

Фонология и орфография раннего гезза

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графические символы гезза (отражающие фонематические различия раннего гезза)	Традиционные названия для смешиваемых графических символов	традиционное произношение
አ (?)	?alf ?a (?əlf – 10000)	ʔ (ə)
ዐ (ʕ)	ʕayn ʕa (ʕayn - глаз)	
ሀ (h)	hāletā ha (hāletā – пение аллелуйя)	h
ሐ (ḥ)	ḥamar ḥa (ḥamar - лодка)	
ሓ (ḥ)	bəzuḥān ḥa (bəzuḥān - многие)	
ሰ (s)	?əsāt sa (?əsāt - огонь)	s
ሠ (š)	nəguš ša (nəguš - царь)	
ረ (š)	šəlmət ša (šəlmət - темнота)	š
ሪ (š)	šəḥāy ša (šəḥāy - солнце)	

Смешение фонем в поздних эпиграфических памятниках (RIÉ 193, 194, 202)

šwk ‘я взял в плен’ (RIÉ 193:31-32, RIÉ 193:33-34)

šw ‘пленные’ (RIÉ 193:32, RIÉ 193 II 14, RIÉ 193 II 21)

mšʔy ‘когда я пришел’ (RIÉ 194:5) – vs. z-mšʔ ‘который пришел’ (RIÉ 194:7)

mš ‘он пришел’ (RIÉ 194:1)

za-šəḥāfkəwo ‘я, который написал его’ (RIÉ 202:1)

ngs ‘царь’ (RIÉ 194:1, RIÉ 194:8)

mngsty ‘мое царство’ (RIÉ 194:10)

Расхождения между данными ранних рукописей и данными LLA и CDG

ʔoda ‘to go around’ (*ʔoda* according to LLA 999, CDG 77), *ʔawd* ‘circle’ vs. *ʔawd* ‘court; threshing floor’ (MSS + LLA 999, CDG 77) – contra comparison with **ʔwd* ‘to turn’ (Kogan 2015: 76, 105), in favour of comparison with Arb. *ʔāda* ‘to return; to incline; to bend’ (Lane 124); Sab. *ʔwd* ‘level; boundary line’, *ʔwd* ‘accomplish a campaign’ (SD 10), etc. (for the comparison, see Löfgren 1927:108)

ʔabda ‘to be mad’ (*ʔabda* according to LLA 760, *ʔabda/ʔabda* in CDG 2) – contra comparison with Hbr. *ʔābad* ‘to go astray’, Arb. *ʔabada* ‘become wild (cattle)’, but in favour of comparison with Arb. *ʔabada* ‘se mettre en colère contre quelqu’un’ (BK II 150; also *ʔabida* ‘to be angry’, Lane 1934). Note also Tgr. *ʔabda* ‘to become crazy’ (but also *ʔəbd* ‘fool-hardy’), Tna. *ʔəbud* ‘mad’, North Arg. *ʔabbəd* ‘verrückt werden’ [to become mad] (Wetter 2010: 84).

baʔat ‘cave’ (*baʔat* < **bwʔ* according to LLA 526-527, *baʔatt/baʔatt* < **bwʔ* according to CDG 83, 114) – contra identification with *baʔat* ‘entrance’ < *boʔa* ‘to enter’; in favour of comparison to Tgr. *baʔat* (WTS 293), Tna. *bäʔatti* (TED 1182)

taʔag(g)asa ‘to be patient’ (*taʔaggaša* according to LLA 1014 (with a variant *ʔgs*), *taʔaggaša/taʔaggaša* in CDG 59) – in favour of comparison with Arb. *ʔagʕasa* ‘to withhold one from the object of one’s want’ (Lane 1962, BK II 179)

naʕafa ‘to spread’ (*naʕafa* according to LLA 703, *naʕafa/naʕafa* according to CDG 405) – in favour of comparison with Soq. *nʕf* (*ʔénʕʔf* ‘to spread’, LS 273), Mhr. *hənʕáwʔ* ‘to spread’ (ML 310), contra comparison with Arb. *nʕf*

ḥallaya ‘to think’ (*ḥallaya* according to LLA 577; *ḥallaya/ḥallaya* in CDG 262) – contra comparison with Arb. *ḥāla* ‘to think’ (Lane 833)

ḥalaya ‘to sing’ (*ḥalaya* according to LLA 69, *ḥalaya/ḥalaya* in CDG 231) – contra comparison with Arb. *muḥallīn* ‘musician’ and root **ḥlw* ‘to be sweet’

ʔamal(l)əʔa ‘to set out, go forward’ (*ʔamalləʔa* according to LLA 153, CDG 342) – contra comparison with Arb. *malafa*; note that in Tna., the forms with *ʔ* seem to be more widely attested: *ʔamälləʔä* ‘to go away’; *tämaləʔä* ‘to bring, to take along’ (TED 332-333; for *tämalfä* ‘to take away, *ʔamälfä* ‘to escape’, see TED 338); in favour of identification with *malʔa* in the epigraphic corpus (see RIÉ IIIB p. 642)

Abbreviations

- CDG - Leslau, Wolf. *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987.
Kogan 2015 – Kogan, Leonid. 2015. *Genealogical Classification of Semitic. The Lexical Isoglosses*. (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter)
Lane – Lane, Edward W. 1863–93. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. (London: Williams and Norgate)
Löfgren 1927- Löfgren, Oscar. 1927. *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Daniel*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner
LLA - Dillmann, August. 1865. *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicæ cum indice latino*. Lipsiae: T. O. Weigel
LS – Leslau, Wolf. 1938. *Lexique Soqotri (Sudarabique moderne)*. (Paris: C. Klincksieck)
ML – Johnstone, Thomas M. 1987. *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word-list*. (London: School of Oriental and African Studies)
RIÉ – Bernand, Étienne, Abraham J. Drewes, Roger Schneider and Francis Anfray. 1991. *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*. Tome I. *Les documents*. (Paris: De Boccard).
RIÉ IIIB – Drewes, Abraham J., Manfred Kropp and Harry Stroomer. 2019. *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*. Tome III – Traductions et commentaires. B. *Les inscriptions sémitiques*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz)
SD – Beeston, Alfred F.L., Mahmud A. Ghul, Walter W. Müller, and Jacques Ryckmans. 1982. *Sabaic Dictionary*. (Louvain: Peeters)
TED – Kane, Thomas L. 2000. *Tigrinya-English Dictionary*. (Springfield, VA: Dunwoody Press)
Wetter, Andreas. 2010. *Das Argobba: Eine deskriptive Grammatik der Varietät von Shonke und T'ollaha (Zentraläthiopien)*. (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe)
WTS - Littmann, Enno and Maria Höfner. 1962. *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache. Tigrē-Deutsch-English*. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner)