Semitic Words Found in Tigrigna but not in Ge'ez

Yemane, Teklehaymanot

Department of Foreign Languages, Mekelle University, P.O.Box 231, Mekelle, Ethiopia

Tel: 91-015-5816   E-mail: yemanetesfay@gmail.com

Melese, Beshah (Corresponding author)

Department of Pre-engineering, Kombolcha Institute of Technology, Wollo University

P.O.Box 208, Kombolcha, Ethiopia

Tel: 92-349-2787   E-mail: melesebeshah@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper deals with Semitic words which are found in Tigrigna Language but not in Ge'ez. The result shows that there are indeed some such words, including basic vocabulary, but not many. This provides a lexical perspective on the question of how close Ge'ez was to proto-Ethiopic: very close, but not identical.

Keywords: Semitic, Ge'ez, Tigrigna, Lexicon, Cognate

1. Introduction

This article tries to address the following question: what are the Semitic words or roots found in Tigrigna but not in Ge'ez? The Semitic words here refer to Semitic words with clear Semitic cognates.

The main objective of the study is to make a lexical contribution to the question: is Ge'ez the proto-language of Ethio-Semitic? The intention of the research is not indeed to resolve this question, but to add new data that are relevant to it. Hence, the research targeted to collect Semitic words found in Tigrigna but not in Ge'ez.

From the beginning Semitic linguists have examined the status of Ge'ez within Ethio-Semitic, that is to say, how archaic Ge'ez is in relation to the various modern Ethio-Semitic languages. One can approach this question from both a lexical and a grammatical perspective. In some respects, for example in syntax, Ge'ez is certainly archaic. Regarding the position of Ge'ez, varieties of views have been asserted by different linguists in different ways. Hetzron, for instance, presents his argument as follows:

> *Ge'ez is the only Ethiopian language which preserved the old Semitic syntax and was but superficially affected by [Cushitic influence]. The northern most living language, Tigre, is much less rigid in word order than the rest, and it may optionally have either the Semitic pattern or the Cushitic one. All the remaining languages have exclusively a Cushitic-type word and system. This suggests that the Cushitic influence affecting syntax came later and was independent in the different branches of Ethiopian* (1972:19).

But we can also ask, are there ways in which the various modern Ethio-Semitic languages appear to be more archaic than Ge'ez? Leslau (1951) has presented many archaic features that occur in some south Ethio-Semitic languages (but not Amharic) in his article entitled "Archaic Features in South-Ethiopic." These features, however, are also found in Ge'ez, so they are not more archaic than Ge'ez.

Hetzron (1972), however, discusses some grammatical features whereby some modern Ethio-Semitic languages do appear to be more archaic than Ge'ez. Specifically, he stresses that Tigre and Tigrigna are not descended from Ge'ez. He presents the following evidences to support his argument (pp. 19-21) (the list is not intended to be complete).

1.1 Pronouns of the Third Person

Ge'ez	Tigre	gloss
3m. wə'ətu	hətu	'he'
3f. yə'əti	həta	'she'

In these words, Ge'ez has lost the Semitic glottal fricative /h/ and replaced it by the glottal stop. The /h/ is preserved not only in Tigre but even in some South Ethio-Semitic languages.

1.2 The preposition 'from'

This is one piece of grammatical evidence that makes Ge'ez innovative. Tigre has the archaic form *mən,* which is very close to Hebrew and Arabic *min.* Ge'ez has *əmannā* or əm-.

1.3 Infinitive

As Hetzron (1972:21) mentions, citing Cohen (1931:33), most of the modern Ethio-Semitic languages, and also other non-Ethiopian Semitic languages, have infinitives based on the prefix *mV-,* but they do not have the grammatical status of infinitive.

1.4 The negative morphemes

Tigrigna and Tigre of Bogos have the negative *ay-,* corresponding to South-Ethiopic *al-,* which is of Semitic origin. On the other hand, Ge'ez and Tigre of Mensa have the negative *i-* in both perfect and imperfect.

1.5 Presentative particle

Tigrigna has a presentative particle *'ənnān-* 'here it is', with pronominal endings. This particle is cognate to Hebrew *hinne,* Arabic *inna*, both of which also take pronominal endings and are similar in meaning. In Ge'ez it exists only in the form *'ən-ka*: 'so then!' [Orin Gensler, personal communication].

The above discussion focuses on grammar. However, the concern of the present study is lexicon: is there any lexical evidence that Tigrigna is more archaic than Ge'ez? In concrete terms, are there words of Semitic origin in Tigrigna which do not occur in Ge'ez? Very little work has been done especially on Tigrigna in this respect although Leslau has look at Amharic in this way. Leslau in his book *Amharic Cognates in Hebrew* (1969:2-3) states that "It is interesting to note that there is a considerable number of Amharic roots with Hebrew cognates but without a correspondence in Ge'ez."

If a word is attested in other Semitic languages including Tigrigna but not in Ge'ez, why? Perhaps it is only and accidental omission from the attested Ge'ez corpus; or perhaps it really didn't exist in Ge'ez at all. Often we have no way of knowing which of these is right, and no way to answer the question "why?" Sometimes one possible answer is because Ge'ez is a religiously oriented language. Many of the words found in Ge'ez have to do with religion, like blessing, cursing, praying. We would expect a religiously oriented language like Ge'ez to be lexically impoverished in Semitic fields having to do with technical details of (for example) farming, hunting, warfare, metal manufacture, carpentry, etc. Nor would such a language have a rich vocabulary of onomatopoeic words and interjections. This, at least, would be true for written Ge'ez as we know it; we have no access to spoken Ge'ez.

On the other hand, it turns out that there are some very everyday non-religious words in Semitic (basic vocabulary) which do not occur in Ge'ez. That is, the concept would be expected to occur in Ge'ez and it does occur in Ge'ez, but Ge'ez expresses the concept with a

different word-form. Here Ge'ez seems to have truly innovative, by losing the old word and creating a new one. "Accidental omissions" in the attested corpus seem unlikely for basic vocabulary.

2. Literature Review

It is difficult to find literature which directly addresses this issue, but there does exist literature which is indirectly relevant. In Hetzron's book *Ethiopian Semitic (1972)*, there are about eight grammatical features which support the argument against Ge'ez as the proto-Ethiopic language (see below). Leslau, in his article "Archaic features in South Ethiopic" (1951), tried to show that the modern Ethio-Semitic languages, especially south Ethio-Semitic languages, appear to be an archaic as Ge'ez. In addition, several descriptive works have been done on the grammar of Tigrigna; probably the best description is still Laslau (1941). On the other hand, less work has been done on the comparative lexicon of Ethio-Semitic, notably Kogan (2005), Leslau (1987) from the viewpoint of Ge'ez, and Leslau (1969) focusing on Hebrew and Amharic cognates, as well as the lexical part of the discussion in several Ethio-Semitic articles by Leslau (e.g. 1943, 1951).

In a project like this one, dictionaries are obviously indispensable. Fortunately, good dictionaries are (partly) available. There are large dictionaries of Ge'ez by Dillamann (1865) and Leslau (1987) and a very large dictionary for Tigrigna by Kane (2000), which is believed to be the best lexical source for Tigrigna so far.

There are also two major comparative dictionaries of Semitic, both incomplete. One is by Militarev and Kogan; it is organized according to Semitic fields, and two volumes (I: Body parts (2000), II: Animals (2005)) have appeared so far. The other, in French, is by a team of scholars headed by David Cohen (1994-1999). It is arranged by roots in standard Semitic alphabetical order; 8 fascicles ('-z, corresponding to fidäl አ -ዘ in *abugida* order) have appeared so far. In addition, Fronzaroli has published smaller Semitic lexical works, in two versions, that is, Italian (1964-1971) and English (1975). When Fronzaroli cites Ethio-Semitc words, he almost always means Ge'ez, and accordingly his work was not very useful in this project.

3. Methodology

3.1 Qualitative Procedure

In order to determine that a certain root is a Semitic root, using Semitic etymological dictionaries, or articles on comparative Semitic lexicography is necessary. The problem, though, is that there is still no full etymological dictionary of Semitic. As mentioned above, two different Semitic etymological dictionaries were used. Neither is complete. The first is by Militarev and Kogan (MK), and is organized by Semitic fields. Two volumes have been published so far: the words are arranged in Latin alphabetical order. The second one, also incomplete, is by David Cohen (DC). It is in French and has eight fascicles. Apparently the intention was to cover the entire Semitic alphabet, but only eight fascicles have appeared so

far, the last one in 1999. As mentioned, their alphabetical order is from '-Z according to the traditional Semitic order or *abugida*, which is only about the first one-third of the Semitic alphabet. I also consulted another comparative Semitic lexicon by Fronzaroli, which has two versions, that is, in Italian and in English. But I found almost nothing in these two sources. The French lexicon (DC) is basically a lexical list, with relatively little discussion. Under a given root, there are usually several homonymous entries – roots that sound the same but have very different meanings. In such cases, the main entry is clearly divided into subentries, one subentry for each meaning. In my lexical search, I treated each subentry as a distinct unit, completely separate from other subentries for the given root.

Having collected these words (Semitic words found in Tigrigna but not Ge'ez) I checked them in the following large dictionaries: Kane Tigrigna-English, Leslau Ge'ez-English and August Dillmann Ge'ez-English. Furthermore, I also used Professor Orin Gensler's help with the translation in French, Italian, German especially with the Semitic languages like Hebrew, Arabic, South Arabia, Aramaic and the Hebrew Bible concordance as well. This help was unavoidable.

This is qualitative approach. The research was designed to find all the words possible that fit the given criteria. While the data were collected, however, there were puzzles, involving things like regionalism, problematic etymologies, onomatopoeia and interjections.

3.2 Quantitative Procedure

There are not many Tigrigna words which passed the test for inclusion in this research. Since there are so few, it is important to get a non-impressionistic statement of this scarcity. Hence, the data were looked at quantitatively.

There are two volumes in MK. The first one is about anatomy of man and animals. It has 382 entries. Out of these entries, it was found just 7 good cases that include Tigrigna words but no Ge'ez words, and six "problematic" cases. The second volume is about animal names. It has 255 entries. There are four good cases that are Tigrigna but not Ge'ez words, and three problematic cases.

For the French dictionary of David Cohen (DC) the entries were counted in just one representative fascicle – fascicle 7. This fascicle has 384 entries, and these include only two good words that exist in Tigrigna but not in Ge'ez. There are several other entries that have been left out (onomatopoeic words and regional words).

This quantitative survey reveals two things. First, there do indeed exist Semitic words that are not attested in Ge'ez but are found in Tigrigna, including terms of basic vocabulary; here Ge'ez has innovated by losing the old Semitic word. But second, there are not many such words. This supports the common view of most linguists: if proto-Ethio-Semitic was not Ge'ez, it was very close to it.

4. The Data

4.1 Good Data and Problematic Data

In demonstrating Semitic words or roots found in Tigrigna but not in Ge'ez, so-called "good words" as well as problematic words are collected. By good words it means words that show good sound correspondents across the languages and good agreement in meaning; many of the good words are basic ordinary nouns or verbs. Although this set of data is very small, the presence in it of basic lexicon items makes the data interesting, because these lexical meanings are found (almost) everywhere, that is to say, in almost all human languages spoken in the world. Such words tend not to be easily lost or borrowed. Yet Ge'ez clearly did lose some inherited Semitic words, even basic words, for reasons that are unknown.

Words which are questionable or problematic fall into several types. First, the words may show good sound correspondences, but not show good semantic agreement. The opposite can also happen. The third possibility concerns regionalism. Some of the words in this paper are regional words, that is to say, they occur only in a geographically restricted area (Yemen and Ethiopia) and so could represent a borrowing from one another or an areal feature.   With such words, it is difficult to tell if it is an old Semitic lexeme or a regional word. The fourth point is obvious: if the word is attested only in Ethio-Semitic but not elsewhere in Semitic, it of course was not included. The fifth type concerns onomatopoeic words and interjections. As is well known, these lexical items are common in every human language, and by their very nature they often sound similar in unconnected languages. Hence, these words, even if they have a similar sound in two languages, are not a very good indicator of any historical kin relation of the languages. The sixth and last type concerns words which may possibly have a cognate in Ge'ez, but where the cognac is not obvious or straightforward.

Let us look at these problem types in a little more detail:

By regionalism I mean that if a word is only found in Ethio-Semitic, South Arabia and Yemeni Arabic, then the word might be a regional word (and areal word), that is to say, it could be a borrowing, because it is not found in other Semetic languages.

For example:

Arabic Dathina   Ḳanṭār   'clitoris'   Mk I: 148

Tigrigna   Ḳənṭər, Ḳänṭirät   'clitoris, female genital organ'

Amharic   Ḳinṭər   'clitoris'

Soq.   Ḳànṭhir   'vulva'

This lexeme is only found in Ethio-Semitic, South Arabia and Yemeni Arabic (Dathina); therefore, it is an example of a regionalism. Note that if a word occurs only in Ethio-Semitic and in (general, non Yemeni) Arabic, it will not be call a regionalism in this article. The reason is clear: Yemen is geographically very close to Ethiopia, and the ancient and political

contact between the two regions is a well-attested fact. By contrast, Arabic in general is spread over an immense area, and even in its original territory it doesn't seem to have had any specially close contact with Ethiopia.

On the other hand, there are words where it is difficult to tell if they are general Semitic or regional words.

For example:

Sab. 'ws   'plague, pestilence'   MK I: 27

Min. 's

Tigr. 'aso, 'aso   'fever, malaria'

Tna. 'aso   'fever'

Jib.   'ayOs   E. Jib. 'Os   'cold in the head'

Akk.   ašū̄   'a disease affecting the head, vision, etc.'

Here the question is whether the Akkadian is really cognate to the others, or just an accidental resemblance.

Another problem concerns data sets which show regularity of sound correspondences, but where semantically the words are not clearly related to each other. For example:

*ṭmm, * 'ṭm   'to be deaf and mute, to stop up, block'   MK I: 330

      Akk: ṭummumu   'deaf'

      Hbr: 'ṭm   'stop up (ears, etc.)'

      Tna: ṭämämä   'close the eyes and mouth of dead person'

Here the semantics is not very close; to block one's ears (be deaf) and to close a corpse's eyes and mouth are quite different actions involving different body parts.

On the other hand, there are also words that are semantically related, but that lack the expected sound correspondences.

For example:

Arab.   Mišfalat   'stomach (of animal, bird)'   MK I: 243

Tigr, Tna   šənfəlla   'ruminant's (second) stomach'

Gog. Sod   šənfəl

| Mhr. | hōfəl | 'belly, stomach' |

Arabic š should correspond with Ethio-Semitic s (ሰ), but not with š; the sound correspondence here is irregular.

Words which are almost onomatopoeic are one of the problems I had in this study.

For example: DC 2:50

Arab.	bāǧa, tabawwaǧa	'to dazzle, flash'
Tna.	bägg, bogg, bägbäg, bogbog bälä	'shine, flash'
Amh.	bogg alä, boggbogg alä	'shine, flash'

Here the words appear to be ''sound symbolic" (although not strictly onomatopoeic): a certain sound sequence (here bVg) may tend to be associated with a particular semantic field in a particular language family.

Interjections are other problematic cases. For example:

Hbr:	hō, hōhō	(laughter sound)	DC 5: 382
SArab., Soq.	hoho		
Tna, Amh:	hoho		

Interjections often have a physiological basis. In an intuitively clear sense, they are not quite "real words."

The few examples mentioned above are just to illustrate the problems encountered in collecting data for this paper. In general, many words were not included in this study because of the reasons mentioned above.

In order to give a quantitative answer to the question: "What can be reconstructed of the … lexicon of the proto-language?" It is first necessary to lay down some principle of selection, in addition to the formal and semantic criteria which enable us to establish the existence of a common word. While the presence of a word in most of the Semitic languages is a good indication that it belongs to the common lexicon, and its presence in two languages may be considered positive evidence of its Semitic character (for example Greenberg, 1950, 168), the fact that it is attested in only one language or dialect is not itself a proof of contrary. The problem has been discussed, in its relation to etymological dictionaries, by M. Cohen (1947:52 ff.). At the opposite extreme we have the list drawn up by Bergsträsser (1982), who includes only words attested in all the five main groups (Akkadian, Hebrew, Aramaic, South Arabian-Ethiopic and North Arabic) (Fronzaroli, 1975:43).

The words included in this study are words that exist in at least one branch of Semitic besides

Ethio-Semitic, in order to avoid or minimize borrowings, innovations or coincidences. Most of the words occur in at least 3 branches.

Finally, there were a few words where a Ge'ez cognate may possibly exist, but the situation is not clear. An example is H-L-L " be crazy; mock." Ge'ez doesn't have a semantically similar form from this root, but it does have the word häwläyä "to mock." This might represent the same root indirectly, or a related root. But Ge'ez also has häbläyä "to mock." The change b>β>w would be very natural; but if so, then häwläyä would not be related to a root H-L-L at all. This is unsolved puzzle.
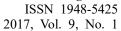
4.2 Format of presentation of the data

Almost all of the words below are taken from the two Semitic etymological dictionaries, that is, from MK and DC. These works have different formats and different abbreviations of language names. In MK, the proto-Semitic form is given with its meaning in English; in DC, the roots as such are not assigned a meaning and a proto-Semitic root is usually arranged into different sun-entries, each sub-entry having a different meaning and labeled in the dictionary with a distinct number (e.g. GLT-4, GLT-5); each sub-entry can be considered an accidental homonym, unrelated to the others. Thus words belonging to sub-entry x are ignored completely in examining sub-entry y, for example, the data here includes an itemW'L-2 'be useful;' here words like Tigrigna wă'ɑlă 'spend the day' are ignored because it is listed under W'L-3. For some roots, however, all the cognate words fall into one single semantic group, in which case no sub-entries are used. In MK, the proto-form is fully vocalized; in DC, the roots are given only in consonants. In this study the words are organized the way they are organized in MK.

Additionally, it has often been given only a subset of the full lexical data to be found in MK or DC – enough to show the word's distinction in Semitic. Some minor changes have been made to the DC abbreviations of some languages like 'CAN.h' to 'Hebrew,' 'Oug.' To 'Ugr.' To make DC consistent with MK.

In the data presentation below, the transcription mostly follows the transcription in the dictionaries, to which the reader is referred. Usually the symbols should be self-evident. Note the following, however:

$$ṣ \quad = \text{emphatic s (ejective or velarized)}$$

$$ṭ \quad = \text{emphatic t (ejective or velarized)}$$

$$Ḳ \quad = \text{emphatic velar/uvular (ejective k' or plain uvular)}$$

$$O \quad = \text{'open o' (ɔ)}$$

I have used these symbols for typographical convenience.

4.3 Presentation of Result

4.3.1 Animal names

a. Good cognate sets

"garad – 'kind of insect'   MK II: 124

                                                                  DC 3:182

      Arab: žarād   'grasshopper'

      Tna.   gärädo   'a dark-colored spider the bite of which is believed to be fatal'

      Jib.   gerOd   'locusts'

[In DC this is part of the much larger group, with an extremely broad semantic range. MK is followed.)

*ḳʷVrVd-//   *ḳVrd - 'tick'   MK II: 185

      Syriac: ḳardā - 'a tick, louse (parasite of sheep and cattle)'

      Arab: ḳurd   - 'tick'

      Tgr.   ḳärad - 'tick'

      Tna.   ḳʷərdid - 'kind of small tick'

*da'y (-at)   'bird of prey'   MK II: 91-93

                                                                  DC 3: 202

        Urg.   d'iy - 'raptor, conventionally hawk'

        Hebr.   dā'ā - 'red kite' [Ge'ez translates the Hebrew as gip'p'a]

        Jud.   dayyūtā - 'name of several unclean birds'

        Arab: da'yat - ('in 'ibnu da'yat "epithet of the crow")

        Akk.   dimītu - 'a bird or a locust'

         Tgr.   dah (also 'adha') - 'a bird'

         Amh.   dudute - 'a kind of bird'

         Tna.   duda - 'a gregarious bird which feeds on maize and ṭaf'

b. Problematic cognate sets

*gʷa(n)dVr   - kind of worm'   MK II: 120

                Mhr.   gədərēt   -   'worm'

                Tna.   gʷändäran, gʷändära - 'intestinal worm, earthworm'

→   Regionalism.

*pVl(y)   - 'kind of insect, louse'   MK II: 231-233

                Akk.   uplu   -   'head louse'

                Jud.   palyā, palyā bē'āri   - 'name of a locust on palm trees'

                Arab   fāliyat   - 'kind of beetle'

                Tna.   'afäl   -   'insects or fleas which live in grass'

→   The semantics is good, but the phonological correspondence is not perfect at the beginning of the words.

*'arVr   'a kind of bird'   MK II: 21-22

    Akk.   arru   - 'bird used for decoy'

    Tna.   'irir, 'ərir -   'bird which has an instinct to lead a honey gatherer to where

                      there is honey

→   A "cognate" attested only in ancient Akkedian and modern Tigrigna is not a reliable cognate.

4.3.2 Body parts (and bodily functions)

a. Good cognate sets

*ḳVrs/ṣ-Vll   'ankle'   MK I: 152-153

    Akk.   kişallu, kişillu, kisallu, kisillu   - 'ankle bone'

    Jud.   Ḳarsullā, ḳarṣullā   - 'ankle'

    Hbr.   Ḳarsullayim   - 'ankle' [Ge'ez translates the Hebrew as 'əgr]

    Tgr.   Ḳarso   - 'ankle-bone'

    Wol.   ənḳərša   - 'ankle'

Tna.	ḳərṭəmat	-	'arthritis' , ḳärsämä	'beat s.o. on feet'
Mhr.	ḳərṣāt	-	'knee-cap'	

[Note: Tigrigna semantics is different; but Tigre is semantically a perfect match.]

*ħVmm(-at)   - 'breast, stomach, entrails'   MK I: 108-109

Akk. (?)	umandu	-	'part of human insides'
Arab	ħammāmat	-	'area of the chest'
Tigr.	ħəmməto	-	'dish of entrails'
Tna.	həmməto	-	'tripe'
Soq.	ħɛʸm	-	'lower belly'

*warik(-at)   - 'hip (-bone)'   MK I: 258-259

DC 7: 628-629 (WRK – 1)

Akk.	(w)arkatu	-	'rear side'
Hbr.	yārēk	-	'thigh' [Ge'ez translates the Hebrew in different ways, e.g. ḫərum, mänḳə^ct, 'ägäda, ħäḳʷe]
Aram. Jp.	yārēk	-	'thigh'
Arab.	warik	-	'thigh, hip'
Tigr.	wärkät	-	'hip'
Tna.	wäräkät	-	'rump (of animal), pelvis'

*ḫVr'/y   - 'excrement, dregs'   MK I: 123

Akk.	Arāu (erru, ḫarāru)	-	'rot, discharge a putrid liquid, deficate'
Ugr.	ḫr'u	-	'excrement'; ḫr' - 'defecate'
Hbr.	ħărā'īm	-	'excrement' [Ge'ez translates the Hebrew as kʷəsħ]
Jud.	ħārē, ħārayyā	-	'excrement'
Arab.	ḫur'	-	'excrement'
Tgr.	ħarə'		

Tna.   ḥarʾi

Amh.   ar

Soq.   ḥaryómoh   - 'excrement'

*gV(m)bVč/θ   'hump (of animal)'   MK I: 77

                                                              DC 2: 98, 3: 152

Akk.   gipšu   - 'a deformation of part of the exta'

Ugr.   gbθt   - 'hump'

Tgr.   gäbəs   - 'crook-backed'

Wol.   gumbos   - 'hunch-backed'

Sod.   gumbus, Gog.   gumbəs

Tna.   gʷämbäs bälä   - 'bow down'

*ša(n)p-at-/ *ĉa(n)p-at-   - 'lip'   MK I:235-236

                                                     MK II: 343

Akk.   šaptu   - 'lip'

Eblaite   sa-ba-tum

Ugr.   špt

Hbr.   śāpā   [Geʾez translates the Hebrew as känär]

Arab.   šafat   - 'lip'

Tgr.   šanəf   - 'mouth (of animals)'

Tna.   šänfäf   - 'lip'

*hry   - 'to be pregnant, conceive'   MK I: 286

                                                                      MK II: 345

                                                                      DC 5: 452-454

Akk.   erû (arû)   - 'to be pregnant, conceive'

Eblaite   ʾá-ri-tum /harītum/

Ugr.	hry	- 'conceive'
Hbr.	Hārā	- 'to conceive, to be pregnant' [Ge'ez translates the Hebrew as şänsä]
Tna.	haräyät	- 'to be pregnant (cow, ewe)'

b. Problematic cognate sets

*ḳanṭir   - 'clitoris'   MK I: 148

Arab. Dathina	ḳanṭār	- 'clitoris'
Tna.	ḳənṭər, ḳänṭrät	- 'clitoris, female genital organ'
Amh.	ḳinṭər	- 'clitoris'
Soq.	ḳánṭhir	- 'vulva'

→   Regionalism

*ṭmm, *ṭm   - 'to be deaf, mute, to stop up, block'   MK I: 330

Akk.	ṭummumu	- 'deaf'
Hbr.	ʿṭm	- 'stop up (ears, etc.)'
Tna.	ṭämämä	- 'close the eyes and mouth of dead person'

→   Semantic match is not very close, and Ge'ez has şamma 'be deaf'

*mV(ʿ)n(-at)   - 'tendon, sinew, muscle'   MK I: 166

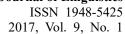| Akk.	manānau	- 'sinews'
Syriac	mentā	- 'hair, nerve, gut-string'
Arab.	maʾnat	- 'region around the navel'
Tna.	mənat	- 'arm muscle'

→   Semantic range is quite broad.

*ŝV(n)pVl   - 'stomach (of animal, bird)'   MK I: 243

Arab.	mišfalat	- 'bird's gizzard, crop'
Tgr., Tna., Amh. Zway	šənfəlla	- 'ruminants (second) stomach'

| Gog., Sod. | šənfəl | - 'ruminant's stomach' |
| Mhr. | hŏ̃fəl | - 'belly, stomach' |

→ Arabic s should correspond with Ethio-Semitic s (ሰ), not š.

*'aw/yš   -'disease (fever, head cold, plague)'   MK I: 27

Sab.	'ws	- 'plague, pestilence'
Min.	's	
Tgr.	'aso, 'aso	- 'fever, malaria'
Tna.	'aso	- 'fever'
Jib.	'ayOs E. Jib. 'Os	- 'cold in the head'
Akk.	ašû	- 'a disease affecting the head, vision, etc.)'

→ Is Akkadian truly cognate? If not, regionalism.

*Wð'   - 'sweat'   DC 6: 507

MK I: 57-58

Akk.	zu't-, zūt-, izūt	- 'sweat'
Hbr.	zē'ah, yeza'	(Ge'ez Hebrew as haf)
Ugr.	d't	- 'sweat'
Aram. Jp.	de^{ca}tā	
Amh., Tna.	wäz	
Gaf.	wəzä	
Gur.	wəz, wəza'at	
Arab.	waða'a	- 'to flow (water)'

→   MK I: 58 mentions Ge'ez zo'a as 'cognate.' But this is from the different root z-w-' (DC 8: 707), which in most Semitic means basically 'shake, tremble;' only in Ge'ez does it (also) mean 'sweat,' a complex problem (see Leslau, 1987:645).

4.3.3 Miscellaneous common words

a. Good cognate sets

*W'L-2   DC 7:577

Hbr.   höīl   - 'aid, help, serve'

Aram. Anc.   y'l   - 'usefulness'

Tgr.   'aw'alä   - 'save someone's life'

Tna.   wä'alä   - 'be useful, serve, aid, be fertile'

*BDL-1   DC 2:45

Hbr.   ni-bdal   - 'be separated' [Ge'ez usually translates the

Hebrew with f-l-ṭ; also h-r-y, m-t-r, etc.]

Aram. Talm.   'bᶜdal   - 'to refrain from'

Aram. Jp.   'abdaltā   - 'separation'

Ugr.   bdl(m) (plur.)   - 'merchant(s)'

Arab.   badala, 'abdala   - 'exchange'

SAr.   bdlt   - 'expiation'

Soq.   bdl   - 'be changed'

Mhr.   hebdūl   - 'to change'

Tna.   bäddälä   - 'exchange, barter'

*GLT-4   DC 3:134

Arab.   'iǧtalata   - 'eat or drink, devour, eat to the bottom'

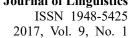Tna.   gältäwa   - 'drink to the bottom'

Tgr.   gəllät   - 'lees (sediment at the bottom of a glass of wine or beer)'

*GLT-5   DC 3:134

Arab.   ǧalata   - 'hit, beat'

Amh.   angälatta   - 'throw back and forth, shake'

Tna.   angälatä'ä   - throw back and forth' (personal knowledge)

*HLM-1   DC 5:417

    Ugr.   hlm   - 'to hit'

    Hbr.   hālam   - 'to hit' [Ge'ez translates the Hebrew in different ways,

                             e.g. säbärä, ḳäṭäḳäṭä]

    Tna.   hallämä   - 'to give a slap'

b. Problematic Cognate Sets

*HLL-4   DC 5:415

                               MK I:285-286

    Hbr.   hālal   - 'be crazy, mad'

    Aram. Syriac   'ahlēl   - 'to mock'

    Arab.   'uhlūl   - 'vanity, futility'

    Tgr.   haläwläw   - 'unreasonable, insane, simple-minded'

    Tna.   hallay   - 'unreasonable, insane, simple-minded'

Ge'ez häwläyä "to mock" but also häbläyä   "to mock"

⟶

   Does the Ge'ez word belong to this root? Unclear (see sec. 3.1)

4.3.4 Onomatopoeia and Interjections

All such words are considered problematic. I have only given a few representative examples.

WPP-3   DC 7:587

    Arab. Or.   woff, Magh, waf   - 'a sigh of satisfaction'

    Tna.   waf(f) bälä   - 'to sigh with relief'

WŚ(Ś)   DC 7:639

    Arab. Eg.   Wašš   - 'to hum, buzz'

    Tna. Amh.   wäšš(ä)   - a cry to drive donkeys'

    Gur.   wäšš, wəšš   (same)

GRMRM-1   DC 2:188

Aram. Syriac.	ʾetgᶜramram		- 'get energy'
Tgr.	ʾagrämrämä		
Tna.	ʾagʷrämrämä		
Amh. Arg.	ʾagʷrämärrämä		

→ Almost onomatopoeic; sound symbolic.

*BWG-1   DC 2:50

Arab.	bāǧa, tabawwaǧa	- 'to dazzle, flash'
Tna.	bäg, bägbäg, bogbog bälä	- 'shine, flash'
Amh.	bogg alä, boggbogg alä	

→ Almost onomatopoeic; sound symbolic.

*HMHM-2   DC 5:422

Arab.	hamhama	- 'mutter, murmur'
Tgr.	hamhamä	- growl, moo, howl, sigh'
Tna.	hamhamä	- 'make a noise, neigh, roar'
Amh.	həmhəm alä	- 'murmur, moan, coo, crack, growl'

*HYS-5   DC 5:403-404

Arab. Malt	hess, hiess	- 'cry to drive oxen straight'
Tna.	his	- 'cry to drive oxen'

5. Conclusions

The researchers tried thier best to collect Semitic words found in Tigrigna but not in Ge'ez. This is a very time-consuming lexical project which yielded – and was expected to yield – only a small number of words. We found about 15 words of the type "Good cognates" and most of these belong to basic vocabulary. Thus the results are highly interesting, as they show that 15 or so Semitic lexemes did not survive in Ge'ez but did survive in Tigrigna. This shows that Ge'ez is not identical to Proto-Ethiopic, now from a lexical perspective. Even in basic vocabulary, Ge'ez has lost some words that survive in Tigrigna. But the difference is very small since there are very few such words. The project is necessarily incomplete since both of the sources we have used, that is to say MK and DC, are still works in progress; in DC fascicle 9 will be published soon, and the MK volume on Plant Names is being prepared.

Finally, we believe this paper can be a springboard for other researchers who want to conduct research on an analogous project for other modern Ethio-Semitic languages vis-à-vis Ge'ez – "Semitic words found in Harari but not in Ge'ez", etc.

Acknowledgement

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Glossary

Akk.	Akkadian
Amh.	Amharic
Arab.	Arabic
Arab. Egp.	Egyptian Arabic
Arab. Magh.	Maghrebi Arabic
Arab. Malt.	Maltese Arabic
Arab. Or.	Oriental Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
Aram. Anc.	Ancient Aramaic
Aram. JP.	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
Aram. Talm.	Talmudic Aramaic
Arg.	Argobba
Gaf.	Gafat
Gog.	Gogot
Gur.	Gurage
Hbr.	Hebrew
Jib.	Jibbali
Jud.	Judaic Aramaic
Mhr.	Mehri
Min.	Minaean
Sab.	Sabaean
S.Ar.	South Arabian
Sod.	Soddo
Soq.	Soqotri
Tgr.	Tigre
Tna.	Tigrigna
Ugr.	Ugaritic
Wol.	Wolane

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