrab* "to come near", Yemeni : *ᶜarrag* "to take root deeply", *ᶜaṭṭaš* "to sneeze", *bayyan* "to become clear", *ḥammar* "to become red", *naᶜᶜas* "to sleep lightly", *rawwaḥ* "to go away", *šayyab* "to

A total of more than 800 cases of such doublets over the whole body of Old Arabic verbs cannot be dismissed as sheer coincidence and, since the basic functions of the II stem as a marker of intensive and causative verbs cannot be denied either, the only explanation to this abnormality is, in our view, that there has been coalescence, under the outer cover of the II stem, of a morphological category belonging to a different system. As geminate imperfectives appear to be a common feature of all other South Semitic languages, except Arabic, it is cogent to accept that at least some Old Arabic dialects preserved that feature, although it had disappeared or was about to disappear from others, perhaps the very prestige dialects on which the Abbasid grammarians based their koineized and canonized grammar[10].

It is not difficult to guess the reasons that might have triggered the disappearance of this feature from Old Arabic, which is lacking in the grammars of Classical and Neo-Arabic, but for a few traces. From a structural viewpoint, there was a clash in South Semitic between mood marking by means of suffixes (attached to the final syllable of the verbs as in Classical Arabic) and alternancy between geminate and

---

get old", Maltese: *bajjad* "to look very white", *bakkar* "to get up early", *qammar* "to be excited by frenzy", *sejjer* "to walk", etc.

[9] E.g. (from Kazimirski's dictionary), *arrasa* "être laboureur", *bakkara* "ê. matinal", *ballaḥa* "ê. fatigué", *bannaša* "ê. mou dans l' action", *ǧawwada* "ê. rapide à la course", *ḥaffaša* "ê. débile", *ḥawwara* "ê. faible", *dannaḥa* "ê. abject", *dannana* "ê. morveux", *rassaᶜa* "avoir les paupières maladies", *raġġà* "ê. couvert d' écume", *rahhaṭa* "ê. réuni", *zabbaba* "ê. près du coucher", *zaḥḥafa* "ê. vantard", *zarrafa* "ê. bavard", *sarraᵓa* "ê. très prolifique", *sawwasa* "ê. attaqué par les vers", *šabbaᶜa* "ê. presque rassassié", *šaddana* "avoir grandi", *ṣawwaḥa* "ê. vide", *taᶜᶜama* "ê. rempli de moelle", *tannaba* "ê. long du dos", *ᶜakkama* "ê. très gros", *ᶜannasa* "ê. vieille fille", *ᶜannafa* "ê. dur envers quelqu' un", *ᶜawwana* "commencer à ê. d' un âge moyen", *ġayyama* "ê. couvert de nuages", *fattaǧa* "ê. chargé d' un fardeau", *faddara* "ê. affaibli", *qaddama* "ê. le premier", *kattaᶜa* "ê. couvert de crème", *kaᶜᶜaba* "avoir le sein formé", *laǧǧaba* "ê. épuisée", *lazzaba* "ê. dur", *naǧǧà* "ê. sauvé", *nazzara* "ê. importun", *nahhada* "avoir déjà les seins gonflés", *hayyafa* "ê. mince", *waddasa* "ê. caché", *warraqa* "ê. branchu", *wakkaba* "ê. noirâtre". In some cases, the matching I stem verb even has the *i/u* vocalization of its second consonant characteristic of stative and quality verbs, like *rasiᶜa*, *sawisa*, *šabiᶜa*, *ṣaᶜida*, *taᶜima*, *taniba*, *ᶜarida*, *ᶜanufa*, *laǧiba*, *lazuba* and *hayifa*, which makes their synonymy with the II stem even more striking. Neo-Arabic has also shunned these items most of the time, but there are some similar cases left, e.g., Iraqi: *tallaǧ* "to be or become frozen", *haddar* "to turn green", *ᶜaǧǧaz* "to grow old", *ᶜaffan* "to rot", *ġayyam* "to become cloudy", *gabbaḥ* "to be unpleasant", Egyptian: *azzim* "to become critical", *ḥaššib* "to become rigid", *darrin* "to become very dirty", *sabbin* "to become full of nits", *ṣaddaġ* "to become fat", *ᶜaqqal* "to become knotty", *qammil* "to become infested with lice", etc.

[10] See Corriente 1976 on their characteristic operating ways. Their main guide-lines were analogy (*qiyās*, preferred by the Kufans) and prestigious usage (*samāᶜ*, preferred by the Basrans), which allowed them to attain a remarkable high rate of preservation of archaic traits, considering that they could or would not avail themselves of comparison with other Semitic tongues. In this manner, they rejected *taltalah* (i.e., vocalization with /i/ o the imperfective prefixes, almost general at the time, as later in Neo-Arabic, but violating the analogy with cases where /a/ was preserved before pharyngeal and kindred phonemes), and most forms shortened by the action of strong stress (*iddiǧām*, even when supported by the Qurᵓānic text, like *ittāqala, izzayana*, etc., see Corriente [1976: 64, fn. 1]), but they would also miss the mark completely sometimes, as in the case of the "verbs of praise and blame" *niᶜma* and *biᵓsa*, or the endorsement of {*mu-*} as mark of the participles in all the derived stems, instead of Proto-Semitic {*ma-*}, about which see Corriente 1979, etc.

non-geminate stems (as in Geᶜez, Modern South Arabian[11] and, in all likelihood, Epigraphic South Arabian[12]). It is obvious that the adoption of one of these two morphological devices would make the other redundant and lead to its forsaking, as proven historically by the absence of moods marked by suffixes in Geᶜez, and by the metanalysis of geminate imperfectives in Arabic as II stems. In addition to this structural reshuffle, there were probably two other triggering factors in the abandonment of the geminate imperfectives in the linguistic mind of Arabic speakers, namely, the poor distinction allowed between their shape and that of verbs of the II stem[13], and a socio-linguistic based urge to differentiate themselves from former speakers of South Arabian trying to shift to North Arabian, who were many before and after the emergence of Islam[14], and most likely bent on introducing *{yv1a22i3}* forms where the North Arabian required *{yv12v3u}* or even *{yv1a22i3u}*. This would have led to the gradual abandonment of such a redundant mark or, alternatively, to its being analysed as a mere morph of an imperfective of a II stem. Lexicographers, however, who were, by the very nature of their field work, much more tuned than grammarians to usage, rather than to theory, did not reject a large number of those pseudo-II stems, and may even have automatically supplied geminate perfectives for those intransitive, stative and qualitive verbs of which they perhaps heard only the geminate imperfectives[15]. Although it cannot be altogether excluded that their

---

[11] See Johnstone [1975: 13-14 and 17]. As for the subjuntive in *-(ə)n*, first detected by that author, it might point to a parallel situation of clash between two sets of marks.

[12] This point is debated in Bauer [1966: 73-77].

[13] A similar situation would endanger the survival of the IV stem, barely distinguishable in the imperfective from the I stem, as the */u/* vocalization of its prefix (probably taken from the participial *{mu-}* in the II, III and IV stems, as an additional distinctive device of forms that were felt as insufficiently marked) was not generally shared by all dialects. However, the grammarians adopted this innovation in order to maintain that mark at least, thus keeping alive the prestiged IV stem, but this could not prevent its nearly total decay in Neo-Arabic, and almost general replacement by the II stem. It is a moot question whether an overt morphological distinction existed between Old Arabic geminate imperfectives of the I stem and the imperfectives of the II stem, as in the case of the Akkadian presents of the G (*iparras, ipaqqid, irappud*) and D stems (*uparras*, by means of the prefix vowel) or in the imperfectives of Geᶜez (*yeqattel* vs. *yeqǣttel*), as it is widely known that the prefix vowel was very unstable in the old and modern North Arabian dialects, where all vowels are often distorted by consonantic and vocalic assimilations. As a consequence thereof, mere vocalic oppositions were necessarily felt as inefficient marks, and have disappeared consequently and almost thoroughly from all forms of Neo-Arabic.

[14] Curiously enough, most dialectologists have paid little attention to the impact on the evolution of Arabic of this historically well-documented linguistic merger of Northern and Southern Arabs, which must have introduced many creolized forms into North Arabian and probably was the true cause for the emergence of Western Arabic (after Corriente [2003: 188]). Exceptions to that widespread neglect are Rabin 1984 and Belova 1996, which we reviewed in EDNA 2 (1997).

[15] The evolution of the old stative in West Semitic into a perfective "tense", integrating a dia-system with the imperfective is an established fact, which meant the addition of an imperfective to each former stative and of a perfective to each former active verb. However, the former statives offered some semantic resistance to the imperfective nuances, as exhibited cleary by Arabic qualitative verbs like *ḥasuna* "to be good", *kabura* "to be big", etc., often used in the perfective to express ingressive acquisition of the quality or universal predication not even excluding the present, e.g. *ḥasuna ulāʔika rafīqan* "those are excellent as

leveling as fullfledged II stems would have taken place in the dialects already, in spite of the fact that Neo-Arabic evidence does not bear out such a hypothesis.

What has been the outcome of that situation in Neo-Arabic? We have checked the lexica of several Neo-Arabic dialects, only to obtain a much meager harvest of such doublets, as could be expected, if only because the huge contents of Classical dictionaries is the accumulated outcome of a host of surveys of many Old Arabic dialects, not just one or a few, obtained by many lexicographers through extensive and intensive elicitation efforts carried on for centuries. Nevertheless, the number of items appears yet to be significant for Andalusi (a conservative old Western dialect bundle; see Appendix II), quite scarce in Iraqi Arabic (mostly Muslim Baghdadi, a new Eastern dialect of Bedouin origin; see Appendix III), as well as in Syrian Arabic (see Appendix IV), and moderately scarce in Yemeni Arabic (see Appendix Va/b)[16] and Maltese (see Appendix VI).

But former geminate imperfectives masked as II stem verbs are not the only give-away traces left in Arabic by this morphological feature common, as we see now, to every member of South Semitic, among other traits peculiar to this subgroup or occasionally shared with other Semitic subgroups. The so-called hybrid stems of dialectal Arabic, already surveyed by Brockelmann [1908: I 540-544], and explained by him as *Kreuzungen*, appear to be particularly frequent in Western Arabic[17], and to involve combinations, above all, of the marks of the II and, much less often, III stems with those of the X and VII. In our survey of these cases, we have found no cases of this kind in Iraqi and Yemeni, only a few in Andalusi[18], and quite a lot in

companions" (Qur. IV 69), *ḥasunat murtafaqan* "they are excellent as resting places" (ibid. XVIII 31), *kaburat kalimatan taḫruǧu min afwāhihim* "such a word pronounced by their mouths is awful" (ibid. XVIII 5), *kabura maqtan ᶜinda llāhi* "it is hateful before God" (ibid. XL 35 and LXI 3), *lākin baᶜudat ᶜalayhimi ššuqqatu* "but the goal is far from their reach" (ibid. IX 42). The same is obvious in the uninflected verbs of praise and blame, some auxiliary verbs like *kāna, ᶜāda, mā zāla, kāda, ᶜasà*, etc.

[16] This scarcity matches well with our hypothesis about the origin of Western Arabic, since former speakers of South Arabian were better equipped, upon shifting to North Arabian, to distinguish between genuine II stems and mere geminate imperfectives, assuming that their language, like Geᶜez, had developed some kind of morphological distinction between them. That would not have been so in the case of dialects, like Andalusi, where Yemenite ingradients were abundant though not exclusive, or (Muslim Baghdadi) Iraq, with a predominant North Arabian basis.

[17] Including Egyptian Arabic which is known to have been reabsorbed by Eastern Arabic. A few rare Syrian Arabic examples do not basically affect the overall picture of this abnormal feature as exclusive of Western Neo-Arabic. Even for Maltese, Sutcliffe [1949: 276] mentions the cases of *stalla* "to step", *stenna* "to await", *stħajjel* "to imagine" and *stkerrah* "to abhor", while Aquilina [1965: 163} posits the patterns *{staktab}* and *{stakattab}* as alternative and provides a further example, *stħarreġ* "to inquire". Although the X stem is not frequent in Maltese, we have found two further instances in Aquilina [1987-90], *stehewwa* "to lust" and *stqajjar* "to recover one's senses"

[18] See Corriente [1977: 105-105, fn. 164], with the examples *nandárab, nançáraâ*, already interpreted by Brockelmann as hybrid (VII + III), and Corriente [1992: 100], which adds the case of *nanǧarrà* "to dare" (VII + II). As for cases like *nattāḫad* "to be taken", *nattāḫar* "to be delayed", *nattādam* "to eat with bread", *yattākal* "to be eaten", *nattāǧar* "to deal" and *yattāwi* "to agree", the abnormal *alif*, usually carrying the stress, suggests a combination of VIII + III (cf. also Syrian *yattākal* "être mangé", *yʔāmen* "croire" which puzzled Barthélemy). However, this appearance of a III stem marker in our interpretation, supported by alternancy of II and III

Egyptian, most of the time without any conclusive semantic link with the usual connotation of II (= intensive) and III (= cooperative) stem verbs, as can be seen in Appendix V. Therefore, in our view, such cases would not be truly hybrid, but simple instances of defunctionalized survival of older imperfectives marked by either a geminate second consonant or a lengthened first vowel.

The immediate conclusion of this survey is, therefore, that Old Arabic dialects had indeed shared the geminate imperfective characteristic of the whole South Semitic subgroup, although it was in its way out by the time when Arabic grammarians set the rules of the Classical koine, on account of its weak markedness, and being replaced at a fast pace by the alternative desinential system. Therefore, diachronically speaking, the absence of geminate imperfectives cannot be counted as an argument in favour of the Central Semitic hypothesis, in the same way as the frequent departures of Israeli Hebrew or Amharic from the Semitic phonemic or syntactical patterns do not allow to group them with any other linguistic family.

However, when discussing the geminate imperfectives of Semitic one should not forget the previous analysis of this point carried out by Rundgren 1959, from the wider viewpoint of the comparative verbal morphology of the whole Semitic family. His main and most original contribution is, no doubt, the idea that the geminate imperfectives of Ethiopic, as well as the morphemically look-alike Akkadian present, would not necessarily be a shared conservative feature continuing the original state of affairs in Proto-Semitic and, therefore, creating a certain connection between Akkadian and South Semitic of the kind so dear to the proponents of a "Peripheral Semitic". Instead, they would be instances, perhaps or probably unrelated, of re-utilization of the intensive marker which, by itself and in contrast with its absence, would constitute a particular evolution of the Proto-Semitic "tense" system, basically distinguishing "to be" from "to happen" (*Stativ* vs. *Fiens = konstativ* vs. *kursiv* = "quietness" vs. "movement", even connected with intransitiveness vs. transitiveness)[19]. A static conception of quality, state or even action can easily be identified with a merely verified fact, while continuity implies a lasting course of action, not necessarily situated in subjective time, but easily identified with imperfect, present or iterative nuances. According to this, the geminate tense is at the origin of two diverging lines of evolution in the Semitic verbal dia-system: towards an intensive kind of action in opposition to a non-intensive tense (i.e., the D stems of North East Semitic), or towards an imperfective, opposable to a perfective (as in South Semitic).

Rundgren's two-pronged hypothesis is confirmed both by the abandonment of geminate imperfectives in Arabic, where the intensive character of the II stem prevails, and by the fading away of the this nuance, as well as the conative character of the III stem in Ethiopic argued by the Swedish scholar[20]. Even the case of Akkadian, a

---

stems in Andalusi Arabic [Corriente 1977: 103, fn. 160} and by Zaborski's hypothesis, could simply point to an alternative marking of the geminate imperfective by lengthening the vowel before the 2nd consonant of the root, instead of geminating it, as in Modern South Arabian [Johnstone 1975: 13-14 and 17} and in the II = III stem verbs of Maltese from roots having *h* or *ġḥ* in their second position [Sutcliffe 1949: 84].

[19] These views are totally adopted by Diakonoff [1988: 85] as valid for the whole Afro-Asiatic phylum.

[20] E.g., op. cit., p. 52: "Wie schon Dillmann hervorgehoben hat, gibt es im Geᶜez "nur sehr wenige Wurzeln, von denen der erste und zweite Stamm zugleich im Gebrauch ist" (Dillmann-Bezold, *Grammatik*, s. 132), p. 53: "Eine Durchmusterung des altäthiopischen Lexikons

language conspicuously diverging from its Semitic sisters on many points and, in this particular issue, exhibiting a much debated three tense system (present, preterite and perfect, in addition to stative), Rundgren remind us (p. 54) of the many cases of nearly total loss of the intensive meaning, proving that the geminate intensives had been re-utilized[21].

It is beyond the scope of this paper and our competence to delve into the depths of Comparative Afro-Asiatic Linguistics in the search of further proofs of the tight and logical connection between continuity of action and intensive meaning, as the Semitic grounds appear to be more than sufficient for our present purpose. However, we would not omit a comparison with at least Berber, another linguistic family within the Afro-Asiatic phylum so closely related to Semitic that some scholars have been in favour of including it in this group, an indeed too daring proposal. Berber grammars enumerate, as derived stems of the verb, the factitive, reciprocal, passive (respectively matching the Arabic IV, VI and VII stems) and habituative forms (in French, "forme d'habitude"), defined by Laoust [1939: 141] as conveying "une idée de frequence, d'intensité ou d'actualité dans l'action ou dans l'état". The same outstanding Berber scholar explains next (pp. 148-156) that the habituative form is overtly marked: a) by insertion of /a/, /i/ or /u/ in the basic stem (or aorist)[22], b) by prefixation of /t/, and c) by gemination of one of the root consonants, most often the second one, with results phonetically very much like the Arabic II stem, in the same way as the procedures a) and b) also invite phonetic comparison with the Arabic III and VIII stems. Functionally, we would not press the case in favour of an equation of III and II, leaving this matter in our colleague Zaborski's skilled hands, nor are we going to undertake a detailed survey of the functions of directional marker /t/[23], but one can hardly forego the conclusion that geminate Berber habituative forms and geminate South Semitic imperfectives have in common both the marker and the meaning.

---

zeigt nämlich, daß die alte Intensivform *qattala* sehr selten vorkommt, wo es von dem betreffenden Verbum eine *qatala* gibt", fn. 2: "Wenn von einem Verbum sich ein *qattala* neben *qatala* findet, so besteht meist kein wesentlicher Bedeutungsunterschied mehr", and p. 59: "Obwohl diese Stammform eine echte südsemitische Bildung dargestellt, hat sie schon im altäthiopischen ihre Funktion innerhalb des Systems fast ganz aufgegeben … Zu äthiop. *qatala, qattala, qātala* bemerkt Cohen mit Recht: dès le guèze la distinction: simple-intensif-conatif ne fonctionne plus morphologiquement au thème simple (BSL 33, s. 199)".

[21] Akkadian grammars do not disown this concept. E.g., Ungnad-Matouš [1964: 75] lists the factitive, denominative, resultative and object pluralizing functions of the D stem, but also cases of intransitive verbs with durative meaning having only this stem, like *quʾʾûm* "to wait", *kullum* "to hold", etc.

[22] The selection of that vowel appears to be conditioned by harmony to a great extent, above all in the cases of /i/ and /u/. Although Laoust is describing the grammar of the dialects of Central Morocco, this chapter has validity for the entire Berber group.

[23] Wright [I 42] had already realized that "in not a few verbs the first and eight forms agree … so closely in their signification, that they may be translated by the same word", while Fleisch [II 309-315] reports the native grammarians' views on whether or not the VIII stem had any additional meaning in such cases, which is also reflected by Grande [132].

Appendix I (Classical Arabic, from
Kazimirski)

ab(b)ara "féconder un palmier fe-
  melle"
ab(b)aša "ramasser, rassembler d'un
  côté et d'autre"
aṯala "s'enraciner", *aṯṯala* "se raffer-
  mir"
aṯ(ṯ)ama "trouver quelqu'un coupa-
  ble"
aǧala "mettre un terme" = *aǧǧala*
  "assigner un terme"
aḥḥa "tousser", *aḥḥaḥa* "faire ahha,
  ahha! (comme fait celui qui tous-
  se)"
aḫ(ḫ)aḏa "prendre, saisir"
aḏ(ḏ)ana "informer (quelqu'un de
  quelque chose)"
ar(r)aba "serrer (un noeud)"
ar(r)aṯa "allumer le feu"
ar(r)aǧa "semer la discorde"
ar(r)aḫa "mettre la date"
ar(r)asa "être laboureur"
ar(r)à "attacher"
asā = *assà* "consoler; guérir"
ašaba "mêler, embrouiller", *aššaba*
  "entrelacer"
aš(š)ara "scier; denteler"
aṭ(ṭ)ara "courber"
aṭama "cacher, dérober à la vue",
  aṭṭama "couvrir, voiler"
affa(fa) "s' écrier *uff*"
af(f)aka "mentir, forger un menson-
  ge"
alifa = *allafa* "joindre, réunir"
am(m)ata "deviner (la quantité)"
am(m)ala "espérer"
amina = *ammana* "avoir confiance en
  quelqu'un"
āda = *awwada* "courber, plier"
āha = *awwaha* "s'écrier ah!, gémir"
aw(w)à "recevoir quelqu'un chez soi"

batta(ta) "couper"
bat(t)aka "couper"
bat(t)ala "couper"
baṯ(ṯ)aqa = "rompre le rivage"

baǧ(ǧ)asa "faire couler"
baǧ(ǧ)ama "se ramasser"
bad(d)ala "changer, remplacer"
baḏ(ḏ)ara "disperser, disséminer"
bar(r)ada "refraichir"
bar(r)aḍa "faire à peine germer les
  plantes"
bar(r)aka "s'agenouiller"
baz(z)ala "fendre"
bas(s)aṭa "étendre"
baš(š)ara "réjouir quelqu'un par une
  bonne nouvelle"
baḍ(ḍ)aᶜa "couper"
baṭ(ṭ)ana "frapper quelqu'un au ven-
  tre"
baᶜ(ᶜ)aǧa "causer des blessures au
  coeur"
baᶜ(ᶜ)aqa "égorger"
baġ(ġ)ala "diffamer"
baq(q)aᶜa "s'éloigner"
bak(k)ara "être matinal"
bak(k)ala "mêler"
balla(la) "mouiller"
bal(l)aḥa "être las, fatigué"
balada "tenir à un lieu", *ballada* "se
  coller fortement à la terre"
bal(l)aṭa "paver"
ban(n)aša "être mou dans l'action"
ban(n)à "engraisser"
bah(h)aǧa "égayer"
bāṣa "précéder, *bawwaṣa* "devancer
  les autres"
bāta "faire quelque chose pendant la
  nuit", *bayyata* "s'occuper de q. ch.
  pendant la nuit"

tab(b)ana "regarder fixément"
tamma(ma) "finir"
tan(n)aḥa "s'arrêter, séjourner"
tāᶜa = *tayyaᶜa* "tremper"
tāma = *tayyama* "réduire en escla-
  vage"

ṯab(b)ata "persister"
ṯab(b)ara "rétenir, éloigner"
ṯab(b)aṭa "détourner, éloigner"
ṯab(b)à "réunir"
ṯar(r)aba "réprimander"
ṯar(r)ada "tremper la soupe"

ṯafā̲ = *ṯaffà* "appuyer, caler une marmite", "placer un trépied ou des pierres sous la marmite".

ṯaq(q)afa "redresser"

ṯaq(q)ala "render pesant"

ṯal(l)aṯa "être troisième"

ṯamma(ma) "marcher dessus"

ṯāba = *ṯawwaba* "retourner"

ṯawà "acueillir", *ṯawwà* "héberger"

ǧaʕ(ʕ)afa "effrayer"

ǧab(b)ara "faire à quelqu'un un mauvais accueil"

ǧaḥ(ḥ)ana "nourrir mal sa famille"

ǧaḥ(ḥ)ara "élargir l'orifice d'un puits"

ǧad(d)aḥa "brouiller, mêler une medicine"

ǧad(d)ara "s'élever (des plantes), "se former (fruits)"

ǧad(d)aʕa "mutiler quelqu'un"

ǧad(d)ala "jeter, renverser"

ǧar(r)ada "ôter, peler"

ǧar(r)afa "enlever"

ġaz(z)aʔa "partager, diviser"

ǧaz(z)ama "se taire; remplir (une outre)"

ǧaš(š)aʔa "roter"

ǧaḍḍa(ḍa) "fondre sur quelqu'un"

ǧaʕ(ʕ)afa "ramasser"

ǧaf(f)ala "enlever (l'écorce)"

ǧalla(la) "couvrir d' une housse"

ǧal(l)aba "crier; faire marcher en criant"

ǧal(l)ada "écorcher"

ǧal(l)aza "entourer (d'une courroie)"

ǧalā̲ = *ǧallà* "découvrir"

ǧamma(ma) "approcher (le temps)"

ǧam(m)ara "se rassembler"

ǧam(m)ala "fonder, liquifier"

ǧan(n)aba "éloigner, écarter"

ǧanā̲ = *ǧannà* "cueillir (un fruit)"

ǧāda = *ǧawwada* "être rapide à la course"

ǧāḍa = *ǧayyaḍa* "biaiser; se sauver"

ǧāfa = *ǧayyafa* "exhaler une odeur fétide"

ḥab(b)ara "faire une belle chose"

ḥab(b)asa "affecter à des usages pieux, envelopper et serrer"

ḥab(b)aša "rassembler"

ḥat(t)ara "ralonger le pan de la tente en y cousant une pièce"

ḥatta(ta) "exciter, pousser"

ḥaǧ(ǧ)aba "dérober aux regards"

ḥaǧ(ǧ)ana "recourber"

ḥadda(da) "aiguiser"

ḥad(d)aǧa "regarder d'un oeil fixe et scrutateur"

ḥar(r)ada "se proposer quelque chose"

ḥar(r)ama "defender, prohiber"

ḥaz(z)ana "attrister"

ḥazā̲ = *ḥazzà* "faire partir les oiseaux pour tirer des augures"

ḥas(s)ada "porter envie à quelqu'un"

ḥaš(š)ada "rassembler"

ḥašama "fâcher", *ḥaššama* "mettre en colère"

ḥaṣ(ṣ)aba "couvrir de petits cajous"

ḥaṣ(ṣ)ana "vivre vertueusement"

ḥaṭ(ṭ)ama "casser"

ḥaffa(fa) "entourer, envelopper"

ḥaqqa(qa) "s'assurer de la vérité d'une chose"

ḥaqara "mépriser", *ḥaqqara* "regarder avec mépris"

ḥal(l)à "orner"

ḥamma(ma) "chauffer"

ḥam(m)aša "rassembler"

ḥam(m)à "protéger"

ḥaniba = *ḥannaba* "avoir les parties minces du tarse convexes"

ḥan(n)aṭa "embaumer"

ḥan(n)aka "instruire; manger en broyant contre le palais"

ḥan(n)à "courber"

ḥāša = *ḥawwaša* "rassembler"

ḥaw(w)à "rassembler"

ḫabba(ba) "séduire"

ḫab(b)ala "déranger"

ḫat(t)ama "cacheter"

ḫat̲(t̲)ama "aplatir"

ḫadda(da) "fendre"

ḫad(d)ara "garder (une fille)"

ḫad̲(d̲)ala "abandoner"

ḫar(r)aṭa "purger"

ḫar(r)ama "découdre"
ḫaz(z)aᶜa "couper"
ḫas(s)ara "perdre"
ḫaṣṣa(ṣa) "affecter particulièrement"
ḫaṭṭa "tracer des lignes", *ḫaṭṭaṭa* "rayer"
ḫaṭ(ṭ)afa "enlever"
ḫaṭ(ṭ)ama "museler"
ḫaf(f)ara "protéger"
ḫaf(f)asa "boire"
ḫaf(f)aša "être débile"
ḫaf(f)aḍa "baisser"
ḫal(l)ada "rester dans un lieu"
ḫalaṣa "préserver du mal = *ḫallaṣa* "sauver d'un mal"
ḫal(l)aᶜa "ôter; déplacer"
ḫalā = ḫallà "quitter"
ḫam(m)ara "couvrir"
ḫam(m)ana "determiner par conjecture"
ḫan(n)aṭa "ployer"
ḫan(n)asa "cacher"
ḫan(n)aqa "étrangler"
ḫāra = ḫawwara "être faible"
ḫāra = ḫayyara "préferer"
ḫāṭa = ḫayyaṭa "coudre"
ḫāla = ḫayyala "s'imaginer"

dab(b)ara "rapporter (des paroles) après sa mort"
dab(b)ala "faire une grande bouchée"
daǧ(ǧ)ala "enduire"
daḫ(ḫ)asa "examiner"
dar(r)asa "lire; étudier"
daᶜ(ʔ)asa "percer avec une lance"
daᶜā = daᶜᶜà "appeler"
daġ(ġ)ama "écraser le nez"
daffa(fa) "se jeter sur un homme blessé ou malade pour l'achever"
dakka(ka) "mélanger"
dalā = dallà "faire descendre à l'aide d'une corde"
damma(ma) "enduire"
dam(m)aǧa "entrer"
dam(m)ara "perdre, anénatir"
dam(m)asa "cacher"
danna(na) "bourdonner"
dan(n)aḫa "être abject et méprisé"
danā = dannà "s'approcher"
dah(h)ana "oindre"

ḏāḫa = ḏawwaḫa "soumettre"
ḏāda = ḏawwada "être véreux"
ḏāra = ḏawwara "promener quelqu'un"
ḏāma = ḏawwama "voltiger, tourbilloner (l'oiseau)"
ḏaw(w)à "bourdonner"

ḏaᶜ(ʔ)aba "coiffer en toupet"
ḏab(b)ara "écrire, copier"
ḏar(r)aba "aiguiser"
ḏar(r)aḥa "empoisonner de mouches cantharides"
ḏar(r)aᶜa "étendre les bras"
ḏarā = ḏarrà "enlever (le vent)"
ḏaffa(fa) "survenir rapidement (pour achever un homme blessé)"
ḏakā = ḏakkà "égorger"
ḏal(l)aqa "aiguiser"
ḏamma(ma) "blamer"
ḏanna(na) "être morveux"
ḏāqa = ḏawwaqa "tirer la corde de l'arc"

rabba(ba) "élever un jeune homme"
rab(b)aʔa "enlever, ôter"
rab(b)ata "élever un jeune homme"
rat(t)ana "mêler"
ratā = rattà "pleurer quelqu'un dans une élégie"
raǧ(ǧ)aba "vénérer"
raǧ(ǧ)aza "composer un poème sur le mètre *raǧaz*"
raǧaᶜa "répéter", *raǧǧaᶜa* "répéter le son"
raǧ(ǧ)ana "tenir à l'écurie"
raǧā = raǧǧà "espérer"
rad(d)afa "suivre quelqu'un"
rad(d)ama "racommoder"
raz(z)aza "polir, lisser"
rasiᶜa = rassaᶜa "avoir les paupières malades"
rašša(ša) "asperger"
raš(š)ama "écrire"
rassa(sa) "ajuster deux objects"
raṭ(ṭ)aba "donner a quelqu' un des dates mûres"
raṭala "soupeser", *raṭṭala* "peser dans la balance"
raᶜ(ʔ)aba "roucouler"

raġama "humilier", *raġġama* "vexer"

raġā = raġġà "être couvert d'écume"

rafaᶜa = raf(f)aᶜa "élever, hausser"

raf(f)ala "augmenter la quantité de l'eau dans le puits"

raqaša "peindre avec deux ou trois couleurs, *raqqaša* "embellir"

raq(q)aᶜa "rapiecer"

raq(q)ama "écrire; brocher"

raq(q)ana "teindre en rouge avec le henna"

rak(k)ala "donner des coups de pied"

ram(m)aḍa "paître sur un sol brûlé"

ram(m)ala "tresser fin"

ran(n)aᶜa "secouer la tête"

ran(n)ama "chanter"

rah(h)aṭa "être réuni"

rāḥa = rawwaḥa "aller chez quelqu'un le soir"

rāḍa = rawwaḍa "dresser"

rāᶜa = rawwaᶜa "faire peur"

raw(w)à "réflechir"

rāša = rayyaša "garnir de plumes"

zabba(ba) "être près du coucher (le soleil)"

zab(b)ara "copier"

zaġā "pousser", *zaġġà* "pousser doucement"

zaḫafa "être vantard", *zaḫḫafa* "parler beaucoup trop"

zar(r)afa "être bavard"

zar(r)ama "interrompre"

zaġiba = zaġġaba "être couvert du duvet"

zak(k)ata "remplir l'outre"

zak(k)ara "remplir"

zak(k)ama "enrhumer"

zal(l)aqa "raser (la tête)"

zal(l)ama "remplir"

zam(m)ara "jouer de *zammārah*"

zam(m)ala "prendre/mettre quelqu'un en croupe"

zanna(na) "penser telle ou telle chose"

zan(n)ada "faire jaillir le feu"

zan(n)aqa "nourrir mal sa famille"

zaw(w)à "se retirer (loin du monde)"

zāfa = zayyafa "adulterer, falsifier"

zāna = zayyana "orner"

sab(b)aḥa "louer Dieu"

sab(b)aḥa "dormir d'un sommeil profond"

sab(b)ada "raser le poil"

sab(b)aka "fonder"

saǧ(ǧ)aḥa "insinuer"

saġara "verser, vider", *saġġara* "faire couler"

saǧ(ǧ)aᶜa "parler avec des assonances"

saǧ(ǧ)ala "jeter de haut en bas"

saǧama "laisser couler", *saǧǧama* "verser"

saḥ(ḥ)ara "tromper"

saḥā = saḥḥà "relier avec parchemin"

saḫ(a)ra "focer quelqu'un de travailler sans le payer"

sarra(ra) "réjouir"

sar(r)aʔa "être très prolifique"

sar(r)aǧa "tresser les cheveux"

sar(r)aḥa "laisser aller paître librement"

sar(r)ada "percer"

sarā = sarrà "jeter ses habits par terre"

saṭ(ṭ)aḥa "aplatir"

saṭ(ṭ)ara "écrire"

saᶜ(ᶜ)ara "allumer"

saf(f)ara "museler un chameau"

saq(q)aᶜa "s'en aller"

saq(q)afa "couvrir d'un toit"

saq(q)à "arroser les champs"

sal(l)aᶜa "fendre"

sam(m)ata "poursuivre toujours le chemin"

sam(m)ara "couper le lait avec de l'eau"

sam(m)aṭa "se taire"

sam(m)ala "n' amener que fort peu"

sam(m)ana "fournir du beurre à quelqu'un"

sanna(n)a "aiguiser"

sawisa = sawwasa "être ataqué par les vers"

sāṭa = sawwaṭa "mélanger"

sāfa = sawwafa "flairer"

sāqa = sawwaqa "mener"

sāka = sawwaka "curer"

ṣāma = *ṣawwama* "imposer à quelqu'un une chose"

šab(b)ara "mesurer à l'empan"
šabiᶜa "être rassasié", *šabbaᶜa* "ê. presque rassasié"
šab(b)aka "passer une chose dans l'autre"
šab(b)ama "bâilloner"
šatta(ta) "séparer"
šat(t)ara "injurier"
šatā = *šattà* "passer l'hiver"
šaǧ(ǧ)ana "attrister"
šaḥ(ḥ)aḏa "aiguiser"
šaḥina "garder une rancune", *šaḥḥana* "hair quelqu'un"
šadda(da) "raffermir"
šadaqa "grandir", *šaddaqa* "avoir grandi"
šaḏḏa(ḏa) "séparer"
šaḏ(ḏ)aba "ôter l'écorce"
šarra(ra) "exposer au soleil"
šar(r)aǧa "mêler"
šar(r)aḥa "dilater"
šaraṭa "faire une scarification", *šarraṭa* "scarifier"
šarafa "créneler", *šarrafa* "surmonter de créneaux"
šarā = *šarrà* "sécher"
šaṣ(ṣ)ara "passer le bois *šiṣār* dans les narines du chameau"
šaṭṭa(ṭa) "aller trop loin"
šaṭ(ṭ)ara "partager en deux parties égales"
šaṭ(ṭ)afa "laver"
šaẓẓa(ẓa) "disperser"
šaᶜ(ᶜ)aba "séparer"
šaᶜ(ᶜ)ara "garnir de poil"
šaᶜ(ᶜ)ala "allumer (le feu)"
šaǧ(ǧ)aba "exciter les uns contre les autres"
šaf(f)ara "causer une lesion aux bords du vagin"
šak(k)ada "donner quelque chose"
šak(k)ala "devenir obscur"
šamma(ma) "flairer"
šam(m)ara "ramasser"
šam(m)aṭa "mêler"
šanaᶜa "déshonorer", *šannaᶜa* "diffamer"

šah(h)ara "divulguer"
šahā "desirer ardemment", *šahhà* "aimer quelque chose"
ṣāba = *ṣawwaba* "éloigner un mal"
ṣāra = *ṣawwara* "manier, manipuler"
ṣāsa = *ṣawwaṣa* "frotter (les dens)"
šāka = *šawwaka* "finir en pointe"
šaw(w)à "rôtir"
šāḥa = *šayyaḥa* "être vieillard"
šāda = *šayyada* "élever"
šāna = *šayyana* "rendre villain"

ṣab(b)aǧa "teindre"
ṣad(d)aʔa "enlever la rouille"
ṣad(d)ara "s'avancer"
ṣad(d)aᶜa "fendre"
ṣad(d)aqa "être sincère"
ṣadā = *ṣaddà* "batter des mains"
ṣaraḥa "exposer clairement", *ṣarraḥa* "dire clairement"
ṣar(r)afa "boire du vin (pur)"
ṣar(r)ama "couper"
ṣaᶜida = *ṣaᶜᶜada* "gravir"
ṣaf(f)aḥa "aplatir"
ṣaf(f)ada "lier, serer avec une corde"
ṣaf(f)ara "siffler"
ṣaf(f)aqa "conclure un marché"
ṣaq(q)ara "allumer"
ṣal(l)aba "pendre, crucifier"
ṣal(l)ama "mutiler quelqu'un en lui arrachant le nez ou les oreilles"
ṣalā = *ṣallà* "approcher du feu"
ṣam(m)ata "se taire"
ṣam(m)ada "se render, se diriger vers quelqu'un"
ṣāta = *ṣawwata* "pousser un cri"
ṣāᶜa "disperser", *ṣawwaᶜa* "séparer deux choses en les écartant"
ṣaw(w)à "se désécher"
ṣāḥa = *ṣayyaḥa* "crier"
ṣāṣa = *ṣayyaṣa* "produire des dattes de mauvaise espèce"

ḍabba(ba) "prendre avec toute la main"
ḍaǧ(ǧ)aᶜa "pencher vers le coucher"
ḍar(r)aba "mêler"
ḍar(r)asa "mordre avec force"
ḍaᶜ(ᶜ)afa "porter au double"
ḍaf(f)ara "tresser"

ḍam(m)ada "bander, panser"
ḍāḫa = ḍawwaḫa "être vide / desert"

ṭabba(ba) "consolider une outré (avec une courroie)"
ṭab(b)aᶜa "remplir"
ṭab(b)aqa "couvrir"
ṭaṯ(ṯ)ara "être gras (le lait)"
ṭaḫ(ḫ)ana "moudre"
ṭar(r)aḫa "jeter avec force"
ṭar(r)ada "poursuivre"
ṭassa(sa) "s'éloigner"
ṭaᶜima = ṭaᶜᶜama "être rempli de moëlle"
ṭaffa(fa) "déployer les ailes"
ṭaf(f)ala "habituer à teter"
ṭal(l)aḫa "fatiguer"
ṭal(l)asa "effacer"
ṭal(l)aᶜa "produire la spathe; commencer à avoir la spathe; gravir"
ṭalā = ṭallà "oindre"
ṭanna(na) "rendre un son métallique"
ṭaniba = ṭannaba "être long du dos"
ṭāḫa = ṭayyaḫa "salir"
ṭāna = ṭayyana "enduire de boue"

ẓaf(f)ara "égratigner"
ẓah(h)ara "jeter par dessus l'épaule, négliger"

ᶜab(b)aʾa = ᶜabā = ᶜabbà "arranger"
ᶜab(b)ara "passer, traverser"
ᶜab(b)asa "prendre une expression severe"
ᶜab(b)ala "dépouiller de feuillage"
ᶜat(t)aqa "mordre"
ᶜaṯ(ṯ)ana "fumer (le feu)"
ᶜağafa "manger moins qu'on n'a envie", ᶜağğafa "manger peu"
ᶜağila = ᶜağğala "se hâter"
ᶜağ(ğ)ama "marquer de points diacritiques"
ᶜağā = ᶜağğà "tordre la bouche, faire une grimace"
ᶜadda(da) "compter"
ᶜadaqa "plonger la main", ᶜaddaqa "plonger un grappin"
ᶜad(d)ala "rendre droit"
ᶜad(d)ana "fumer la terre avec l'engrais"

ᶜadā = ᶜaddà "détourner"
ᶜaḏ(ḏ)aba "empêcher d approcher"
ᶜaḏ(ḏ)ara "circoncire"
ᶜaḏ(ḏ)aqa "dépouiller un palmier de dates"
ᶜaḏ(ḏ)ala "blamer"
ᶜarra(ra) "fumer, mettre de l'engrais"
ᶜarida = ᶜarrada "s'enfuir"
ᶜar(r)aša "construire une maison en bois"
ᶜar(r)aḍa "exposer"
ᶜaz(z)ara "blamer"
ᶜaz(z)ala "éloigner"
ᶜas(s)ara "venir du côté gauche"
ᶜas(s)ala "sucrer avec du miel"
ᶜašša(ša) "avoir la tige et les branches minces"
ᶜaš(š)ana "énoncer une opinion"
ᶜašā = ᶜaššà "souper; paître pendant la nuit"
ᶜaṣ(ṣ)aba "panser"
ᶜaṣā = ᶜaṣṣà "donner un baton"
ᶜaḍ(ḍ)ala "empêcher son mari de prendre una autre femme"
ᶜaḍ(ḍ)aha "couper des branches du ᶜiḍāh"
ᶜaḍā = ᶜaḍḍà "dépécer (un mouton)"
ᶜaṭṭa(ṭa) "fendre"
ᶜaṭ(ṭ)afa "plier"
ᶜaṭ(ṭ)ana "préparer le cuir à l'aide des substances corrosives"
ᶜaf(f)ara "enfouir, ensevelir"
ᶜaf(f)aqa "réunir"
ᶜaf(f)ana "gâter (la viande)"
ᶜafā = ᶜaffà "effacer"
ᶜaq(q)aba "suivre quelqu'un"
ᶜaq(q)ada "nouer, lier"
ᶜaq(q)ara "couper les jarrets à une bête"
ᶜaq(q)afa "courber, cambrer"
ᶜak(k)afa "tresser ses cheveux"
ᶜak(k)ama "être très gros et gras"
ᶜak(k)à "mourir"
ᶜal(l)ab/ṭa "marquer"
ᶜal(l)aqa "enlever, cueillir"
ᶜalā = ᶜallà "monter sur quelque chose"
ᶜam(m)ata "rouler la laine en flacons"

ᶜam(m)ada "étayer, appuyer"

ᶜam(m)ara "entretenir (pays, maison)"

ᶜanna(na) "attacher les rênes au mors"

ᶜan(n)asa "être vieille fille"

ᶜanufa = ᶜannada "être dur envers quelqu'un"

ᶜāǧa = ᶜawwaǧa "rendre cambré, courber"

ᶜāra = ᶜawwara "rendre quelqu'un lorgne"

ᶜāla = ᶜawwala "crier, faire des lamentations"

ᶜāna "être d'un âge moyen, ᶜawwana "commencer à être d'un âge moyen"

ᶜaw(w)à "relever un mésonge"

ᶜāba = ᶜayyaba "gâter, altérer"

ġab(b)ana "tromper"

ġad/ḏā "nourrir quelqu'un", ġaddà = ġaddà "donner quelque chose à manger"

ġarra(ra) "aveugler (relativement à quelque chose)"

ġar(r)aba "s'éloigner"

ġar(r)ada "chanter (un oiseau)"

ġar(r)aza "enfoncer, plonger la queue dans la terre pour y pondre"

ġar(r)aḍa "cueillir una chose toute fraîche"

ġarā = ġarrà "enduire"

ġašša(ša) "tromper"

ġašā = ġaššà "couvrir"

ġaḍafa "laisser tomber", ġaḍḍafa "laisser pendant et lâche"

ġaṭ(ṭ)asa "plonger"

ġaṭā = ġaṭṭà "couvrir"

ġafara "couvrir", ġaffara "couvrir de poussière"

ġal(l)aba "vaincre"

ġal(l)afa "cacher, serrer"

ġamma(ma) "(re)couvrir"

ġamā = ġammà "couvrir une maison de terre et roseaux"

ġāra = ġawwara "descendre dans un terrain encaissé"

ġaw(w)à "induire en erreur"

ġāṣa = ġāyyaṣa "diminuer, faire décroître"

ġāza = ġayyaza "fâcher"

ġāla = ġayyala "allaiter"

ġāma = ġayyama "être couvert de nuages"

fatta(ta) "broyer"

fat(t)aḥa "ouvrir; commencer"

fat(t)aḫa "plier les doigts et puis les redresser"

fat(t)aša "chercher avec soin"

fat(t)aǧa "être chargé d'un fardeau"

faǧ(ǧ)ara "donner une issue à l'eau"

faḥ(ḥ)aǧa "marcher en rapprochant le devant des pieds"

faḫ(ḫ)ara "regarder quelqu'un comme plus illustre"

fadda(da) "crier, vociferer"

fad(d)ara "être affaibli"

fad(d)ama "couvrir d'un linge l'orifice d'un vas pour filtrer"

far(r)aṭa "blesser le foie"

far(r)aǧa "fendre"

far(r)ada "s'isoler"

far(r)aša "étendre un tapis"

far(r)aḍa "faire des coches"

far(r)aṭa "devancer"

far(r)aᶜa "monter sur un hauteur"

far(r)aġa "vider"

far(r)aqa "séparer"

far(r)à "tailler, couper"

fas(s)ara "découvrir; expliquer"

faš(š)aǧa "écarter les jambes"

faš(š)aġa "couvrir, envelopper"

faṣ(ṣ)aᶜa "donner quelque chose à quelqu'un"

faṣ(ṣ)ala "séparer"

faᶜ(ᶜ)ama "remplir"

faq(q)aʔa "arracher l'oeil"

faq(q)aḥa "ouvrir les yeux; commencer à voir"

fakka(ka) "séparer, disjoindre"

fak(k)ara "penser"

fakiha = fakkaha "égayer par des plaisanteries"

falla(la) "ébrecher"

fal(l)aǧa "partager en deux"

falaḥa "tromper quelqu'un", *fallaḫa* "agir perfidement á l'égard de quelqu'un"

fal(l)aḏa "couper en morceaux"

fal(l)aġa "fender"

fal(l)aka "avoir le sein déjà arrondi"

fal(l)à "faire la chasse aux poux"

fan(n)aḫa "avoir le dessus; soumettre"

fāza "se sauver", *fawwaza* "fuir"

qabba "être sec", *qabbaba* "se désecher"

qab(b)aḥa "refuser à quelqu'un toute bonne qualité"

qab(b)aṣa "prendre quelque chose avec le bout des doigts"

qab(b)aḍa "saisir / serrer avec la main"

qaḫ(ḫ)aza "frapper avec un baton"

qadda(da) "couper en lanières"

qad(d)aḫa "s'enfoncer dans l'orbite (l'oeil)"

qad(d)ara "determiner selon une certaine mesure"

qad(d)ama "être le premier"

qaḏḏa(ḏa) "rogner également deux morceaux"

qaḏ(ḏ)afa "lancer des pierres"

qar(r)aba "remettre dans le fourreau"

qar(r)ada "se taire par sentiment de son impuissance"

qar(r)aṣa "étendre la pâte et la couper"

qar(r)aṭa "couper en petits morceaux"

qar(r)aᶜa "frapper"

qar(r)ana "joindre"

qaz(z)aḫa "assaisonner, mettre des aromates"

qazaᶜa "se mettre à courir avec rapidité", *qazzaᶜa* "courir à toutes jambes"

qassa(sa) "garder et faire paître avec attention"

qas(s)ama "partager"

qašša(ša) "ramasser des morceaux jetés pour s'en nourrir"

qaš(š)aba "mêler"

qaš(š)ara "dépouiller de son écorce"

qašā = qaššà "peler"

qaṣ(ṣ)aba "faire un affront à quelqu'un en lui faissant de reproches publiques"

qaṣ(ṣ)ada "casser par le milieu"

qaṣ(ṣ)ara "acourcir"

qaṣ(ṣ)aᶜa "apaiser la soif"

qaṣā = qaṣṣà "mutiler une chamelle"

qaḍ(ḍ)aba "couper"

qaḍ(ḍ)à "achever"

qaṭ(ṭ)aba "froncer"

qaṭ(ṭ)ara "faire tomber goutte à goutte"

qaṭ(ṭ)afa "enlever les grappes de raisin"

qaṭ(ṭ)ala "couper"

qaᶜ(ᶜ)aṭa "pousser avec vigueur et faire marcher"

qafana "égorger une brebis", *qaffana* "couper la tête"

qal(l)aba "(re)tourner"

qal(l)ada "rouler autour de"

qal(l)aᶜa "arracher, ôter de sa place"

qal(l)afa "calfater"

qalā "frire", *qalla* "cautériser"

qamma(ma) "dessécher"

qam(m)aša "ramasser"

qam(m)aṣa "ballotter (un navire)"

qam(m)aṭa "lier avec la corde tous les quatre pieds"

qam(m)aᶜa "appliquer l'entonnoir"

qan(n)aʔa "teindre en noir"

qanā = qannà "conserver intact (chasteté, etc.)"

qāba = qawwaba "creuser (la terre)"

qāḥa = qawwaḥa "balayer"

qāda = qawwada "mener, conduire"

qāra = qawwara "découper un rond"

qāḍa = qawwaḍa "défaire, séparer les parties"

qāẓa = qayyaẓa "passer la saison d'été dans un lieu"

qāna = qayyana "arranger"

kab(b)aᶜa "couper, perfendre"

kab(b)ala "charger de ceps"

kat(t)aba "écrire"

kan(n)afa "avoir les omoplates saillants"

kat(t)ama "cacher"

kaṯ (ṯ)aˀa "se developer et être prospère"

kaṯ(ṯ)aḥa "mettre à nu, découvrir"

kaṯ(ṯ)aˁa "être couvert de crème à la surface"

kaḥ(ḥ)ala "enduire de collyre"

kad(d)aˀa "endommager et coucher par terre (le froid)"

kad(d)aha "égratigner (le visage)"

kaḏ(ḏ)aba "tromper, décevoir"

kar(r)aba "munir d' une corde"

kas(s)aba "faire acquérir quelque chose à quelqu'un"

kasā = kassà "vêtir"

kaš(š)aḥa "faire à quelqu'un avec un fer chaud une cautérisation aux hypocondres"

kaš(š)afa "découvrir"

kaˁ(ˁ)aba "avoir le sein formé"

kaf(f)ata "ramasser, attirer à soi"

kaf(f)ara "(re)couvrir"

kaf(f)ala "nourrir"

kaf(f)ana "enveloper (le mort) dans un linceul"

kalla(la) "être émoussé"

kalaˀa "diriger ser regards sur une chose", *kallaˀa* "tourner ses regards sur quelqu'un"

kal(l)ada "entasser"

kal(l)ama "blesser"

kam(m)à "cacher"

kanna(na) "couvrir"

kan(n)afa "entourer d' une cloture"

kanā = kannà "donner à quelqu'un un surnom"

kāra = kawwara "rouler en spirale"

kāsa = kawwasa "renverser quelqu'un la tête en bas"

lab(b)aḥa "vieillir"

lab(b)ada "faire un bourrelet de laine"

lab(b)asa "couvrir"

lab(b)aqa "adoucir"

lab(b)aka "mêler"

laṯ(ṯ)ama "se mettre un *liṯām*"

laǧiba = laǧǧaba "être épuisée et ne donner plus de lait"

laǧ(ǧ)afa "creuser un trou"

laǧ(ǧ)ana "abattre les feuilles d'un arbre"

laḥ(ḥ)aba "imprimer une marque/trace sur quelque chose"

laḥ(ḥ)ada "pratiquer un creux lateral dans une fosse"

laḥ(ḥ)asa "s'acquitter entièrement de quelque chose"

laḥ(ḥ)ana "commettre des barbarismes"

lad(d)ama "rapiécer un vêtement"

laz(z)aˀa "donner"

lazuba = lazzaba "être dur"

las(s)ana "faire aller en pointe"

laġ(ġ)aṭa "faire du bruit"

laffa(fa) "enveloper"

laf(f)aqa "coudre en mettant bout à bout deux pieces"

laqita = laqqata "mêler"

laq(q)aḥa "féconder"

laqifa = laqqafa "avaler avec precipitation"

laqā = laqqà "causer à quelqu'un une paralyse de la bouche"

lam(m)aẓa "payer à quelqu'un une partie de son dû"

lah(h)ada "tâter pour s'assurer si l'individue est gras"

lah(h)aza "porter un violent coup sur la poitrine"

lahā = lahhà "distraire, consoler"

lāṯa = lawwaṯa "salir"

lāqa = lawwaqa "amollir"

maṯ(ṯ)aḥa "faire sa ponte en enfonçant la queue dans la terre"

maṯ(ṯ)ala "faire un exemple de quelqu'un"

maǧ(ǧ)ada "rassasier ses troupeaux de fourrage vert"

maḥ(ḥ)asa "purifier"

maḥ(ḥ)aqa "effacer"

maḥ(ḥ)ana "adoucir, assouplir"

maḥā = maḥḥà "effacer"

maḥ(ḥ)aḍa "éprouver les douleurs de la parturition"

maḥ(ḥ)aṭa "essuyer la glaive du nez"

mad(d)ara "enduire de boue"

maḏ(ḏ)à "lâcher (un cheval) au pâturage"

mar(r)aḫa "oindre"
mar(r)aṭa "arracher le poil"
mar(r)aġa "oindre"
mar(r)ana "jeter quelqu'un par terre"
mar(r)à "presser avec les doigts/la bouche les pis de la chamelle"
maz(z)aᶜa "éplucher et séparer avec les doigts le cotton"
maz(z)ana "remplir (une outre)"
mas(s)aḫa "essuyer quelque chose en passant la main dessus"
mas(s)aka "saisir"
maššа(šа) "tirer toute la moelle d'un os"
maš(š)ara "produire des feuilles de forme oblongue et pointue"
maš(š)aṭa "peigner"
maš(š)ana "tirer tout le lait d'une chamelle"
maš(š)à "marcher"
maṣ(ṣ)aḫa "ôter"
maṭṭa(ṭa) "allonger"
maq(q)ata "hair"
maq(q)aṭa "renverser quelqu'un par terre"
mal(l)aʔa "(r)emplir"
mal(l)aṭa "enduire de boue"
mal(l)aqa "frapper avec un bâton"
mal(l)aka "pétrir bien"
man(n)aḫa "donner"
mah(h)ada "étendre comme un tapis"
māṣa = mawwaṣa "laver"
māha = mawwaha "avoir / contenir beaucoup d'eau"
māṭa = mawwaṭa "macérer"

nab(b)aʔa "annoncer"
nab(b)aḏa "faire la boisson appelée *nabīḏ*"
nab(b)asa "parler"
nab(b)aqa "écrire"
nab(b)ala "apaiser en lui donnat à manger un morceau après l'autre"
naǧ(ǧ)aba "enlever l'écorce d'un arbre"
naǧ(ǧ)aᶜa "produire son effet (un discours)"
naǧā = naǧǧà "être sauvé"
naḫ(ḫ)aba "travailler avec empressement"

naḫā/à = naḫḫà "ôter de sa place"
naz(z)ara "être importun, pressant dans ses demandes"
nazā = nazzà "sauter"
nas(s)aʔa "éloigner (de l'eau)"
nas(s)aqa "disposer en ordre"
naš(š)ara "déployer"
naṣ(ṣ)aba "élever, dresser"
naṣ(ṣ)ala "ficher une fleche dans un corps"
naḍ(ḍ)aba "descendre dans le sol (l'eau)"
naḍ(ḍ)ada "mettre en ordre/un tas les tapis"
naḍara "créer quelqu'un éclatat de beauté, *naḍḍara* "donner quelqu'un … de beauté"
naṭafa "accuser d'une turpitude", *naṭṭafa* "mettre en suspicion d'une turpitude"
naẓ(ẓ)ara "regarder"
naẓ(ẓ)ama "disposer en ordre"
naᶜ(ᶜ)aša "(r)elever quelqu'un (Dieu)"
naᶜ(ᶜ)ala "chausser (bête)"
naf(f)aḫa "souffler avec la bouche"
naf(f)ara "mettre en fuite"
naf(f)aša "séparer avec les doigts (laine, cotton)"
naf(f)ala "faire un cadeau / don"
nafā = naffà "bannir"
naq(q)aba "examiner en detail; parcourir un pays"
naq(q)aṭa "se dépêcher"
naq(q)aḫa "vider un os en en tirant la moelle"
naq(q)aḏa "sauver"
naq(q)ara "becqueter; choisir"
naq(q)aša "peindre"
naq(q)aṣa "amoindrir"
naq(q)aḍa "craquer"
naq(q)aṭa "marquer d'un point diacritique"
nak(k)asa "renverser"
nak(k)aᶜa "ôter, repousser quelqu'un de quelque chose"
nam(m)ara "être en colère"
nam(m)asa "cacher"
nam(m)aša "parler à l'oreille"
nam(m)aqa "écrire bien"

nam(m)à "croître"

nah(h)ada "avoir déjà les seins gon-
  flés"

nahā = nahhà "defender, prohiber"

nāra = nawwara "imprimer/ marquer
  avec un fer rougi au feu"

nāṭa = nawwaṭa "(sus)pendre"

nāla = nawwala "donner"

naw(w)à "jeter des noyaux de dattes"

nāra = nayyara "marquer une étoffe"

haǧā = haǧǧà "épeler"

had(d)ana "calmer"

har(r)aʔa = har(r)ada "cuire trop les
  viands"

hariṣa = harraṣa "déchirer"

hazza(za) "agiter"

haz(z)aǧa "se servir du mètre *hazaǧ*"

haz(z)ala "amaigrir"

haṣ(ṣ)ara "tirer à soi"

hal(l)aba "arracher des cheveux"

hal(l)aka "perdre, faire périr"

hāda = hawwada "parler bas"

hāra = hawwara "démolir"

hāla = hawwala "effrayer"

hāǧa = hayyaǧa "exciter"

hāda = hayyada "effrayer"

hayifa = hayyafa "être mince"

hāla = hayyala "verser, répandre"

waʔ(ʔ)ara "précipiter dans un ma-
  lheur"

wab(b)aṣa "ouvrir les yeux (un petit
  chien)"

wat(t)ada "enfoncer (un pieu)"

wat(t)ara "faire une chose sépa-
  rément"

watiqa "avoir confiance", *wattaqa*
  "regarder comme digne de con-
  fiance"

waḥ(ḥ)ana "batter (des étoffes, le
  cuir)"

waḥ(ḥ)afa "se jeter par terre"

wad(d)aʔa "aplanir (le sol)"

wad(d)asa "être caché"

wad(d)aʕa "poser, placer"

wad(d)ana "tremper, macérer"

wad(d)ara "couper, hacher"

war(r)aṣ/da "pondre un oeuf"

war(r)afa "être long (l'ombre)"

war(r)aqa "être branchu"

war(r)aka "mettre quelque chose au-
  tour de ses hanches"

war(r)à "faire jaillir le feu d'un bri-
  quet"

waz(z)aʕa "partager"

waz(z)afa "aller vite"

wašuka = waššaka "marcher avec
  rapidité / celerité"

waš(š)ama "se tatouer"

waš(š)à "imprimer une étoffe"

waḍ(ḍ)aʕa "humilier"

waṭiʔa = waṭṭaʔa "fouler avec les
  pieds"

waṭ(ṭ)ada "raffermir"

waʕ(ʕ)ara "retenir, contenir"

waʕ(ʕ)aza "insinuer"

waf(f)ara "rendre nombreux"

waf(f)à "payer (tout)"

waq(q)ata "fixer (l'heure)"

waq(q)aḍa "abandoner quelqu'un
  malade et gisant par terre"

waq(q)ara "fender"

waq(q)aʕa "aiguiser; user, amincir"

waq(q)à "garder, préserver"

wak(k)aba "être noirâtre (date mûre)"

wak(k)ata "remplir"

wak(k)ada "serrer"

wal(l)ada "enfanter"

wal(l)à " (dé)tourner"

wam(m)aʔa "faire signe avec la tête"

wah(h)ara "jeter, entraîner"

wah(h)ana "affaiblir"

yam(m)ana "aller à droite"

Appendix II (Andalusi Arabic, from Corriente 1997)

nubūl = nibawwal "to urinate"
naḫruf = niḫarraf "to steal"
naḥmī = niḥammī "to protect"
ḫabaytu & niḫabbī "to conceal"
naḫbal = niḫabbal "to confound"
naḫtum = niḫattam "to seal"
naḫdaᶜ = niḫaddaᶜ "to deceive"
ḫarī = ḫarrī "to defecate"
naḫrab = niḫarrab "to ruin"
naḫruf = niḫarraf "to tell tales"
ḫaraq & niḫarraq "to tear"
yaḫḍab & niḫaḍḍab "to dye"
naḫḍaᶜ = niḫaḍḍaᶜ "to subdue"
naḫfaḍ = niḫaffaḍ "to lower"
naḫlaṭ = niḫallaṭ "to mix"
nadḫas = nidaḫḫas "to push"
nadrus = nidarras "to thresh"
nadluk = nidallak "to polish"
narǧum = niraǧǧam "to stone"
narfaᶜ = uraffiᶜu "to exalt"
nasqī = nisaqqī "to water"
našraᶜ = nišarraᶜ "to legislate"
nišuqq = nišaqqaq "to split"
našmat = ušammitu "to insult"
naçbí "to act as a boy", *neçabbí* "to become a young man"

Appendix III (Iraqi Arabic, from Woodhead & Wayne Beene)

isar = assar "to capture"
bitar = battar "to chop off"
tibaᶜ = tabbaᶜ "to follow"
tiras = tarras "to fill up"
ṯiram = ṯarram "to chop"
ṯilam = ṯallam "to chip"
ṯuwal = ṯawwal "to confuse"
jiraᶜ = jarraᶜ "to gulp"
ḥisab = ḥassab "to consider"
ḥišad = ḥaššad "to mass"
ḥiša = ḥašša "to stuff"
ḥiṣal = ḥaṣṣal "to obtain"
ḥumaẓ = ḥammaẓ "to sour up"
ḥiraš = ḥarraš "to startle"
ḥira = ḥarra "to defecate"
ḥiṣa = ḥaṣṣa "to castrate"

naṣdaᶜ = niṣaddaᶜ "to split"
aṣurru & yiṣarrar "to creak"
nasqil = niṣaqqal "to polish"
niṣīḥ = niṣayyaḥ "to shout"
naṭrud = niṭarrad "to chase away"
naṭruš = niṭarraš "to whip"
naᶜmur = niᶜammar "to cultivate"
naġruz = niġarraz "to stab"
naġrus = niġarras "to plant"
niġull = niġallal "to fetter"
naftaš = nifattaš "to search"
naftam = nifattam "to wean"
naqsam = niqassam "to divide"
naqhar = niqahhar "to force"
niqīl = niqayyal "to take a nap"
nakšaf = nikaššaf "to discover"
naknī = nikannī "to surname"
nuluff = nilaffaf "to wrap"
nalwī = nilawwī "to twist"
namsaḫ = nimassaḫ "to turn into a monster"
namlā = nimallī "to fill"
nanšur = ninaššar "to saw in two"
nanẓam = ninaẓẓam "to string"
nanquṭ = ninaqqaṭ "to dot"
nanqiᶜ = ninaqqaᶜ "to soak"
nanqul = ninaqqal "to carry"
nahǧam = nihaǧǧam "to attack"
nahdam = nihaddam "to destroy"
yahḍam & nihaḍḍam "to digest"
dilaġ = dallaġ "to daydream"
dumar = dammar "to wreck"
dihan = dahhan "to oil"
ḏamm = ḏammam "to criticize"
rigaᶜ = raggaᶜ "to patch"
zirab = zarrab "to defecate"
zāᶜ = zawwaᶜ "to vomit"
sitar = sattar "to protect"
sigad = saggaf "to roof"
silab = sallab "to rob"
silak = sallak "to behave"
samm = sammam "to poison"
šāb = šayyab "to become grey"
ṣaff(af) "to arrange"
ᶜibaṯ = ᶜabbaṯ "to cause disorder"
ᶜiṭas = ᶜaṭṭas "to sneeze"
ᶜigad = ᶜaggad "to knot"
ᶜiwaǧ = ᶜawwaǧ "to bend"
ᶜiwar = ᶜawwar "to squint"
ġilag = ġallag "to shut"

fitaḫ = fattaḫ "to open"
qisam = qassam "to divide"
qufal = qaffal "to lock"
giraẓ = garraẓ "to gnaw"
gišaṭ = gaššaṭ "to scratch"
giṣaf = gaṣṣaf "to scratch"
giẓa = gaẓẓa "to spend, to pass"
giṭa ᶜ/m = gaṭṭa ᶜ/m "to cut off"
gufa ᶜ = gaffa ᶜ "to peel, to flake"
gilab = gallab "to turn over"
gila = galla "to fry"
kisab = kassab "to win"
kišaf = kaššaf "to uncover"
kifa = kaffa "to be enough"
kumaḫ = kammaḫ "to cover with a cloth"

Appendix IV (Syrian Arabic, from Barthélemy)[24]

dār = dawwar "faire tourner"
raf(f)a ᶜ "élever"
raq(q)a ᶜ "rapiécer"
raqq(aq) "ramincir"
sāb = sayyab "laisser paître en liberté"
šar(r)aḥ "(dé)couper la viande"
ẓab(b)aṭ "régulariser/régler une montre"
ᶜazam "inviter", *mᶜazzamīn* "invités"
ᶜakas "compromettre le succès d'une affaire", *ᶜakkas* "faire échouer"
ᶜāq "empêcher", *ᶜawwaq* "retarder"
ġab(b)aš "être matinal"
ġam(m)as "manger en saississant la nourriture dans un morceau de pain"
ġamm(am) "attrister"

liğam = lağğam "to bridle"
liẓam = laẓẓam "to string, to thread"
ligaṭ = laggaṭ "to pick out or up"
liga = lagga "to find"
lām = lawwam "to blame"
madd(ad) "to stretch out"
muṭar = maṭṭar "to rain"
nitaf = nattaf "to pluck"
niza ᶜ = nazza ᶜ "to disrobe"
niᶜas = naᶜᶜas "to become drowsy"
nufaẓ = naffaẓ "to dust off"
hidam = haddam "to destroy"
hilas = hallas "to pluck"
wuğa ᶜ = wağğa ᶜ "to hurt"
wuram = warram "to swell up"

far(r)aġ "vider (le contenu d')un vase"
qab(b)a ᶜ "arracher"
qar(r)ab "s' approcher"
qaš(š)ar "peler"
qal(l)ab "tourner de(s) feuillet(s)"
qal(l)aq "inquiéter"
qal(l)à "frire"
kar(r)am "traiter avec honneur"
kaf(f)à "suffire"
kaw(w)à "cautériser"
laq(q)à "trouver par hassard"
madd(ad) "allonger"
naẓ(ẓ)am "organiser"
naf(f)aḫ "gonfler"
wuğe ᶜ = wağğa ᶜ "faire mal"

---

[24] As for hybrid derived stems, we have only come across *stanna* "attendre" and *strayyaḥ* "se reposer", together with an anomalous *staǧᶜalak* "ê. légèrement derangé" from a quadriconsonantic root, reminiscent of the broken plurals *salāṭᶜīn* "crabs" and *kašātbīn* "thimbles" (see Corriente 1971: 108, with Ethiopic parallels). There is also a remarkable scarcity of intransitive II stems, like *rassà* "jeter l'ancre" and *sayyar* "se promener".

Appendix Va (Yemeni Arabic, from
Deboo)

da ᶜā = da ᶜᶜa "to call"

Appendix Vb (id., from Piamenta)[25]

ʔbh I "to pay attention", II "to be in-
terested in something"
ʔh̲d I & II "to take"
ʔkl I & II "to eat"
walif & *allaf* "to get used to"
bad(d)ā "to begin"
brǧ I & II "to pay one's debt"
brḥ I & II "to clear (road)"
bzy I & II "to suckle"
bṣm I & II "to be silent"
byᶜ I "to receive s.th. in exchange for
another", II "to sell"
ǧ̣zᶜ II & II "to go"
ǧls I "to sit", II "to be seated"
ǧhm I & II "to heap up earth around
plants"
ǧwb I "to harken", II "to obey"
ḥbb I & II "to kiss"
ḥǧ/df I & II "to embrace"
ḥdd I & II "to sharpen"
ḥrs I & II "to guard"
ḥrš I & II "to calumniate"
ḥqb I & II "to put coffee in the pot"
ḥkr I "to do accurately", II "to do ca-
refully"
ḥky I & II "to speak"
ḥms I & II "to murmur"
ḥzm I & II "to sew or mend (shoe)"
ḥšᶜ I "to shatter", II "to crush"
ḥtf I & II "to get away from"
ḥṭw I & II "to go"

ṭab(b)aḥ "to cook"
ṭab(b)az "to prick, to sting"
wukad = wakkad "to hit".
h̲lb I & II "to make loam"
h̲ls I & II "to take off (clothes)"
dh̲m I & II "to keep s.o. from"
drǧ I & II "to wander about"
dᶜw I "to pray to God, II "to ask for
God's help"
dġz I & II "to thrust"
dfr I & II "to flood"
dkm I & II "to strike"
dnw I & II "to kneel down"
d̲bl I & II "to spit (out)"
d̲rw I & II "to sow"
rbš I & II "to make noise"
rbq I & II "to complain"
rtb I & II "to hold firm, to possess"
rǧᶜ I & II "to return"
rzḥ I & II "to support"
rsl I & II "to send"
rṣd I & II "to note down"
rkw I & II "to support"
rwḥ I & II "to go (somewhere)"
rwd I "to act slowly", II "to be slow"
zrb I & II "to stand on end"
sʔl I & II "to ask"
sbr I & II "to make"
sry I & II "to go out to work by
night"
sqy I & II "to water"
slw I & II "to comfort"
shn I & II "to expect"
swq I & II "to go to the market"
šrḥ I & II "to deposit"
šṭb I & II "to ridge (sword)"
šᶜṭ I & II "to tear"
šǧl I & II "to annoy"
ṣṭṭ I & II "to yell"
ṣd/ṭq I & II "to tell the truth"
ṣfq I & II "to clap wings"
ṣfw I & II "to clean"
ṣyḥ I "to scream", II "to cry"
ṭbz I & II "to prick"
ṭms I & II "to plunge"
ᶜfṭ I & II "to chase away"
ᶜkm I & II "to stuff"
ᶜlm I & II "to see"
ᶜml I & II "to make"

---

[25] Only root morphemes are given most of
the times, as the author does nor provide
the actual shapes in many cases, or they
differ in the many dialects surveyed. The
more than 100 instances in Piamenta, by
comparison with the few ones in Deboo,
are a consequence of the larger contents
and dialectal variety in the former author,
it being also quite probable that some
dialects are proner to having such
doublets than others.

ᶜwl I & II "to bring forth children"
ġrz I & II "to feed a camel by hand"
ġlb I "to force, II "to compel"
ftš I & II "to uncover"
fẖs I & II "to rub"
fṣy I & II "to divorce"
qᶜm I & II "to yawn"
qfr I & II "to sell"
qlb I & II "to turn"
qwᶜ I "to swindle", II "to cheat"
krᶜ I & II "to spill"
lǧm I & II "to mend (pots)"
lẖf I & II "to cover (with a shawl)"
lsw I & II "to glue"
lwy I "to stroll about", II "to travel
   about"
mẖq I & I "to change"
mṯ/dr I & II "to rain"
mwḥ I & II "to pass by"

Appendix VI (Maltese)[26]

bax(x)ar "to bring news"
bidel = beddel "to (ex)change"
dab = dewweb "to dissolve"
daħ(ħ)an "to emit smoke"
darr(ar) "to hurt, to cause harm"
dehex = diehex "to startle"
dell(el) "to shade"
dil(l)ek "to besmear"
di(e)rek "to get up early"
faħ(ħ)ar "to praise"
faq(q)a' "to burst"
fat(t)am "to wean"
fer(r)aq "to separate"
fit(t)el "to occur to s.o."
ġagħel = ġiegħel "to compel"
ġibed = ġebbed "to pull"
hemm(em) "to distress"
ħab(b)ar "to foretell"
ħab(b)at "to strike"
ħaf(f)er "to excavate"
ħaġ(ġ)eb "to conceal"

nsm I & II "to rest"
nfr I & II "to rebel"
nfl I & II "to discharge"
nqš I & II "to pain"
nqḍ I & II "to untie"
nqy I & II "to sort out"
nkf I & II "to announce and call (for a
   gathering or help)"
nky I "to hit", II "to injure"
nwq I & II "to bray"
hḏr I "to talk nonsense", II "to
   mutter"
hwk I "to cry", II "to yell"
w/ʔrṯ I & II "to bequeath"
wrᶜ I & II "to wait"
wky I & II "to resist"

ħak(k)em "to govern"

ħakk(ek) "to scratch"
ħal(l)at "to mix"
ħan(n)aq "to strangle"
ħat(t)en "to circumcise"
ħazz(ez) "to draw lines"
ħiel = ħajjel "to fancy"
kis(s)ab "to obtain"
matal "to give excuses for deferring
   payment" = mattal "to produce ex-
   cuses".
naq(q)ar "to peak"
naq(q)ax "to sculpt"
nas(s)ab "to lay traps"
naż(ż)a' "to undress"
nef(f)aħ "to breathe hard"
nib(b)et "to spring up"
niek = nejjek "to ruin"
nif(f)ed "to pierce"
nis(s)eġ "to weave"
nit(t)af "to pluck"
għaf(f)eġ "to press"
għaq(q)ar "to ulcerate"
għar(r)ax "to tickle"
għat = għayyet "to nourish"
għaż(ż)a "to comfort/visit the relati-
   ves of a deceased person"
qal(l)eb "to upset"
qat(t)ar "to dirp"
qies = qajjes "to take the measure"

---

[26] Some cases of *{CieCvC}* instead of
{CvCCvC} are not etymological III stems,
but mere phonetic variants of II, as
explained in Suttcliffe [1936: 84] and
Aquilina [1965: 154]. This list has been
obtained from Aquilina [1987-90].

qar(r)ab "to get near(er)"
rif(f)ed "to support"
sab(b)at "to bang"
saf(f)a "to clean(se)"
saħ= sejjaħ "to call"
sal(l)ab "to crucify"
saq(q)a "to water"
silef = sellef "to lend"
silet = sellet "to pull a thread out of a piece of cloth"
ta/em(m)a' "to feed, to make one eat"
taq(q)ab "to bore"

temm(em) "to perfect"
ter(r)aħ "to dissolve"
waġ(ġ)a' "to ache, to hurt"
xaħħ(aħ) "to be stingy/very parsimonious"
xal = xawwel "to wander"
xaqq(aq) "to split"
xell(el) "to make up a story, to lie"
żaqq(aq) "to make one grow pot-bellied"
żar(r)ab "to oppress"
ż(i)egħel "to caress"

Appendix VI (Egyptian Arabic X + II / III, from Hinds & Badawi)

istaʔattà "to result"
istaʔağğar "to hire"
istaʔakkid to be quite sure"
istaʔammin "to place trust"
istaʔāmin "to feel safe"
istannà "to wait"
istabarrā "to disown responsibility"
istabārik "to receive a blessing" (= *itbārik*)
istibaqqa "to remain there"
istaballim "to be stupefied"
istaħattim "to become inevitable"
istaħağğiğ "to offer pretexts"
istaħaḍḍar "to prepare oneself"
istaħaqqaq "to look carefully"
istiħakkim "to behave tyrannically"
istaħallif "to resolve to inflict suffering" (= *istaħlif*)
istaħammà "to bathe"
istaħayyin "to have ready money"
istaħabbà "to hide oneself"
istaħaffà "to hide" (= *istaħfà*)

istarabbaᶜ "to sit cross-legged"
istarağğà "to hope" (= *istarğa*)
istirahhà "to become loose" (= *irtahà*)
istarayyaħ "to rest" (= *istarāħ*)
istaġaṭṭà "to cover oneself"
istiġamma "to put on a blindfold"
istiqabbà "to make or become concave"
istiqāyā "to vomit" (= *itqāyā*)
istilabbad "to lurk"
istilaqqaħ "to be duped" (= *itlaqqaħ*)
istalaqqaf "to catch something throuwn" (= *istalqaf*)
istilaqqa "to receive" (= *istalqà*)
istamahhak "to ingratiate oneself" (= *itmahhak*)
istimannà "to long for"
istahağğà "to spell"
istahannà "to become happy" (= *ithannà*)
istiwahhà "to goad vigorously"

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aquilina 1965, J. -:*Teach Yourself Maltese*, London, The English Universities Press.
– 1987-90: *Maltese – English Dictionary* (2 vols.), Malta, Midsea Books.
Barthélemy 1935-1969, A. -: *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français. Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*. Paris.
Bauer 1966, G.M.-: *Jazyk južnoaravijskoj pis'mennosti*. Moscow, Nauka.
Belova 1996, A.G. -: *Xim'jaritskij jazyk, Areal'nye issledovanija k istorii arabskogo jazyka*, Moscow, Vostočnaja Literatura.

Bennett 1998, P.R. -: *Comparative Semitic Linguistics. A Manual*, Winona Lake (Indiana), Eisenbrauns.

Blachère & Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1952, R. - & M. -: *Grammaire de l'arabe classique*, Paris, Maisonneuve & Larose.

Brockelmann 1908, C. -: *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin (rep. Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1966).

Corriente 1971, F. -: *Problemática de la pluralidad en semítico. El plural fracto*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

− 1976: "From Old Arabic to Classical Arabic through the Pre-Islamic koine: some notes on the native grammarians' sources, attitudes and goals", in *Journal of Semitic Linguistics* 21, 62-98.

− 1979: "À propos du préfixe proto-sémitique *{ma-} en fonction de morphème participial dans les conjugaisons dérivées du verbe", in *Arabica* 26.2, 189-192.

−. 1997: *A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle*, Madrid, Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura.

− 1989: "South Arabian features in Andalusi Arabic", in *Studia linguistica et orientalia memoriae Haim Blanc dedicata* (ed. P. Wexler, A. Borg, S. Somekh*)*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 94-103.

− 1992: *Árabe andalusí y lenguas romances*, Madrid, MAPFRE.

− 1997: Review of Belova 1996, in *Estudios de Dialectología Norteafricana y Andalusí* 2, 244-245.

− 1996: *Introducción a la gramática comparada del semítico meridional*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

− 1997: *A Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic*, Leiden, Brill.

− 2003: "On the degree of kinship between Arabic and Northwest Semitic", in *AIDA 5 Proceedings*, Cadix, 187-194.

Deboo 1989, J. -: *Jemenisches Wörterbuch. Arabisch – Deutsch - Englisch*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.

Diakonoff 1988, I.M. -: *Afrasian Languages*, Moscow, Nauka.

Fischer 1972, W. -: *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.

Fleisch 1979, H. -: *Traité de philologie arabe* II, Beirut, Dar el-Machreq.

Garbini 1960: G. -: *Il semitico di nord-ovest*, Naples, Istituto Universitario Orientale.

− 1984: *Le lingue semitiche. Studi di storia linguistica*, Napes, Istituto Universitario di Napoli.

Grande 1963, B.M. -: *Kurs arabskoj grammatiki v sravnitel'no-istoričeskom osveščenii*, Moscow, Vostočnaja Literatura.

Hetzron 1997, R. – (et al.): *The Semitic Languages*, London – New York, Routledge.

Hinds & Badawi 1986, M. - & E.S. -: *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*, Beirut, Librairie du Liban.

Johnstone 1975, T.M. -: *The Modern South Arabian Languages* (Monographic Journals of the Near East), Malibu, Undena.

Kazimirski 1875, A. -: *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, Cairo, Imprimerie V.R. Egyptienne.

Laoust 1939, E. -: *Cours de berbère marocain. Dialecte du Maroc Central*, Paris, Geuthner.

Lipiński 1997, E. .-: *Semitic Languages. Outline of a Comparative Grammar*, Leuven, Peeters.

Moscati 1964, S. – (et al.): *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.

Piamenta 1990-91, M. -: *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic* (2 vols.), Leiden, Brill.

Rabin 1983, C. -: "On the probability of South Arabian influence on the Arabic vocabulary", in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4, 125-134.

Rundgren 1959, F. -: *Intensiv und Aspekt-Korrelation. Studien zur äthiopischen und akkadischen Verbalstammbildung*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden, Lundequistka.

Sībawayhi [1977]: *Alkitāb* (ed. A.M. Hārūn), Cairo, Alhayᵓah Almiṣriyyah Alcāmmah lilkitāb.

Sutcliffe 1936, E.F: -: *A grammar of the Maltese language*, Valetta, Progress Press.

Ungnad-Matouš 1964, A. - & L. -: *Grammatik des akkadischen*, Munich, Beck.

Woodhead & Wayne Beene 2003, D.R: - & -: *A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic* (Arabic – English part), Washington, Georgetown UP.

Wright 1896-98, W. -: *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge UP, Cambridge.

Zaborski 1991, A. -: "The position of Arabic within the Semitic Dialect Continuum", in *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Grammar*, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd University, 366-375.