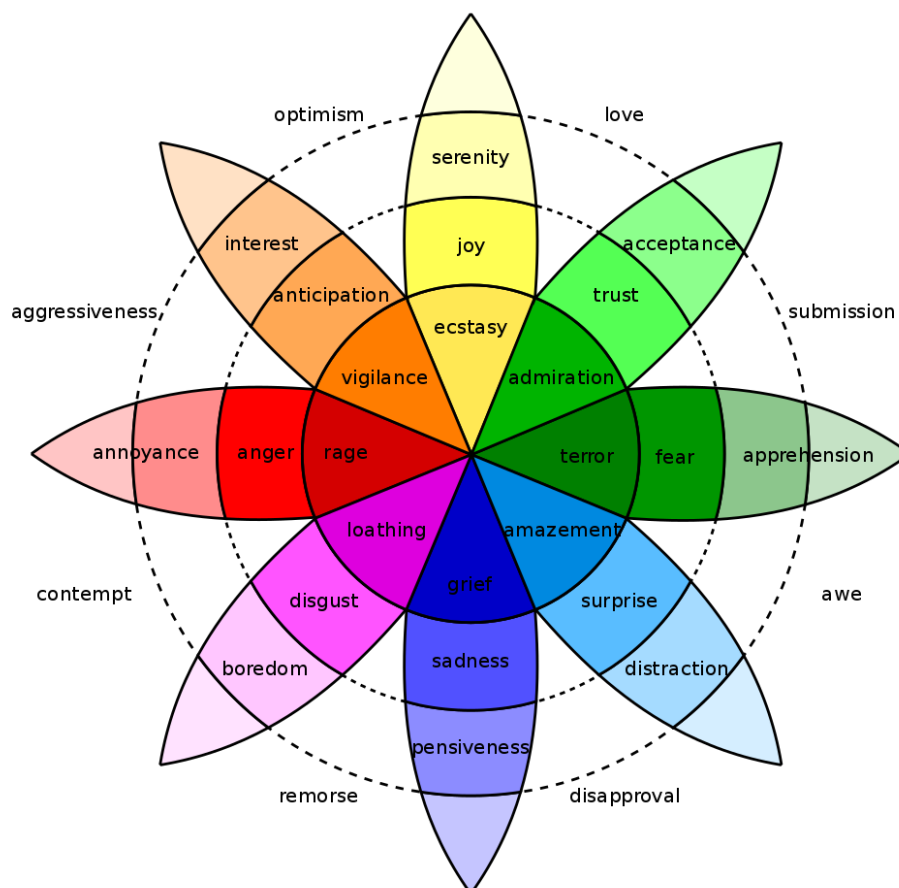


Arab(ic) Emotions – Back to the Roots!

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This contribution is inspired by two projects that have been dear to the eminent researcher who is being honoured by the present festschrift: *Travelling Emotions* and the *Bibliotheca Polyglotta*. The first is, as we are told on the project's homepage, “an inter-departmental research network at the Arts Faculty (HF) [of the University of Oslo, Norway]”, initiated by Jens Braarvig, aiming at “the study of emotions in language and the way they (their words, concepts and forms of expression) have changed—travelled—in time, place, as well as in society and text.”¹ Dealing myself with such a kind of “travelling” in my research on Arabic etymology and semantic history, where words and concepts often are borrowed *into* Arabic from outside or can be followed on their way *from* Arabic into other languages, I thought it might be a nice idea to contribute to the festschrift with a study on the etymology of some Arabic “emotional” terminology. All the more so since Jens Braarvig was so kind to host my own “zero-version” of an Etymological Dictionary of Arabic on “his” *Bibliotheca Polyglotta* platform.² In search of a manageable selection of terms I came across a taxonomy of emotions suggested by the late Robert Plutchik (1927–2006), a former professor emeritus at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine and adjunct professor at the University of South Florida.³ Plutchik is particularly known for his visualization, in form of a wheel, of the relations between thirty-two key emotions—now mostly called “Plutchik’s Wheel of Emotions”:⁴



1 <<http://www.hf.uio.no/iln/forskning/nettverk/digital-humaniora/travelling-emotions.html>>.

2 <<https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/>>.

3 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Plutchik> (as of August 16, 2017).

4 <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Plutchik-wheel.svg>> (as of August 16, 2017).

There is an Arabic translation of his terminology in a corresponding entry in the *Arabic Wikipedia*,⁵ i.e., an example of a text that had travelled from one language and culture to another, so that I only had to pick out a set of emotions that seemed both appealing and manageable in the limits of a festschrift article. I ended up with the eight terms of the circle that was closest to the central one and contained what in English was labelled the eight “basic emotions”: *joy* and *sadness*, *trust* and *disgust*, *fear* and *anger*, and *surprise* and *anticipation*, and what the entry presented as their modern Arabic equivalents, namely *saʕādaṯ* (or *bahġaṯ*) and *ħuzn*, *ṯiqaṯ* and *išmiʔzāz*, *ħawf* and *ġaḍab*, *mufāġaḍaṯ* and *tawaqquṯ*.

In the following article, I will try to go back to the roots, i.e., search for the possible origins of these Arabic terms. As we shall see, this is more problematic than expected, although, supposedly, we are dealing with “basic” emotions...

Joy—*saʕādaṯ*

√SʕD

There are two Arabic words with which Plutchik’s *joy* is equated in the above-mentioned article. In the figure showing Plutchik’s “wheel of emotions,” the equivalent given is *bahġaṯ* while in the corresponding table the latter’s place is taken by *saʕādaṯ*.⁶ According to Wehr/Cowan’s *Dictionary*, the meaning of *saʕādaṯ* in MSA is not really ‘joy’ but rather ‘happiness’. *Bahġaṯ* does render ‘joy, delight’, but it is also ‘splendor, magnificence, beauty, resplendence’. In my own opinion, ‘joy’ should rather be translated by *surūr*, *marah*, or *ġibṯaṯ* (which is what one gets by looking up the German equivalent of English ‘joy’, ‘Freude,’ in Schregle’s *Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch*), or *farah* (given by Osman in his follow-up dictionary of Schregle’s, in addition to *bahġaṯ*). The variety of possible renderings demonstrates that English ‘joy’ (German ‘Freude’) obviously does not have *one* clear and unambiguous equivalent in Arabic; there are several terms that may express specific aspects of this emotion. Given limitation of space, I will only focus on one here. The most interesting, from the etymological point of view, is certainly *saʕādaṯ* because the root √SʕD to which it belongs displays the most varied semantic spectrum. In MSA, the values attached to this root are (as manifest in some main representatives):

- #1 *saʕd* ‘good luck, good fortune’, *saʕādaṯ* ‘happiness; bliss, felicity; good fortune, success, prosperity, welfare; bliss, felicity’, *saʕīd* ‘happy (*bi-* about, at); radiant, blissful; lucky, auspicious; felicitous’
- #2 *sāʕid* ‘forearm’, *sāʕada* (III) ‘to help, aid, assist, support, favour, encourage’
- #3 *suʕd* ‘nipple, teat’
- #4 *saʕdān* ‘ape, monkey’
- #5 *saʕdānaṯ* ‘Cyperus (*bot.*)’

According to Badawi & Abdel Haleem 2008, the first two are also the main values in Classical Arabic: ‘1 happiness, fortune; 2a assistance; 2b arm, power’. But there are, of course, more. Here is what one finds in the concise dictionaries of Hava 1899 and Steingass 1884⁷ (to manageably treat the information contained in the voluminous entries of the dictionaries these two draw upon; numbering follows the above; only those items and nuances that go beyond MSA are given):

- #1 *saʕada a* (*saʕd*, *suʕūd*) ‘to be fortunate, propitious’, *saʕida a* (*saʕādaṯ*) ‘to be happy, lucky, successful’, *suʕdān* ‘prosperity, salvation, blessing’, *istasʕada* (X) ‘to seek fortune; to find one’s happiness (*bi-* in); to find one happy, fortunate; to deem propitious or auspicious’
- #2 [as in MSA]; *sāʕid* ‘armlet’ (so called after the forearm on which it is worn); *sāʕidaṯ* (pl. *sawāʕidaṯ*) ‘shaft of a pulley, piece of wood that holds the pulley’
- #3 *saʕdānaṯ* ‘nipple of the (female) breast, areola of the nipple, wart, callosity, knob; callosity of a camel’s breast; knot of the thong of sandals, in the ropes of a scale’
- #4 [as in MSA]
- #5 *suʕādà* or *suʕdaṯ* ‘Cyperus, sedge, galingaile (*plant*)’, *saʕdān* ‘neurada procumbens, plant much sought for camels’, *tasaʕʕada* (V) ‘to seek the plant *saʕdān* for a pasture, seek for fodder’
- #6 *saʕd* (pl. *suʕūd*) ‘name of several stars’; *al-saʕdān*¹ (dual) ‘the two planets Venus and Mercury’

5 <https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/قائمة_الانفعالات_العاطفية> (as of August 01, 2017).

6 Ibid.

7 The first serving as default, the second abbreviated “(S)” and given only if significantly different from Hava 1899.

(S: Venus and Jupiter)'

#7 *sawāṣid*^u (sg. *sāṣid*) 'the channels in which water runs to a (small) river, affluents of a river/rivulet; the medullary cavities, ducts through which runs the marrow in a bone; ducts in the udder from which the milk comes to the orifice of the teat'; (*nahr*) *saṣīd* '(river, rivulet, canal of running water) that irrigates the land in the parts adjacent to it'

#8 *sāṣidat* 'lion'

#9 *sāṣidat* 'marrow'

#10 *saṣdānā* 'pigeon'

Ad #1 and #2: The root is attested only in West Semitic. Outside Arabic, it does not display the aspect of 'good fortune, luck' but only that of 'help, support, assistance, aid'.⁸ Attestations within Semitic being rare, it is difficult to decide whether this aspect was secondary in Arabic, a semantic extension building on a primary Semitic *'help, support' ('good fortune, luck' interpreted as "assistance" from destiny or a divine power) or whether an original Semitic *'good fortune, luck' was lost in all other languages, except Arabic. The former possibility seems more likely, as many other values, both in Arabic and other Semitic languages, can be understood as derivations from 'help, support, assistance, aid'.⁹ In Arabic, one of the most common ones is certainly *sāṣid* 'forearm' (*'the supporting one'). On the other hand, the Arabic value 'good fortune, luck', too, has quite a number of derivations, as we will soon see below.

Ad #3: According to Lane,¹⁰ the 'nipple (or the areola) of a woman's breast' has its name after the '(head of) prickles' of the plant called *saṣdān* which is 'one of the best kinds of pastures of camels'; thus, #3 seems to depend on #5.

Ad #4: The ape is called *saṣdān* 'the lucky one' euphemistically, as Nöldeke explains in his often quoted "Wörter mit Gegensinn (*Aḍḍād*)": "Des Affen Anblick bringt Unglück; daher heißt er euphemistisch *saṣdān* 'boni augurii' [*sic!*]."¹¹

Ad #5: Following Hess, Landberg/Zetterstéen's *Glossaire daïnois* identifies the plant that is such a good pasture for camels as "Neurada procumbens".¹² Connected to #1 'luck' (*'to be lucky to find this plant')? Or to #3 'prickle, knob' (*'plant with prickles')?

Ad #6: The planets are so called because they are associated with good luck and prosperity (#1).

Ad #7: It is not clear whether this is a value in its own right or whether it is dependent on #1 'luck' (water symbolizing s.th. positive) or #2 'help, support, assistance' (the *channels "assisting" the main stream). Cf. also the expression *saṣada* 'l-māḥu fi 'l-ḡard' 'the water came upon the land unsought, i.e., came flowing [naturally] upon the surface of the land, not requiring a machine to raise it for irrigation'.

Ad #8: Not explained in Lane, nor do I have a plausible explanation myself.

Ad #9: Dependent on #7—result of a transfer of meaning from the channels of the marrow to the marrow itself.

Ad #10: Perhaps not simply 'pigeon' but, as explained in Lane, 'name of a *certain* pigeon'; thus it is probably secondary, dependent on #3 'nipple' (*'looking like...' or 'showing prickles'). Given the prominent role of the pigeon in Oriental mythology as a messenger of good fortune, one could however also think of a connection with the notion of #1 'luck'.¹³

Trust—*ṭiqat*

√WTQ

With *ṭiqat* and the corresponding root √WTQ we meet a picture that is completely different from *saṣādāt* and √SSD. The root is widely attested (though not in East Semitic) and shows practically no

8 Cf. BDB 1906: Biblical Hebrew *sāṣad* 'to support, sustain, stay', Aramaic *sṣad* 'support, stay', Zincirli *sṣd* 'to strengthen, support', Chr.-Palestinian *saṣdūnā* 'aid'. – Showing ? instead of ṣ, Ugaritic *sṣd* 'to serve s.o.' may be a borrowing from Canaanite, as Tropper 2008 observes.

9 Cf., e.g., (BDB) modern Hebrew *sāṣad* 'to take a meal', Zincirli *sṣd* (?) 'to feed', Sabaic *sṣd* (Stein 2012) 'to give (as a present)', (Müller 2010) 'to allow', all interpretable as specialisations of "support, assistance".

10 s.v. *saṣdān*.

11 Nöldeke, *NBSSW*, 89, referring to "Wetzstein in *ZDMG*, 23:312 and Yahuda, in 'Orient. Stud.' (für Nöldeke) 408".

12 Landberg/Zetterstéen 1943: 1933, referring to Hess, *Der Islam*, 7 (1916): 104.

13 Cf. the Biblical pigeon signalling the end of the Great Flood and the association pigeons with 'peace'—another interesting example of travelling ideas and emotions.

ambiguity.¹⁴ It seems safe to assume that the notion of ‘trust’ is the result of a metaphoric transfer of meaning from a primary sense of ‘to bind, tie, fasten, make firm’ which appears in Ugaritic (*yṯq* ‘lier, attacher’)¹⁵ and is also preserved in Modern South Arabian (Mehri *wīṯaq*, Jibbāli *éṯaq* ‘être fixé’)¹⁶ and Arabic (*waṯuqa* ‘to be firm, solid’, *waṯāq*, *wīṯāq* ‘tie, bond, fetter, shackle, chain’, *waṯīq* ‘firm, strong, solid’).¹⁷ The transfer itself, however, is also very old, as it can be found in many Semitic languages¹⁸ where the non-figurative meaning often does not even exist anymore, and the notion of ‘trust’ has generated a broad field of derived ideas.¹⁹

The rather uncomplicated etymology of *tiqāṯ* notwithstanding, we should however not pass to the next emotion without mentioning that *tiqāṯ* is certainly not the only term to render English ‘trust’. As ‘joy’ could be expressed by many other terms than *saṣādaṯ*, so could also ‘trust’ be translated as *ḷamānaṯ* ‘reliability, trustworthiness; loyalty, faithfulness, fidelity, fealty; integrity, honesty; confidence, trust, good faith; deposition in trust; trusteeship; confidentiality, secrecy’, *tumaḷnīnaṯ* / *iṯmiḷnān* ‘calm, repose, serenity, peace, peacefulness, tranquility; reassurance, peace of mind, composure, calmness, equanimity; trust, confidence’, *tawakkul* ‘trust, confidence; trust in God; passivity of living (of the early ascetics and mystics)’, ...

Fear—*ḥawf*

√ḤWF

Ḥawf ‘fear’ is equally unambiguous as *tiqāṯ*, probably because it is a similarly basic word for a similarly basic emotion. In the whole entry on √ḤWF in Wehr/Cowan, there is not one single item that would not be derived from *ḥawf* or the corresponding verb *ḥāfa* #1 ‘to be frightened, scared; to be afraid (*min* of), dread (*min* s.o. or s.th.); to fear (s.th., s.o. or *min* s.o., s.th.; *ṣalà* for s.o., for s.th.; *ḷanna* that)’. In Classical Arabic, the situation looks slightly different. In addition to #1 ‘fear, fright, to fear, frighten; awe, concern, worry’—the only value surviving in MSA—, Badawi & Abdel Haleem 2008 also list ‘to know, suspect, become aware’ (which however is still a direct offspring from ‘fear’), ‘unworthy act; fighting’ (cf. Hava 1899: *ḥawf* ‘slaughter, fighting’, *ḥawāf* ‘bustle, confused noise’), and ‘to decrease, shorten’. A closer look into the attestations given for the latter values makes clear, however, that we are not dealing with genuine polysemy here either since all of them seem to be context-dependent variations of ‘to fear’. The only item that we obviously have to distinguish from #1 etymologically is #2 *ḥāfaṯ* ‘leather-garment worn by collectors of honey, leather-bag for honey’, mentioned in Hava 1899 as well as *DRS* 10 (2012).²⁰

Although all my sources remain silent about the origin of #2,²¹ it does not seem very likely that it is related to #1. As for the latter, “our” ‘fear’, its—however scarce—attestation in three major branches of Semitic²² (with little probability of inner-Semitic borrowing) is probably satisfactory evidence to

14 Kogan 2015: 314 excludes a relation to Ugaritic *yqš* ‘fowler, bird-catcher’, Hebrew *yqš* ‘to catch a bird with a snare’, etc., as well as to Gəṣəz *waqāša* ‘to reprimand, reproach’ and related Ethio-Semitic forms. Tropper 2008, too, thinks that a connection between Arabic *waṯiqa* ‘fest machen, befestigen’ and Ugaritic *yṯq* < **wṯq* ‘emporschnellen (Schlange)’ and Gəṣəz *wsq*, *wšq* ‘to bend (a bow), shoot (from a bow); to stretch, pull, straighten up’ is little probable. Also quite unlikely is any outer-Semitic dimension (Albright had compared 18th dyn. Egyptian *isq* ‘zögern, verweilen; trans. zurückhalten’ to Arabic *waṯuqa* ‘to be firm’, but Calice 1936 #510 has already ruled out this with good arguments).

15 *DRS* 7 (1997) #WTQ-1. – Cf., however, Tropper 2008: 143, who thinks that Ugaritic *yṯq* rather means ‘emporschnellen’ (to leap up, said of a snake) and with this sense is more likely to be akin to Gəṣəz √WSQ, WŠQ ‘to bend (a bow), shoot (from a bow); stretch, pull, straighten up’ than to Arabic *waṯiqa*.

16 *DRS* 7 (1997) #WTQ-1.

17 Wehr/Cowan 1979. – Ehret 1995 #981 thinks triradical Semitic √WTQ is based on bi-consonantal **wṯ* ‘to twist’ < Afroasiatic **-wits-* or **-wic-* ‘to twist (tr.)’. In his opinion, other extensions from the same base can be found in Arabic *waṯ?* (vn.) ‘to sprain one’s wrist’, *waṯal* ‘rope of bast’, and *waṯy* (vn.) ‘to be sprained, bruised, injured (hand)’.

18 Targum Aramaic *wattīq* ‘fidèle, pieux, habile, excellent’, Sabaic *wīq* ‘confier’ – *DRS* 7 (1997) #WTQ-1.

19 (*DRS* 7 #WTQ-1:) Maltese *wettaq* ‘confirmer, renforcer, revigorer’, *wittieq*: partie de la navette; Sabaic *hwṯq* ‘garantir’, *ḷwṯq* ‘otages’, Minaic *štwtq* ‘garantir’, Jibbāli *ḥawṯūq*, *ōṯeq*, *ebṯēq*, Ḥarsūsi *awṯōq* ‘fixer, assurer’; (Müller 2010:) Sabaic *ḷwṯq* ‘Bürge’; (Wehr/Cowan 1979:) Arabic *waṯīqāṯ* ‘document, deed, writ, instrument, paper, record, voucher, certificate, receipt, policy; diplomatic note’, *mīṯāq* ‘covenant, agreement, contract, treaty, pact, alliance; charter’, *tawṯīqāṯ* ‘security, surety, guaranty’, *muwaṯṯīq* ‘notary public’.

20 To this one will also have to put *ḥawf* ‘ornamented skin’ – Hava 1899.

21 According to *DRS*, it is Eastern Arabic only.

22 Akkadian *ḥāpu*, Arabic *ḥāfa* ‘avoir peur’, Mehri *ḥwif*, Soqotri *ḥayef* ‘craindre’ – *DRS* 7 10 (2012) #ḤWP-1.

assume a common Semitic origin. Akkadian *hāpu* ‘to fear, be afraid’ is mentioned both by *DRS* and Zammit but, strangely enough, not in *CAD*. The only item to be found there as close in meaning would be *hip(i) libbi* ‘panic, anxiety’, from *hīpu* (var. *hību*, *hippu*), ‘1 break, 2 gully, 3 cut-off piece’, related to *hepû* ‘broken, split’, thus meaning *‘breaking of the heart’, in the sense of ‘loss or lack of courage’. But is this from \sqrt{HWF} ? It seems that, as for now, etymology cannot get beyond this point.

Surprise—*mufāḡaʔaī*

$\sqrt{FĜʔ}$

In MSA, *mufāḡaʔaī* is certainly the most common word to express the notion of ‘surprise’. However, given that surprise, according to Plutchik, is a basic emotion one might ask why such a basic emotion should be expressed by a form III verbal noun, i.e., a derived form rather than a “more basic” one. A search for *mufāḡaʔaī* in the premodern section of a huge textual database like *arabiCorpus*²³ does indeed not yield more than 17 hits. The meagre result is probably due to two facts: a) ‘surprise’ is an abstract concept, while the majority of premodern texts are of a more concrete nature—an assumption that is supported by the fact that the hits predominantly stem from treatises or other theoretical-philosophical texts; b) neither the noun *mufāḡaʔaī* nor the corresponding verb *fāḡaʔa* are the usual terms to express the notion of ‘surprise’ in Classical Arabic. (Note that it does not even figure in *The Thousand and One Nights*, although the legendary collection of stories is full of highly surprising events!) No wonder then that Monteil would count *mufāḡaʔaī* among the neologisms that mark the difference between the classical and the modern language.²⁴ It seems that in Classical Arabic expressions belonging to the “more basic” form I of the same root $\sqrt{FĜʔ}$ are more common—the verbal noun *faḡʔaī*, at least, mostly used adverbially in the indeterminate accusative, *faḡʔaī^{an}*, meaning ‘suddenly, coming as a surprise’, gets 68 hits in the same corpus. Moreover, even though items belonging to $\sqrt{FĜʔ}$ thus are not unknown to the classical language, the notion of ‘surprise’ is most often rendered by words stemming from other roots, like *rāṣa* ($\sqrt{RWṢ}$) ‘to startle, surprise’ (but also ‘to frighten, scare, alarm’),²⁵ *ṣalā* (*ḥīnī*) *ḡirraī* ($\sqrt{ĜRR}$) ‘unexpectedly, unawares, inadvertently, surprisingly’, *baḡata* (I) or *bāḡata* (III) ($\sqrt{BĜT}$) ‘to surprise; to come unexpectedly, descend in unawares’, or the very widespread *dahaṣa* or (pass.) *duḥiṣa* ($\sqrt{DHṢ}$) ‘to be astonished, amazed, surprised; to wonder, marvel; to be baffled, startled, puzzled, perplexed, taken aback’.²⁶

As for *mufāḡaʔaī* and the root $\sqrt{FĜʔ}$, it seems difficult to establish a somehow convincing etymology. There are obviously no direct cognates in Semitic. With one exception (see below), more recent etymological studies remain completely silent about the root, and among the older ones it is only BDB who thinks that Hebrew *pāgaʕ* (Aramaic *pāgaʕ*, Semitic $\sqrt{PGṢ}$) ‘to meet, encounter, reach’, i.e., a form showing *ṣ* rather than *ʔ*, is “poss[ibly] akin to Ar[abic] *faḡaʔa*, *faḡiʔa* ‘to happen to, light upon’”.²⁷

While this juxtaposition would suggest a primary meaning of *‘to meet unexpectedly, run into’ we may also build further upon Gabal’s finding that the bi-consonantal nucleus *FĜ-* from which both *FĜʔ* and *FĜṣ* possibly were formed as tri-consonantal extensions actually signifies a ‘sudden, unexpected opening’²⁸ (cf. also the “sudden” break-through of the first sunrays at ‘dawn’, *faḡr*, or the wide ‘opening, aperture, breach, gap, interstice’, *faḡwai*—to mention only two other triradical roots containing an initial *FĜ-* sequence, $\sqrt{FĜR}$ and $\sqrt{FĜW}$).

In a similar vein, one could also expand on Bohas’ *Le son et le sens* where $\sqrt{FĜʔ}$, though not explicitly mentioned, would probably be counted among the derivatives of the “etymon” {ḡ,f},²⁹ which also comprise items like *ḡaḡafa* ‘to peel off, scrape off; to sweep away’, *ḡafala* ‘to start, jump with fright; to shy, be startled’, *faḡaṣa* ‘to inflict suffering and grief (upon s.o.), afflict, distress / frapper, affecter, accabler qn (se dit d’un malheur qui fait perdre à qn qc qui lui est cher)’, *faraḡa* ‘to open, part

23 <<http://arabicorpus.byu.edu>>, as of Aug. 04, 2017.

24 Monteil 1960: 113.

25 Cf. also *rawṣaī* ‘fright, alarm, fear; awe; astonishment, surprise; perplexity; charm, beauty, magnificence, splendour’ – Wehr/Cowan 1979.

26 For the sake of convenience, all values are given as in Wehr/Cowan 1979, but their use in MSA is not different from that in the classical language.

27 BDB 1906: 803. The Semitic root given in the parentheses is the one reconstructed by Goshen-Gottstein 1970: 61.

28 Gabal 2012, iii: 1668 and 1672.

29 Unlike for Gabal, for Bohas the sequence of the radicals within the root is interconvertible.

separate, cleave, split, ...', *falaġa* 'to split, cleave', etc.³⁰

Among all the studies I have consulted Bishtawi is the only one that explicitly mentions the root $\sqrt{FG?}$. Limitation of space does not allow us to go into detail here; therefore it may suffice to draw a table of all the roots that, according to the author, are akin to $\sqrt{FG?}$ (highlighted in bold capital letters):³¹

Nuclei	*ğf	*ğb	*kf	*qf	*ğġ	*bğ	*fk	*fq
gemin.	ğff	ğbb	kff	qff	fğğ	bğğ	fkf	fqf
redupl.	ğfğf	ğbğb	kfkf	qfqf	fğfğ	bğbğ	fkfk	fqfq
-w/y	ğfw	ğby	kfy	qfw	fğw	bğw	—	fqw
-ʔ	ğfʔ	ğbʔ	kfʔ	qfʔ	FĞʔ	—	—	fqʔ
-t	ğft	ğbt	kft	—	—	—	—	—
-ğ	—	ğbğ	—	—	—	—	—	—
-ħ	—	ğbħ	kfħ	qfħ	—	bğħ	—	fqħ
-ḥ	ğfḥ	ğbḥ	kfḥ	qfḥ	—	—	—	fqḥ
-d	—	—	—	qfd	—	bğd	—	fqd
-r	ğfr	ğbr	kfr	qfr	fğr	bğr	fkr	fqr
-z	ğfz	ğbz	—	qfz	fğz	—	—	—
-s	ğfs	ğbs	kfs	qfs	fğs	bğs	—	fqs
-š	ğfš	ğbš	—	qfš	fğš	—	—	—
-ş	—	—	—	qfş	—	—	—	fqş
-ţ	—	—	—	qft	—	—	—	—
-ʕ	ğfʕ	ğbʕ	—	qfʕ	fğʕ	—	fʕʕ	fʕʕ
-l	ğfl	ğbl	kfl	qfl	fğl	bğl	fkl	fql
-m	—	—	—	—	fğm	bğm	—	fqm
-n	ğfn	ğbn	kfn	qfn	fğn	—	fkn	—
-h	—	ğbh	kfh	—	—	—	fkh	fqh

Sadness—*ħuzn*

\sqrt{HZN}

The Arabic root \sqrt{HZN} to which the usual word for 'sadness' belongs shows two values, both in the classical and the modern language: #1 'to be(come) sad', and #2 'rough, rugged, hard ground'. The second one appears only in a few items, like *ħazn* (pl. *ħuzūn*) in the meaning just mentioned,³² *ħuznat* 'montagne escarpée',³³ *ħuzūnat* 'ruggedness of the soil', or *ħazana* (IV) 'to walk upon a hard ground'.³⁴ Putting the second value in the first place, Badawi & Abdel Haleem, in their arrangement of values in the classical language, implicitly suggest a semantic development as follows (my reading in square brackets, S.G.): '[#2] rocks, boulders, rocky hard-going terrain; [>] to cause hardship, distress; [>] to afflict; [> #1] to become sad, to grieve, sadness; [> ?] responsibility'.³⁵ Although such a development cannot be excluded with certainty, the evidence from cognates in Semitic is not strong enough

30 Bohas, *Le son et le sens*, Annexe au livre *Le son et le sens*, <<http://www.ifporient.org/node/1200>>.

31 Cf. Bishtawi 2013: 38.

32 Wehr/Cowan 1979.

33 *DRS* 9 (2010) #HZN-2.

34 Hava 1899, s.v.

35 Badawi & Abdel Haleem 2008, s.v.

to claim that #1 ‘sadness, grief’ is *not* dependent on #2 ‘rough, rugged, hard ground’—apart from Arabic, ‘sadness’ is not attested beyond Modern South Arabian and Ethio-Semitic, where influence from Arabic is widespread.³⁶ However, if ‘sadness’ originally really is *‘hardship/distress caused by a rocky terrain’, then Arabic would be the only language to have preserved the primary value, while all others would have lost it. On the other hand, a development in the opposite direction (#1 > #2) is difficult to imagine, and we would have to explain a case of genuine homonymy.

In conclusion, it seems that the modern Arabic word for ‘sadness’, *ḥuzn*, may not reflect the original Semitic word for this emotion. To find this, one may instead have to look into the etymologies of words like *bakà* (√BKY) ‘to cry, weep; to bemoan, lament, bewail, mourn’, *ḥidād* (√HDD) ‘mourning’, *raṭà* (√RTY) and *raṭā* (√RTW) ‘to bewail, lament, bemoan; to eulogize’, or *naṣà* (√NfY) ‘to lament, wail; to deplore’—a task that is beyond the scope of the present contribution.

Disgust—*išmiʔzāz*

√(ŠMʔZ), ŠMZ

Like in other cases we have treated so far, the term given in the above-mentioned article as modern equivalent of one of Plutchik’s basic emotions, in this case *išmiʔzāz* for ‘disgust’, is only one out of a variety of other terms that the translator could have chosen. Although *išmiʔzāz* is already Qur’anic,³⁷ there are a number of terms that would seem “more original” than the word that actually means ‘to contract, shrink (with aversion)’, like, for instance, *ṣayf* (√ṢYF) ‘disgust, loathing, horror, aversion’, *qaraf* (√QRF) ‘loathing, disgust, detestation’, *taqazzuz* (√QZZ) ‘loathing, disgust, detestation, abhorrence, aversion’, *karh*, *kurh* (√KRH) ‘hatred, hate; aversion, antipathy, dislike, distaste; detestation, abhorrence, disgust, repugnance, loathing’, or *nafraī* (√NFR) ‘aversion, distaste, dislike, antipathy’.³⁸ And like with other modern terms for emotions, etymological research soon reaches its limits also in the case of *išmiʔzāz*, even though it is, like the others, considered “basic” emotion. Dictionaries and other works of reference usually treat the 4-radical √ŠMʔZ as a root extension from √ŠMZ (as also √ṬMʔN is grouped under √ṬMN, etc.). This latter root hasn’t a modern representative any longer, but Classical Arabic still knows *šamaza u* (*šamz*) ‘to feel disgust, to loathe s.th.’.³⁹ However, this root does not seem to have any direct cognates in Semitic either.⁴⁰ Relatives of it may only be found if we accept, if to a certain degree, the theory that many triradical roots are extensions of earlier biradical ones or that they at least contain a biradical semantic nucleus.⁴¹ The most prominent exponent of the first variant is probably Christopher Ehret, in whose two major elaborations on the theory we find indeed two “pre-proto-Semitic” roots **tm-* from which the author thinks several 3-consonantal roots with an initial ŠM- were formed in Arabic. In the 1989 publication, the author reconstructs such a **tm-* meaning ‘up, high’.⁴² This, however, does not seem to have an extension in -z⁴³ and its meaning can hardly be connected to the notion of ‘disgust’. In the second, we meet a **tm-* meaning ‘to depart’ (from an assumed Afroasiatic **lām-* ‘to leave’).⁴⁴ From this, Ehret derived not only *šamğara* ‘to flee

36 DRS 9 (2010) #HZN-1 gives the following cognates of Arabic *ḥazina* ‘to be(come) sad’: Mehri *ḥzūn*, Jibbālī *aḥzīn*, Ḥarsūsī *ḥayzen*, *hezōn*, Soqōṭrī *ḥāzon*, Gəṣəz *ḥazana*, *ḥazna*, *ḥazana* ‘être triste, être en deuil’, Tigre *ḥazna*, Tigrīñña *ḥazānā*, *ḥazānā*, Argobba *hazzānā*, Amharic *azzānā*, Gurage *azānā* ‘être triste’, Harari *ḥuzni* ‘tristesse’; ? Sabaic *hḥzn* ‘abîmer, endommager’. – Calice 1936 #737 mentions also neo-Egyptian *ḥgn* ‘to be(come) angry; to resist’, adding however that the latter should probably rather be interpreted as a *ḥ-* form from *ḡnḡn ~ dndn* ‘to be angry’.

37 Q 39:45 *wa-ʔiḏā dukira 'llāhu waḥda-hū 'šmaʔazzat qulūbu 'llaḏīna lā yuʔminūna bi'l-ʔāḥirāi* ‘the hearts of those who do not believe in the Hereafter *shrink with aversion* whenever God is mentioned on His own’ (my italics, S.G.).

38 All values as in Wehr/Cowan 1979.

39 Hava 1899. – Cf. also *tašammaza* (V) ‘to contract, to get altered (face)’, *ibid*.

40 The only reference work that has an entry on √(ŠMʔ)Z, Zammit 2008, shows only blanks for all the Semitic languages it covers.

41 For a concise presentation of the pros and cons of this so-called ‘biradicalism’ theory, cf. Zaborski 2011. For a comprehensive discussion, cf. Voigt 1988.

42 Ehret 1989 #24.

43 The items Ehret himself (*ibid.*) derives from this **tm-* ‘up, high’ are *šamma* (√ŠMM) ‘to be proud’, *šamam* (dto.) ‘height, summit’, *šamaḥa* (√ŠMH) ‘to be high, lofty, bear one’s head high, be proud’, *šamara* (√ŠMR) ‘to walk with drawn sinews, walk with light step and elegantly, walk proudly’, *šams* (√ŠMS) ‘sun; to be bright and sunny’, *šamiqq* (√ŠMQ) ‘great, tall, long’, *šamā* (√ŠMW) ‘to be high, lofty, sublime’.

44 Ehret 1995 #878.

in terror’ and *šamara* ‘to walk with a light step’ but also *šamaza* ‘to run away’.⁴⁵ If we follow this reading we have to interpret “our” *išmaʔazza* ‘to detest, be disgusted’ as being based on a root √ŠMZ with the original meaning ‘to shrink back’ < *‘to run away’ < pre-Proto-Semitic **lm-* ‘to depart’ < Afroasiatic **lām-* ‘to leave’. – A scholar who follows the second variant (a semantic kernel attached to the first two consonants of a triconsonantal root) is the late Egyptian professor of Arabic, Muḥammad Ḥasan Ḥasan Gabal.⁴⁶ In his *Muṣḡam ištiqāqī muʔaṣṣal* he identifies the basic meaning of the nucleus ŠM- as ‘withdrawal/retreat of s.th. extended/spread upwards, becoming finer’ (*insiḥāb al-šayʔ al-muttasiʔ (al-muntašir) ʔilā ʔaflā mustadiqqan*) or ‘collection/aggregation of what is/was spread out, retreating/withdrawing upwards’ (*ḡamʔ mā huwa muntašir munsahiban ʔilā ʔaflā*).⁴⁷ In Gabal’s *ḡamʔ* ‘collecting, assembling what was spread, etc.’, one may rediscover the ‘shrinking’ (*‘contraction’) contained in the modern meaning of *išmiʔzāz*, while he also feels that the connection to a movement upwards overlaps with Ehret’s **lm-* ‘up, high’.

Summing up, we may say that it seems that with the help of Ehret and Gabal we may have come slightly closer to the possible origins of Arabic *išmiʔzāz*, without however being able to confirm any of our approximations through clear evidence from outside Arabic. The ultimate etymology will therefore have to remain obscure until the day we discover further material for comparison.

Anger—*ḡaḏab*

√ḠDB

At first sight it looks as if the material on which to build etymological hypotheses is a little broader in the case of *ḡaḏab* ‘anger’. After all, has not Růžička left a whole article entitled “Zur Etymologie von *ḡdb*”?⁴⁸ The fact, however, that the space designed for Semitic cognates in Zammit’s study on the etymology of the Qur’anic lexicon remains completely void⁴⁹ may raise doubts. And indeed, on a closer look, the case turns out to be far from simple and easy. Růžička starts his discussion by mentioning the semantic variety that can be found within the root √ḠDB. Apart from ‘anger, to be angry’, he says, it also comprises words like⁵⁰ *ḡi/udāb* ‘mote(s) in the eye’,⁵¹ *ḡaḏbaī* ‘skin of a mountain goat advanced in age’, or *ḡaḏbā* ‘(herd of) a hundred camels’. These, however, are only a few out of a much larger variety (as was also the case with other items, see above). From the dictionaries of Classical Arabic the following picture emerges (preliminary grouping according to main semantic values by myself, S.G.):

- #1a *ḡaḏb* ‘intense in redness’; hence also the relative *al-ʔaḡḏab* (‘the reddest one’) signifying #1b ‘the part between the penis and the thigh’;
- #2a *ḡaḏiba a (ḡaḏab)* ‘to be angry’; hence also #2b ‘to defend, protect s.o.’ (< *to rise in anger against an aggressor);
- either from #1a or #2a may be the use of *ḡaḏb* for the #1/2c ‘lion’ and for the #1/2d ‘bull’;
- #3a *ḡiḏāb, ḡuḏāb* ‘mote(s) in the eye’; #3b *ḡiḏāb, ḡaḏābaī* ‘(sorte de) pustules et de maladie semblables à la petite vérole [small-pox]’, *ḡuḏiba* ‘to be afflicted with the disease called *ḡiḏāb* (said of camels)’, *ḡaḏbaī* ‘protuberance (of flesh) above or beneath the eyes (or the upper eyelid) in the form of a flatulent tumour, patch of the small-pox, pock-mark’;
- #4a *ḡaḏbaī* ‘skin of a mountain goat advanced in age, of a fish, of the head, of the parts between the horns of a bull’; hence also #4b ‘shield (made of the hides of camels), garment (made of the hides of camels) worn for fighting’;
- #5 *ḡaḏbā* ‘(herd of) a hundred camels’;
- #6 *ḡaḏb(aī)* ‘hard stone, rock’.

45 Values found in Steingass 1884.

46 For a presentation cum discussion of his approach, cf. Guth 2017.

47 Gabal 2012, ii: 1198, 1204, respectively.

48 Růžička 1914.

49 Zammit 2002.

50 Meanings given in German by Růžička are replaced with the corresponding English ones as found in Lane’s dictionary.

51 Růžička has also ‘Strohalm’ (straw) here. I am dropping this value here since I was unable to verify it in any of the dictionaries I consulted.

It seems clear that also #1, #2 and #3 somehow belong together, but from the Arabic evidence alone it is difficult to decide which of the three should be the primary one: is ‘redness’ dependent on ‘anger’ or vice versa, or are perhaps the little pustules in the eye(lid)s of a camel, caused by a certain disease, the eponym of ‘intense redness’ or ‘anger’?

Unfortunately, a look beyond Arabic into Semitic does not help very much to make a decision since there are indeed no direct or obvious cognates. The situation becomes even more complex because the two initial radicals, *ḡ* and *ḍ*, though part of the proto-Semitic phonemic inventory, have merged in other Semitic languages with original *ʕ* and *ṣ*, respectively. Assuming a reverse development inside Arabic, Růžička connects *ḡaḍiba* ‘to be(come) angry’ with *ṣaḍḍa* ‘to bite’, suggesting that the biradical nucleus **ḡḍ-* is secondary, developed from **ʕḍ-* ‘to cut, separate, cut with the teeth, bite’. He thinks that the verb *ṣaḍaba* ‘to cut off’⁵² reflects both the primary form and the primary meaning; that *ḡaḍiba*, after a **ʕ-* > *ḡ-* shift, has preserved this original sense of ‘cutting’ in a few instances⁵³—the author interprets even #6 ‘hard stone, rock’ as *‘the sharp, cutting one’—; elsewhere, however, he continues, *ḡaḍiba* has taken on a figurative meaning, along the line *‘to cut > bite > be savage, vicious > be scathing, aggressive > be infuriated, angry’, a shift that, according to Růžička, must have taken place at an early time since it can be observed already in what the author believes to be Hebrew and Aramaic cognates of *ḡaḍiba*, namely, e.g., Hebrew *ʕāṣab* ‘to hurt, pain, grieve’.⁵⁴ More recent research, however, holds that Arabic *ṣaḍḍa* ‘to bite’ has “no clear parallel elsewhere in Semitic”.⁵⁵ And Leslau does not compare the items that Růžička connected to Arabic √ḠDB to the latter but to √ṢB, or (with metathesis) perhaps also √ṢB⁵⁶—so that √ḠDB now is left without cognates.

It seems that the question whether *ḡaḍab* ‘anger’ is at the semantic origin of ‘intense redness’ and/or the small-pox-like ‘tumours/pustules’ in a camel’s eye, or whether one of the latter values represents the primary notion from which ‘anger’ and others are derived by a transfer of meaning, or whether all go back to an earlier ‘biting’ which perhaps is from a still earlier ‘cutting’—this question will have to remain unsolved until the possible appearance of fresh material that would introduce new aspects. In the meantime the suggestion made—implicitly—by Badawi & Abdel Haleem may also be worth some consideration: mentioning the ‘protruding rock’ (#6 *ḡaḍb, -at*) at the beginning of their enumeration of the values attached to √ḠDB in Classical Arabic they seem to insinuate that the idea of a *‘protrusion’ might be at the basis of all others. Such an assumption could explain the values of group #3, i.e., the ‘swelling’ in a camel’s eye and the small-pox-like tumours/pustules caused by the eruption of the *ḡuḍāb*, as well as the eruption of #2 ‘anger’,⁵⁷ and perhaps even the ‘intense redness’ could be explained (as the redness of the affected eyes, of the pustules, or the face of the infuriated one).

But still... Neither (#4) the ‘skin of a mountain goat [...]’ and the ‘shield/garment made of the hides of camels’ nor (#5) the ‘(herd of) a hundred camels’ have found a place in any of the above theories, so that there is even less to say about *their* possible, or impossible, relation with *ḡaḍab* ‘anger’.

Furthermore, if *ḡaḍab* should not be a primary idea but a derived notion, the result of a transfer of meaning, wouldn’t it then be reasonable to look for other “more original”, “more basic” lexical items to express Plutchikian *anger*? Apart from *ḡaḍab*, aspects of ‘anger’ can be rendered by *ḡanaq* ‘fury, rage, ire, wrath, anger, exasperation, resentment, rancor’, *ṣuḡ(u)t* or *ṣaḡaṭ* ‘discontent, annoyance, displeasure, indignation, anger, irritation; wrath, bitterness, grudge, resentment’, *ḡayz* ‘wrath, anger, ire, exasperation, fury, rage’, ...

52 Cf. also the only ṢDB item that is preserved in MSA, *ṣaḍb* ‘sharp, caustic, acid (tongue)’ – Wehr/Cowan 1979, s.v.

53 E.g., he translates a sample sentence, given in the dictionaries—*ḡaḍiba l-ḡaylu ṣalā l-luḡmi*—not as ‘the horse became infuriated of, or revolted against, the bridles’ but as ‘the horse bit on the bridles’.

54 To this, BDB connects also Gəṣəz *ṣaṣaba* ‘to be hard, difficult’, while the mentioning of Arabic *ḡaḍiba* is preceded by a question mark.

55 Kogan 2015: 29 (fn.): Gəṣəz *ṣaṣša* ‘to deprive, cause harm, rob, take away by force’ has more straightforward cognates in Arabic.

56 Thus, we get this group of cognates: Hebrew *ʕāṣab* ‘to pain’, Aramaic *ʕāṣab* ‘to be grieved’, Arabic *ṣaṣaba* ‘to bind, tighten’, *inṣaṣaba* ‘to be difficult’, (perhaps also Arabic *ṣaṣuba* ‘to be hard, be difficult’), Gəṣəz *ṣaṣaba* ‘to be difficult, hard, harsh, troublesome, grievous, serious’ – Leslau 2006, s.r. ṢB.

57 Badawi & Abdel Haleem 2008, s.r. ḠDB.

Anticipation—*tawaqquṣ*

√WQṢ

Like *mufāḡaḡaī* for ‘surprise’, the word that translates Plutchik’s ‘anticipation’ in the above-mentioned Wikipedia article, *tawaqquṣ*, looks very modern and “unoriginal”. But it actually isn’t, as a search in the premodern texts of *arabiCorpus* makes clear: while *mufāḡaḡaī* only got 17 hits, *tawaqquṣ* yields 90.⁵⁸ But still, this result does not mean that *tawaqquṣ* was established as a concept in its own right already in premodern times. Rather, it seems that it was used only as a “gerund” (‘expecting’, not ‘expectation, anticipation’) until the late 19th / early 20th century. Regular dictionaries of Classical Arabic like Freytag 1838 or de Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860 only register the verb (V) *tawaqqasa* ‘to expect, wait for s.th. to happen’.⁵⁹ Today, however, the verbal noun has been lexicalized, and according to Buckwalter & Parkinson’s *Frequency Dictionary*⁶⁰ it even forms part of the basic vocabulary, scoring on place 3040 of the authors’ frequency list of contemporary written Arabic (the verb is even on position 804!).

Morphologically, *tawaqquṣ* is a verbal noun of *tawaqqasa*, a form V verb derived from the corresponding form I, *waqasa* (impf. *yaqasu*, vn. *wuqūṣ*) ‘to fall; [...] to come to pass, take place, occur; to happen (*li-* to s.o.), befall; [...]’. As an extension in self-referential/reflexive *t-* of the causative form II, *waqasa* ‘to let fall, bring down, bring down, make happen’, the form V verb *tawaqqasa* literally means *‘to let fall, bring down, make happen for oneself’, so that ‘expectation, anticipation’ basically means *‘imagination of s.th. that will/can happen/be the case, will befall (the speaker)’.⁶¹

While Huehnergard thinks that √WQṢ in the sense of ‘to fall, happen’ is an exclusively “Arabic root”,⁶² other scholars⁶³ not only see it related to Modern South Arabian and Ethio-Semitic items,⁶⁴ but also go beyond the Southern Semitic sphere, paralleling it with √YQṢ⁶⁵ or another, homonymous √WQṢ, the most prominent exponents of which are Hebrew *yāqaṣ* ‘to be dislocated, alienated’ and Gəṣəz *waqsa* ‘to strike, flay, skin, strip off, cut, bruise, crush’.⁶⁶ The authors of *DRS* are a bit more reluctant: a “?” marks their separation between #WQṢ-1 ‘to fall’ and the possibly related #WQṢ-2, which in their opinion not only comprises, as just mentioned, Hebrew *yāqaṣ* ‘être disloqué, cassé (membre)’ and Gəṣəz *waqsa*, *waqʿa* ‘frapper, écorcher, couper, écraser’, but also Arabic *waqasa* ‘frapper, battre (avec un marteau), aiguïser, amincir; marquer (un cheval au fer rouge)’,⁶⁷ *mīqaṣaī* ‘marteau, maillet, battoir à linge’; Ḥarsūsi *mēqeṣeh* ‘mortier’; Tigre *wāqsa* ‘battre, battre le grain’, Tigriñña *wāqəsa* ‘battre, pleuvoir’, Amharic *wāqqa* ‘battre, abattre’, Argobba *wāqqa*, and Gurage *wāq(q)a* ‘battre’. – While #WQṢ-1 and #WQṢ-2 may be related, a similar kinship seems difficult to imagine for a third value, figuring as #WQṢ-3 in *DRS*: Arabic *waqisa* ‘avoir la plante des pieds endoloris, les sabots usés par la marche sur un sol rocailleux’ [Hava 1899: I & II ‘to abrade (the hoofs:

58 <<http://arabiccorpus.byu.edu>>, as of Aug. 14, 2017.

59 No entries (neither for *tawaqquṣ* as a lexical item in its own right nor under the corresponding verb, *tawaqqasa*, nor as renderings of English ‘anticipation’ or ‘expectation’) in Zenker 1866, Wahrmund 1870, Catafago 1873, Spiro 1895 and 1897, Hava 1899. In Bustāni 1869 and Steingass 1884, the noun *tawaqquṣ* is not lexicalized as a separate item, but the verb *tawaqqasa* does appear, with the meaning ‘to expect, look for, prepare one’s self for, hope; to meet with one’s wish accidentally’ (Steingass). It is only Wahrmund 1887 who has *tawaqquṣ* ‘Erwartung, Hoffnung’ alongside with *tawaqqasa* (vb., V) ‘etwas (bes. Unangenehmes) erwarten, sich darauf gefaßt machen, hoffen [...]’; zufällig (auf das Gewünschte) stoßen, es finden, erlangen (*ṣalà*)’.

60 Buckwalter & Parkinson 2011.

61 Interestingly, English *case* is also from ‘to fall’, cf. *OED* (as of Aug. 14, 2017): “**case**: early 13c., ‘what befalls one; state of affairs,’ from Old French *cas* ‘an event, happening, situation, quarrel, trial,’ from Latin *casus* ‘a chance, occasion, opportunity; accident, mishap,’ literally ‘a falling,’ from *cas-*, past participle stem of *cadere* ‘to fall, sink, settle down, decline, perish’ [...], from P[roto]I[ndo]E[uropean] root **kad-* ‘to lay out, fall or make fall, yield, break up’ [...]. The notion being ‘that which falls’ as ‘that which happens’ (compare *befall*).”

62 Huehnergard 2011, s.r. *wqṣ*.

63 Such as Zammit 2002 and Rajki 2002.

64 Cf. esp. *DRS* 7 (1997) #WQṢ-1, where the Arabic forms are grouped together with Mehri *wīqa* ‘être, devenir’, *šəwqā* ‘tomber’, *həwqā* ‘poser, poser bas’; Ḥarsūsi *wēqa* ‘être, commencer à, continuer à’, *awqā* ‘poser, poser bas’, Mehri Ḥaršūsu *wəqōna* ‘à peu près, peut-être’; Jibbāli *ēqaṣ* (*l-*) ‘trouver, tomber juste, deviner’, *ʔəbqaṣ* ‘mettre’, *səbqaṣ* ‘tomber’; Soqotri *əqaṣ* ‘deviner’; Tigriñña *wāqsi*, Amharic *māwqe* ‘accès brusque de fièvre’.

65 Rajki 2002 even reconstructs a proto-Semitic *√YQṢ.

66 Gəṣəz values as in Leslau 2006 s.v.

67 Cf. Hava 1899: Arabic *waqasa* ‘to slander, dishonour (*fī* s.o.)’, *waqasa* (II) ‘to sharpen (a sword) with a hone’.

stony ground)']; *waqaṣ* 'nudité des pieds; rochers, pierres' [Hava 1899: *waqiṣa* (impf. *yawqaṣu*, vn. *waqaṣ*) 'to go barefoot; to have the feet chafed by a hard ground', *waqiṣ* 'barefooted; having the feet chafed by a hard ground', *waqaṣ* 'rocks'].

Given that inner-Semitic etymology still is rather obscure, it is probably too early to attempt, as Orel & Stolbova did, a reconstruction not only of Semitic **wVkaṣ-* 'to fall', but also (based on additional evidence from some West and Central Chadic languages) Afroasiatic **wakaṣ-* 'to fall'.⁶⁸ But their suggestions may not be too far from the truth either...for the semantic complex of 'to fall', at least—the values appearing sub #3 (to abrade the hoofs, go barefoot, have the feet chafed by hard ground, hard ground/rocks) still remain etymologically "homeless".

To conclude this section with a note on the margin: Would it ever have occurred to your mind that Arabic *tawaqquṣ* 'anticipation' could be akin to the European name of the brightest star in the constellation of Lyra, *Vega*? But this is actually the case. *Vega* goes back to Arabic (*al-naṣr al-*) *wāqiṣ* '(the) falling/attacking (eagle, or vulture)', the Arabic name for this star which, like *tawaqquṣ*, is formed from *waqaṣa* 'to fall, come down on'.⁶⁹

Conclusion

On the preceding pages we have tried to establish the etymology of eight terms that an Arabic Wikipedia article gave us as modern Arabic equivalents of the English words for what Robert Plutchik identified as eight "basic emotions". After this attempt, some observations and remarks are in place:

- In contrast to the more "tangible" basic vocabulary (physical world, kinship, animals, body, food and drink, housing, etc.), there is very little previous research on which our investigation could build, emotional terminology does not seem to have received due scholarly attention yet—a lacuna that is all the more deplorable as there is no reason why this terminology should be considered less "basic" than that for the more "tangible" phenomena.⁷⁰
- Sometimes, however, emotional terminology is indeed the result of figurative use of a more "concrete" basis, as could be observed in the case of *saṣādaī* 'joy, happiness' (perhaps from 'to be assisted, get support'), *tiqai* 'trust' (probably ultimately from 'tie, bond, chain'), *iṣmiṣzāz* 'disgust' (probably from 'to shrink, contract, shudder away'), or *ḡaḍab* 'anger' (perhaps based on 'intense redness', 'mote in the eye', or 'small tumour, patch of small-pox').
- For many of the terms we have looked into no straightforward cognates outside Arabic are attested. In these cases, any etymological statement, if possible at all, has to remain vague and speculative, at best approximative (*mufaḡaḡaī* / √FḠḠ?: perhaps somehow related to a hypothetical nucleus **FḠ-* 'to break through'; *iṣmiṣzāz* / √ṢMṢZ: from √ṢMZ, perhaps from **ṢM-* 'to run away, leave, depart').
- But even if cognates (or what looks like them) can be found in Semitic, they are often attested in *parts* of the Semitic area only. Cases like that of *ḥawf* 'fear' which has cognates in at least two other subgroups (Akkadian, Modern South Arabian), or √ṢṢD (Arabic + Hebrew, Aramaic, Sabaic), or √WQṢ (Arabic + Modern South Arabian and Ethio-Semitic, perhaps also Hebrew) are rather exceptional. In other cases, attestations stem from only one or two (often closely related) branches so that etymological digging does not reach deeper/earlier layers.
- However even if an item is widely attested outside Arabic, the look over the rim into Semitic sometimes does not help much, it may even be confusing—as in the case of *ḡaḍab* 'anger', which is probably neither related to Hebrew *ṣāṣab* 'to hurt, pain, grieve' nor Arabic *ṣaḍaba* 'to cut off' and the bi-consonantal √ṢḌ: (ṢḌḌ) 'to bite'. In these cases only the discovery of fresh and qualitatively different evidence could possibly shed some light.

68 HSED 526 #2518.

69 Huehnergard 2011. – First attestation in English 1638 – OED, as of Aug. 14, 2017.

70 As a praiseworthy exception from the rule we may note the fact that "Emotions and Values" are treated, as a semantic field in their own right, in Haspelmath & Tadmor's *World Loanword Database (WOLD)*. Among the first items in this field we find also most of "our" Plutchik'ian emotions: #16-15 'surprised or astonished' (cf. 'surprise'/*mufaḡaḡaī*); #16-18 'good luck' and #16-23 'happy' (cf. 'joy, happiness'/*saṣādaī*); #16-32 'grief' (cf. 'sadness'/*ḥuzn*); #16-33 'anxiety' and #16-53 'fear' (cf. 'fear'/*ḥawf*); #16-42 'anger' (cf. 'anger'/*ḡaḍab*); #16-63 'to hope' (cf. 'anticipation'/*tawaqquṣ*) – <<http://wold.clld.org/semanticfield/16>>, as of August 16, 2017.

- In quite a number of cases, the Arabic terms with which the author of the above-mentioned Wikipedia article renders Plutchik's terms seem to be only one out of a large variety of possible translations. This testifies, on the one hand, to the banal fact that complex phenomena like emotions rarely have 1:1 correspondences in other languages, particularly so when these languages belong to different cultures. On the other hand, many of these terms (as, e.g., *saʿādat*, *mufaḡḡat*, *išmiʔzāz*, *tawaqquʿ*) seem to be rather late “inventions”, they cannot be traced (at least not as emotional concepts in their own right) in premodern texts, or are only very rare there. They seem to be examples not so much of “traveling” emotions as the results of a standardisation, globalisation, and “modernisation” of emotions. Older terminology that actually *did* exist and often was more common obviously was felt not to be adequate any longer. As the Arabic language still does not have an historical dictionary in which the interested user would find information about semantic change, innovation, borrowing, calquing, etc. over the centuries, we can only guess that the processes that were responsible for the replacement of older terminology with new one were connected to the “synchronisation” of the Arab world with “the” world, sometime during the so-called “long nineteenth century”, or the *Nahḡah* (often rendered as “Arab Renaissance” but probably better addressed as “Arab cultural modernity”). Research on linguistic change, and conceptual change in particular, during the *Nahḡah* cannot be said to be non-existent; on the whole, however, previous research in this field has been either formalistic (identifying patterns of word formation, etc.) or mainly informed by an interest in political and social history. The result was again the neglect of many aspects of the *Nahḡah*, among them its “emotional history”.
- Apart from traveling in time and across languages, regions and cultures, concepts often also move from one semantic field to others. The figurative use of “tangible, concrete” vocabulary to circumscribe certain emotions that we saw above was already one example of this type of transfer of meaning. But we have also, in the present article, come across examples of a transfer of emotional terminology itself: a pair of planets was called ‘the lucky ones’ because they were associated with good fortune; a pigeon was addressed as *saʿdānā*, either because it seemed to be, like the planets, a bringer of good news, or due to its showing prickles. Sometimes, however, the transfer is less straightforward: a monkey is only euphemistically called *saʿdān* ‘the lucky one’; actually, it is associated with *bad* luck, *misfortune*. And sometimes it is also less a (metaphorical) transfer than an (metonymical) extension: *ḡaḡiba*, for instance, not only means ‘to be infuriated’ but also ‘to defend (i.e., to rise *in anger* against an aggressor)’.
- What the present contribution was *not* able to do, given limitation in space, was to follow Arabic emotional terminology on its journey *into* other languages that in fact borrowed much of this terminology in the course of Islamisation. E.g., we meet Arabic *ḡuzn* again in Persian *ḡozn*, Turkish *ḡüzün* or Swahili *ḡuzuni*; Arabic *saʿādat* reappears as Persian *saʿādat* and Turkish *saadet*; Arabic *ḡaḡab* is the origin of Azeri *qezeb*, Swahili *ḡadhabu*, Persian *ḡaḡab*, Turkish *ḡazap*, Uzbek *ḡʿazab*, etc. In some cases, it seems, the borrowings from Arabic into other languages may give us some indication about Arabic emotional terminology *before* the above-mentioned “synchronisation/globalisation/modernisation”: In Turkish, for example, the word for ‘disgust’ is *nefret* which, via Persian *nefrat*, is from Arabic *nifraʿ*, a word that could well have served as equivalent of ‘disgust’ but in this sense obviously was replaced with *išmiʔzāz* after being borrowed into Persian...

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