**Этимологический анализ новой лексики северного аргобба (южная ветвь эфиосемитских языков)**

Мария Булах, ИКВИА ВШЭ, Москва, 8 апреля 2021 г., семинар НУГ «Сравнительная семитская лексикография»

**Sources for the plosive laryngeal *ʔ***

Regular reflexes \**ʔ* > *ʔ*

*ʔaf* ‘Mund’ [mouth] (Wetter 2010:240, AAD 310).

SA *af* (Leslau 1997:189, AAD 310), Amh. *af*, Har. *af*, Sod. Muh. Msq. Gog. Sel. Wol. Zay *af*, Čah. Eža *ãf*, Enm. End. Gyt. *ãfʷ*, Tgr. *ʔaf*, Tna. *ʔaf*, Gez. *ʔaf* (CDG 8–9, Bulakh 2014:186) < PS \**pay*- (SED I No. 223).

*asʔam* ‘er verkaufte’ [he sold] (Wetter 2010:90; Šäwa-Robit B *asʔama* ‘to sell’, Leslau 1997:219).

Har. *asēma* (EDH 140), perhaps also Old Amh. *šämäta* ‘l’acquisto’ (Strelcyn 1964:262). To be compared to PS \**ŝʔm* ‘to buy’ (LS 429), present in Akk. *šâmu* (CAD Š1 350, AHw. 1159) and in ESA, where the basic stem ‘to buy’ is opposed to the causative stem ‘to sell’: Sab. *s2ʔm* ‘to buy, to purchase’, *hs*2*ʔm* ‘sell’ (SD 130, Stein 2010:731), Qat. *s*2*ʔm* ‘to purchase, buy’, *s*1*s*2*ʔm* ‘to sell’ (Ricks 164), Min. *s2ʔm* ‘achat; marchandise’ (LM 85). In MSA, only the basic stem with the meaning ‘to sell’ is attested: Mhr. *śōm* (JM 369), Hrs. *śōm* (JH 117), Jib. *śɛ̄m* (JJ 244), Soq. *ŝóʔom* (CSOL I 663, LS 429).

Non-etymological ʔ (one example only)

*ɨnnezzɛʔ* ‘es wurde verbreitert’ [it was spread] (Wetter 2010:33).

SA *näzäha* (AAD 245), Amh. *näzza* ‘to scatter, disperse, disseminate, spread (rumor, good news); to spray or sprinkle water; to spread a net’ (AED 1052), Tna. *näzḥä* ‘to spray, sprinkle; to scatter, disperse; to spread gossip’ (TED 1354), Gez. *nazḫa*, *nazḥa* ‘strew, sprinkle, spray’ (CDG 411, LLA 677).

Uncertain cases

*rɛggɛʔ* ‘es gerann’ [it became coagulated] (Wetter 2010:31).

SA *rägga* ‘to coagulate, to be calm’ (Leslau 1997:218, AAD 124, also *regga* according to AAD 124), Amh. *rägga* (AED 410), Har. *rägaʔa* (EDH 133), Msq. Gog. *rägga*, Sel. Zay *raga*, Muh. Sod. *ärägga*, Eža *nägga*, Čah. Enm. *näka*, Gyt. *näkā*, End. *näkkaʔa* (EDG 523), Tgr. *ragʔa* (WTS 164, Musa ʔAron 2005:68), Tna. *rägʔä*/*rägʕä* (TED 603), Gez. *ragʕa* (CDG 463–464, LLA 316). The only convincing cognate outside ES is Hbr. *rāgaʕ* ‘to harden’ (BDB 921; see HALOT 1188 for various interpretations and etymological discussion)

*sɛʔar* ‘gesund werden’ [to be cured], *asʔar* ‘heilen’ [to heal] (Wetter 2010:123).

Amh. *šarä* ‘… to be cured (of tapeworm); to counter a poison with an antidote’, *ašarä* ‘to cure, to heal’ (AED 618), Gaf. *sarä* ‘être guéri’ (Leslau 1956:232). Comparable lexemes with *ʕ* as the second root consonant in Geez (*śəʕra*/*səʕra* ‘heal, be cured; cure’, CDG 525, not in LLA) and Tigre (*saʕara* ‘to aid a sick person’, *səʕur* ‘relief of a sick person’, WTS 194, not in Musā ʔĀron 2005) are not actually attested in the texts, which restricts their value for establishing the original quality of the guttural. Outside ES, comparison with PWS \**šʔr* ‘to remain’ (Kogan 2015:198) is tempting, see especially Hbr. *šʔr* ‘to remain’ not infrequently used in the sense ‘to survive among, survive from (affliction)’ (HALOT 1376, BDB 984).

**Sources for the fricative pharyngeal *ʕ***

*ʕ* < \**ʕ*

*ɛʕam* ‘gut schmecken’ [to be tasty (food)] (Wetter 2010:90, AAD 471).

SA *ṭähama* ‘taste good, flavor’ (Leslau 1997:223), Amh. *ṭamä*, Har. *ṭāma*, *ṭēma*, Sel. Zay *āmä*, Wol. *amä*, Gaf. *amä*, End. *ṭāmä*, Msq. *ṭamä*, Čah. Eža Muh. Msq. *tamä*, Gyt. *tāmä*, Muh. Msq. Gog. Sod. *amä*, End. *eʔẽä*, Enm. *ẽʔẽä*, Tna. *ṭäʕamä*, Gez. *ṭəʕma*, *ṭaʕama* (CDG 582, EDH 154, Leslau 1956:193, EDG 619) < PWS \**ṭʕm* ‘to taste, to try (food)’ (Fronzaroli 1971:607, 630, Kogan 2011b:238, Bulakh 2005:343–346).

Uncertain cases

*ʕabbɛd* ‘verrückt werden’ [to become mad] (Wetter 2010:84, AAD 284, also *ʔabbäd* according to AAD 284).

SA *abbäda* ‘be mad’, *əbd* ‘mad’ (Leslau 1997:188), Amh. *əbd* ‘mad’, Gaf. *əbd*, Tgr. *ʔəbd* ‘fool-hardy’, *ʕabda* ‘to become crazy’, Tna. *ʕəbud* ‘mad’, Gez. *ʔabd* (CDG 3, Leslau 1956:170, Bulakh–Kogan 2016:275). Compare perhaps Arb. *ʕabada* ‘se mettre en colère contre quelqu’un’ (BK II 150, also *ʕabida* ‘to be angry’, Lane 1934), but cf. also *ʔabada* ‘devenir sauvage’, *ʔabida* ‘être en colère, s’effaroucher’ (BK I 3).

Non-etymological *ʕ*

*ḳɛnnɛʕ* ‘er ist eifersüchtig’ [he is jealous] (Wetter 2010:34).

SA *ḳänna* ‘be jealous, envy’ (Leslau 1997:216, AAD 187), Amh. *ḳänna* (AED 778, but note an Old Amh. form with *ʕ* in Guidi 1989:64; see Girma Demeke 2014:29–30), Har. *ḳañaʔa* ‘be jealous, envy’ (EDH 127, but note Ancient Har. *qinʕat* ‘invidia, gelosia’, Cerulli 1936:428), Muh. Msq. Gog. Sod. *ḳänna*, End. *ḳännā*, Wol. Zay *ḳänä*, Sel. *ḳäñe* ‘be jealous, envy’ (EDG 484), Tgr. *ḳanʔa* ‘to be zealous, to be jealous, to grudge’ (WTS 252), Tna. *ḳänʔä* ‘to envy’ (TED 995), Gez. *ḳanʔa* ‘be envious, be jealous’ (mostly spelled with *ʔ*, see LLA 445; note also *ḳnʔ* in Epigraphic Geez, RIE 191:36). The NES cognates point to *ʔ*, in agreement with the comparative Semitic evidence: Hbr. *ḳinʔā*  ‘ardour, zeal, jealousy’ (BDB 888, HALOT 1110), Syr. *ḳanetā*(*ʔ*) ‘studium; aemulatio’ (Sokoloff 2009:1379, Brockelmann 1928:675), JBA *ḳinʔā* ‘anger, enmity’ (Sokoloff 2002:1013), Mnd. *qina* ‘rancour, envy’ (DM 411), JLAtg *ḳinʔā* (Levy 1867:371), Sam. *ḳin(ʔ)ā* ‘jealousy’ (Tal 787), CPA *ḳny*/*ḳnʔ* (pa) ‘studuit rei’ (Schulthess 376), Hrs. *ḳéneʔ* ‘to be jealous’ (JH 76), Mhr. *ḳáynəʔ* id. (JM 232), Jib. *ḳiéni* id. (JJ 147), Soq. *ḳáni* ‘jalousie’ (LS 377). (The root is only sparsely present in Akkadian, where the pertinent lexemes (notably *qenû* ‘to be jealous, envious’ SB, CAD Q 209) may result from West Semitic influence (cf. Kogan 2015:89, with fn. 266).)

*ʕassɛr* ‘binden’ [to bind] (Wetter 2010:84, AAD 276, also *ḥassär* according to AAD 276).

SA *hasära* ‘bind, tie, imprison’ (AAD 276), Amh. *assärä*, Tgr. *ʔasra*, Tna. *ʔasärä*, Gez. *ʔasara* ‘tie’ (CDG 44, LLA 747–748). See further Bulakh–Kogan 2016:176 as well as DUL 110, Brockelmann 1928:37, BDB 63 (Ugr. *ʔsr*, Arb. *ʔsr*, Hbr. Pho. *ʔsr*, Arm. *ʔsr*, Sab. Min. *ʔs3r*), Jib. *ʔésr* ‘to hobble (an animal)’ (JJ 4), Hrs. *wesōr* id. (JH 3), Mhr. *wəsūr* id. (JM 8). Note also Akk. *esēru* ‘to shut in, enclose’ (CAD E 334, AHw. 249): if related (in spite of being somewhat remote semantically), it may point to a by-form with \**ʕ* in PS since *e* in Akkadian does not regularly correspond to \**ʔ*.

**Sources for the voiceless pharyngeal *ḥ***

*ḥ* < \**ḥ*

*ḥabbɛṭ* ‘schwellen’ [to swell up] (Wetter 2010:84).

SA *habbäṭa* ‘swell’ (Leslau 1997:204, AAD 284), Amh. *abbäṭä* (AED 1205), Har. *ḥabäṭa* (EDH 79), Sel. Wol. Zay *abäṭä* (EDG 11), Tgr. *ḥabṭa* (WTS 81), Tna. *ḥabäṭä* (TED 228), Gez. *ḥabaṭa*, *ḥabṭa* (CDG 225, LLA 105). The root goes back to PS \**ḥbṭ* ‘to swell, inflate’ (SED I No. 22v).

*ḥaffɛs* ‘er nahm eine Handvoll’ [he took a handful] (Wetter 2010:33).

SA *haffäsa* ‘take a handful’ (Leslau 1997:204, AAD 309), Amh. *affäsä* (AED 1355), Har. *ḥafäsa* (EDH 80), Čah. Enm. End. Gyt. *afäsä*, Eža Muh. Msq. Gog. Sod. *affäsä*, Sel. Zay *amfäsä*, Wol. *ãfäsä* (EDG 22), Tgr. *ḥafsa* ‘to have much corn, to scrape corn together’ (WTS 104), Tna. *ḥafäsä* (TED 308), Gez. *ḥafaśa* ‘rake up; take a handful’ (CDG 227, LLA 141). As suggested in CDG 227, WS with the meaning ‘to search’ or ‘to collect’ are likely related: Ugr. *ḥpšt* ‘woman gathering (straw)’ (DUL 2015:362), Hbr. *ḥāpaŝ* ‘search’ (BDB 344, HALOT 341), JBA *ḥps* (pa.) ‘to search’ (Sokoloff 2002:478), JPA *ḥps* ‘to dig; to search’ (Sokoloff 1992:212), Sam. *ḥps* ‘to dig’ (Tal 289), CPA *ḥps* ‘fodit’ (Schulthess 68, Sokoloff 2014:136), Arb. *ḥafaša* ‘ramasser, amasser (des biens, des richesses)’ (BK I 458), *ḥafašū* = *ʔiǧtamaʕū* (LA VII 176), *taḥaffuš*- = *ʔiǧtimāʕ*- (TA XVII 156), Min. *ḥfs*2 ‘rassembler’ (LM 47), Jib. *ḥfɔś* ‘to collect (a lot of things)’ (JJ 105), Mhr. *ḥəfūś* ‘to collect (a lot of things)’ (JM 169).

*ḥ* < \**ḫ*

*ḥaras* ‘Frau im Kindbett’ [woman in childbed] (Wetter 2010:220, AAD 275).

SA *haras* ‘woman in childbed’ (Leslau 1997:206, AAD 275), Amh. *aras*, Har. *ḥarās*, Sel. *arās*, Wol. Zay *aras*, Gaf. *aras*, Tna. *ḥaras* (but note *harras* with *h* in TED 15), Gez. *ḫarās* (CDG 264, EDH 89, EDG 91, Leslau 1956:182, Bulakh–Kogan 2016:242). The root goes back to PS \**ḫrs* (SED I No. 31v).

Non-etymological *ḥ*

*ḥ < \*h*

*bɛrrɛḥ* ‘leuchten’ [to shine] (Wetter 2010:87).

Amh. *bärra* ‘to shine’ (AED 873; Old Amh. *bärra* ‘hell, klar’, Littmann 1943:488), Tgr. *barha* ‘to be bright, clean, to shine’, *bārəh* ‘shining, bright, clean, clever’ (WTS 274), Tna. *bärhä* ‘to clear’ (sky, weather), to become day, daylight; to be light, lighted up, illuminated; to glint, glitter; to shine (person’s fact with joy)’ (TED 1111), Gez. *barha* ‘to shine, be bright’ (CDG 103; LLA 499). In Harari and a few Gurage languages, one finds apparent cognates with the meaning ‘to clear up (weather), to stop (rain)’ whose vocalism suggest the protoform \**bhr* rather than \**brh*: Har. *bāra* (in *zənāb bāra* ‘the rain has stopped’) (EDH 44), Zay *bārī*, Sel. *bāre*, Wol. *bare*, Sod. Gog. Muh. *barrä*, Sod. *žənab abarrä*, Muh. *dəyä*(*zənab*) *barrä*, Msq. *baññä*, Ez̆a *dəyä* (*zərab*) *bannä*, Čah. *dəyä* (*zənab*) *banä* ‘clear up (weather) after rain, cease to rain’ (EDG 150). For \**brh*, see Arb. *bariha* ‘to be white in person’ (Lane 194, BK I 119). For \**bhr*, see Mnd. *BHR* ‘to shine brightly, be illumined’, (etpa.) ‘was glorified, glorious, irradiated, shone forth’ (DM 54), *bihrana* ‘all full of glitter’, *bihruta* ‘light, brightness’, *bihria* ‘illumined, illustrious’ (ibid. 60), Arb. *bahara* ‘to shine’ (Lane 265, BK I 170). Likely related are Hbr. *bhr* (hifʕil) ‘to shine, be bright’ (HALOT 112, BDB 97), and Syr. *bahrā* ‘dawn, twilight’, *bahōrā* ‘somewhat obscure’, *šubhārā* ‘glory, boasting’ (Sokoloff 2009:121, 123, 1517, Brockelmann 1928:61).

*ḥ < \*ʕ*

*ḥɨnet* ‘Holz’ (Wetter 2010:268).

SA *əned* (Aliyu Amba), *hənət* (Šäwa-Robit A) ‘wood’ (Leslau 1997:191), Amh. *ənät* ‘wood, timber, tree’, Har. *ini*, Sel. Wol. *əne*, Sel. *ənṭ*, *hənṭ*, Zay *ənṭet* ‘tree’, Gaf. *əna* ‘bois, arbre’, Čah. Gyt. *ää*, Eža Muh. Msḳ. Gog. *ää*, Sod. *ənä*, Enm. *eʔä*, End. *yeʔä* ‘tree’, Tgr. *ʕəāy* ‘wood’, Tna. *ʕə* ‘wood’, *ʕənṣäyti* ‘wood’, Gez. *ʕəṣ̂* ‘tree, shrub, bush, wood’ (Bulakh–Kogan 2016:211, CDG 57, EDH 28, EDG 12). From PS \**ʕiṣ̂*- (Kogan 2015:43).

In a few cases, *ḥ* seems to be secondarily introduced in the place of a vocalic *Anlaut* (in turn going back to the initial *w*- or *ʔ*-).

*ḥagg* ‘er stach’ [he stung] (Wetter 2010:31, 77, AAD 358; cf. Šäwa-Robit B (*tä*)*hagga* ‘fight’, Leslau 1997:204).

Har. *ḥaǧa* ‘pierce, prick’ (EDH 81), Sod. *aǧǧä*, Sel. Wol. *aǧe*, Zay *aǧī* ‘pierce’ (EDG 19). The Argobba and Harari must go back to Proto-ES \**wgʔ*, *wgʕ*, whose reflexes mostly preserve the initial *w*: SA *wägga*, *wegga* (Aliyu Amba), Amh. *wägga* (Old Amh. *wägʕa*, Littmann 1943:495), Eža Muḫ. Msḳ. Gog. Sod. *wägga*, Čah. Enm. Gyt. *wäka*, End. *wäkkaʔa*, Tgr. *wogʕa*, Tna. *wägʔe*, Gez. *wagʔa*, *wagʕa* (Bulakh–Kogan 2016:302).

*ḥarʕɨtt* ‘vier’ [four] (Wetter 2010:269).

SA *arbit* ‘four’ (Leslau 1997:193, AAD 276), Amh. *aratt*, Har. *ḥarat* (Ancient Har. *ḥarʕat*), Səl. Wol. *arat*, Zay *arət*, Gaf. *arbattä*, Čah. Eža Muh. Msḳ. Gog. *arbät*, Enm. *arḇʔat*, Gyt. *arḇʔät*, End. *arwəʔat*, Sod. *arätt*, Tgr. *ʔarbāʕ*, Tna. *ʔarbaʕtä*, Gez. *ʔarbāʕtu* (Bulakh–Kogan 2016:142) < PS \**ʔarbaʕ*- (Kogan 2009:73). Note the correspondence between NA and Ancient Harari.

Uncertain cases

*šerrɛḥ* ‘kaufen’ (Wetter 2010:96, *šerräḥ*, *šerraḥ* according to AAD 434).

SA *šerräha* ‘buy’ (Leslau 1997:221, *šärräha* according to AAD 434). It is tempting to compare the Argobba verb with Gog. Muh. *sərä*, Čah. Msq. *səyä*, Gyt. *səyǟ*, Enm. End. *siyǟ*, Eža *səyyä* ‘buy’ (EDG 558), even if the phonetic aspects of such a comparison are unclear. Hetzron (1977:75) speaks of the Gurage verbs as having C3=*y* in the prototype, undoubtedly treating them as ultimately related to Arb. *šarā* ‘to sell; to buy’ (Lane 1544, BK I 1223; the Arabic root is borrowed into Harari as *šrāʔ* ‘selling’, EDH 147).

**Sources for the fricative laryngeal *h***

*h* < \**h*

*haw* ‘geben’ [to give] (Wetter 2010:103, AAD 147).

SA *hawa* ‘give’ (Leslau 1997:207, AAD 147), Amh. *wabä*, Gaf. *wabä*, Har. *täwaḥaba*, Wol. *wabä*, Sel. Zay *wābä*, Čah. Eža Muh. Msq. Gog. Sod. *abä*, Gyt. *aḇä*, Enm. Gyt. *aä*, Enm. *aä̃*, Tgr. *haba*, Tna. *habä*, Gez. *wahaba*. From PWS \**whb* ‘to give’ (Kogan 2015:442, Hudson 2013:296).

In the verb ‘to slaughter’, going back to PES \**ḥrd*, vacillation between *h* and *ḥ* is observed in NA.

*hɛrdɛll* ‘er schlachtet’ [he slaughters] (Wetter 2010:39, *harrad* ‘to slaughter’, AAD 274), but *liḥardu* ‘um zu schlachten’ [to slaughter] (Wetter 2010:370).

SA *harräda* (Leslau 1997:206, AAD 274), Amh. *arrädä* (AED 1155), Msq. Gog. Sod. *arrädä*, Muh. *arräṭä*, Čah. Eža Enm. End. Gyt. *anṭä*, Eža *annäṭä* (EDG 86), Tgr. *ḥarda* (WTS 70), Tna. *ḥarädä* (TED 195), Gez. *ḥarada* (CDG 241, LLA 88). Beyond ES, cf. Arb. *ḥarada* ‘percer, perforer’ (BK I 405, LA III 164), Syr. *ḥrd* (Dt) ‘to be peeled’ (Sokoloff 2009:487, Brockelmann 1928:255), Sam. *ḥrd* ‘to incise’ (Tal 294).

Uncertain cases

*herrɛm* ‘jäten’ [to weed] (Wetter 2010:95, AAD 273).

SA *harräma* ‘to weed’ (Leslau 1997:206, AAD 274, also *harrama, herräma* according to AAD 274), Amh. *arrama* ‘to weed’ (AED 1141), Har. *ḥaram* ‘weed’, *ḥaram āša* ‘to weed’ (EDH 86), Muh. *arrämä*, Msq. Gog. *errämä*, Wol. *erämä*, Zay *irämä*, Sod. *irrämä*, Čah. Eža Muh. Sod. *aräma*, Wol. *arämä*, Sel. *aräme* ‘weed’ (EDG 89), Tgr. *harrama* ‘to weed’ (WTS 9), Tna. *ʔarrämä* ‘to amend; to mend’, *ʔararämä* ‘to weed a little’ (TED 1437). The cognates in NES differ in the quality of the guttural (*h* in Tigre vs. *ʔ* in Tigrinya, although the latter term may be an Amharism). Also found in Cushitic and Omotic (Lamberti–Sotille 1997:397–398), note especially the Omotic forms with the initial *h*- (Gamu *harum*-, Malo/Dac’e *harm*-), as well as Burji *harm*- quoted ibid.

**Etymological gutturals lost in NA**

*fɛrr* ‘fürchten’ [to fear] (Wetter 2010:75), *fɨrat* ‘Angst’ [fear] (Wetter 2010:247).

SA *färra* ‘fear’ (Leslau 1997:200, AAD 493, also *färrah* according to AAD 493), Amh. *färra* (AED 2273), Har. *fära* (EDH 63, Ancient Har. *färat* ‘Furcht’, Wagner 1983:284), Sel. Wol. *färe*, Zay *färī*, Enm. *fäñä*, End. *fʷäññä* (EDG 240), Tgr. *farha* (WTS 655), Tna. *färhä* or *färḥä* ‘to fear’ (TED 2657), Gez. *farha* (CDG 165). Note vacillation between *h* and *ḥ* in Tigrinya.