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A Comparative Approach to the Amharic Lexicon

by

D. L. Appleyard



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*A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO THE AMHARIC LEXICON*¹

by

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A glance at the morphology of Amharic does not reveal much that is not plainly of Semitic origin, or that cannot be readily explained in Semitic terms. The lexicon, however, has given some casual observers quite a different impression. A close examination of the lexicon, as here of certain semantic fields chosen in particular to give a fairly wide cover of vocabulary levels, "basic" and "non-basic," does, however, reveal a fairly high proportion of inherited Semitic material. The borrowed element of the vocabulary is shown to derive principally from two general sources: i) other Semitic languages, especially Arabic; ii) Cushitic languages, especially Agaw and East Cushitic (Galla, Sidamo, Saho-Afar, Somali, etc.).

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¹The text of this paper forms part of a thesis titled "The Semitic Basis of the Amharic

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0. INTRODUCTION

The Ethiopian language area is particularly interesting within the Afroasiatic field, comprising as it does, amongst others, representatives of three of the language families normally included under the term Afroasiatic: Semitic, Cushitic, and Omotic. Moreover, what is especially interesting to the historical linguist, and what will in part concern us in this paper, is the long period of contact and interaction between at least two of these language groups, (Ethiopian) Semitic and Cushitic. The length of this period of contact, based upon the assumption that Semitic speech was introduced into Ethiopia from the other side of the Red Sea at a broadly identifiable date, must ostensibly be around two millennia and is almost certainly somewhat longer. It should, of course, be pointed out here that Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic, or certain subgroups thereof, are not likely to have been the only language groups to have influenced one another within the Ethiopian language area. In speaking about Ethiopian Semitic-Cushitic contacts I am being deliberately vague at this stage of the study; Cushitic is not, of course, a single unit, nor even a completely and satisfactorily defined one as yet. However, the results of this study of the lexicon reveal that in examining the history of the Amharic vocabulary we have to deal principally with two branches only of Cushitic: Central Cushitic, or Agaw, and to a lesser degree East Cushitic, both Highland (Burji-Sidamo) and Lowland (Saho-Afar, Oromo, Somali, etc.). Moreover, as the title of this paper indicates, we are concerned only with the Amharic vocabulary, not with other Ethiopian Semitic languages, whose lexical histories must necessarily be different from that of Amharic.

Lexicon" accepted for the degree of Ph.D. by the University of London in September 1975.

The languages referred to in the text are abbreviated as follows:

Akk. Akkadian	Gaf. Gafat	Sem. Semitic
Amh. Amharic	Gk. Greek	Sid. Sidamo
Ar. Arabic	Go. Goggot	Sl. Selti
Aram. Aramaic	Gy. Gyeto	Sod. Soddo (Aymälläl)
Bil. Bilin	Gz. Ge'ez	Som. Somali
Ch. Chaha, Čäha	Har. Harari	Soq. Soqotri
Cush. Cushitic	Heb. Hebrew	Syr. Syriac
E. Əža	Kem. Kemant	Te. Tigre, Təgre
End. Əndägäñ	Khm. Khamir, Xamir	Tna. Tigrinya, Təgrəñña
Enn. Ənnāmor	M. Muhər, Muxər	Ug. Ugaritic
ESA Epigraphic South Arabian	Ms. Mäskan	Wl. Wäläne
Eth. Ethiopian (Eth.Sem., S. Eth., N. Eth.)	S.Ag. Southern Agaw (Awngi)	Z. Zway

In this study I shall deal with certain selected areas of the lexicon in accordance with the concept of semantic field. In each section a separate semantic field will be discussed first as a whole, from the point of view of the respective statistics of inherited Semitic and loan items and any extra-linguistic inferences that may be drawn therefrom, and secondly with regard to the individual items representing each field, which will be examined in some detail, providing an approach, at least, to an etymological treatment of parts of the Amharic lexicon.

The notion of semantic field, like much of semantics, lacks the precision of definition of the levels of functional linguistics. A semantic field may be broadly defined as a conceptual sphere. The individual lexical items which can be grouped under a given semantic field will, however, differ from language area to language area. To this extent a semantic field is not as readily or as clearly definable as the functional units of language. Nevertheless, the concept is a useful and valid one in a study of this kind. Certain areas of the lexicon are bound to be more vulnerable to borrowing and innovation than others, as they reflect the cultural sensitivity of their referents. It is precisely for this reason that the division of the lexicon into semantic fields and the comparison of the retention rate statistics of each field have such value here. A comparative analysis of phonology and morphology may reveal a genetic position of the language and its position vis-à-vis cognate languages, but a comparative lexical study can provide not only finer details of linguistic connections and contacts, but also indications of extra-linguistic factors. It is, however, advisable to add a word of caution here. One should hesitate to draw sweeping historical or cultural conclusions from the history of an isolated item. It would, for example, be linguistically naïve to conclude anything regarding the domestication and keeping of goats amongst the Amhara from the fact that the Amharic term for this animal, *ḡayāl*, is of non-Semitic origin. It is rather the overall picture in each semantic field that should be examined in this way.

The semantic fields for this study were chosen in order to provide a reasonably wide spectrum of culturally "specific" and "non-specific" vocabulary.² Five fairly wide fields were selected: (1) "man," (2) "the domestic environment," (3) "the natural environment," (4) "social organization,"³ and (5) "grammatical items," a "field" closely involved with morphology, encompassing pronouns, numerals, and particles. This last "field" has been included to provide a lexical link with morphological analyses such as Hetzron's (1972). Each of these broad fields is then further subdivided into more specific sections; for example, the semantic field "man" has three subdivisions, (1.1) general, (1.2) kinship terms, and (1.3) parts of the body. The first four broad semantic fields range from what could be expected to be a conservative area of the lexicon ("man") to the areas of social organization and domestic environment, more sensitive to borrowing and innovation. The field of natural environment has been included because it is in part delimited and defined by the particular geographical and ecological context in which the language is spoken. The latter is a particularly important consideration when one approaches the question of Semitic origins within Ethiopia. The more "conservative" fields may be assumed to give an indication of the maximal retention of inherited Semitic lexical stock, whilst the more innovative fields will be especially valuable in providing clues to cultural influences and pressures exerted from outside the language community. Thus, the inherited Semitic and loanword composition of these areas of the lexicon can be an important guide to extra-linguistic developments in the Amharic language area. For example, it comes as no surprise that much of the specific flora and fauna vocabulary of Amharic is of non-Semitic, Cushitic origin (see below, under 2.2). On the other hand, the influence of Arabic is strongly felt in the fields of commerce and warfare (see below, under 4).

²For a definition and discussion of these terms see Hymes (1960:4-5).

³The inspiration for this kind of treatment of the lexicon is derived chiefly from Fronzaroli et sec.

An important theoretical concept throughout this discussion, which ought to be briefly explained here, is the notion of "basic" vocabulary. The concept of vocabulary as polarized into two groups, "cultural" and "non-cultural," or "basic" and "non-basic," is by no means a new idea. At one end of the scale are items whose referents are considered to be nearly universal and most resistant to innovation and replacement. At the other end are those whose referents are specific to the cultural environment and which are, therefore, susceptible to innovation and replacement in accordance with developments in the society in which the language is spoken. The recognition of different levels of the lexicon subject to different rates of change has led to the composition of "basic" word-lists. Whatever the merit or otherwise of the glottochronological application of this notion of "basic" vocabulary is, the recognition of these two broadly identifiable poles of the lexicon cannot, I believe, be seriously objected to. The individual lexical constituents of "basic" vocabulary necessarily differ from one language area to another. Rather than define individual lexical items as "basic," it would seem more advisable to deal only with semantic fields at this level. These are less specific than individual items and are more applicable to the notion of universality, upon which the concept of "basic" vocabulary is partly built, and it is this contention that lies behind the choice of semantic fields used in this discussion. Thus, one might reasonably expect to include kinship terms, names of parts of the body and certain natural phenomena, though not necessarily individual items from these fields, amongst "basic" vocabulary. Specific plant or animal names, many social terms, and so on are, on the other hand, "non-basic." Throughout the discussions that follow I shall use this concept of "basic" vocabulary in dealing with inherited Semitic and loanword proportions from one semantic field to another.

I have already suggested above that the distribution of specific lexical items, whether of inherited Semitic origin or not, can provide valuable insight into areas outside the immediate scope of the description of the lexicon itself. Thus, we may reasonably look to lexical evidence to relate to the classification and interaction of the various Ethiopian Semitic languages amongst themselves. Whilst lexical isoglosses might not necessarily be indicative of genetic groupings, they may often provide tangible clues to former geographical contiguity, at least. Lexical criteria are, of course, not the first or the principal means that should be used in classification work, precisely because of the vulnerability of the lexicon to change and outside influence. Nevertheless, a few important lexical isoglosses can be found which broadly seem to coincide with those established on morphological evidence, i.e. those drawn up by Hetzron (1972). Perhaps the most interesting of these concern the North-South Ethiopian split. Most prominent amongst these are those instances where S. Ethiopian as a whole has preserved a Semitic root absent from N. Ethiopian: exx. *wz^c (Amh. wāzza) 'sweat', *ʿfr (Amh. aḡār) 'dust', *hbb (Amh. ābab) 'snake', *tl^c (Amh. tāl) 'worm', *mt^y (Amh. māčče) 'when', *f-t (Amh. fīt) 'face'. There are also instances where S. Ethiopian as a whole shares a different root patterning or development from N. Ethiopian: exx. *hamat* as masculine 'father-in-law' with a re-formation **hamati* as its feminine counterpart (N. Eth. *ham(u)*, *hamat*); **mās* 'husband' and **māsīt* 'wife' as against N. Eth. *bəʕsi* and *bəʕsit*; **kʷəlali* 'kidney' as against N. Eth. *kʷəlīt* (Gz.Tna.), *kəlkalʷot* (Te.); **kəlʷe* + *a* 'twenty' as against N. Eth. *ʕāra*, *ʕāra*, formed on the common root *kəlʷ* 'two'; S. Eth. **dəbr* 'forest' but N. Eth. *däbr* 'mountain'; S. Eth. **kāni* 'right' from the Eth.Sem. root *kən* 'be straight', but N. Eth. *yāman* (Gz.Tna.), *man* (Te.); S. Eth. **ḡṣy* 'grind' but N. Eth. *ḡṣḥ*. In addition to Semitic loan items which occur throughout S. Ethiopian only, there is a small number of non-*ān* (Amh. *zāṭān*) 'nine', **ṣ/ṭārä/aka* (Amh. *ṣāräka*) 'moon',⁴ *gʷəlbāt* 'knee',⁵ *kur-a* 'crow',

⁴The inherited Semitic item is preserved throughout S. Ethiopian in the restricted sense of 'month': Amh. *wār*.

⁵This item does, in fact, occur in Tigrinya, but with the sense of 'strength', which is within the semantic range of many of the S. Ethiopian terms, including Amh. *gūlbāt*; the Tigrinya item is probably, therefore, an amharicism.

**arnäbät* (Amh. *andäbät*) 'tongue', **ṣ/ṭəgg-* 'calf'. In each of these cases, with the probable exception of 'crow',⁶ N. Ethiopian preserves the inherited Semitic root. Of course, none of these in itself is necessarily proof of a genetic division between North and South Ethiopian, but they are interesting and, indeed, relevant in the light of the morphological isoglosses distinguishing the three northern languages from the rest of Ethiopian Semitic. The geographical contiguity, at the present or in former times, of the languages concerned could explain several of these examples, particularly the common non-Semitic items.

Within S. Ethiopian there are several lexical isoglosses connecting Amharic with other members of Transversal South Ethiopic (see Hetzron (1972:36)), i.e. Amharic, Argobba, Harari, and East Gurage. Often Gafat, and sometimes other Gurage languages, especially Soddo, are included in these isoglosses. Gafat, etc., does not belong to the same subgroup of S. Ethiopian as Amharic, but has for a long period been contiguous with Amharic and under its influence. Examples of these locally restricted items, including non-Semitic terms, are *akəst* 'aunt' (Amh.Arg.Har.Gaf.), *čən* 'thigh' (Amh.Arg.Har.Sl.Wl.Z.Gaf. Sod.), *riz* 'beard' (Amh.Arg.Har.Gaf.Wl.Ch.), *ge* 'country, place, town' (Amh.Arg.Har.Sl.Wl. Z.Gaf.Sod.), *zaḥ* 'tree' (Amh.Arg.Har.Gaf.), *wəṣṣa* 'dog' (Amh.Arg.Gaf.Sod.), *ṣəṣṣūnit* 'viper' (Amh.Har.Sl.Wl.Z.).

Finally, in this connection, it should be mentioned that Amharic, occasionally together with other contiguous S. Ethiopian languages, often shares a lexical isogloss with Tigrinya, thereby cutting across alleged genetic boundaries. This is particularly prevalent in the semantic field of social organization, a likely explanation for which is not hard to find. Speakers of Amharic and Tigrinya are the direct inheritors of the Ge'ez-Axumite cultural tradition and consequently have long shared in their cultural development. This is to some extent reflected in specifically "cultural" vocabulary. Aside from terms inherited directly from Ge'ez, Amharic and Tigrinya share the following social terms: *aläḳa* : *haläxa* 'head, superior', *dañña* 'judge', *geta* : *g'äyta* 'lord', *goräbet* : *g'äräbet* 'neighbour', *kätäma* 'town', *šäffätä* 'revolt', *dəha* : *dəxa* 'poor', *wättaddär* : *wättəhaddär* 'soldier', *däbtära* in the sense of 'cantor, lay priest'.⁷ Some of these might simply be loans from Amharic into Tigrinya, as, for example, the form of *dañña* suggests. Others could equally well be common developments. Examples from other semantic fields where Amharic and Tigrinya share a common form, loan or development of an inherited root, are: *set* : *säbäyti* 'woman', *ənnat* : *ənnno* 'mother', *dänkoro* : *dänk'äro* 'deaf', *gəra* : *gəraw* 'left (handed)', *mālas* : *mälhas* 'tongue', *ənḳulal* : *ənḳulalih* 'egg' beside *ənḳokho*, etc. (Tna. also has *ənḳ'ax'əho*), *čohä* : *čoxä* 'shout' *dängaya* : *däng'älla* 'stone, rock', *gən* : *gəən* ~ *gən* 'but'. Some of these occur throughout S. Ethiopian or in some other S. Ethiopian languages besides Amharic, but are all found only in Tigrinya among N. Ethiopian.

The receptiveness of the lexicon to change and outside influence, more perhaps than any other level of linguistic analysis, means that this kind of lexical isogloss cannot be employed alone in language classification. The importance of these isoglosses lies in outlining geographical and/or cultural language areas, as demonstrated, for example, by the Tigrinya-Amharic or Amharic-Gurage isoglosses. Only in the case of those Semitic root isoglosses distinguishing S. Ethiopian from N. Ethiopian does it appear that lexical evidence can be directly correlated with morphologically established groups. The few examples relevant to the case of Transversal South Ethiopic are obscured by contacts with other S. Ethiopian languages like Gafat and Soddo. Lexical evidence for subgroups not involving Amharic has not been studied here.

⁶Gz. *k'a*, Tna. *k'ax*, Te. *kəwa* have close formal cognates in some of the Agaw languages.

⁷Gz. *däbtära* means 'tabernacle' and is thus closer to the sense of the original Gk. *diphthērai*.

Each of the five semantic field sections will begin with a discussion on the overall field arising from the details of individual lexical items that follow. This discussion will take the form of the statistics of inherited as against borrowed items, any structural patterns that can be identified, any extra-linguistic observations that can be made, and so on. This will be followed in each section by a more detailed etymological treatment of the individual lexical items involved. Only in a closed set like kinship terms, numerals, or parts of the body can the list of items be anything like complete. Elsewhere the list of items is intended to be no more than representative of the semantic field. For this purpose, therefore, only the most "obvious" items were chosen. Those items with some particularly relevant or interesting contribution to the history of the language are discussed in full. Other more straightforward items need only be labelled as inherited Semitic, Cushitic, or whatever.

1. THE SEMANTIC FIELD "MAN"

The three subdivisions grouped under this heading are 1.1 general terms, 1.2 kinship terms, and 1.3 parts of the body. In the case of kinship terms, we are dealing with a relatively small set of items which is closely structured and in which all members are interrelated in a system, such that the loss or replacement of one item in that system may affect the whole. For example, the terms *aggot* 'uncle' and *akəst* 'aunt', both of non-Semitic origin, do not replace single lexemes, but phrases in common Ethiopian Semitic, as Gz. *ʔəb* 'ā *ʔamm* 'mother's brother', *ʔəbtā* *ʔab* 'father's sister', etc. It is, incidentally, interesting to note here that a similar restructuring also occurs amongst the numerals, where Amh. *šə* 'thousand', probably of Agaw origin, replaces the phrase 'ten hundred', as Gz. *ʔāšärtu mə* *ʔt*.

An interesting morphological feature of kinship terms in Amharic, as a system, is the suffix *-at*, common to several items: *abbat* 'father', *ənnat* 'mother', *ayāt* 'grandparent'; in *amat* ~ *amač* and *mərat*, however, the suffix *-at* is of a different origin, being originally a feminine formative. This suffix *-at* is most likely related to the external plural formative *-at*, occurring in Ge'ez, Tigrinya, and Tigre, and in Amharic as *-ačč-* in certain plural pronouns. Possible support for this view that *-at* in certain kinship terms is identical with the plural formative occurs in other S. Ethiopian items like Sl.Wl. *abot* 'father', Ch. *adoč* 'mother', Har. *indoč* 'woman', Sl.Wl. *əndač* 'woman', all of which contain a suffix clearly connected with the plural formative **-at(i) ~ -ot(i)*, though used on singular nouns. These suffixes have lost their plural connotation in these items and the ordinary plural formative is added as on any other noun: Amh. *abbatoč*, *ənnatoč*, *ayatoč*, etc. It can only be conjectured why an (originally) plural formative became attached to these items, but the most likely explanation would seem to be that the plural was employed as a kind of honorific, as is still the case in the "polite" forms in Amharic. Furthermore, the simple items *ʔab* and *ʔamm* acquired specifically theological connotations and, therefore, formally differentiated items might have been felt necessary in the purely kinship sense.

Of the 17 items discussed under the heading "kinship," all but three are of Semitic origin. A possible explanation why two of these non-Semitic terms, *aggot* and *akəst*, might have been taken over has already been suggested. In the instance of the third non-Semitic item, *ənnat* 'mother', it is interesting to note that Amharic is not the only Ethiopian Semitic language that has a non-Semitic term for 'mother'.⁸

⁸For a detailed discussion on this and all other items in the preliminary sections to each semantic field see the individual analyses that follow.

Amongst terms for parts of the body there is a somewhat higher percentage of non-Semitic items--26.6% (16 items out of a total of 60 studied). Amongst the Semitic items are preserved most of the common Semitic terms (see Fronzaroli (1964b:18ff and 262ff)): *aḥ* 'mouth', *aḥənča* 'nose', *aḥənt* 'bone', *ayn* 'eye', *əḡ* 'hand', *dām* 'blood', *ḥit* 'face', *gurarō* 'throat', *hod* 'belly', *kulalit* 'kidney', *labb* 'heart', *mālas* 'tongue', *ras* 'head', *šəbāt* 'grey hair', *šil* 'foetus', *šənt* 'urine', *ṭəḥər* 'nail', *ṭat* 'finger', and so on.

Of those items of non-Semitic origin *ənərt* 'navel' and *ṭägur* 'hair' are particularly widespread throughout Ethiopian Semitic, both North and South. Common to S. Ethiopian only are *andäbät* 'tongue', *čamma* 'shoe, sole of the foot', *gulbät* 'knee',⁹ *gunč* 'cheek', *riz* 'beard'. The only item of demonstrably Cushitic origin, besides *ənərt* and *ṭägur*, which has a cognate in Ge'ez as well as in modern Ethiopian Semitic is *samba* 'lung'.

I do not think it would be very valid to try and draw any specific extra-linguistic conclusions from the relatively high percentage of non-Semitic items in the field of parts of the body. If the concept and implications of "basic" vocabulary are accepted, then the occurrence of so many original loans in this particular field can be taken to reflect the long and intimate symbiosis between Amharic (and Ethiopian Semitic) and Cushitic languages in the Ethiopian language area. The non-Semitic terms here are for the most part attributable to specific Cushitic languages or language groups, but a small number cannot be readily so defined. Such items, several of which occur throughout the lexicon, are clearly Cushitic in so far as, whilst lacking satisfactory Semitic cognates outside the Ethiopian area, they have acceptable cognates in more than one Cushitic language group. Their shape, however, is not immediately relatable to one Cushitic group more than others, or is sufficiently divergent from any of the modern Cushitic forms as to prohibit identification with any particular one.

1.1. GENERAL TERMS

aroge 'old man' : Gz. *arägawi* ~ *arägay*, Tna. *arägīt*,¹⁰ Har. *rāga*, Old. Amh. *aräge* (Cohen M. (1939:44); Ludolf (1968:57) also has *aräge*).

Several Ethiopian Semitic languages, including Amharic, also have a corresponding verb: Gz. Tna. *arägä*, Amh. Arg. *arägä*, Sl. Wl. *räge*. The S. Ethiopian verbal forms are probably denominatives, which would explain the palatalization *g* > *ḡ* from the *y* of the noun suffix taken as final radical. The underlying form of the root is *ṛg*, as appears in the N. Ethiopian verb forms. Brockelmann (1928:49) connected this *ṛg* with Sem. *ṛk* 'be long', but this would seem doubtful. On the other hand, Cerulli (1936:28) suggests a derivation from Cushitic, cf. Som. *raag* 'remain, be late', Saho-Afar *raa* 'endure'. It is not, of course, inconceivable that we are dealing with the confusion or the influence of the Semitic and the (East) Cushitic root here in Ethiopian Semitic.

ənəst 'female' : Gz. *ənəst*, Tna. *ənəstäyti*, Te. *ənəssit*, Arg. *ənəšča*, Har. *ənəsti*, Gaf. *ənəstä*, Ch. Gy. *arəst*, Sl. Z. *ənəst*, Enn. *äst*, End. *ast*, etc.

Common Semitic *ṛt* (Ar. *ṛnta*, Heb. *ṛššā*, etc.).

⁹Tna. *gulbät* is probably due to Amharic influence; the Tna. term for 'knee', *bərki*, is inherited Semitic.

¹⁰Feminine in form, but both masculine and feminine in meaning.

set 'woman' : Tna. *säbäyti*. A feminine derivative of *säb* 'man' (see the following item).

Amharic and Tigrinya appear to be the only Ethiopian Semitic languages which employ a feminine form of *säb* for 'woman'. Most of the other languages use a derivative of the root *ns-t* (see *onnäst*, above), or *bʿs-t* (see *mist*, below).

säw 'man' : Gz. *säb*, Tna. *säbʾay* (pl. *säb*), Te. *säb* 'people', Arg. *su*, Har. *usu*, Gaf. *säwä*, Ch. *säb*, etc.

An interesting speculation in whether Eth. *säb* might be connected with the South Arabian common noun *sb* 'warrior' and the ethnic name *sb* 'Saba'.

wänd 'male' : Gz. *wäld* 'son', Tna. *wäddi*, Te. *wäd*, Arg. *wänd*, Har. *wäldi*.

Argobba and Amharic share this unique instance of the apparent development *ld* > *nd*. However, in line with the not infrequent occurrence of an "intrusive" nasal throughout S. Ethiopian, it is probable that the immediate precursor of *wänd* could have been something akin to Tna. *wäddi* and Te. *wäd(d)*, i.e. **wädd*, deriving from *wäld* by total assimilation of the *l* to the *d*. The root is common Semitic *wld* 'beget', which provides simple nominal derivations of the meaning 'son, boy, child', etc., throughout Semitic.

1.2. KINSHIP TERMS

abbat 'father' : Gz. Te. *ʾab*, Tna. *ʾab* ~ *ʾabbo*, Arg. *aw*, Har. *āw*, Gaf. *abʾä*, Ch. *aba*, etc.

This is immediately identifiable with the common Semitic *ʾb*, but it should be noted that a similar root occurs in various Cushitic languages: Bil. *abba*, Kem. *aba*, Galla *abba*, Som. *aabbe*, etc.

aččä 'betroth' : Gz. *ḥašäyā* 'share, give a bride gift', Tna. *ḥašäyā*, Te. *ḥašša*, Gaf. *ačä* 'marry'.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḥašša* 'fall as a share', Heb. *ḥāšā* 'share, divide'.

agäbba 'marry' : Gaf. *atgibbä*, Ch. *agäpam*.

Literally 'bring in'; the root Eth. *gb* 'enter' occurs throughout Ethiopian Semitic and in Ar. *gabaʾa*, ESA *gb*.

aggot 'uncle' : Tna. *ʾakko*, Har. *kāka*.

This is of Cushitic origin; for the Amharic item cf. Bil. *ʾäg*, Kem. *ag*, Khm. *ig*. For the Tigrinya and Harari items a slightly better formal cognate occurs in Galla *akko* 'grandmother', Sid. *akāko* 'old'. Amharic makes no distinction between maternal and paternal relationships, as are made elsewhere in Ethiopian Semitic: Te. *ḥal* : *ʾab(u)*, Har. *kāka* : *izēr*, Gaf. *āmmʾäyā* : *stabbʾä*, S.Arg. *abo* : *amī*.

akəst 'aunt' : S.Arg. *akista*, Har. *oxista*, Gaf. *akkəst*.

Reinisch's derivation (1887(I):19) from something along the lines of Khm. *ig zin* 'uncle's sister' is not totally convincing. It seems probable that this item should in some way be related to a similar root as that underlying the term for 'uncle'; in this connection note also Gimira *akes* 'grandparent'. Again Amharic makes no distinction between maternal and paternal relationships, but cf. Tna. *ḥatənno* : *ʾammo*, Har. *oxista* : *anna*, Gaf. *akkəst* :

*ästim*itä*, and so on. Note that in the three Eth.Sem. languages that do have cognates to Amh. *akəst*, the term is restricted to the sense of maternal aunt.

amat ~ *amač*¹¹ : Gz.Te. *hamat* 'mother-in-law', Tna. *hamat* 'mother/daughter-in-law', Har. *hamāt* 'mother-in-law', *hamāčī* 'father-in-law', Arg. *hamač* 'father-in-law', Ch. *amat* 'mother-in-law', *amakā* 'father-in-law', Ms.Sod.W. *amač* 'father-in-law', Z. *amačči*, etc.

The form *amat* occurs throughout the rest of Gurage with the meaning 'mother-in-law', except in End. which has *awāt*. The S. Ethiopian forms for 'father-in-law' suggest a reconstructed common form **hamati* beside 'mother-in-law' *hamat*. This differentiation is secondary and peculiar to S. Ethiopian, whilst N. Ethiopian shows the common Semitic pattern, as in Gz. *ham* : *hamat*. Of the S. Ethiopian languages Gafat stands alone in preserving the simple form of the root: *am*ä*.

ayat 'grandparent'

A possible derivation of this item, which appears to have no formal cognates elsewhere in Eth.Sem., is from **abiyy* Gz. 'great' + the suffix *-at* discussed above. A similar semantic development can be observed in Tna. *ʔaddä* **abbay* 'grandmother', lit. 'great mother', and perhaps in Te. *ʔab*əb* 'grandfather', in which *-əb* might derive from the root **by*. Note also Khm. *xäy ābba* 'grandfather' and *xäy ʔṇā* 'grandmother', where *xäy* is the adjective 'great'. Amongst the other Ethiopian Semitic languages a composite form is used: Gaf. *yab*ä ab*ä*, Tna. *ʔabbo ḥaggo*. A sex distinction is made in some languages: Arg. *baba* : *imahal*, Har. *bāb* : *umma*, Gaf. *yab*ä ab*ä* : *əm*itāta*. In connection with this last item note also Gondare Amh. *əmmīta* 'grandparent' and *əm(m)it* 'great-grandparent'.

ənnat 'mother' : Tna. *ʔanno*, Har. *ināy* 'lady, matron'.

Praetorius (1879:59,43) derived this from Gz. *ʔəmm* and hence common Semitic *ʔm*. Whilst the development *m > n* is not unknown in Ethiopian Semitic, the typical environment for such a change immediately before a dental is absent here. Rather, I believe this should be derived from a non-Semitic source, e.g. Saho-Afar *inā* 'mother', Khm. *ṇā*. Semitic *ʔm* is preserved elsewhere in Eth.Sem.: Gz. *ʔəmm*, Te. *ʔəm*, Arg. *əm*, Gaf. *əm*it*, and in Amh. *əmmābet* 'mistress', *wändəm(m)* 'brother', and the vocatives *əmma* ~ *əmmaṃma* ~ *əmmaye*. Other modern Eth.Sem. languages also have probable non-Semitic items for 'mother': Tna. *ʔaddä*, Ch. *adot*, Enn.End. *adod*, Sl.Wl. *əndät*, to which such forms as Borana Galla *hāāda*, Benadir Som. *hindo*, Kaffa *indo*, etc., may be compared.

ət 'sister' : Gz. *ʔəht*, Tna. *ḥawti*,¹² Te. *ḥət*, Arg. *ḥəd*, Har. *ḥit*, Old Amh. *ḥət*.

¹¹The dictionaries (Guidi, 1901; Baeteman, 1929; Gankin, 1969) show a range of overlapping meanings: *amat* 'mother/brother/son/daughter-in-law'; *amač* 'father/brother/sister/daughter-in-law'. See Tubiana (1951-4:51): "la confusion peut s'expliquer par l'occurrence de deux formes, 1'une guèze *hamat* (devenue normalement *amat* en amharique) 'belle-mère'; 'bru' (Dillm. 77), 1'autre amh. *amač*, connue déjà de Dillm. comme 'child or parent-in-law'."

¹²A secondary development from masc. *ḥaw*.

The alternative modern Amharic form *əhət* is, I believe, more likely to be due to the influence of Ge'ez than a directly inherited form, as the perservation of the laryngal into modern Amharic would be highly irregular. The root is common Semitic *ḥ* 'brother', *ḥ*-t 'sister'.

bal 'husband' : Gz.Tna.Te. *bä'al* 'master, husband', Gaf. *bal*. Common Semitic *b^{al}*.

The other Eth.Sem. languages use the same item as 'man': Tna. *säb'ay*, Gz. *bə'asi*, *mət*, Te. *bə'as*, or 'lord' as Har. *aboč*. Some of the S.Eth. languages have a special term, Ch. *məs*, Arg. *mis*, a masculine counterpart of Amh. *mist* (see below).

ləğ 'child' : Gz. *ləd* in the phrase *lədä bet* 'slave born into a household' (Gk. *oikogenēs*), Har. *liği*, Sl.Wl.Arg. *ləğ*, Ch. *ärč*, M. *yəğ*, Enn.End. *äč*, E.Ms. *ärəğ*.

This is a primary nominal derivative of the common Semitic root *wld* 'beget'; for this particular pattern with this sense note especially Akk. *līdu* 'bastard'. Sex distinction is made in Amharic by compounding with *wänd* 'male' or *set* 'female', but several of the other Eth.Sem. languages have separate lexemes: Har. *liği* : *kaḥat*, Ch. *ärč* : *gäräd*, Tna. *wäddi* : *g'al*, Gz. *wäld* : *wälätt*. A feminine derivative of *ləğ* does exist in Amharic and is recorded already by Ludolf: *ləğit* ~ *ləğət*, but it appears to be not so common in modern Amharic as the compound *set ləğ*.

mərat 'sister/daughter-in-law' : Gz. *mär'at* 'sister-in-law', Tna.Te. *mär'at* 'bride'.

The root is *rw* to which Ar. *ur'ūwa* 'yoke of oxen', Heb. *re'ā* 'friend', *rā'ā* 'join, befriend' may be compared.

mist ~ *məšt* 'wife' : Har. *mīšti*, Arg.Z. *məst*, M.Ch.Sod. *məšt*.

N.Eth. cognates have initial *b-*: Gz. *bə'asit* 'woman'. Among the S.Eth. languages, Harari, Argoba, Čäha, and most (all?) Gurage languages have corresponding masculine forms: Har. *mis* 'fellow', Arg. *mis* 'husband', Ch. *məs*, to which Gz. *bə'asi* 'man' and Te. *bə'as* 'husband' may be compared. Cohen (1939:421) suggests interference with an item such as Gz. *mət* 'husband' to account for the *b : m* alternation between North and South Ethiopian. However, sporadic instances of a *b : m* alternation do occur elsewhere in Ethiopian Semitic. The palatalization *s > š* in some of the S.Eth. forms could have been conditioned by the following *i* : **masit* > *məš(ə)t*; those forms without palatalization may have arisen from a metathesized **misət* > *mist*, *məst*. The Eth. root *b'as* (Gz. *bə'asä* 'be harsh, bad') is common Semitic *b'š*. For the semantic development from 'be bad, strong' to 'man' compare Heb. *geber* 'man' and *gābar* 'be strong'.

wändəm(m) 'brother' : Te. *wäd* *əm* beside *hu* 'brother'.

This is a compound of *wänd* 'male, son' and *-əm(m)* 'mother', a bound morph in Amharic. The inherited Semitic item for 'brother' occurs elsewhere in Eth.Sem., but is lost in Amharic: Gz. *əḥ*, Tna. *ḥaw*, Te. *ḥu*, Har. *əḥ*, Arg. *äh*. This might be because of the inherent phonetic weakness in the resultant Amharic form which would have been **ə*. The feminine derivative of this root does, however, survive in Amharic as *ət* 'sister'.

Warsa 'brother/sister-in-law'

The derivation of this item from Eth. *wrs* (common Sem. *wrt*) 'inherit' would seem to reflect the custom of levirate.

1.3. PARTS OF THE BODY

aḥ 'mouth' : Gz.Tna.Te. *ʔaḥ*, Har.Arg.Wl.Z. *aḥ*, Ch. *ǎḥ**, etc. Common Semitic **p-*, cf. Ar. *ḥam*, *ḥū*, Heb. *pe*, Akk. *pū*.

It is worth noting here that an Afroasiatic cognate occurs in various Cushitic languages, whose form is closer to the Ethiopian Semitic than that is to the rest of Semitic, cf.: Bil. *ʔāb*, Saho-Afar *aḥ*, Som. *āḥ*, Galla *āḥaan(i)*, etc.

aḥənṣa 'nose' : Gz. *ʔanḥ*, Ḥamasen Tna. *ʔanḥi*, Te. *ʔanəḥ*, Har. *ūḥ*, Gaf. *aḥ*ä*, Ch. *ǎḥuna*, etc.

The Amharic form may be explained as a metathesis of **anḥ* + *-ənṣ(ṣ)a*. Common Semitic *ʔnp* (Ar. *ʔanḥ*, ESA. *ʔnḥ*, Heb. *ʔāp*, Akk. *appu*).

ammāmā 'hurt' : Gz. *ḥammā* 'be sick', Tna. *ḥamāmā*, Te. *ḥamma*. Common Semitic *ḥmm* 'be hot, feverish'.

amot 'bile' : Gz.Tna. *ḥamot*, Gaf. *amotä*, Z. *amut*, Ch. *amota*, etc. Common Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḥuma* 'venom', Heb. *ḥemā*, Akk. *imtu*.

andäbät 'tongue' : Har. *arrät*, M.Sod. *allämät*, Ch. *anäbät*, Sl.Wl.Z. *arämät*, Go. *alemät*, E. *annäbät*, End. *anäd*, etc.

Of East Cushitic origin, cf. Galla *arraba*, Som. *ʔarrab*, Sid. *arrabo*, Had. *allaabo*, Saho *arraab*, etc. The form underlying the Eth.Sem. items may be reconstructed as **anäbät*, which, with its *-t* suffix, resembles the most closely such forms as Kambatta *anräbitä*, Alaba *arräbit*. This suffixed *-t* in the Eth.Sem. forms could, however, be a development purely within Eth.Sem.

*ang*äl* 'brain' : Tna. *ḥang*äl*, Te. *ḥangäl*, Har. *ḥangulla*, Arg. *ang*äl*.

Of East Cushitic origin, probably, cf. Saho-Afar *hangal* ~ *ḥangal*, Som. *ḥangulla*; the Bilin item *hang*äl* is probably, however, taken from Eth.Sem.

angät 'neck' : Te. *ʔangät*, Har. *angät*, Arg. *angäd*, Old Amh. *hangät*, and also *ḥngt* in Tna. *täḥangätä* 'to tie round the neck and shoulders'.

This root **ḥng-t* has been connected with the common Semitic *ḥnq* ~ **nq*: Gz. *ḥanäkä* 'strangle', Amh. *annäkä*, Ar. *ʔunq* 'neck', Heb. *ʔanāq* 'necklace'. This is not impossible, allowing for the unpredictable shift of *k* to *g*.

angät 'innards' : Gaf. *anzätä*, Ch.M.Ms. *anzät*, Sod. *anzät*, Old Amh. *hanžät*.

This would appear to be a derivative of the Eth. root *ḥmṣ* (Gz. *ḥəmṣ* 'uterus', Amh. *ḥms*), perhaps from something like **ḥams* + *äyt* with voicing of *s* > *z* and palatalization of *z* > *z/ḡ* in Amharic and Soddo. The root *ḥmṣ* is Semitic, cf. Heb. *ḥomeš* 'belly', Akk. *emšu*.

ar 'faeces' : Tna. *ḥarʾi*, Te. *ḥarəʾ*, Ch.M.Sod. *arä*. Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḥurʾ*, Heb. *ḥarʾ*.

aṭənt 'bone' : Gz. *ʿaṣm*, Tna. *ʿaṣmi*, Te. *ʿaṣəm*, Har. *āṭ*, Arg. *haṭəm*, Gaf. *aṣmʾä*, Ch. *aṭəm*, etc.

The Amharic is the only form to have a suffix *-t*, which probably originates from the plural, cf. Gz. *ʿaṣəmt*, i.e. collective used as a singular, cf. *ṭat* 'finger', below. Common Semitic *ʿzm*.

ayn 'eye' : Gz.Te. *ʿayn*, Tna. *ʿayni*, Har.Sl.W. *ān*, Arg.Ch. *en*, Gaf. *inä*, End. *ēn*, etc.

Common Semitic *ʿyn*.

əgər 'leg, foot' : Gz. *əgr*, Tna. *əgrī*, Te. *əgər*, Arg. *ingir*, Har. *igir* ~ *ingir*, Gaf. *əgʾrā*, Ch. *ägər*, etc.

This root, *əgr*, is Semitic, cf. ESA. *əgr*, Daṭina and Palestinian Ar. *əḡr*, though it doubtful, I feel, whether it is immediately connected with Sem. *rgl* of the same meaning, as has been suggested before.

əḡ 'hand' : Gz. *əḡd*, Tna. *əḡd*, Te. *əḡde*, Arg.Sl.Wl. *əḡḡ*, Har. *igī*, Ch. *äg*, Z. *əḡḡi*.

The palatalization in the S. Ethiopian forms derives from the proto-form *əḡde*, which occurs still in Tigre and in the Ge'ez form used with pronoun suffixes. Ethiopian *əḡ* is the same as common Semitic *yd*; traces of an original *əḡ* besides *yd* occur elsewhere in Semitic.

ənəbət 'navel' : Gz. *ḥənəbət*, Tna. *ḥənbərti*, Te. *ḥənbər*, Arg. *ənbərt*, Har. *ḥənburti*, Z. *ənbərbīt*.

This item is almost certainly of Cushitic origin, and specifically East Cushitic, cf.: Som. *ḥundūr*, Galla *handūra*, Saho *hindub* ~ *handub*; several Agaw languages have what may be a cognate form, Kem. *gāmbāra*, Quara *gumbera*, which has been taken into Gafat as *gumbārā* and Gondare Amharic as *gəmbəra*. It has been suggested that the Ethiopian Semitic forms should be connected with other Semitic terms such as Ar. *nabra* 'excrescence', or Heb. *ṭabbūr* 'navel', but this seems unlikely on formal grounds alone.

əms 'vagina' : Gz. *ḥəmṣ*. Common Semitic, cf. Heb. *ḥomeš* 'belly', Aram. *ḥumšā*, Akk. *emšu*.

ənba ~ *ənb* 'tear' : Gz. *ənbaʿ*, Tna. *nəbʿat*, Te. *ənbaʿ*, Arg. *əmbi*, Har. *əbiʿ*, Gaf. *ənbʾä*, Ch. *əmba*, Sl.Z. *əmb*, etc.

The root is *nb*^c, which is common Semitic, cf. Ar. *naba'a* 'gush forth', etc.

ḥwər 'blind' : Gz.Tna.Te. *ḥwər*, Arg. *ḥwər*, Gaf. *ḥwərä*, Sod. *in-äwər*, Sl.M. *en-wr*, etc.

Common Semitic *ḥwr*.

čamma 'shoe, sole of the foot' : M.Sod.Wl. *čamma*. Of S.Agaw origin, *čammi*; other Agaw forms are Bil. *šanfi*, Kem. *šamba*, Khm. *caba*, etc.

čən 'thigh' : Arg.Gaf. *čən* 'thigh', Wl. *čən* 'back', Har. *čən* 'waist', and probably also Ch. *kīn* ~ *kīn* 'behind'.

There have been several attempts at the etymology of this item from Praetorius (1879:95), who sought to derive it from Gz. *šənč* 'rib', to Wajnberg (1937b:20), who proposed Gz. *kəšən* 'lap' as its origin, and Cohen (1969, no. 182), and Cohen (1931:109), who suggested as connection with Gz. *kʷənna*^c 'elbow'. All three are unlikely on phonetic grounds alone. Rather, if the connection made with Ch. *kīn* is correct, one wonders whether **kən* > *čən* should be derived from the root *kn*^c 'be straight' (see below, under *kān*); the semantic scatter of the various items listed above would not, I think, be out of keeping with such an etymology.

dām 'blood' : so throughout Ethiopian Semitic (Gafat regularly has *dāmʷä*).
Common Semitic *dm*.

dänkoro 'deaf' : Tna. *dänkʷäro*, Ch. *tänkʷarra*; probably to be connected with Gz. *dənəkəw*, Har.Sl. *dōnka*, Gaf. *dənku-š*, Wl. *donkä*, End. *dənu*^c.

Cushitic, cf. Galla *donko*, *donkoro* 'stupid', Alaba *dōnkā*, Som. *dōqon* 'fool', and the common Agaw terms for 'donkey', Bil. *dəxʷara*, Kem. *dəḡʷära*, S.Ag. *duxʷari*, etc. (Cohen 1951-4:15-16).

fiṭ 'face' : Har. *fiṭ*, Arg. *fid*, Ch.E.Gy. *yifit*, Sl.Wl. *uṭt*, Z. *ṣfiṭ*, M.Ms.Go.Sod. *iṭt*, etc.

Common Semitic, cf. Soq. *fiṭo* 'forehead', Akk. *pūtu*, probably also Heb. *pəʕā* 'corner, side (esp. of the head)'.

gubbät 'liver' : M.Sod.Wl. *gəbbʷot*, Old Amh. *gubbäd*.

Praetorius (1879:85) related this item to Sem. *kbd*, which does of course, occur throughout Ethiopian Semitic including Amharic (*käbd* > *hod* 'belly'). It is not inconceivable that *gubbät* should have derived from some form of the root *kbd* by a variety of faulty restitution and irregular developments, but it is, I feel, unlikely, though no alternative etymology would seem to offer itself.

gulbät 'knee' : Har. *gəlib*, Arg.Gaf.Sod. *gulbät*, Ch. *gʷərbät*, Gy. *gʷərmät*, End. *gunöd*, etc.

All the S.Eth. forms except Har. *gəlib* can be derived from **gʷəlbät*; the item does not occur in N. Ethiopian except in Tna. *gulbät*, which has only the restricted sense of 'strength' and is almost certainly an Amharicism. The item is of Cushitic origin, though it is not possible, I believe, to define one particular branch of Cushitic as the most likely source: cf. Bil.Khm.Kem. *gərb*, S.Ag. *gərb*, Saho-Afar *gulub*, Som. *gilib*, Galla *gilba*, Darasa *gulbo*, Kambatta *gulubita*, etc. Attempts to connect the Eth.Sem. item to Semitic roots such as *qlb* and *glb* (Praetorius 1879:67 and 72) must be discounted.

gunč 'cheek' : Tna. *gʷənči*, Har. *gunči*, Arg. *gumbəč*, Ch.E. *gʷinčä*, Sl. *günčä*, etc.

Wajnberg (1937b:19-23) ingeniously suggested this could be an old 'dual' of the same root as seen in Gz. *gäš* 'face', i.e. **gʷə(n)še*. This is not impossible; at least, it is difficult not to connect this S. Ethiopian (and Tigrinya) item with the widespread Cushitic root from which Gz. *gäš* derives: cf. Bil.Kem. *gäs*, Khm. *gac*, Saho *gaza*, Som. *gād* 'beard, chin', Sid. *gäččo* 'chin', etc.

gura 'left' : Tna. *gəraw* 'left-handed', Arg. *gura*, Har. *gura* 'left', Gaf. *gərä*, Ch. *gura*, etc.

Cushitic, cf. Afar *gura*, Som. *gūrey*, Sid. *guraččo*, Kem. *gəri*. Leslau's (1956:203) suggestion that *gura* should be related to Sem. *ərb* 'west' seems less likely than a Cushitic explanation.

guräro 'throat' : Gz. *gʷəre*, Tna. *gʷäräro*, *gʷərgʷərit* 'goitre', Te. *gəre*, Gaf. *gurarä*, Ch. *gʷärä*.

Common Semitic, *grʕ* 'swallow' and *grgr* 'throat', cf. Ar. *ğurʕa* 'gulp', *ğarğara* vb. 'swallow', Heb. *gargərot* 'throat', Akk. *gaggurūtū*, etc.

goro 'ear' : occurring only in Amharic.

The other Eth.Sem. languages all preserve the common Semitic item, cf. Gz. *əzn*. Amh. *goro* is almost certainly from Galla *gurra*, or something like it.

gärbä 'back' : Te. *gurbät*.

Praetorius (1879:84 and 94) derived this from the Semitic root *dbr*. There are, however, several Cushitic items, particularly Agaw, which provide a more satisfactory explanation: Bil. *garba*, Khm. *girba*, Quara *gibra*; also Som. *gārab* 'shoulderblade'.

hod 'belly' : Gz. *käbd* 'liver', Tna. *käbdī*, Te. *käbəd*, Har. *kūd*, Ch. *xäpt*, Wl. *häbd*, etc.

Common Semitic *kbd*.

kulalit 'kidney' : Gz.Tna. *kʷəlīt*, Te. *kəlkəlʷot*, Har. *kulāy*, Arg. *kullay*, Gaf. *kullalit*, Sl. *kilāyo*, Z. *həlayo*, etc.; note also Old Amh. *həlalit*.

All the S. Ethiopian forms may be derived from a partially reduplicated stem *k^hslali-. Common Semitic *kly*.

kənd 'forearm' : Gz.Tna. k^hʾrna^c, Har. *kuru*², Arg. *korra*, Gaf. *kəndä*, Ch.Gy. *xəndä*, Sl. *kəri*, Wl. *həri*, Z. *həri*, etc.

Amharic also has the item *kərn* 'elbow' which is apparently from the same root, but does not show the usual development *rn* > *nd*. Older Amharic forms of this latter item, *kərna* and written *kərna^c*, suggest perhaps the direct influence of Gz. k^hʾrna^c. On the other hand, *kənd* is the regular development of *kərnə^c. The root is Common Semitic *kr^c*, cf. Ar. *kura^c* 'foot, leg', Heb. *kera^c*, Akk. *kirētu*.

känfär 'lip' : Gz.Tna. *känfär*, Te. *kämfar*, Ch. *känfär*, etc.

It is somewhat difficult to decide whether this is an inherited Semitic item to be connected with Moroccan Ar. *kaḫūra* 'groin', or of Agaw origin: cf. Bil. *kanfar*, Kem. *kämfar*, Quara *kanpar*, S.Ag. *kimper*; these Agaw items could, of course, be loans from Ethiopian Semitic (Cohen 1969, no. 177).

kula 'testicles' : Old Amh. k^hʾlha.

This is of Semitic origin and represents a variant pattern of the same root as in Amh. *ənḳulal* 'egg'; cf. Soq. *kehēlihen* 'egg', Mehri *ḳali*, Sheri *ḳahalit*; note also Maghrebi Ar. *qalwa* (pl. *qlāwi*) 'testicle'.

ḳinṭār 'clitoris' : Tna. *ḳənṭār*, Te. *ḳänṭirät*, Har. *ḳənṭar*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Daṭina Ar. *qanṭār*, Soq. *ḳanṭar*. The same item also occurs in E. Cushitic: Som. *kintir*, Galla *ḳinṭir*, etc.

ḳän 'right' : Arg. *ḳänna*, Gaf. *ḳən*, Har. *ḳänit* 'warp', Wl. *ḳänni*, Ch.Gy. *känä*, etc.

The Amharic form derives from a *qatıl* pattern of the root *ḳn^c* 'be straight' (Tna. *ḳän^c*, Amh. *ḳänna*), which is probably related to Ar. *qn^c* (*qanna^c* 'satisfy'), ESA. *tqn^c*.

ḳit 'anus'

Praetorius (1879:44) connected this with Gz. *ḳ^hiys*, *ḳ^hiš* 'shin', which may be so, though the semantics are somewhat awkward. In either case, the ultimate origin of this item is almost certainly Agaw, cf. Bil. *qit* ~ *git*, Kem. *gät*, Khm. *xuda*; note also Galla *huddu* 'anus'.

labb 'heart' : Gz. *labb*, Tna. *labbī*, Te. *lab*, etc.

Common Semitic *lb*.

mālas ~ *molas* 'tongue' : Tna. *mälhas*, Arg. *mālas*, Gaf. *məlasä*, Old. Har. *mälhasan*.

The root is common Ethiopian and general Semitic *lḥs* (*lḥš*) 'lick'. The other S.Eth. languages use items related to Amh. *andäbät*, of Cushitic origin.

məraḳ 'saliva' : Gz. *məraḳ*, Tna.Te. *mərraḳ*, Har. *məraḳ*, Arg. *məraḳ*, Sod. *məmmaḳā*, Ch. *əmbaḳā*, Enn. *əmbəḳā*, End. *məneḳ*, etc.

The root is *wṛḳ* (Gz. *wärräḳä* 'spit'), of common Semitic origin, cf. Heb. *yāraq*.

näfs 'soul' : Gz. *näfs*, Tna.Har. *näfsi*, etc.

Common Semitic *npš*.

ras 'head' : Gz. *ṛəs*, Tna. *ṛəs*, Te. *ṛäḳas*, Har. *urūs*.

The Amharic term *ras* derives from a *qatal* pattern, like Te. *ṛäḳas*, whilst the element which provides the base of the 3rd person pronouns preserves the pattern *ṛəs*. Common Semitic *ṛš*.

riz 'beard' : Arg. *ariz*, Gaf. *ariz*, Z. *areda*.

The Amharic, Argobba, and Gafat items are probably of Sidamo origin, cf. Tembaro *ärēza*, whereas the Zway item may be directly from Galla *areda*.

samba 'lung' : Gz.Tna. *sānbu*, Te. *sāmbə*, Ch. *samb'a*, Sod. *samb'o*, etc.

Of Cushitic, and probably specifically Agaw origin: cf. Bil. *sānbī*, Kem. *sāmba*, S.Ag. *sambī*; note also Som. *sāmbab*, Galla *somba*.

sur 'nerve'¹³ : Gz. *šurw*, Tna. *sur* ~ *šur*, Te.Har. *šur*, Arg. *šured*, Gaf. *šret*, Ch. *äsür*, etc.

Common Semitic, cf. Ar. *surra* 'umbilical cord', Heb. *šōr* 'nerve, muscle', Aram. *šeryānā* 'pulse', etc. This is probably a variant of the Semitic root *šrš* 'root'; the two meanings 'nerve' and 'root' have, for the most part, been collapsed in Ethiopian Semitic under the one root, *šrw*.

šibät 'grey hair' : Gz. *šibät*, Tna. *sibät* ~ *šəbät*, Te. *šib*, Har. *šibät*, Arg. *šəbät*, etc.

Common Semitic *šyb*. Amharic has formed a denominative verb *šäbbätä* in place of the original primary verb root form, as in Gz. *šebä*, Ar. *šāba*, Akk. *šību*, etc.

šil 'foetus' : Gz. *šoyl*, Tna. *šälät* 'afterbirth', Te. *šəlet*.

Common Semitic *šly*, cf. Ar. *salā*, Heb. *šilyā*, Akk. *šilītu*, etc.

šännä ~ *šänna* 'urinate' (n. *šənt*): Gz. *šenä*, *šənt*, Tna. *šänä*, *šənti*.

Common Semitic *šyn*.

¹³Also meaning 'root' in Amharic, as in some, but not all of the other Ethiopian Semitic languages.

täffa 'spit, vomit' : Gz.Te. *täfa*, Tna. *täfe*, Gaf. *täffä*, Ch. *täfam*, etc.

Several S. Ethiopian languages, including Amharic, have a descriptive compound derivative with the verb 'to say': Har. *tuḥ bāya*, Arg. *ṇtəf ala*, Amh. *ṇtəff alä*, Z. *təfun bālā*, etc. Common Semitic, cf. Ar. *taffa*, Aram. *təpāp*. Similar forms also occur in Cushitic (Cohen 1969, no. 319).

tənfəs 'breath' : Tna. *tənfəs*, Har. *təmfäs*.

From the root *nfs* (Sem. *npš*).

täñña 'sleep' : Har. *ñēʾa*, Arg. *teñña*, Ch.Gy. *nəyām*, Sod. *ññām*, Sl. *ñne*, Z. *īñt*, Wl. *īñne*, E. *nəyyām*, Enn. *neʾä*, End. *ñäʾä*, and probably also Tna. *nähayä* 'be tired of'.

Amharic treats the *t* as a radical except in the derived noun *māññita*. The cognate forms clearly show that the underlying root form is *nhy* (as Tigrinya) or **nyh* (hence the palatalization to *ñ* in some S.Eth. languages). Praetorius (1890:43) connected this root *nhy*, including Gz. *tānahayä* 'confess sins' (?), with Ar. *whn* 'be weak, exhausted' via a bi-radical nominal with the stem **hín-*, restructured into a triradical verb root as *nhy*. This seems a little contrived but is, perhaps, not impossible; at least, no satisfactory rival etymology can be found. The N. Ethiopian languages show a variety of roots for 'sleep', Gz. *num*, *skb*, Te. *skb*, Tna. *skb*, *dks*; of these *num* and *skb* have numerous common Semitic cognates.

ṭəfər 'nail' : Gz. *ṭəfər*, Tna. *ṭəfəri*, Te. *ṭəfər*, Har. *ṭifir*, Arg. *ṭuṭfər*, Gaf. *ṭəfärä*, Ch.Gy. *ṭəfər*, etc.

Common Semitic *zpr*.

ṭägur 'hair' : Gz. *ṣägʷr*, Tna. *ṣägʷri*, Te. *ṣägər*, Har. *ṣigär*, Arg. *ṣögär*, Gaf. *ṣəgärä*, Ch.Gy. *dəgär*, etc.

It is an interesting point that Amharic shares the vocalization pattern *ṣäg(w)r* with N. Ethiopian, whilst all the other S. Ethiopian forms can be derived from the pattern **ṣəgär*. Eth. *ṣgʷr* ~ *ṣgr* is of Cushitic origin (E. Cushitic?): cf. Som. *ḍogor*, Saho *dagar*, Afar *daguuru*, Baiso *ogorro*; also Bil. *ṣgʷr*, if this is a genuine, inherited Agaw item, and not a loan from Ethiopian Semitic. This item has been connected with Sem. *ṣʿr*, which may be correct at the level of Afroasiatic. The immediate origin of the Eth.Sem. item, however, is surely Cushitic rather than a purely Semitic variant of *ṣʿr*.

ṭrs 'tooth' : Gz. *zars* 'molar'. Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḍirs*.

All the other Eth.Sem. languages preserve the common Semitic item, e.g. Gz. *sənn*.

ṭat 'finger' : Gz. *ʾaṣbaʿt*, Tna. *ʾaṣabəʿ*, Te. *ṣəbʿit*, Har. *aṭābīñña*, Arg. *ṭad*, Gaf. *ṣatä* 'hand', Sod. *aṭabāt*, Ch. *atebä(t)*, etc.

The Amharic, Argobba, and Gafat forms can all be derived from **ṣäbʿat*, cf. Old Amh. *ṣäʾat*, which like the Tigre item does not show the initial *ʾ* of the remaining Eth.Sem. forms. Common Semitic *ʾṣbʿ*.

ʃut 'breast' : Gz.Te. *ʃəb*, Tna. *ʃub*, Har. *ʃōt*, Arg. *ʃut*, Gaf. *ʃuwä*, Ch. *ʃu*, Gy. *ʃaw*, etc.

Only the Amharic, Harari, and Argobba items have a suffix *-t* and can be derived from **ʃəbt*. Semitic, cf. Ar. *ʃibī* 'udder, teat'.

wäzza 'sweat' (vb) : Har. *awäzaʾa*, Ch.Enn.Gy. *awzasa-*, Sl.Wl.Z. *awäzä-*, etc.; Amh. *wäz* (n), Har. *wəzäʾ*, Gaf. *wuzä*, Ch. *wəzat*.

Semitic *wäc*, cf. Heb. *yezaʿ*. Another Amharic item with the same meaning is *lab* (n), *alabä* (vb), to which Tna. *lahbät* (n) may be compared; cf. Sem. *lhb* 'burn, be parched'.

2. THE SEMANTIC FIELD "THE DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENT"

The subdivisions under this heading are 2.1) agricultural activities and implements, 2.2) crops, 2.3) domestic animals, 2.4) food and its preparation, and 2.5) the house. In the field of agricultural terminology we are dealing with an area of the lexicon which is likely to be susceptible to linguistic borrowing and innovation in direct response to cultural borrowing, unlike the field of "man" which has been examined above. The basic agricultural methods and processes, like ploughing, sowing, reaping, milling, and the names of the commoner domestic animals may be regarded within the context of the given ecological area as being culturally so non-specific as to be classifiable in lexicographic terms as "basic" vocabulary. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the corresponding lexical items are not typically subject to ready borrowing or replacement. This is in contrast to more specific items, like the names of local crops, domestic animals, certain specialized tools, and so on. When we turn, then, to these areas of the Amharic lexicon, we find that whilst the "basic" vocabulary is mainly of inherited Semitic origin, there is a considerable number of non-Semitic terms amongst crop and animal names. In historical terms this can be interpreted as evidence that the objects, but not necessarily the processes of agriculture in highland Ethiopia owe not a little to the indigenous, non-Semitic populations. Indeed, it appears (Gamst 1969:11-12; also Simoons 1970:124ff) that the Ethiopian plateau and surrounding areas were a centre of plant domestication and dispersal from any early period, long before the earliest conjectured arrival of Semitic speaking peoples. Crops such as *ʃəf* (*Poa abyssinica*), *nug* (*Guizotia abyssinica*) were domesticated locally, whilst others like 'wheat' (*sənde*), 'barley' (*gäbs*), 'finger millet' (*dagussa*), and 'flax' (*tälba*) seem to have reached Ethiopia early on.¹⁴ The names of these cereals are of non-Semitic origin, most probably from Agaw. An exception to this is 'barley' (*gäbs*), which may be Semitic. The term for 'wheat' (*sənde*) is probably of Cushitic origin, though perhaps only as the contamination of an original Semitic form. Of course, this does not mean to say that the crop itself was unknown to the incoming Semites. Other crop names like *atär* 'pea', *bakela* 'bean', *məssor* 'lentil', *bärbäre* 'red pepper', and so on, are loans from outside Ethiopia, mostly either from or through the medium of Arabic.

Amongst the names of domestic animals we find *bäre* 'ox', *däbäl* 'kid', *ʃäräs* 'horse', *gəməl* 'camel', *gəlgäl* 'young animal', *lam* 'cow', and *käbt* 'cattle' of inherited Semitic origin, whilst terms like *ahoyya* 'donkey', *dəmmät* 'cat', *doro* 'chicken', *ʃəyäl* 'goat', *wəšša* 'dog',

¹⁴Conti Rossini (1928:106) attributes the introduction of "molte piante utili specialmente per l'alimentazione" to the South Arabians, but see Gamst (1969) and Simoons (1970).

and probably *bäg* 'sheep' and *bäḵlo* 'mule' are of non-Semitic origin. Of these only the last two, *bäg* and *bäḵlo*, have cognates distributed throughout Ethiopian Semitic; *doro* and *dammat* are shared by N. Ethiopian and Amharic; *wäḥḥa* and *ḥayäl* are common to Amharic and neighbouring S. Ethiopian languages; *ahäyya*, at the other end of the scale, occurs only in Amharic and has no cognates in Ethiopian Semitic. In the instance of these restricted loans we are dealing with localized items and, indeed, the likely source languages are identifiable in each instance. When we examine the terms for these animals in other Ethiopian Semitic languages, we find a wide array of items from various sources, both Cushitic loans (Har. *adurru* 'cat' from Galla; Har. *buči* 'dog' also from Galla; Gaf. *kuttä* 'chicken' from Sidamo, and so on), and inherited Semitic items not preserved in Amharic (Tna. *kälbi* 'dog'; Har. *ḥay* 'goat'). As I said in the introduction to this paper, I do not deem it wise to try and draw historical or cultural implications from the history of individual items. Nevertheless, I think it is a legitimate question to raise why, for example, are such "basic" terms as 'dog', 'goat', etc., of non-Semitic origin in the Amharic lexicon, whilst other Ethiopian Semitic languages preserve the common Semitic item? It would be naïve to answer this in concrete terms; rather the significant point lies in the distribution of the non-Semitic languages from which these terms were taken. In the case of *wäḥḥa*, for example, the apparent source is Sidamo; *ḥayäl*, on the other hand, is seemingly of S. Agaw origin. Both of these languages were spread over wider areas in former times and have for some time been subject to the encroachment of Amharic. These terms are concrete evidence of the substrate over which Amharic speech has spread and developed. The instance of the two terms *bäg* 'sheep' and *bäḵlo* 'mule', however, is somewhat different. Both terms are widespread throughout Ethiopian Semitic, including Ge'ez, and it can, therefore, be proven that their "introduction" into Ethiopian Semitic is of an early date. They are not localized loans replacing Semitic terms preserved elsewhere, but are fundamental constituents of common Ethiopian Semitic vocabulary. In the example of the mule, *bäḵlo*, a positive statement can be made to the effect that this animal seems to have been a relatively late introduction to the Semitic speaking world, there being no common Semitic term for the animal; indeed, Arabic borrowed the term *baḡl* from the Ethiopian side of the Red Sea. The sheep certainly was well known to the Semites, there being several common Semitic terms for the animal, none of which, however, occur in Ethiopian Semitic (*šep̄*, *q̄n*, etc.).

In the field of food terms the following items are of clear Semitic origin: *ayb* 'cheese', *arät* 'evening meal', *bärz* 'honeyed water', *bsl* 'be cooked, ripe', *doḳet* 'flour', *kʷas* 'break bread', *mar* 'honey', *mäsa* 'midday meal', *arḡo* 'yoghurt', and *täre* 'fresh, raw'. Probably also of inherited Semitic origin are *boka* 'ferment', *ḥla* 'boil', *ḥobe* 'butter', *mäsob* 'basket table', *mätad* 'griddle', *ḥbs* 'fry', and *wät* 'stew', though the precise derivation of these items is not clear and the likely Semitic cognates are of weak formal and/or semantic fit. Perhaps more than in the other areas of the lexicon discussed here, food terms are subject to borrowing and influence from outside as fashions fluctuate and trade introduces new food crops. Thus, the names of all the typical spices, *ard*, *bärbäre*, *zongäbäl*, table equipment like *gäbäna* 'coffee pot', *ḥngäl* 'coffee cup', *sähan* 'plate', *däst* 'cooking pot', *ḥukka* 'fork', etc., and fruits like *muz* 'banana' and *lomi* 'lime', not to mention more recent introductions, are all loans mostly from or through the agency of Arabic. Probable Cushitic contributions to food terminology in Amharic are *bäso* 'roasted barley flour', *ḥoma* 'fatty meat', *ḥaw* 'salt', *kʷanta* 'dried meat', *šaro* 'chickpea paste', *šambära* 'chickpeas', and possibly also *ängära* 'bread', *ḥälla* 'beer', and *ḥägḡ* 'honey wine'.

Of the names of parts of the house etc., for which a satisfactory etymology can be established, the majority is of inherited Semitic origin. These Semitic items are typically names of the most basic and "primitive" architectural features, like *aṭar* 'fence', *bärr* 'door, gate', *bet* 'house', *däḡ* 'gateway', *mändär* 'village', *kidan* 'thatch', *mäsäso* 'centre pole', and probably also *mädäḡḡa* 'hearth'. The majority of the names of other parts of the house, like *gʷada*, *ḥara*, *walta*, *gulläḥḥa*, and constructional features like *gotära*, *gamb*, *kab*, etc., remain

unidentified as to origin. The few readily identifiable Cushitic terms here are *gədgədda* 'wall of wattle and daub', *koʃ* 'loft, high shelf', *qoqo* 'straw hut'. More advanced and sophisticated terms, like *därb* 'upper storey', *foʃ* 'storeyed building', *däragä* 'staircase', *ʃkan*, etc., are of Arabic origin.

In the field of the domestic environment, therefore, there is a relatively high proportion of non-Semitic material (25 items out of a total of 93 studied : 26.9%), all of which consists of names of specific animals, plants, or foodstuffs. To these may be added the three building terms noted above. Perhaps the most fundamental observation that can be made here, and which, incidentally, is also valid in the field of the natural environment, is that broadly speaking general terms are inherited Semitic, but the specific and typically Ethiopian terms are of non-Semitic origin.

2.1. AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND IMPLEMENTS

aččädä 'reap' : Gz.Tna. *ʿašädä*, Gaf. *aššädä*, Sod. *addädäm*.

The palatalization of the medial radical in Amharic may have arisen in the imperfect (*yäʿaššəd* > *yačšəd*), or the gerundive (*ʿaššido* > *ačšido*). Common Semitic *ʿdd*.

alläbä 'milk' : Gz.Tna. *ḥaläbä*, Te. *ḥalba*, Har. *ḥaläba*, Arg. *halläba*, Sl.Wl.Z. *aläbä*, Ch. *anäbäm*, etc.

Common Semitic *ḥlb*.

arrämä 'weed' : Har. *ḥaram* (n), Arg. *harräma*, Sod. *irrämäm*, Ch. *anämäm*, etc.

All the S.Eth. forms go back to a B-type conjugation of *ḥrm*, which occurs in N.Eth. in the A-type conjugation (Gz. *ḥarämä*, etc.) meaning 'prohibit, be prohibited'. Common Semitic *ḥrm*.

arräsä 'plough' (vb) : Gz.Tna. *ḥaräsä*, Te. *ḥarsa*, Har. *ḥaräsa*, Arg. *harräsa*, Sl.Wl.Z. *aräsä*, etc.

Common Semitic *ḥrʃ*. The instrumental noun from this root (Amh. *maräšša*) provides the name of the plough, or occasionally more specifically the ploughshare (Tna.Te. *mahräša*) in most of the modern Ethiopian Semitic languages. Also from the same root and of fairly wide occurrence is the noun 'agricultural land': Amh. *aräšä*, Tna. *ḥaräša*, Te. *ḥarəs*, Har. *ḥarši*, Gaf. *arrašä*.

ḥäččä 'mill' : Gz. *ḥäšḥa* 'break into pieces', Tna. *ḥäšḥe* 'grind', Har. *ḥäčča*, Arg. *ḥäčča*, Sl.Wl. *ḥäčce*, Z. *ḥäčč*, Enn.End. *ḥeʿä*, etc.

The S.Eth. forms all appear to derive from a root **ḥšy*, beside N.Eth. *ḥšh*. Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḥaḍḍa* 'break open', *ḥadaḥa* 'expose', Heb. *päšah* 'crush', *päšä* 'split', etc.

ḥädda 'draw water' : Gz.Te. *ḥädḥa*, Tna. *ḥädḥe*, Har. *ḥädaḥa*, Arg. *ḥäddäha*, Gaf. *ḥädda*, Ch. *gätam*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *qadaḥa* 'bore', Heb. *qādaḥ*.

ḥämbär 'yoke' : Tna.Arg. *ḥämbär*, Gaf. *ḥämbärä*, and probably also Gz. *ḥämär* 'vault, arch'.

This is almost certainly Semitic and related to Syr. *qamrā* 'belt', though the item does occur (as a loan) in Cushitic, cf. Galla *ḵambari*, Sid. *ḵambarā*.

ḵärrämä 'glean' : Gz.Tna. *ḵärämä*, Har. *ḵärma* (n) 'wheat stalk used in basket weaving', Sl. *ḵärme* 'stubble', (Amh. *ḵärm*).

Semitic, cf. Ar. *qarama* 'gnaw', *qurma* 'tree stump'.

mäg 'upper grindstone' : Gz. *mädhe*, Har. *mäggi*, Ch. *mägä*, Sl. *mägge*, Z. *mägi*.

The root is *dhy* (Gz. *däḥayä* 'grind'), to which Heb. *dāḥā* 'push, thrust', Ar. *daḥā* 'spread' may be compared.

mānš ~ *māšən* 'winnowing basket' : Gz. *māš^e*, Tna. *mās^e*.

The root is *š^ey* (Gz. *šä^eayä*), to which Ar. *šā^eā* may be compared.

näffa 'sieve' : Gz.Tna. *näfäyä*, Te.Har. *näfa*, Z. *näfä*.

The root in Amharic has shifted to the biradical pattern that generally presupposes an original laryngeal as third radical. In the instrumental noun (*wänfiṭ*), however, the original root form persists; cf. Gz. *mānfe*, Tna. *mānfiṭ*, Har. *wänfiṭ*, etc. Semitic, cf. Heb. *nippā* (vb), *nāpā* (n).

sälläbä 'castrate' : Gz. *säläba* 'pull out', Tna. *säläbä* 'castrate', Te. *sälba*, Har. *säläba*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *salaba* 'pull out'.

täkkälä 'plant' : Gz. *täkalä*, Tna. *täxälä*, Te. *täkla*, Arg. *tekkäla*, Gaf. *täkkälä*, Sl.Wl. *čehälä*, Ms.Go. *čäkkäläm*, etc.

In most of the S.Eth. languages, though not in Amharic, this verb conjugates according to the B-type pattern. Formal cognates occur in Ar. *takila* 'trust', Aram. *tekel*; the semantic correlation between these and the Eth.Sem. *tkl* 'plant, fix' is weak, but not impossible.

ṣämmädä 'yoke' (vb) : Gz. *ṣämädä*, Tna. *ṣämädä*, Te. *ṣämda*, Har. *ṣämäda*.

Common Semitic *ḳmd*.

zär^a 'sow' : Gz.Te. *zär^a*, Tna. *zär^e*, Har. *zär^a*, Ch. *zänam*.

The noun 'seed' (Gz. *zär^a*, Amh. *zär*, etc.) from the same root is fairly widespread throughout Ethiopian Semitic. Common Semitic *ḏr^e* (Ar., Heb., Aram., Akk.) ~ *ḏr^a* (ESA., Eth.Sem.).

2.2. CROPS

atär 'pea' : Tna.Te. *atär* 'chickpea', Har. *atär* 'pea', Gaf. *atärä*, Z. *antärä*, Ch.Go. *atärä* 'bean', etc.

This is almost certainly a loan from Aden Ar. *atar*. The term also occurs in several Cushitic languages: Galla *atara*, Kambatta *atarā*, Kem. *azār*, Khm. *adīr*.¹⁵

ḥəl 'grain' : Gz. *ḥkl*, Tna. *ḥxli*, Te. *ḥkəl*, Har. *ḥxi*, Arg.Wl.Z. *ḥəl*, Ch. *āxər* 'barley', Sod. *ākəl*, M. *āxi*, etc.

Common Semitic *ḥkl* 'eat'.

šāt 'unripe grain' : Gz. *šāwit*, Tna. *sāuwit* ~ *šāuwit*, Te. *šāwit*, Har. *asīta* ~ *ašīta*, Arg. *šed*, Gaf. *šāt*, Ch.Wl.Z.Gy. *šet*, Sod. *āsīt*, etc.

The S.Eth. forms all derive from **sāyīt*, with attraction of *w* to *y* under the influence of the following *i*. The root is *šwy* 'ripen' (Gz. *šāwāyā*), which is probably to be identified with Ar. *šwy* (*šawā* 'grill, roast', *šawā* 'be ripe for grinding (of grain)').

baḥela 'bean' : Te.Wl.Z. *baḥela*, Har. *bāḥela*, Sl. *bāḥella*, Gy. *bāḥēla*, etc.

A loan from Ar. *bāqilā*. The Semitic root *bql* exists in Ethiopian Semitic (cf. Amh. *bāḫkälä* 'sprout'), but this noun is certainly a loan from Arabic and not an inherited form.

bun ~ *bunna* 'coffee'

So throughout Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic; a loan from Ar. *bunn*, perhaps. However, insofar as the coffee plant is itself of Ethiopian origin, one wonders whether the term *bunn* might not also be of Ethiopian origin.

bärbäre 'red pepper' : Gz. *bärbäre*, *päpäre*, Tna.Te.Arg.Wl.Z. *bärbäre*, Har. *bärbäri*, etc.

The alternative Ge'ez form, *päpäre*, looks like a direct loan from Gk. *pēperi*, whereas *bärbäre* must be from another source. Semitic languages other than Ethiopian Semitic have the root *plpl* ~ *ḥlḥl*. The form of the root *babr* occurs outside Ethiopian Semitic only amongst Cushitic languages. Whatever the immediate origin of the form *bärbäre* is, the ultimate source of all these names is Indian, cf. Pali *pippalī*.

čāt '*Catha edulis*'

So throughout Ethiopian Semitic. This item is undoubtedly related to the Arabic name of the same plant, *qāt*. Since the plant itself appears to be of Ethiopian origin, it would seem reasonable to assume that the name is, too, and that Arabic has borrowed the term from Ethiopia. The item also occurs widely throughout Cushitic.

dagussa 'finger millet' : Tna.Te. *dagussa*.

¹⁵ See Conti Rossini (1912:174): "la variété qu'on a pu étudier dans le nord d'Ethiopie est le *Cicer arietinum*, et qui semble originaire du bassin oriental de la Méditerranée, d'où il aurait été importé dans le Yemen et en Abyssinie."

Cushitic, cf. Bil. *dagúsa*, Khm. *dausa*, Kem. *dauša*, S.Ag. *dagusi*, Galla *daguzā* ~ *dagučā*.

dənnəč 'potato' : Tna.Te. *dənnəč*, Har. *dinničča*, Ch. *dəniča*, Sl.Wl.Z. *dənnəčča*, Gy. *dīnča*, etc.

The name originally referred to the edible root *Coleus tuberosus*, but is now applied to the potato, *Solanum tuberosum*. From Galla *dinničča* 'the Galla potato', *Coleus edulis*. Cf. also S.Ag. *dunizī* 'potato' (see Mooney 1963:12).

gäbs 'barley' : Har. *gūs*, Arg.Sod. *gäbs*, Z. *gäbəs*.

This is generally (Praetorius 1879:48; Cerulli 1936:251; Leslau 1963:76) regarded as a metathesized form of the root *sgm* (Gz. *sägām*, Tna. *səgām*); i.e. **sägām* > **gām(ə)s* > *gäbs*. Gz. *sägām*, etc., is probably of Semitic origin, cf. Soq. *škimoh* 'grain of millet', though certain Agaw languages have an apparent cognate form, perhaps an early loan from N. Ethiopian: Bil. *sikmā*, Khm. *sokmā*, S.Ag. *sīmkī*.

məssər 'lentil' : Te. *məssər* ~ *mānsər*, Har. *missir*, Arg.Gaf. *məssər*, Sod. *məššərə*, Sl.Wl.Z. *məššər*.

A different root form occurs in Ge'ez and Tigrinya *bərsən*. Both root patterns occur in Cushitic: Som. *misir*, Kambatta *miširā*, etc., and Saho *birsin*, Khm. *bissir*, etc. The shape of the Ge'ez and Tigrinya items is immediately reminiscent of Ar. *bulsun*, whilst the rest of Ethiopian Semitic forms with initial *m-* are formally closer to the ultimate origin of the root, Pali *masūra*. This suggests that perhaps *məssər*, etc., was taken directly from some Indian source.

mašəlla 'greater millet' : Tna.Sod. *mašəlla*, Ch. *mašāra*.

This is probably of Agaw origin, at least compatible cognates occur in Bil. *mašəllā*, Khm. *māyla*, Kem. *mayla*, Quara *mīlā*, S.Ag. *mela*.

nug '*Guizotia abyssinica*' : Tna. *nihug* ~ *nəg*, Te. *nəhig* ~ *nəhəg*.

Cushitic and probably specifically Agaw, cf. Bil. *ləhəng*^a, Quara *ləng*^a, Khm. *nuwā*, S.Ag. *nugī*, but note also Galla *nugī*, Saho *nehūg*.

sənde 'wheat' : Gz. *šərnay*, Tna. *sərnay*, Te. *šərnay*, Har. *sərri*, 'wheat bread', Gaf. *səndä*, Ch. *sənä*, Sl.Z. *səre*, Sod. *sərri*, Gy. *sərnay*, Ms. *sənnē*, etc.

It has been suggested that this common Ethiopian Semitic item is to be derived from the Semitic root *šr*, i.e. from something like **šərnay*. This would not, however, be a regular process of derivation. Better formal (and semantic) fits occur throughout Cushitic: Bil. *šinray*, Galla *sinra*, Som. *sareen*, Afar *sirraa*, and perhaps also Beja *seraam*. This list certainly includes loans from Ethiopian Semitic (Bilin, for example, is the only Agaw language here; the others have a totally different item, e.g. Kem. *gärg*^a, Khm. *zīrwa*, etc.), but others do have the appearance of "genuine" Cushitic items.

šəmbəra 'chickpea' : Tna.Te. *səbbäre* 'type of pea - *lethyrus sativus*', Har. *šəmbura* 'chickpea', Ch. *šəmbora*, etc.

The S. Ethiopian items are probably of Sidamo (or Galla) origin: Sid. *šumburaa*, Galla *šumbura*; for the N.Eth. forms cf. Saho *sabbaree*.

šankurt 'onion' : Gz. *šəgʷəd*, Tna. *šəgʷərti*, Har. *šənkūrta*, Arg. *šənkurt*, Gaf. *šunkurt*, Old Amh. *šəngʷərt*.

The item also occurs widely throughout Cushitic (Bil. *šəgʷərti*, Kem. *surta*, Galla *šunkurta*, etc.). Gz. *šəgʷəd* and all the other forms, both Semitic and Cushitic, are ultimately from Gk. *škōrdon* 'garlic'.

tälba 'flax, linseed' : Gz. *tälbe* ~ *tälbe* ~ *tälabe* ~ *tälabe*.

A loan from Agaw, cf. Kem. *tərba*, Khm. *tṛbā*, etc.

ṭəf '*Poa abyssinica*' : Tna.Te. *ṭaf*, Har. *ṭāfi*, Arg. *ṭef*, Ch. *ṭafi*, End. *ṭēf*, etc.

Cushitic, probably Agaw, cf. Bil. *taba*, Khm. *tāb*, Kem. *tab*, S.Ag. *tāfi* 'millet', but also in Galla *ṭaaṭi* and Saho-Afar *dāaṭi*. It is likely that there has been a certain degree of lexical borrowing between various Ethiopian languages, Semitic and Cushitic, in the spread of this item. The forms of the Galla and Saho-Afar items look more like original loans from Ethiopian Semitic than inherited Cushitic stock; the *ṭ/d* initial would not be the regular correspondence to Agaw *t* (see Dolgopolskiy 1973:54ff), but would regularly represent *ṭ* in a loan from Ethiopian Semitic. On the other hand, the representation of a non-ejective by an ejective in an Ethiopian Semitic borrowing from Agaw would not be improbable. The dialect Arabic forms, Daṭina *ṭahaṭ* ~ *ṭahaṭ* '*Myrica gale*' and Hadrami *ṭahaṭ* (Leslau 1963: 152) are perhaps merely coincidences. The plant is apparently indigenous to Ethiopia, and these two Arabic dialect forms imply a root with a medial laryngeal radical, for which none of the Ethiopian Semitic terms show any evidence. It would not, therefore, seem unreasonable to propose a Cushitic, and specifically Agaw origin for this item.

2.3. DOMESTIC ANIMALS

ahəyya 'donkey' : Tna. *ʔaxəya* besides *ʔadgi* is probably a loan from Amharic.

Other than this there appear to be no cognates of Amh. *ahəyya* in the rest of Ethiopian Semitic. This item is probably to be connected with Saho-Afar *okāalo*, also meaning 'donkey': **akəl + ya > ahəyya*.

bäg 'sheep' : Gz. *bäggaʷ*, Tna. *bäggiʷ*, Te. *bəggʷ*, Arg. *bägi*, Gaf. *bäg*.

A clearly related form occurs in Agaw, cf. Bil. *bägga*, Kem. *bäga*, Khm. *bəga*, which Conti Rossini (1912:175) regards as a loan from Ethiopian Semitic. The usual Semitic terms for 'sheep', *š*², *dʰn*, etc., are absent from Ethiopian Semitic, though the root *ṭly* (Gz. *ṭäli* 'goat', Ar. *ṭalā* 'lamb', etc.) does occur in certain S.Eth. languages with the meaning 'sheep' (Har. *ṭāy*, Sod. *ätay*, Ch. *ṭe*, etc.). Those languages which employ the root *bgʷ* (N. Ethiopian, Amharic, Argobba, Gafat) are, however, within a likely radius of Agaw contact or substratum and though this root has been described as Semitic (cf. Ar. *bagbağa* 'bleating'), it would seem more likely to be an indigenous Agaw and Cushitic root (cf. Beja *book* 'billy-goat').

bāklo 'mule' : Gz. *bākēl*, Tna. *bāxli*, Te. *bākal*, Har. *bākāl*, Arg. *bāklo*, Gaf. *bəčəlä*, Ch. *buk^hrä*, Sl.Wl. *boḵlo*, Z. *boḵolu*, Sod. *bəčəl*, etc.

This is almost certainly of Cushitic origin: cf. Bil. *bāxlā*, Kem. *bäyla*, Khm. *bəqla*, Saho-Afar *bakela*, Qabena *bākulāta*, Som. *bāqal*. Arabic *baḡl* is a loan from Ethiopian Semitic (Gz. *bākēl*) (Nöldeke 1910:58; also Hommel 1879:112ff).

bäre 'bull, ox' : Gz. *bə^hrāwi* ~ *bə^hrāy* ~ *bə^hra*, Tna.Te. *bə^hrāy*, Har. *ba^hara* ~ *bāra*, Arg.Wl. *bara*, Ch.Sod. *bora*, Z. *būrā*, etc.

It is interesting that all the S. Ethiopian forms except Amh. *bäre* can be derived from a pattern ending in *-a*, whilst Amharic agrees with Tigrinya and Tigre in having the suffix *-ay* > *-e*. Common Semitic *b^hr* (Ar. *ba^hār* 'camel', ESA. *b^hr*, Heb. *bē^hār* 'cattle', etc.).

dābāl 'billy-goat' : Gz.Tna. *dabela*, Te. *dibāla*, Har. *dābāy* 'heifer'.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *dubl* ~ *dawbal* 'young donkey', *dawbal* 'suckling pig'. Cf. also Amh. *dabbol* 'young domestic animal'.

dämmät 'cat' : Tna.Te. *dammu*.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Kem. *daməya*, Quara *damyā*.

doro 'chicken' : Gz. *dorho*, Tna. *dārho*, Te. *derho*, Arg. *doro*.

Cushitic, cf. especially Saho-Afar *dorho*, Som. *doro*, Beja *endīrhoo*; note also Agaw **dirw-a*: Bil.Kem. *dirwa*, Khm. *ḡirwa*, S.Ag. *dūri*. An East Cushitic (cf. Saho-Afar) origin seems more likely than an Agaw one because of the presence of the third radical *h*.

färäs 'horse' : Gz.Tna.Te. *färäs*, Har.Arg.Ch. *färāz*, Gaf. *färäd*, etc.

Forms with final radical *z* ~ *d* occur throughout Cushitic and it would seem likely that such Cushitic forms (originally loans from Semitic rather than inherited Cushitic items?) have influenced those Ethiopian Semitic forms in *-z/-d*. The root is ultimately Semitic, *prš*.

fiyäl 'goat' : Arg. *fiyel*, Gaf. *fiḡäl*.

This item is of Agaw, and specifically S.Agaw. origin: S.Ag. *fiyēli*, cf. also Dembiya *fiyala*. Whether these items are immediately relatable to the rest of Agaw: Bil. *fontira*, Khm. *fočəra*, Kem. *fontära*, or not is debatable.

gəlgäl 'young animal' : Tna. *gəlgäl* 'young mule or horse', Arg.Gaf. *gəlgäl* 'lamb', Har. *gāgi* 'young animal', M.Ms. *gəlgäl*, Ch.Gy. *grangər*, etc.

This is a reduplication *glgl* of the same root as occurring in Gz. *ḡḡ^hl* 'calf'. Common Semitic *ḡl* (Eth.Sem. *ḡ^(w)l*). A similar reduplication occurs in Syrian Beduin Arabic *gargūr* 'large lamb'.

gəməl 'camel' : Gz.Tna.Te. *gämäl*, Har. *gāmāla* ~ *gāmila*, Arg. *gamela*, Ch. *gamera*, etc.

Common Semitic *gmēl*.

lam 'cow' : Gz. *lahm*, Tna. *lahmi*, Har.Sl. *lām*, Arg.Wl.Z. *lam*, Sod. *ālam*, Ch.Gy. *āram*, Gaf. *ālam**ā, Enn. *arām*, Go. *annam*, End. *anaw*, etc.

This has been connected (Ullendorff 1956:192; also Krotkoff 1969:72) with the Semitic root *lhm* : Ar. *lahm* 'food', Heb. *lehem* 'bread', Soq. *lehem* 'shark'. Despite the slight anomaly of the *h* : *h* correspondence this does not seem unlikely. Dillmann (1865:col.25) cites an Arabic term *lihm* '*taurus annosus*'; perhaps the Semitic root *lhm* (Ar. *lihima* 'swallow greedily') has influenced the development of the Ethiopian Semitic root in some way, too.

mānga 'flock, herd' : Gaf. *mānga*.

Praetorius (1879:169) derived this from the root *nhg* 'guide, conduct', but a Cushitic derivation seems to me the more likely: cf. Afar *mango* 'herd' from the root *mag*- 'be full'.

sānga 'castrated animal' : Tna. *sānga*, Har. *sānga*.

Probably from Galla *sānga*, if this is an indigenous root. Praetorius (1879:98) preferred a derivation from Gz. *sg** 'stab'.

ṭəḡḡa 'calf' : Har. *ṭiḡa* ~ *ṭəḡa*, Arg. *ṭəḡḡa*, Gaf. *ṣəḡ**ā, Sod. *ṭəḡ*, Ch.Gy. *dāk*, Ms.Go. *dəḡḡ*, etc.

This item occurs only in S. Ethiopian; the N. Ethiopian languages use a variety of terms: Gz. *ṣəḡ**l, Te. *ṣəḡal*, *ṣəḡluy*, Tna. *mərax*, etc. The S. Ethiopian root may be characterized as **ṭə/əḡ-a*, for which no likely origin can be identified.

wəṣṣa 'dog' : Arg. *wəṣṣa*, Sod.Gaf. *wəṣṣä*. Of Sidamo origin, cf. Sid. *wəso*, Kambatta *wošiččū*, Gudella *wīṣa*.

The other S. Ethiopian languages have various items of non-Semitic origin: Har. *buči*, Wl. *bučo*, Ch. *gəyā*, etc. Only in N. Ethiopian is the inherited Semitic term preserved: Gz. *kälb*, etc.

wätəto 'kid' : Tna. *wätəto*.

Cushitic, cf. Sid. *waṭā*, *woṭiččō*, Galla *wotiyo* (?). One wonders whether this Cushitic root is in some way cognate with that which seems to appear in Ge'ez as a loan: *wäytäl* 'wild goat', cf. Afar *wadaar*, *wadaar*.

2.4. FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

ambašša 'wheat bread' : Tna.Te. *ḥambašša*, Old Amh. *ḥambašša*.

Probably a derivative of the Eth.Sem. root *ḥbz* ~ *ḥbs* (Gz. *ḥəbəst*) with the suffix **-ya* and an "intrusive" nasal.

ayb 'cheese' : Gz.Tna.Te. *ḥalib* 'milk', Har. *ḥāy*, Arg. *hayu*, Sl.Wl. *ayb*, Z. *ayəb*, Ch. *eb*, etc.

Common Semitic *ḥlb* (see Amh. *alläbä*, above).

ənḡära 'bread' : Tna.Te. *ṗəngera*, Arg. *ganḡir*, Gaf. *gənḡärä*, Sod. *ganḡir*.

The Amh. verb *gaggärä* 'bake bread' has the same root form with initial *g-* as the nominal forms in other S. Ethiopian languages, which, according to Cohen (1939:384), may be the original form of the root. Praetorius (1879:169) attempted to derive *ənḡära* from Ar. *ʿugayn* 'millet'; this is not implausible. However, there exists an item in Kemant and Quara which may suggest an Agaw origin: *gira* 'a type of bread'. It would be easier to explain *ṗəngera*, *ənḡära* as an Ethiopian Semitic extension of Agaw *gira*, and the verb root and nominal forms in initial *g-* as a kind of reduplicated extension thereof, than the reverse.

ənḡulal 'egg' : Tna. *ṗənḡulalih*, Arg. *ənḡulal*, Gy. *ənḡura*.

Another version of the same root occurs in other Eth.Sem. languages: Gz. *ṗənḡokḡho* ~ *ṗənḡokḡho*, Tna. *ṗənḡax'əho*, Te. *ṗənḡokḡho*, Har. *aḡuh*, Gaf. *anḡ'ä*, Z. *ənḡäku*, Sod. *anḡo*, Wl. *ənḡakot*, etc. The root *ḡ'əḡ* which lies behind Amh. *ənḡulal*, etc., also occurs in Amh. *ḡula* 'testicles' and has satisfactory Semitic cognates, cf. Soq. *ḡehēlihen*, etc. Similar forms to the other Eth.Sem. root pattern (Gz. *ṗənḡokḡho*, etc.), however, occur throughout Cushitic: Quara *kaḡawinā*, Kem. *x'äräg'ina*, Galla *anḡako*, *anḡaku*, Saho *unḡokḡho*, Som. *ōgaḡ*, Rendille *ukun*, Werize *ugahe*, Konso *ukḡ'a*, etc. The two roots of Ethiopian Semitic may not in fact be directly related; it is not impossible that Gz. *ṗənḡokḡho*, etc., is of Cushitic origin.

ərat 'evening meal' : Te. *ḡərab* 'meal', Har. *ḡirāt*, Arg. *ḡərbad*, Ch.Gy.Sod. *ärbat*, S. *uribāt*, Z. *ərbat*, etc., also Old Amh. *ḡərat*.

The root is *ḡrb*, which also occurs in Amharic in the verb *tarräbä* 'dine'. Cohen (1939:25) suggested a connection with Sem. *ʿrb* 'evening', which seems very possible.

bokka 'ferment' : Gz. *bəḡ'a*, Tna. *bäx'ə*, S.Eth. *bäkkä/bokka*, etc.

The modern Eth.Sem. forms may all be derived from **bḡ(ʷ)ə/ə* with pseudocorrection of *ḡ* to *k* vis-à-vis the Ge'ez root. This root is almost certainly Semitic and may possibly be connected with Ar. *nabaḡa* 'be sour'.

bərz 'honeyed water' : Gz. *məzr* 'beer', Tna. *bərzi* 'honeyed water', Har. *birzi*, Sl.Wl. *bərz*.

All the modern Eth.Sem. forms have the root *bərz*, beside Gz. and Semitic *məzr*: cf. Ar. *mizr* 'type of beer', ESA. *məzr*.

bässa 'roasted barley flour': Tna. *bässa* ~ *bosso*, Har.Wl. *bässa*, Z. *bässu*, Ch. *bäswä*, Sod. *bässuwa*, etc.

Of Cushitic origin: cf. Saho *buša*, Galla *baso*, Qabena *bassūta*; apparently not connected with the Semitic root *bšl* 'be cooked', as suggested by Praetorius (1879:73).

bässälä 'be cooked, ripe' : Gz.Tna. *bäsälä*, Te. *bäsla*, Har. *bäsäla*, Gaf. *bässälä*, Ch. *abäsäräm*, etc.

Common Semitic *bšl* (Heb. *bāšal*, Soq. *behel*, ESA. *bšl* (n) 'sacrificial hearth').

čoma 'fatty meat' : So throughout modern Ethiopian Semitic.
From Galla čoma.

čäw 'salt' : Gz. šew, Tna.Arg. čäw, Te. čewa, Gaf. čäwä.
Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil.Kem. šəwa, Khm. čəwa, etc.

dabbo 'wheat bread' : Har. dābbo, Sod. dabbo, Ch. dap^a, Enn. dapa, etc.
Of East Cushitic origin, cf. Galla dabo, Kambatta dabbūta.

doḳet 'flour' : Old Amh. dāk^eet.
Cf. the Eth.Sem. root dḳḳ 'grind', Common Semitic dqḳ.

dəst 'cooking pot' : Tna. dəsti, Har. diṣṭi.
From Ar. dist.

fälla 'boil' : Gz. fälha, Tna. fälhe, Har. fälaha, Arg. fälläha, Sl.
fäla, Wl.Z. fälä, Sod.Ms.Go. fälla(m), Ch. tāfenam, etc.

The Eth.Sem. root fḷh is a perfectly "respectable" Semitic root shape, though it lacks any satisfactory cognates in the rest of Semitic. Dillmann's (1865:col.1339) correlation with Ar. fwr (fāra) 'cui et saturiendi et bulliendi vis inest' is not satisfactory, only one out of the three radicals being shared. Despite the lack of a satisfactory cognate elsewhere in Semitic, I do not think it unreasonable to assume a Semitic origin for this root.

kəbe 'butter' : Gz. kəb^a, Tna. kəb^ai ~ kəb^ei, Arg. kəbi ~ kəwi, Gaf.
kəb^aä, Ch.Sod. kəb, Enn. əb, etc.

The root kəb^a occurs throughout Ethiopian Semitic in the sense of 'anoint, grease, butter', etc., but lacks any truly satisfactory formal and semantic cognates in the rest of Semitic. Formally compatible roots occur in Heb. qāba^c 'fix, insert' and Akk. qabū 'say', but the semantic disparity between these and the Eth.Sem. root militates against any reasonable correlation of the roots. Nevertheless, as in the case of the previous item, the root shape is in accordance with the standard Semitic patterns and there is no reason to refute the likelihood of a Semitic origin.

k^aanṭa 'dried meat' : Tna.Arg.Sod. k^aanṭa, Har. kānṭa, Te. kanṭa, Gaf. kunčä
'raw meat', Z. k^aonṭa 'dried fish'.

A loan from E. Cushitic, cf. Afar k^aanṭaa, Galla kanṭa, Kambatta koonṭä.

k^aäräsä 'break bread' : Tna. k^aäräsä, Har. koräsa 'take a portion of s.th.'.
Throughout Gurage the root krs > kns has the meaning 'begin'. Semitic, cf. Akk. qarāšu 'split', n. qirsu 'slice of bread', Heb. qereš 'plank'.

mar 'honey' : Gz.Tna.Te. mā^car 'honeycomb, honey', Har. mā^r 'wax', Ch.
mar 'beeswax', Go. m^aär, etc.

Most of the other Eth.Sem. languages preserve the common Semitic term for 'honey': Har. *dūs*, Arg. *dims*, Gaf. *dəbsä*; this root also occurs in epigraphic Ge'ez (see Drewes 1962:34 and 55) as *dbä*, but is replaced in "classical" Ge'ez by *mā'ar*. The original meaning of this item was 'honeycomb' from which the various meanings 'honey', 'wax', etc., have been derived in the modern languages. Semitic, cf. Heb. *ya'ar* ~ *ya'rā* 'honeycomb'.

māsa 'midday meal' : Gz.Tna. *māsah*.

Common Semitic *māṣḥ*, cf. Gz. *māssəḥa* 'annoint', Heb. *māṣah*, Ar. *masaḥa*.

māsob 'basket table'

So, too, in Gz.Tna.Te.Arg.Wl.Z.Gaf. Praetorius (1879:159) connected this with the Semitic root *ṭwb*, in particular with Ar. *maṭāb* 'locus in quem homines disgregati conveniunt'; note also Mod.Heb. *mēsiḇbā* 'social gathering'. One hesitates to relate such a concrete term as *māsob* with the abstract and general sense of *mēsiḇbā* and *maṭāb*, though the idea is attractive and there can be little formal objection to it.

məṭad 'griddle' : Har.Sl. *məṭād*, Arg.Sod.Wl.Z. *məṭad*, Ch.Gy. *mədad*, etc.

The root of this S. Ethiopian item occurs in its simple form in the Amh. verb *ṭadä* 'cook on a griddle'. This might tentatively be compared with Gz. *ṣḥd* ~ *ṣ'd* (*ṣḥadä* 'soften, rub with oil').

ṣəga 'meat' : Gz. *ṣəga*, Tna.Te. *ṣəga*.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil. *ṣixa*, Kem. *ṣiya*. The other Eth.Sem. languages preserve the common Semitic root *bāṣ*: Har. *bāsār*, Gaf. *bāsārä*, etc.

ṣəro 'mashed chickpeas' : Tna.Sl.Wl.Z. *ṣəro*, Har. *ṣūr*, Gaf. *ṣərä*, Ch. *ṣərwä*, etc.

Of East Cushitic origin, cf. Galla *ṣuuro*, Sid. *ṣūro*, Tembaro *ṣurū*.

ṭäbbäsä 'fry' : Gz.Tna. *ṭäbbäsä*, Har. *ṭäbäsa*, Ch. *ṭäbäsäm*, etc.

Probably Semitic, cf. Ar. *ṭabbasa* 'smear'.

ṭägḡ 'honey wine' : Har. *ṭägḡi*, Ch. *ṭäg* (a loan from Amh?), *däg'ä* 'honeyed water', End. *degä*, etc.

Possible cognates for this item occur throughout the Omotic languages: Kaffa *doočoo*, Sinaša *dāwčoo*, Moča *dō'čo*, Anfillo *dawčō*, meaning 'beer'. In Sidamo and Qabena there occur forms similar to Amharic *ṭägḡ* (*ṭägḡ(e)* and *ṭägḡita*, respectively), but these look like loans from Amharic; other Sidamo languages use a different item, cf. Had. *dikasa*. The N. Ethiopian languages have Gz.Tna. *mes*, which has cognates in Agaw: cf. Bil. *mīd*, Kem. *mīz*, etc., and in Saho *mees* (a loan?).

ṭälla 'beer' : Ch. *ṭälla*.

Perhaps also to be related to the Amharic item are Tna. *čälka* 'bira di linseme', Te. *ṣälka*. These last two items can be readily derived from the Agaw root of the same meaning: Bil.

sälaxā, Kem. *säləḡ* ~ *səlaḡ*, Dembiya *salayā*, Quara *selaḡa*, S.Ag. *səlgī*; the Khamir term *šalla*, on the other hand, is more likely a loan from Amharic than an inherited Agaw item. The origin of Amh. *šalla* is almost certainly to be sought amongst these Agaw forms and their developments in Ethiopian Semitic, Tna. *šəḷḷa* and Te. *səḷḷa*.

ṭəre 'raw, fresh' : Gz.Te. *ṭəray*, Tna.Sl.Wl.Z. *ṭəre*, Har. *ṭiri*, Sod. *ṭəri*.
Common Semitic *ṭry*.

wätät 'milk' : Possibly related are Gaf. *əḷʼatä*, M. *ḷʼat*, Go. *äḷʼat*, Sod. *äḷat*.

The source of these and the Amharic item cannot be identified. Most of the other Ethiopian Semitic languages have forms derived from the root *ḥlb*, cf. Amh. *ayb* 'cheese, curdled milk'; Tigrinya, however, has an item of Agaw origin, *šäba*.

wät 'stew' : Arg. *wätəh*, Har. *wäṭi*, Gaf. *wäṣä*, Ch. *wät*, etc.

This is derived from the Eth.Sem. root *wṣḥ* 'pour' (Gz. *ʾawṣəḥa*) of Semitic origin, cf. Heb. *yāṣaq* (?).

zäyt 'oil' : Gz.Har. *zäyt*, Tna. *zäyti*.

Both Nöldeke (1910:42) and Leslau (1957a:235) regard this as a loan, the one from Aramaic, the other from Arabic. Could it not equally well be an inherited Semitic item?

2.5. THE HOUSE

aṭər 'fence' : Gz. *ḥəṣər*, Tna. *ḥəṣur*, Har. *ḥuṭur*, Arg. *hanṭiro*, Gaf. *əṣər*, etc.

Common Semitic *ḥṣr*.

bärr 'gate, door' : Tna. *bärrī* 'passage', Te. *bär* 'outside', Har. *bäri* 'gate', Arg.Gaf. *bär*, etc.

Semitic, cf. ESA. *br* 'gate', Akk. *bararu* 'explore'.

bet 'house' : Gz.Tna.Te.Ch. *bet*, Arg. *bed*.

Common Semitic *byt*. Several other S.Eth. languages use a different term, which is probably also of Semitic origin: cf. Har. *gār* (Sem. *gwr*).

däḡ 'gate, entrance' : Gz. *dede*; probably also Tna. *däḡä* by pseudocorrection of *d(>ḡ)* to *g*.

Gz. *dede* is usually explained as being related to the common Semitic root *dl-t* (Heb. *delet*, etc.).

gədgədda 'wall' ¹⁶ : Gz. *gädgäd* ~ *gädägäd*, Tna. *gidgidda*, Har. *gidägäd* ~ *digädag*, Z. *gədgədda*.

Probably of Cushitic (East Cushitic) origin, cf. Galla *gīrgida* 'mud-wall, flat-roofed house', Som. *gidāar*, *gidaangid*, Kambatta *gəggədda*.

goḡo 'grass hut' : Har. *gōḡḡo*, Arg. *gonžo*, Gaf. *goḡo*, etc.

Of East Cushitic origin, cf. Galla, Som., Sid. *goḡo*.

käddänä 'thatch' (vb) : Gz.Tna. *kädänä* 'cover', Te. *kädna*, Har. *xädäna* 'thatch', Ch. *xätäräm*, etc.

Throughout S. Ethiopian this item has been specialized to mean 'cover a roof with grass', i.e. 'thatch'. Semitic, cf. Akk. *kadānu* 'protect', Daṭina Ar. *mukdana* 'oven cover'.

koṭ 'loft' : Har. *kōṭ*, Gy.Sod.Go. *k"ätä*, Ch. *k"ätä*, etc.

Of Sidamo origin, cf. Tembaro *koṭa*.

məḍəḡḡa 'hearth' : Arg. *ṁḍəḡḡa*, Har. *aḏdiḡa*, Wl. *midaḡḡä*, Ch. *məḡača*, Go. *m"əgaḡḡa*, etc.

This S.Eth. item is almost certainly an instrumental noun from the common Eth.Sem. root *ndd* 'burn', i.e. **məndə/adya* > *məḍəḡḡa*, etc. This root *ndd* has no certain cognates in the rest of Semitic. However, the root shape is in accordance with Semitic patterns, as is the nominal derivative **məndəd-ya*, etc.

mändär 'village' : Ch. *mädär* 'place'.

Praetorius (1879:28) first explained this as a nominal derivative of the root *hḏr* 'spend the night', i.e. *maḥḏär* (Gz. 'dwelling place'), which is almost certainly right. The first stage in the development to Amh. *mändär* would be **madär*, which could result in *mändär* after the insertion of the 'intrusive' nasal; for other examples where -aC- becomes -änC- (and not -anC-) cf. *wänz* 'river' from **waz* (root *whz*), *zändəro* 'last year' from **za+dəro*, perhaps. On the other hand, one is intrigued to notice the large number of modern South Arabian and dialect Arabic forms with an almost identical shape to Amh. *mändär* and not incompatible ranges of meaning: Soq. *bēndher* 'port', Mehri *mandār*, Hadrami Ar. *bandar*, Omani Ar. *bender*, etc. (Leslau 1938:89).

masäso 'centre pole'

Probably from a root *ʾss*, i.e. **məʾsäś-o*, to which Ar. *ʾassasa* 'found', Syr. *ʾäšiyātā* 'column', Heb. *ʾäšeyā*, and Akk. *asītu* 'tower' may be compared.

¹⁶Especially a wall made of wattle and daub.

3. THE SEMANTIC FIELD "THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT"

The subdivisions under this heading are 3.1) natural phenomena, 3.2) flora, and 3.3) fauna. In this semantic field there are necessarily items of particular local occurrence, as well as more universal items. The names of locally restricted items, especially plant and animal names, could reasonably be expected to be of non-Semitic origin, borrowed from the indigenous population wherever these items were unknown and new to the incoming Semitic speakers. Nevertheless, this is not necessarily always the case; an existing lexical item may have its semantic range extended or modified to encompass the new object. This is the case with Eth.Sem. (Gz.) *zəʔb* 'hyena', the cognates of which in other Semitic languages mean 'wolf' or 'jackal'. Alternatively, existing morphs may be used to create a new form to describe a new object, as Amh. *käččəne* 'giraffe' (Eth.Sem. root *kʔn* 'be thin'), Gz. *ʔarwe* *haris* > Amh. *awraris* 'rhinoceros' (lit. 'rough-skinned beast'), and so on. However, the majority of names of specifically Ethiopian (or African) plants and animals in Amharic is of non-Semitic origin, whereas general terms like *awre* 'wild animal', *wäf* 'bird', *kənɣ* 'wing', *känd* 'horn', etc., are of inherited Semitic origin. Similarly, the names of many creatures that must already have been familiar to Semitic speakers from the other side of the Red Sea are Semitic: *gəb* 'hyena' (but 'wolf' or 'jackal' in Asiatic Semitic), *anbäsa* 'lion', *näbər* 'leopard', *əbab* 'snake', *nəb* 'bee', *zəmb* 'fly', etc. This is essentially the same pattern as was discussed above in the field of the domestic environment, namely that the general terms are Semitic, but the names of specific objects, plants and animals, are often non-Semitic. Out of some 42 animal names studied here, 19 (approximately 45%) are of non-Semitic origin. Of these nineteen, most have cognates only in S.Ethiopian languages: *amora* 'bird of prey', *azzo* 'crocodile', *zəhon* 'elephant', *kärkärro* 'wild pig', *kura* 'crow', *zəngäro* 'baboon'. Those common to North and South Ethiopian, including Ge'ez, are *asa* 'fish', *gəgra* 'guinea fowl', *sägäno* 'ostrich', and *šärärit* 'spider'; perhaps also *koḵ* 'partridge'. Occurring throughout modern Ethiopian Semitic, but not recorded in Ge'ez, is *gumare* 'hippopotamus'.

Amongst the twenty-three items of Semitic origin, of special interest are Amh. *ayt* 'mouse', *əbab* 'snake', and *təl* 'worm'. The last two, *əbab* and *təl*, have cognates throughout S. Ethiopian but not in N. Ethiopian, where a variety of items of different origins occur. Amh. *ayt* has only one Eth.Semitic cognate in Arg. *hent*, whilst a different Semitic term occurs in the rest of S. Ethiopian (Har. *fuʔur* ~ *fūr*, etc.) and N. Ethiopian employs a non-Semitic term (Gz. *ʔanšewa*, etc.). In these three instances, therefore, S. Ethiopian preserves a Semitic root not found in N. Ethiopian.

Two terms for apparently different kinds of (wild) pig, *asama* and *ɣya*, are both formed from inherited Semitic roots (*hšm* 'be hateful' and *hru* 'dig', respectively), whilst the common Semitic term *h(n)zr* does not occur in modern Ethiopian Semitic. This would appear, perhaps, to reflect the substitution of the name of a taboo animal by a descriptive term, as in the famous case of the name of the bear in some Indo-European languages. The taboo status of the pig is, of course, a well known Semitic trait (Hommel 1879:319). It is possible, too, that the use of Cushitic terms for 'fish' throughout Ethiopian Semitic (Gz. *ʔaša*, etc., Har. *tulām*, etc.) and the absence of any inherited Semitic term here might be due to a similar cause, the taboo in this case being a Cushitic feature.

Amongst the few specific plant names studied here,¹⁷ the proportion of non-Semitic terms to Semitic is greater than amongst animal names. Much of the flora of the Ethiopian highlands would perhaps be new to Semitic speakers and consequently, as the lexicon here suggests, the terms for these new plants were readily taken over and adapted from indigenous

¹⁷I have dealt here only with a small number of plant names, mostly trees. This is not the place to present a detailed etymological dictionary of flora, or, indeed, anything else. Only those items that are widespread, prominent, or significant in cultural terms have been discussed.

languages: exx.: *gərar* 'acacia', *kʷälhʷäl* 'euphorbia', *ḥärḥäha* 'bamboo', *šola* 'fig tree', *wäyra* 'olive tree'. A glance at a list of plant names common to most other Semitic languages (see Fronzaroli 1968:267-303) shows an almost total absence of Ethiopian cognates. This is because many of the principal Asiatic Semitic languages are, in the most general terms, native to a fairly consistent ecological area, or group of areas; the plants typical of this region are, however, not native to the Ethiopian highlands: exx. 'oak' (Heb. *ʾallōn*), 'terebinth' (Ar. *buṭm*), 'willow' (Ar. *ḥilāf*), 'tamerisk' (Heb. *ʿēšēl*), 'date palm' (Ar. *tāmṛ*), and so on. The only typical, native tree of the Ethiopian highlands with a probable Semitic name is the 'juniper', *ṭəd*. On the other hand, as was the case with animal names, general terms are nearly all Semitic: exx. *abäba* 'flower', *ḥore* 'fruit', *sar* 'grass', *ṇčät* 'wood', *ḥəṭäl* 'leaf', *ləṭ* 'bark', etc. A notable exception in Amharic is *zaḥ* 'tree', which is of Agaw origin. The Semitic term survives in most Ethiopian Semitic languages both in the sense of 'tree' and 'wood', but is restricted in Amharic to the latter sense (*ṇčät*), a feature which is shared with Harari, Argobba, and Gafat.

In the field of natural phenomena, i.e. geophysical, meteorological, and astronomical terms, the proportion of Semitic terms is slightly higher than in the other two subdivisions of the field of the natural environment; at a conservative estimate (that is, counting only those items of safe Semitic etymology), 34 out of a total of 57 (approximately 60%) are of Semitic origin. The non-Semitic items are not contained within a particular semantic category, but range from items like *čäräḳa* 'moon' to *wəha* 'water', from *čəḳa* 'mud' to *däga* 'highlands', and so on. Only one of these thirteen non-Semitic items is common to all of Ethiopian Semitic, namely *dämmäna* 'cloud'. Common to S. Ethiopian only are *čäräḳa* 'moon', *ḥän* 'day', and *wəha* 'water', though in the case of all three the original Semitic terms do survive in some S. Ethiopian languages: cf. *wär* 'month' in Amharic, Har. *mäʾaltu* ~ *mältu* 'day' (Gz. *mäʾalt*, *wəl*), and Har. *mäl* 'water'. The remaining non-Semitic items are typically of restricted, local occurrence, like *čəḳa* 'mud' found in Tigrinya, Argobba, Gafat, and Mäskan, or *dängəya* ~ *dəngay* 'stone' occurring in the same languages plus Mühər, or *ṭis* ~ *čəs* 'smoke' found in N. Ethiopian, Amharic and Harari.

What conclusions, if any, can be drawn from the presence of non-Semitic items in the field of natural phenomena? Obviously the explanation that served for plant and animal names is not appropriate here. Items like 'moon', 'water', 'day', 'stone', etc., are the kind of vocabulary that can be justifiably classified as "basic", in accordance with the principals outlined at the beginning of this paper. Insofar as "basic" vocabulary tends to be more conservative than other areas of the lexicon, the occurrence of these originally loan items here could be said to reflect the degree to which non-Semitic and Semitic speaking peoples, i.e. their languages, have fused in the development of Amharic. The majority of these non-Semitic items is of Agaw origin: *ṭis* ~ *čəs* 'smoke', *däga* 'highlands', *dämmäna* 'cloud', *dängəya* 'stone', *kʷälla* 'lowlands', *wəha* 'water' (probably), whilst others like *čəḳa* 'mud', *čäräḳa* 'moon', and *ḥän* 'day' are more difficult to attribute to a particular Cushitic language or language group.

3.1. NATURAL PHENOMENA

afär 'soil, dust' : Har.Ch. *afär*, Gaf. *afärä*, etc.
Common Semitic *ʿpr* ~ *ʾpr*.

aläm 'world' : Gz.Tna. *ʿaläm*.
Common Semitic *ʿlm*.

amba 'flat-topped mountain' : Tna. **amba* ~ **amba*, Gaf. *amba*, *ambəlağä* 'mountain'.
Of Agaw origin: cf. Bil.Kem. *amba*, Khm. *aba*, S.Ag. *ambe*.

amäd 'ashes' : Gz.Tna.Te.Har. *hamäd*, Arg. *hamäd*, Ch. *amäd*, End. *awänd*, etc.
The root *hmd* occurs throughout Ethiopian Semitic and may be compared with two Arabic roots despite the disparity of the initial laryngal: Ar. *hmd* 'cool off, die down (of fire)' and *hmd* 'be extinguished'.

amäday 'hoar-frost' : Gz. *hamäda*, Tna. *hamäday* 'dusty atmospheric condition', Te. *hamda* 'hoar-frost', Har. *hamadäy*, Gaf. *amädağ*; probably also Ch. *amädar* 'cold', etc.

This is almost certainly an extension of the root *hmd* seen in the previous item.

amät 'year' : Gz.Tna. **amät*, Har.Sod. *amät*, etc.
Common Semitic **m*.

ašäwa 'sand' : Tna. *hašäwa*; also Gz. *hoša*, Tna.Te. *hoša*, Te. *hašhəš*.
The form of the Amharic and the first Tigrinya item suggests that this might be taken from Agaw: Kem.Khm. *ašäwa*, Quara *ašäwa*. The other Eth. Sem. forms are more likely of inherited Semitic origin: cf. Heb. *hāšās* 'gravel', Ar. *hašan*, Akk. *hiššu*, Soq. *hāšahāšihin*. The Agaw forms may in turn be either taken from Ethiopian Semitic, or may be independent reflexes of a common Afroasiatic item: cf. Bil. *quša*, Beja *haas*, Afar **iddē* (?), Som. **iid*, Kaffa *kaáč*, etc.

əsät 'fire' : Gz.Te. **əsät*, Har. *isāt* ~ *əsāt*, Arg. *əsad*, Ch.Go. *əsät*, Gaf. *əsätä*, Sod. *əsät*, etc.

Common Semitic **š(-t)*.

bäga 'dry season' : Praetorius (1879:140) derived this from **bä-ḥəga* 'im Sommer' (Gz. *bähagay*).

Such an etymology does not seem unlikely and is, indeed, supported to some extent by the form of the corresponding verb root in Amharic, *bağğä*, where the palatalized *ğ* indicates an original final radical *y* and the vowel *a* of the first syllable could be explained as due to a lost second radical laryngal, i.e. **bhgy*, a denominative derivation of *bähagay*. The comparison made by Leslau (1963:49) with Har. *bäyog*, M.Go. *beg* 'rainy season' (*sic*) is surely incorrect. Rather, Amh. *bälg* 'little rains' should be compared with these. The root of *bä-ḥagay*, etc., would appear to be Semitic: cf., perhaps, Heb. *hāg* 'feast day', Syr. *haggā*, and perhaps also Ar. *hiğğä* 'year'.

bärä 'be light' : Gz.Te. *bärha*, Tna. *bärhe*, Gaf. *bärä*; the other S. Ethiopian languages presuppose a root form **bhr* beside *brh*: cf. Har. *bära*, Ch. *banäm*, Sl. *bäre*, Sod. *barräm*, etc.

Both patterns occur amongst the Semitic cognates: Heb. *bāhar*, Ar. *bahara* and *bariḥa*.

bärrädä 'be cold' : Gz. *bärrädä*, Te. *bärda*, Har. *bäräda*, Arg. *bärräda*, etc.

A nominal derivative (Gz. *bäräd*, Amh. *bärädo*, Ch. *bäräggä*, etc.) occurs throughout Ethiopian Semitic with the meaning 'hail'. Common Semitic *brd*.

bäräha 'desert' : Tna. *bäräxa*.

A close formal cognate occurs in the Bilin toponym *bärağā* ~ *barağā* 'Barka' (Gz. *bärka*). Perhaps the proper noun has given rise to the common noun here, if not *vice-versa*.

bärräkä 'flash' (lightning) : Gz. *bärräkä*, Tna. *bäräxä*.

A nominal derivative in the sense of 'lightning' occurs throughout Eth.Sem.: cf. Gz. *mäbräk*, Tna. *bärki*, Har. *bäräk*, Z. *bärrəkät*, etc. Common Semitic *brq*.

bar 'sea, lake' : Gz. *baḥr*, Tna. *baḥri*, Te.Har. *bäḥar*, Ch.Sod. *bar*, etc. Semitic, cf. ESA. *bḥr*, Ar. *baḥr*.

čəka 'mud' : Tna. *čəxa*, Arg.Ms. *čəka*, Gaf. *čəkä*, W.Gur. *čəkara*.

This item is almost certainly of Cushitic origin, though the precise source cannot be readily identified: cf. Bil. *däraq*^a, Khm. *roq*^a, Quara *dax*^a 'clay', Afar *rag*^a, Som. *dōoqo* 'turbid water', Galla *doke* ~ *doḳke*, etc. A different version of the same root (Som. *dōobo* 'mud', Sid. *obbaa*) occurs as a loan in Har. *čiba* 'mud for building houses'. A possible extension of the same root occurs in Har. *čēka* 'stink', and Tna. *šäyyäxä* 'spoil'.

čällämä 'be dark' : Gz. *šälmä*, Tna. *šällämä*, Te. *šälma*, Har. *čēläma*, Arg. *čelläma*, Gaf. *šillämä*, E. *šännäma*, etc.

Throughout S. Ethiopian this verb follows the B-type pattern, as in Tigrinya, as against A-type in Ge'ez and Tigre. Common Semitic *zlm*.

čäräka 'moon' : Har. *čäräka* 'moonlight', Arg. *čäräka* 'moon', Gaf. *šäräkä*, Z. *čəka*, M.Go. *čäräka*, Ch.Gy. *čänäka*, Sod. *däräka*, etc.

This item occurs only in S. Ethiopian, where two patterns predominate: **čäräka* and **čäräka*. The only convincing likely cognate is Beja *terig* 'month'. Reinisch quotes a Quara item *zärkä*, but this looks like a loan from Amharic; the usual Agaw term for 'moon' or 'month' is **arb-a*. It is, perhaps, interesting to note that a similar form occurs in certain Sudanic languages: Kunama *teera*, Mursi *tāagī*, etc., both meaning 'moon', though how these fit in with the Cushitic and Ethiopian Semitic items, if, indeed, they are connected, is not clear (see Dolgopolskiy 1973:48-9). The Semitic term *wrk* survives in Amharic and other S. Ethiopian languages in the sense of 'month'.

čəs 'smoke' : Gz.Tna.Te. *čis*, Tna. also *čiš*, Har. *čəs*.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil. *tədä*, Khm. *čiya*, Kem. *təza*.

däga 'highlands' : Tna. *däga*, Har. *däg* 'elevated ground', Gaf. *däga*, Ch. *dägago* 'high'.

Cushitic, perhaps Agaw: cf. Bil. *dag* 'summit, above', Khm. *dig*, Kem. *day*; note also Afar *daga* 'mountainous region', Galla *daaga* 'escarpment'.

dämmäna 'cloud' : Gz.Tna. *dämmäna*, Tna. also *däbäna*, Gaf. *dämmänä*, Har. *dāna*, Sl. *däbäna*, Sod. *dabäna*, Ch. *dabära*, etc.

This item is almost certainly of Cushitic origin, though again it is not possible to identify a particular source. Close formal cognates occur in Bil. *dəmna*, Khm. *dīmena*, though these may well be taken from Ethiopian Semitic. Other Cushitic forms are: Galla *dumesa*, Hadiya *duuba*, *duubančoo*, etc.

däng'aya ~ *dəngay* 'stone' : Tna. *däng'älla* 'rock', Arg. *dīngay*, Gaf. *däng'a*, M. *dəng'äla*, Ms. *dəng'älä*.

Agaw, cf. Bil. *däng'na*, Khm. *dəg'na*. The N. Ethiopian languages and all the S. Ethiopian languages, with the exception of Amharic, Argobba, and Gafat, preserve the common Semitic item **bn*.

dur 'forest' : Gz. *däbr* 'mountain', Tna. *däbrī*, Te. *däbər*, Gaf. *dəbrä* 'forest', Ch.Gy.Sod. *dəbər*, End. *dər*, etc.

Note that all the N.Eth. forms derive from the pattern *däbr* and mean 'mountain', whilst the S.Eth. forms derive from **dabr* and mean 'forest'. Semitic *abr*.

ḡäsäsä 'flow' : Gz. *ḡäsäsä*, *täḡäsäsä* 'pour out, gush forth', Tna. *ḡäsäsä* 'flow', Ch. *täḡäsäsäm* 'be spilled'.

From this root *ḡss* are derived several nominal forms such as Anh. *ḡsäš* 'stream', Ch. *ḡsäš* 'rainstorm'. Semitic, cf. Heb. *pāsā*, *pāsā* 'spread out', Ar. *ḡsā*, ESA. *ḡs* 'aquae deductio'.

gum 'mist' : Ch. *guna*, Go. *gum*; note also Gz. *gime*, Tna. *gimä*, Te. *gimat*. Praetorius (1879:67) considered these forms to be pseudocorrections for **ḡym*, cf. Ar. *ḡaym*, *ḡayn*. However, though this is not impossible, there are widespread Cushitic items formally closer to Ethiopian Semitic *gum-/gim-*: cf. Beja *gīm*, Sid. *gomicčo*, Kambatta *gooma*; note also Omotic, Kaffa *gumoo*, Moča *gumo*, Wolamo *gumaa*, etc.

kokäb 'star' : Gz.Te.Arg.Sod.Z. *kokäb*, Tna. *koxob*, Gaf. *kokobä*, Ch. *x"äx"äb*, Gy. *x"äx"äm*, etc. Common Semitic *kbbk* > *kwbk*.

krämt 'rainy season' : Gz. *krämt*, Tna. *krämti*, Te. *käräm*, Har. *kirmi*, Arg. *krämt*, Gaf. *krämtä*, Sl.Wl. *käräm*, Z. *hərəm*, Ch.Gy. *xərəm* 'year', Ms. *hərəm*, etc.

Forms with the suffix *-t* occur in Ge'ez, Tigrinya, Amharic, Argobba, and Gafat; otherwise the patterns **krəm*, **käräm*, and **käräm* occur. The root *krm* is Semitic, cf. Ar. *karuma* 'rain, be generous'.

k"älla 'lowlands' : Tna. *k"älla*, Te. *käläḡḡəl*, Gaf. *k"äla*.

Guidi (1901: col.234) related this to the verb root *kʷälla* 'roast', but a more likely explanation is that this is of Agaw origin: cf. Bil. *qʷala* 'river, valley', Khm. *aqʷäl*, Kem. *kʷara*.

kän 'day' : Arg. *käna*, Gaf.Sod. *känä*, Ch. *kärä*, M.Ms. *känä*, Enn. *kärä*, etc.

Praetorius (1879:142) tried to derive this from the root *knʷ* 'be straight', i.e. 'Hochstehen der Sonne'. However, there is a small number of Cushitic forms that may be compared: Bil.Kem. *kʷara* 'sun', Khm. *kʷära*, and perhaps Som. *qorrah*, Rendille *hura*, also meaning 'sun'. The N. Ethiopian and the other S. Ethiopian languages preserve an item of Semitic origin: Gz. *mäʷalt* (*wʷl*).

let 'night' : Gz. *lelit*, Tna. *läyti*, Te. *lali*, Har. *läyli* ~ *lēli*, Gaf. *litä*.

Common Semitic *lyl(-t)*.

meda 'plain' : Praetorius (1879:26) derived this from **mäheda* 'Ort wo man geht' (Amh. *meda* 'go'), citing an Argobba item *hed* with the same meaning as Amh. *meda*.

This Argobba term does not, however, appear to be recorded elsewhere. On the other hand, there is a formal resemblance between Amh. *meda* and Har. *mēdān*, also meaning 'plain'. This latter item appears to be a loan from Ar. *maydān* 'square, open place'.

mədar 'earth' : Gz. *mədr*, Tna. *mədri*. Semitic, cf. ESA. *mdr*, Akk. *midru* 'type of soil', Aram. *medrā* 'clod'.

moḳä 'be warm, hot' : Gz. *moḳä*, Tna. *moḳä*, Te. *moḳa*, Har. *mōḳa*, Ch.Gy. *mʷäḳäm*, Sod. *maḳām*, Wl. *moḳe*, etc.

This common Ethiopian Semitic root *moḳ* has no satisfactory cognates elsewhere in Semitic; Dillmann (1865:col.202) tried to relate it to various Arabic roots, *wʷk* 'be red hot', **kk* and **kk* 'be hot'(of weather). These Arabic items are plainly formally remote from the Ethiopian Semitic root. It is not, of course, inconceivable that both *moḳ* and *wʷk* are ultimately developments of the same primitive root or root nucleus, but as it is not possible to relate them with any degree of certainty, the Ethiopian item must remain "unidentified" as to origin. However, it can be said yet again that, although the Ethiopian root lacks adequate cognates in the rest of Semitic, its root shape is in accord with Semitic patterns.

mənč 'spring' : Gz. *mənčə*, Tna. *mənči* (a loan from Amh., as the form shows), Arg. *mənč*, Gaf. *mənčä*.

The root is *nḳʷ* (Gz. *näḳʷa* 'burst'), to which Ar. *naqaʿa* 'pour out' may be compared.

mäššä 'become evening' : Gz. *mäšyä*, Tna. *mäsüyä*, Te. *mäsa*, Har. *mäša*, Ch. *mäšäm*, etc.

Many languages also have a derived nominal form: Gz. *məset*, Amh. *məšät*, Arg. *mušed*, Gaf.Ch. *məšätä*, etc., all meaning 'evening'. Common Semitic, cf. Ar. *masāʿ*, Akk. *mušu* 'night'.

mata 'evening' : Gaf. *mabet*.

This is derived from the root *byt* (Gz. *betä* 'pass the night'), as the form of the Gafat cognate shows, and not from **tw* 'return', as suggested by Praetorius (1879:159; see also Cohen 1939:413). Thus **mabet-a > mata*.

näddädä 'burn' : Gz. *näddä* ~ *nädädä*, Tna. *nädädä*, Te. *nädä*, Har. *nädäda*, Gy. *nätädä*, etc.

Several other Eth.Sem. languages employ a root related to Amh. *täḳaṭṭälä* of the same meaning (Tna. *täḳaṣälä*, Arg. *ḳḳaṭṭäla*, Gaf. *täḳaṭṭälä*). Both roots, *nädd* and *ḳṣl*, are perfectly in accord with Semitic root patterns, but lack cognates outside Ethiopian Semitic.

näḳas ~ *nəḳas* 'wind' : Gz. *näḳas*, Tna. *näḳas* ~ *nəḳas*, Arg.Gaf. *nəḳas*, Ch. *əmḳas*, etc.

Common Semitic *npš*.

nägga 'dawn' (vb) : Gz. *nägga*, Tna. *näghe*.

The nominal derivative occurs widely throughout Eth.Sem.: Gz. *nägh* 'dawn, morning', Amh. *näg*, *nägä* 'tomorrow', *nəgat* 'dawn', Gaf.Arg. *näg* 'tomorrow', Ch. *nägä*, Gz. *nəghat* 'dawn', Tna. *nəgaho*, and so on. Common Semitic *ngḥ*.

nägga 'freeze, congeal' : Gz. *näḡa*, Tna. *näḡe*, Te. *näḡa*, Har. *näḡa*, Sod. *äräggam*, Ch. *näkam*, E. *näggam*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Heb. *nāḡa* 'be benumbed, congealed'.

sämay 'sky' : Gz.Tna.Gaf. *sämay*, Te. *säma*, Arg.Har. *sämi*, Ch. *säme*.

Common Semitic *šmy*. The Tigre item, however, looks more like a loan from Ar. *šamā* than an inherited Ethiopian Semitic form.

tärara 'mountain'

There appear to be no formal cognates of this item in the rest of Ethiopian Semitic; a variety of forms occur elsewhere, the majority of which is probably of non-Semitic origin: Gz. *däbr* (cf. *dur*, above), Tna. **mba* (cf. *amba*, above), Har. *säri*, Gaf. *šiggä*, Ch. *k"äto*, Arg. *gubba*, etc. One wonders whether Amh. *tärara* might be connected with the common Semitic root *tll*: cf. Ar. *tall* 'hill', Aram. *teḥlā* 'high', Heb. *teḥl*, *tālūl*, Akk. *tillu*.

ṭäbba 'dawn' (vb) : Gz. *ṣäbḥa*, Tna. *ṣäbḥe*, Gaf. *ṣäbbä*.

The nominal derivative occurs throughout Eth.Sem.: cf. Gz. *ṣəbāḥ*, Amh. *ṭwat*, Arg. *ṭawwāḥ*, Go. *ṭəbä*, Z. *ṭəbbə*, etc. Common Semitic *ṣbh*.

ṭäl ~ *ṭəl* 'dew' : Gz. *ṭäll*, Gaf. *aṣəl*, Te. *ṭäla* 'be wet'.

Semitic, cf. Heb. *ṭal*.

ṭəla 'shade, shadow' : Gz. *ṣəlalot*, Tna.Te. *ṣəlal*, Har. *ṣāya*, Arg. *ṭəla*, Gaf. *ṣəlayä*, M. *ṭəle*, Ch.Gy. *ṭərar*, Sl. *ṣāl*, etc.

The Eth.Sem. root is *ṣll*, of which the final radical *l* is lost in Amharic (and Argobba) through palatalization: *l* > *y* > $\emptyset$. Common Semitic *ṣll*.

ṭay 'sun' : Gz. *ṣəḥay*, Tna. *ṣəḥay*, Arg. *ṣəhed*, Gy. *ṣəyät*, Ch. *ṣet*, etc.

Amharic is the only S. Ethiopian language with the root form, without the suffix *-t*. Several other S. Ethiopian languages use different roots: cf. Gaf. *aymərə*, Sod. *yimər* (cf. Gz. *ʾamir*); Har. *ṭr*, Sl.Wl. *ayh*, Z. *arīt*, Go. *aret* (cf. Gz. *ʾer*) (see Plazikowsky-Brauner 1913: 10). The root *ṣhy* is Semitic, cf. Ar. *duḥaḥ* 'forenoon', *ḍaḥwa idem*, *ḍaḥiya* 'be struck by the rays of the sun'.

wəha 'water' : Arg. *äh^a*, Gaf. *ägä*, Ch.E. *əxa*, End. *əhə* Go.Ma. *äga*, Sod. *iga*, etc; Old Amh. also *wäha*.

If the Amharic form represents a metathesis of **əh^a*, *äh^a*, then it can be related directly to the other S.Eth. forms and thence to Agaw: cf. Bil. *ʾaq^a*, Khm. *aq^a*, Kem. *ax^a*, S.Ag. *agu*. Alternatively, the Amharic item (but not the other S. Ethiopian terms) may be taken from Sidamo: cf. Hadiya *wo^o*, Kambatta *wu^a*, Sid. *wa*, *waho*. The N. Ethiopian languages and a few S. Ethiopian ones preserve the common Semitic root: Gz.Tna.Te. *may*, Har. *māy* ~ *mī*, Sl.Wl. *māy*, Z. *may*.

wänz 'river' : Gz.Tna.Te. *wəḥiz* 'stream'.

The root patterning underlying the Amharic item must be **wähaz* or **wahəz*; thence **waz* > *wänz*. The Eth.Sem. root *wḥz* is almost certainly Semitic and represents a variant development of the same primitive root form as seen in Eth.Sem. *wz^c* 'sweat'.

wär 'month' : Gz. *wärh* 'moon, month', Tna. *wärhi*, Te. *wärəh*, Har. *wärhi* ~ *währi* 'month', Go.Sod. *wärä*, Sl. *wäri*, Z. *wär*, etc.

Common Semitic *wrh*.

wašša 'cave' : Gaf. *waššä*, Arg.Sod. *wašša*, etc.

Perhaps of Agaw origin, cf. S.Ag. *waši*, Quara, Kem. *waša*.

zännäbä 'rain' (vb) : Gz. *zänmä*, Tna. *zänämä* ~ *zänäbä*, Te. *zälma*, Har. *zäläma*, Sl.Wl. *zälämä*, Ch. *zänäbäm*, etc.

The nominal derivative also occurs widely throughout Eth.Sem.: Gz. *zənam*, Tna.Amh. *zənam* ~ *zənab*, Te. *zəlam*, Har. *zənāb*, Gaf. *zənab^a*, Ch. *zərab*, etc. Common Semitic *ḏnm*, *ḏrm*.

3.2. FLORA

abäba 'flower' : Tna. *ʾəmbaba*, Te. *ʾəmboba*, Gaf.Arg.Go.Sod. *abäba*, Z. *ambäbä*.

Common Semitic: cf. Heb. *ʾəb* 'bud', *ʾəbəl* 'ripening ears of grain, harvest time', Jewish Aram. *ʾibbā* ~ *ʾinbā* 'fruit', Akk. *inbu* 'bud'. Forms very similar to the Eth.Sem. items occur in several Cushitic languages: exx. Bil. *amboba*, Saho-Afar *ambaab*, Mačča Galla *ababo*. These may be independent Cushitic reflexes of a shared Afroasiatic root, or they may be owed to Ethiopian Semitic influence.

aräg 'vine, climbing plant' : Gz. *haräg* 'vine', Tna.Te. *haräg* 'climbing plant'.

One wonders whether this Eth.Sem. root *hr̥g* is connected with Ar. *hr̥g* and Heb. *hr̥g* 'come out', or, indeed, with Eth. **r̥g* 'climb'. The same root probably also occurs in Amh. *aräng^aade* 'green things, green', Old Amh. *harägade*, *haräng^aade*, if Praetorius' (1879:93) derivation from **haräg* + *g^aṇad* (cf. Gz. *g^aṇd*, Amh. *gṇd* 'log') is correct.

ənčät 'wood' : Gz. **əz* 'tree, wood', Tna. **ənšäyti ~ *ənčäyti*, Te. **əčäy*, Har. *inči* 'wood', Arg. *inčed*, Gaf. *ənčä*, Ch. *äčä*, Z. *ənčēt*, etc.

Common Semitic **d*.

šoh ~ šoh 'thorn' : Gz. *šok*, Tna. **šox*, Te. *šokät*, Har. *usux*, Arg. *šoh*, Sod. *šok*, Ch.Gy. *sox*, etc.

Common Semitic *suk*.

fare 'fruit' : Gz.Tna.Te.Arg. *fare*, Har. *fari*, Gaf. *färä*.

Common Semitic *pry*.

gṇd 'log, trunk' : Gz. *g^aṇd*, Tna. *g^aṇdi*, Te. *gṇday*, Ch. *gṇd*.

Dillmann (1865:Col. 1180) related this item to the Eth. root *gmd* 'cut, cut off', citing Ar. *gmd* 'be solid, hard' as a closer semantic cognate. A regular *qätl* pattern nominal derivative of *gmd* does, however, occur in Ge'ez: *gṇmd* 'Pars abscissa, segmentum'. Of course, *g^aṇd* could ultimately be from the same root, but with medial *m* > *n* conditioned by the close juncture with *d* regularized and spread to other forms (*g^aṇnud*); **gṇmd* > *g^aṇd* (root established as *g^amd*) beside *gmd*: regular *qätl* derivative *gṇmd*.

gṇar 'acacia' : Ch. *gṇar*, Ulbarag *gṇarən*.

Perhaps from Som. *galḏol*, or some similar form.

koso 'anthelmintic plant' : Tna.Te. *koso*, Sod. *käbsä*.

Perhaps from an Omotic source, cf. Šinaša *kosbo*, Moča *hō-šo*, Kaffa *kašō*.

k^aälk^aal ~ k^aälk^aal 'euphorbia' : Tna. *k^aälk^aal*, Te. *kälənkal*, Go. *kolk^aal* (?), Ulbarag *kolk^aal*.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil. *q^aṇanq^aala*, Kem. *k^aäk^aäla*.

kärkäha ~ kərkäha 'bamboo' : Tna. *kärkäha*, Har. *kärkäha*.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Kem. *kərixaxa*, S.Ag. *qerqəgi*.

kəṭäl 'leaf' : Gz. *k^aäsl*, Tna. *k^aäsl*, Har. *kəṭti*, Arg. *kəṭal*, Gaf. *kəṭälä*, M.Z. *kəṭe*, Ch. *kəṭär*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *qaṣala* 'mow', *qaṣil* 'orge vert qu'on donne aux chevaux'.

lämläm 'green, fertile' : Gz.Tna. *lämläm*, Gaf. *lämläm**ä.

This root *lm̄m* is probably to be connected with Eth.Sem. *lm̄* 'prosper', *lm̄h* *idem*, and at the same time with *hml* 'grow green'. These are all extensions and developments of the same primitive root also found in Ar. *lamaḥa* 'flash, sparkle', *ḥaml* 'fructus arboris'.

ləṭ 'bark' : Gz. *ləṭṭ*, Tna. *ləṭṭi*, Te. *ləṭṭəṣ*, S.Arg. *lihinto*.
Semitic, cf. Ar. *lahḥaṣa* 'squeeze', Heb. *lāḥaṣ*.

sar 'grass' : Gz. *ṣaʿr*, Tna. *ṣaʿri*, Te. *säʿar*, Har. *säʿar* ~ *sār*, Arg. *ṣār*, Z. *sār*, Gaf.Sod.Wl. *sar*, Ch.Gy. *sār*, etc.

Common Semitic *ṣʿr*.

sar 'root' (see above under *sar* 'nerve')

šola 'fig tree' : Har. *šōbla*, Arg. *šola*, Sod.Go. *sobla*, Wl. *soblä*, Ch.Gy. *šābra*, M. *šābōya*, etc.; probably also to be compared here are Gz.Tna.Te. *sāgla*.

Origin unidentified.

ṭəd 'juniper' : Gz. *ṣəḥd* ~ *ṣəḥd*, Tna. *ṣəḥdi*, Gaf. *čədä*, Sl.Wl. *ṭid*, Z. *ṭəda*, Ch. *dāt*, Ms.Go. *dād*, etc.

Almost certainly Semitic and perhaps to be compared with Ar. *ṣuʿd* 'height'.

wäyra ~ *wera* 'olive tree' : Te. *wägre*, Har.Sl.Wl.Z. *wägär*, Ch. *wayra*, Go. *wera*.

Cushitic, cf. Bil. *wäxarā*, Kem. *wäyra*, Hadiya *weraa*. Som. *wāgar*. The development *g* > *y* is a particularly Agaw phenomenon and its presence in the Amharic item vis-à-vis Tigre, Harari, etc., suggests particular Agaw influence in the development of the Amharic item.

zaḥ 'tree' : Har. *zāḥ* 'large tree', Arg. *zaḥ*, Gaf. *zaḥ**a.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Khm. *zäḥ*, Kem. *zaḥ*, Quara *ḡaḡa*.

3.3. FAUNA

aläḳt ~ *aləḳt* ~ *əlḳət* 'leech' : Gz. *ʿaläḳt*, Tna. *ʿaläḳti*, Te. *ʿaläḳ*, Har. *ēḳti*, Sod. *aläḳət*, Ch.Gy. *aräḳəṭ*, Wl. *alḳit*, etc.

Common Semitic *ʿlq-t*.

amora 'bird of prey' : Tna. *ʾamora*, Arg. *amora*, Ch.Sl.Wl. *amära*, Z. *amara*, M.Go. *am**ära, etc.

Unidentified.

anbäsa 'lion' : Gz. *ʿanbäsa* ~ *ʾanbäsa*, Tna. *ʾanbäsa*, S.Arg. *hambassa*.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *ʿanbas* ~ *ʿabbas*. The other Eth.Sem. languages employ a variety of terms: Te. *ḥayāt*, Har. *wānāg*, Gaf. *zibbā*, Ch. *žāp*, etc.

anbäṭa 'locust' : Gz.Tna. *ʾanbäṭa*, Te. *ʿambäṭa*, Gaf. *ṁbäṭ*, Arg. *anbäṭa*.
This probably derived from the Semitic root *nbṭ* 'come out, emanate'.

asa 'fish' : Gz. *ʿaša*, Tna.Te. *ʿasa*, Arg.Ch.Gy.Sod. *asa*, Gaf. *asä*, etc.
Cushitic, perhaps Agaw: cf. Bil. *ʿaza*, Kem. *asa*, S.Ag. *así*; but note also Saho *ʿaasa* and Beja *aša*.

asama 'pig' : Tna. *ḥasäma*, Te. *ḥasama*.

This item is to be related to the Eth. root *ḥsm* (Gz. *ḥasämä* 'be hateful, bad'), to which Ar. *ḥašima* 'be angry', *ḥašama* 'say unpleasant things' may be compared. The pig is, of course, a taboo animal in traditional Ethiopian culture, as amongst other Semitic speaking peoples.

awre 'wild animal' : Gz. *ʾarwe*, Tna. *ʾarawit* (formally a plural, cf. Gz. *ʾarawit*), Te. *ʾarwe* 'snake', Gaf.Arg. *awre*, Har. *ūrī*.

From the same root derives Amh. *awra* 'male (animal), chief, main'. Common Semitic *ʾrw(-y)*: cf. Ar. *ʾarwā*, Heb. *ʾarī* 'lion', Akk. *erū* 'eagle', etc. The same item, *ʾarwe*, also occurs in the compound noun Gz. *ʾarwe ḥariš* (Cosmas *arouē arisi*) 'rhinoceros', Amh. *awraris*.

ayṭ 'mouse' : Arg. *henṭ*, Old Amh. *hayṣ*.

Semitic, cf. Akk. *aiaṣu* 'weasel'. The N.Ethiopian languages employ an item of Agaw origin: Gz. *ʾanṣewa*, etc. (cf. Bil. *ʾanšawa*, Khm. *ṁṁwa*, Kem. *ṁṁṁwa*, S.Ag. *ṁnca*), whilst the rest of S.Ethiopian has an item of a different Semitic origin: Har. *ṣuʾur* ~ *ṣūr*, etc. (cf. Ar. *ṣaʿn*).

azzo 'crocodile' : M.Ms.Go. *azzo*, Old Amh. *hazzo*, etc.

Note also Har. *ḥās*, which, though doubtless related, is probably from a different immediate source. Cushitic, cf. Kem. *azo*, S.Ag. *azzu*; cf. also Som. *yaḥāas*.

ḥbab 'snake' : Arg. *ḥawaw* ~ *howaw*, Har. *ḥubāb*, Gaf. *ḥbabʾä*, Wl. *ḥmbab*, Old Amh. *ḥḥbab*.

Nöldeke (1910:89) regarded this as a derivative of the root *ḥbb* 'love' as an example of *Gegensinn*. However, the root *ḥbb* occurs in Tigre with the meaning 'wind, curve'; cf. also Ar. *ḥubāb* 'serpent'.

ṁṁṁṁṁit 'viper' : Har. *ḥiṁṁṁṁṁ*, Sl. *ṁṁṁṁṁṁ*, Wl. *ṁṁṁṁṁṁṁṁṁ*, Z. *ṁṁṁṁṁṁṁ*.

One wonders whether this S. Ethiopian item is related to the N. Ethiopian and common Semitic root meaning 'viper': Gz. *ʾaṣʾot*, Ar. *ʾaṣʾā*, Heb. *ʾepʿe*, etc. The underlying form common to the S. Ethiopian items is **ḥṁṁṁṁṁ*; perhaps an extension in *-n* of a variant of the root *ʾṣʿ*?

- ənḵurarit* 'frog' : Gz. *kʰärnänäʿat* ~ *kʰärnanəʿat* ~ *kʰärnänaʿat*, Tna. *kʰərʿo* ~ *kʰərʿob* ~ *ʔənḵʰərʿob*, Te. *ḵorəʿ* ~ *ʔənḵorəʿ*, Har. *anḵuraraḥti*, Sl. Wl. Z. *ənḵurarit*.

All these forms are ultimately extensions and reduplications of the root **kʰrʰ* ~ *kʰrh*. This is clearly partially onomatopoeic, but can nevertheless be compared with other Semitic terms: Ar. *qurra* ~ *qirra* ~ *qarra* 'frog', Talmudic Heb. *qūrquūr* 'the croaking of frogs'.

- ənṣəlalit* 'lizard' : Ch. *ənṣənet* ~ *ənṣəṣnät*, E. *ənṣəṣnät*; perhaps also Har. *aṣḥiyya* ~ *aṣḥiya*, Z. *asiyya*, End. *uṣəññä*, Gy. *wəṣəñä*, etc.

The pattern of the Amharic item *ənC1əC2aC2+it* (*ṣḥl*) occurs in this and similar forms throughout Ethiopian Semitic in animal names; cf. Amh. *ənḵurarit* 'frog', Arg. *ənṣəṣarrit* 'spider', Wl. *umḥäññet* 'viper', Ch. *ənṣəṣnät* 'lizard'. The root of this item (**s(h)l* ?) cannot be readily identified as to origin.

- ərgəb* 'dove' : Gz. *rəgb*, Tna. *rəgbi*, Te. *rəgəb*, Har. *ergib*.
Semitic, cf. Akk. *riḡabu* ~ *riḡapu* 'sp. of bird'.

- ərya* 'pig' : Gz. *ḥarāwya* ~ *ḥarawya*, Te. *ḥarawya*, Har. *ḥariyya*, Sl. *iräya*, Old Amh. *hərya*.

The S. Ethiopian forms may be derived from **ḥa/ərəwya* > *ḥa/ərəyya*. The root is *ḥrw* (Gz. *ḥarāwä* 'dig'). Common Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḥāra*, Heb. *ḥār*.

- čəlat* 'hawk' : Har. *ṭilli*, Z. *čululle*.

Of East Cushitic origin: cf. Sid. *čulülle*, Qabena *ṭiliilūta*, Kambatta *ṭillilličūta*, Galla *čululle*; the Kemant item *ṭəläy* looks more like an old loan from Amharic than an inherited Agaw item.

- dakəyye* 'duck' : Har. *dāḵiya*, Ms. *dakkiyā*, Sod. *dakiyye*, etc.
From Galla *dakiya*.

- fälḥäl* ~ *fəḥḥäl* 'mole' : Arg. *fəḥḥäl*, Har. *fīḥi*, Gaf. *fəḥḥälä*, Sl. *fälḥäl*.

Probably from the root *ḥlḥl* (Gz. *fälḥälä* 'gush forth', Amh. *fäläḥḥälä* 'dehusk, bite (of insects)'), to which Semitic *pll* may be compared: cf. Ar. *falla* 'break', Heb. *pālāl* 'cut, rend', and particularly ESA. *ḥlt* (n) 'ditch, excavation'. Interestingly, the item *fälḥäl* does occur in Ge'ez, but with the meaning 'elephant'. This latter item is probably to be connected with Semitic *pāl-*, etc.

- gumare* 'hippopotamus' : Tna. *gumare*, Te. *gumare* 'rhinoceros', Har. *gumārre* 'hippopotamus', Ch. *gomana*, Go. *gomari*.

Cushitic, cf. Afar *gumāarii*, Saho *gumāaee*, Som. *ḡēer*; also in Agaw, Khm. *gumāri*, Kem. *gumari*.

- goṣ* 'buffalo' : Har. *gōṣ*, Arg. *goṣ*, Ch. Gy. *gäṣ*, Sod. *gäṣṣ*, Sl. *gäṣo*, etc.
Exact formal cognates for this item occur in Sid. *gōṣe*, Khm. *guṣa*, Kem. *goṣ*. These may,

however, be taken from Ethiopian Semitic, especially since another term occurs more widely throughout Cushitic: Beja *agabaa*, Bil. *kabga*, Hadiya *kobira*, etc. On the other hand, it is hard not to associate *goḥ*, etc., with Gz. *gamus* of the same meaning. This latter item is a loan through Ar. *ḡāmūs* from Persian *gāvmīš* ~ *gāmāš* ~ *gāmūš*.

ḡob 'hyena' : Gz. *zəḡb*, Tna. *zəḡbi*, S.Arg. *ḡu*.

Common Semitic *dəb* 'wolf, jackal'. The other Ethiopian Semitic languages have a variety of terms, probably of non-Semitic origin: Te. *kāray*, Har. *wārāba*, Gaf. *ḡārčāmā*, Ch. *ḡāncā*, and so on.

ḡagra 'guinea fowl' : Gz. *zəgra*, Tna. *zagra*, Har. *zигра* ~ *zikra*, Ch. *žəgra*, etc. Of Agaw origin: cf. Bil. *ḡāgrina*, Kem. *ḡirāna*, S.Ag. *zəgrana*.

ḡrat 'tail'

Probably to be connected with the item *čra* 'fly-whisk', several of the cognates of which have the meaning 'tail' (Tna.Arg.Gaf. *čra*). Both items are of Cushitic origin: for *ḡrat* cf. Kem. *ḡarāy* ~ *ḡrāy*, Khm. *ḡra*; for *čra* cf. Galla *čira*, Qabena *čiraa*, S.Ag. *čäri*. The N. Ethiopian languages preserve the common Semitic term *dnb*: Gz.Te. and Hamasen Tna. *zänāb*.

kənf 'wing' : Gz. *kənf*, Tna. *kənfī*, Ch. *kānfä*, etc.

Common Semitic *knp*.

kärkärro 'wild pig' : Har. *karkarro*, Arg. *karkaro*, Gaf. *kärkär*.

East Cushitic, cf. Galla, Som. *karkaro*.

koḡ 'partridge' : Tna. *koḡah*, Arg.Ch. *koḡ*, Gaf. *kuḡ* *aḡḡi*, Sod. *kuḡä*, Sl. *koḡe*, Wl. *koḡi*, etc.

This item is also recorded in Ge'ez as *koḡah*, as in Tigrinya, but it is not certain to what extent this is an original Ge'ez item or an introduction from some vernacular. The item is of Cushitic origin: cf. Khm. *qoḡāya*, Kem. *kawḡya*, Qabena *koḡä*; perhaps also Afar *kukkaa* 'e' 'guinea fowl'.

ḡmal 'louse' : Gz.Tna. *ḡmal*, Te. *ḡmäl*, Har. *ḡumāy*, Arg. *ḡmal*, M. *ḡme*, Ch.Gy. *ḡmar*, etc.

Common Semitic *qml* ~ *qlm*.

kunčča 'flea' : Gz. *kḡnḡ*, Tna. *kḡnḡi*, Te. *ḡas* ~ *käs*, Har. *kunāč*, Arg. *kunāčča*, Wl. *ḡnāččo*, Ch.Gy. *ḡrač*, etc.

The root is Eth. *kḡnḡ* ~ *knḡ* (Gz. *känäšä*, *kännäšä* 'leap, jump'). Semitic, cf. Ar. *qamaša* 'spring, jump, gallop'. The medial radical *n* of the Ethiopian Semitic root as against *m* of the Arabic may be explained as having arisen through assimilation with the following *ḡ* in some such environment as **qumḡ* > *kḡnḡ*.

känd 'horn' : Gz. *kärn*, Tna. *kärni*, Te. *kär* (pl. *ʾakərnät*), Har. *kär*, Arg. *känd*, Gaf. *kändä*, Ch.Gy. *kän*, etc.

Common Semitic *qrn*.

kura 'crow' : Arg. *kura*, Gaf. *kurä*, Har. *kurra*, Ch. *kʷä*, M. *kurä*, etc. Praetorius (1879:67) tried to derive this from the Semitic root *ḡrb* (Ar. *ḡurāb*, etc.). There are, however, widespread Cushitic items which provide a better formal fit: Bil. *kʷaxʷra*, Kem. *xʷäräy*, Alaba *kura*, Tembaro *kuura*; note also Kaffa *kureččo*.

nəb 'bee' : Gz. *nəhb*, Tna. *nəbī*, Te. *nəhəb*, Arg.Ch.Sod. *nəb*, Gaf. *nəbʷä*, End. *nəw*, etc.

Other Semitic languages have the root *nūb*–; perhaps the medial *h* of the Ethiopian Semitic root can be explained as due to contamination with another root: cf. *nəb* (Ar. *nahaba* 'plunder, move rapidly').

nəbər 'leopard' : Gz. *nəmr*, Tna. *nəbrī*, Ch.M. *nəbər*.

Common Semitic *nmr*.

sägon 'ostrich' : Gz. *sägäno*, Tna.Te. *sägän*.
Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil. *sāgan*, Khm. *sagʷəna*, Quara *saganā*.

säkʷäna 'animal leg' : Gz. *säkʷäna* 'heel, horse's hoof', Tna. *säxʷäna*, Har. *säxana* 'shin', Ch. *sanxara*, etc.

Cushitic, probably specifically Agaw, cf. Bil. *säxʷana*, Khm. *soxʷəna*, Quara *sukanā*; note also Beja *sikʷina*, Afar *dikʷaʷoonoo*.

šärärit 'spider' : Gz. *šaret*, Tna.Te. *saret*, Arg. *ənšärarit*, Har. *ašširārahti*, Sod. *šarayit*, Ch.Go. *šet*, Sl. *əšēt*, Wl. *ənšärärit*, etc.

The underlying root of all the Eth.Sem. forms may be reconstructed as **šr(y)*, with internal reduplication in Amharic and other S. Ethiopian languages to **šrr(y)*. Cerulli (1936:237) relates this to a common Cushitic root meaning 'to wear, clothe', derivatives of which occur in several Cushitic languages in the sense of 'spider': Bil. *sariro*, Kem. *sari*, Galla *sarariti*, Saho *saroo-baahayta* 'il portatore di veste'.

šut 'tapeworm' : Har. *suṭi*, Sod. *sočä*, Ch. *sončä*, Wl. *seṭo*, etc.
Of East Cushitic origin, cf. Hadiya *suṭo*, Darasa *heeṭō*, Galla *heṭo*.

təhʷan 'bed bug' : Tna. *təxʷan*, Te. *təkan*, Har. *tuxān*, Arg. *tuhan*, Ch. *təxar*, etc.

Cushitic, cf. Bil. *təxʷana*, Afar *tikʷan*, Galla *tukana*.

təl 'worm' : Har. *tulu*², Arg. *tuli*², Sod. *tələ*, Z. *tul*, Ch.Gy. *čwä*,
Go. *člā*, M. *čiyä*, etc.

Common Semitic *t(w)l^c-t* (Heb. *tōlē^cā*, Akk. *tūltu*, Soq. *ta^caleh*, etc.); the Eth.Sem. forms (S. Ethiopian only) all derive from a pattern **təl^c*.

toṭa 'Vervet monkey'

From Agaw: cf. Khm. *čičwä*, Kem. *šəšäwa*.

wäḥ 'bird' : Gz.Tna.Te. *oḥ*, Har. *ūḥ*, Arg. *woḥ*, Gaf. *yəḥ^wä*, Ch.Gy. *äḥ*,
Sod. *oḥ*, Sl.Wl.Z. *ūḥ*, etc.

Common Semitic **wp*.

wala 'sp. of mountain antelope' : Gz. *w^cla* ~ *wä^cala*.

Common Semitic *w^cl* 'mountain goat'.

zāhon ~ *zohon* 'elephant' : Arg.Sod. *zāhon*, M. *zāxonä*, Ch.Gy. *zäx^wärä*, End.Go. *zāhonä*,
Enn. *zäx^wärä*, etc.

In Har. *doxon*, Sl. *dāhano*, and Wl. *dāhāno* an item from a related, but different source occurs. The forms in initial *z-* can be derived from something like **zäk^wän*, which bears no close resemblance to any recorded Cushitic form, though almost identical to the reconstructed "common Cushitic" form (Cerulli 1938:198; Dolgopolskiy 1973:107). The forms in initial *d-*, however, are very similar to several East Cushitic forms: Hadiya *daneččo*, Som. *daḡon*, Saho *dakaano*, etc.; from the same Cushitic root are Bil.Kem. *ḡana*. It is not possible, therefore, to ascribe the Amharic item to a particular Cushitic source. The N. Ethiopian languages all use a form *ḡarmaz*, and Ge'ez has a further form, *näge*, seemingly of Indian origin.

zəmb 'fly' : Tna.Har. *zəmbi*, Gaf. *zəmbä*, Arg.Ch. *zəmb*, etc.

Common Semitic *dbb*. Ge'ez does not preserve this Semitic root, but employs an item of Agaw origin: *ṣənṣənya* (cf. also Tna. *ṣənṣəya*, Te. *čənčay*).

zənḡäro 'baboon' : Har. *zāḡäru*, Gaf. *ḡənḡärä*, Sl. *zāḡero*, Ms.Sod. *zanḡärä*, etc.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil. *ḡägura*, Kem. *ḡägəra*, Quara *ḡagirä*, S.Ag. *zagri*; note also Hadiya *dagieraa*, Som. *daḡer*, *daayer*.

4. THE SEMANTIC FIELD "SOCIAL ORGANIZATION"

The subdivisions under this heading are 4.1) law and government, 4.2) economy, 4.3) warfare, and 4.4) religion and superstition. The areas of the lexicon covering culturally sensitive categories such as these are, as might be expected, more fluid in turn-over, in acceptance of loan elements and influences, than some of the other semantic fields discussed hitherto in this paper. Moreover, perhaps more in this field than in any other, can extra-linguistic conclusions about the history, ethnic contacts, and patterns of cultural influence of the speakers of the language be drawn. Thus, when we examine vocabulary from the sphere of trade

and economy in Amharic, we find a large number of items taken from Arabic or from elsewhere (Turkish, Persian, for example) through the medium of Arabic. The traditional rôle of outsiders, particularly the Arabs, in the commerce of Ethiopia is, of course, well known. Amongst these commercial terms we may include *hisab* 'account', *bəlaš* 'gratis, free', *gumruk* 'customs', *gorš* ~ *korš* 'small coin', *koray* 'rent', *moskin* 'poor', *mizan* 'scales', *suḥ* 'small shop', *wäket* 'ounce', and so on (see Leslau (1970)). Similarly, a number of military terms are of Arabic origin, including items like *gorade* 'scimitar', *sälläfä* 'draw up in battle line', *harb* 'army' and its purely Amharic extension *arbäñña* 'warrior', as well as the names of products of more recent military technology like *mädəf* 'cannon', *ṭamānga* 'rifle', *näṭṭ* 'rifle', etc. On the other hand, most traditional military titles in Amharic appear to be indigenous, the only exception being *baša*, taken from Arabic, though ultimately of Turkish origin, as is *ṭamānga*, cited above.

The contribution of the non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia in this field is much smaller. In economy there is *amole* 'salt bar currency', *doha* 'poor'; in military terminology, *gašša* 'shield', *lale* 'soldier' (also meaning 'servant', cf. *askār* (of Arabic origin) with the same range of meaning), and more specific terms like *dulla* 'club', *yäbbo* 'short spear', *agre* 'large shield'. Many of the basic terms, however, remain inherited Semitic: *dəl* 'victory', *gäddälä* 'kill', *säffärä* 'camp', *särawit* 'army', *säyṣ* 'sword', *ṭälat* 'enemy', *ṭor* 'spear, army, war' (*ṭoronnät*), *zärriṣä* 'plunder', and so on. The same is essentially true of the field of economy and trade: cf. *gäböya* 'market', *käffälä* 'pay', *ṭäläḥḥa* 'borrow', *näggädä* 'trade', *šäṭä* 'sell', and so on.

Religious terminology includes a high proportion of long-established loanwords, which entered the Ethiopian language area through Ge'ez during the early centuries of the Christian era. A number of specifically Christian terms are of Greek origin: *paṣas* 'metropolitan, bishop', *mānäkuse* (and variants) 'monk', *däbtära* 'lay priest, cantor', *gänna* 'Christmas', *diyakonos* 'deacon', etc. The majority of borrowed religious terms in Amharic is, however, of Hebrew or Aramaic origin (see especially Nöldeke (1910:32-46); also Ullendorff (1968: 121-5)). This includes both specifically Christian and more general terms that may be characterized as 'Judeo-Christian'. Of course, it need hardly be said that a whole body of religious terminology has been taken over from Arabic by Islamic communities. This does not concern us here, however. It is not always easy to be certain either about the direction of a loan-movement or even about the process of borrowing itself between closely related Semitic languages (Ullendorff 1968:120). This is readily illustrated in the field of religious terminology. Items such as *mäl'ak* 'angel', *mäläkot* 'divinity', *haṭi'at* 'sin'¹⁸ are all related to original common Ethiopian roots for which there is no reason to suspect borrowing from other Semitic languages, though the particular semantic value given to these derivatives in the religious field may be attributed to the theological colouring current in other Semitic languages.¹⁹ Thus, the specific value of *mäl'ak* as 'angel' alongside the common Eth. root *l'k* 'send' is attributed to Heb. *mal'āk*; or *haṭi'at* as 'sin' besides Eth. *ḥṭ'* 'not find, not have', is owed to Aram. *ḥaṭātā*. However, a number of basic roots like *kds* 'be holy', *kbr* 'bury', *rgm* 'curse', *brk* (C-type) 'bless', *mrk* 'bless', are most likely of inherited Semitic origin semantically as well as formally; there appears to be no need to imply outside influence in the semantic development. The component roots of the names of

¹⁸See Nöldeke (1910) where a full list of items of Hebrew and Aramaic origin is given. Ullendorff (1968) gives a similar list.

¹⁹Perhaps not all the items listed by Nöldeke (1910) need have received the influence of Hebrew or Aramaic; I cannot see why *kds*, for example, should be so influenced when its semantics are perfectly in accord with the general Semitic theme for this root.

the Deity, *mlk* (*amlak*) and *gz* + *bhr* (*əgzɪʔabəhɛx*), are similarly of inherited Semitic origin. The common Semitic root *ʔl* 'god', which occurs in all other branches of Semitic, is not found as an inherited item in Ethiopian Semitic.

Two important terms from the field of magic and the supernatural are of non-Semitic origin, namely *buda* and *zar*. The latter seems to be derived from the old name of a pagan (Agaw?) sky-god, typically "demoted" to the position of a (malevolent) spirit in the "new" religion. The former, *buda*, has cognates throughout the Ethiopian language area, including in a number of Sudanic languages, to which its origin has been ascribed (Cerulli 1931-2:346).

The list of items from the field of law, government and social organization in general presents a rather different picture from that of economy or religion, in that the overwhelming majority of items is of inherited Semitic origin, and obvious loanwords are few in number. Out of 50 terms studied, 36 (72%) are of safe, directly inherited Semitic origin, whilst only five appear to be of non-Semitic, Cushitic origin. Especially interesting among these five items are the two terms *aše* ~ *aṭe* 'emperor' and the (originally) vocative *ganhoy*. The appearance of both terms in Amharic can be roughly dated, the first to the 14th century, to the reign of ʿAmdä Ṣəyon, and the second possibly to the 16th century, to the reign of Särṣä Dəngəl, at least according to native tradition. Both terms are of Agaw origin and appear originally to have been titles or appellatives of Agaw rulers.

Amongst the items of inherited Semitic origin are several for which the closest semantic parallel occurs particularly in South Arabian.²⁰ The roots of many of these do occur elsewhere in Semitic, but the point of interest here lies in the close semantic correlation with S. Arabian. Thus, *agär* 'country' (Gz. *hagär* 'town', ESA. *hgr* 'town, state'), *qäbbar* 'vassal', *gäbäre* 'farmer' (ESA. *gbr-m* 'group of serfs', *gbr* 'servants', Gz. *gäbr* 'slave, servant'), *gult* 'fief' (ESA. *q(w)l* idem.), *ngs* 'be king' (ESA. *ngš* 'impose tribute'), *šum* 'chief' (Gz. *šuyum*, ESA. *šym* 'praefectus'), *wäsän* 'boundary' (ESA. *wṭn*), *həgg* 'law' (ESA. *ḥg*), *šäṭä* 'sell' (Gz. *šəṭä*, ESA. *š(y)t* 'trade, carry on business'), and from the field of military terminology *särawit* 'army' (ESA. *srwt*).

4.1. LAW AND GOVERNMENT

agär 'country' : Gz. *hagär* 'town', Tna. *hagär* 'country'.
Semitic, cf. ESA. *hgr* 'town, state', Yemeni Ar. *haḡar* 'ruined town'.

aläḡa 'head, superior' : Tna. *ḡaläḡa*, Old Amh. *haläḡa*.

There are several formally compatible roots in Eth.Sem., none of which, however, is really suitable as a cognate to this item on semantic grounds: **ḡlk* 'be destroyed', *ḡ(w)lk* 'count', *ḡlk* 'be round'. Rather, one wonders if this root *ḡlk* 'chief' might not be connected with Eth.Sem. *lhk* 'be more, elder', despite the difference in sequence of radicals and the different laryngal. The root *lhk* is of safe Semitic origin and may be compared with Heb. *lahāqā* 'senior ones'.²¹

²⁰See Ullendorff (1955:156) where some S. Arabian lexical parallels are listed; see also Höfner (1960:435).

²¹For the Semitic connections of *lhk* see Ullendorff (1956:194ff.), where Heb. *lahāqā* 'senior ones' is compared.

aṭe 'emperor' : Old Amh. *haṣe ~ haṭe*.

This item appears to be of Agaw origin, cf. Kem. *aṣena* (Kem. *ṣ* frequently corresponds to Eth.Sem. *ṣ* in loans of both directions). The introduction of the term has been dated to the reign of 'Amdä Səyon (1314-43). It should, however, be noted that *aṣena* does not appear to have any purely Agaw derivation and lacks cognates in other Agaw languages. On the other hand, it bears a close resemblance to the Ge'ez term *ḥazani*, which appears on later Axumite inscriptions in the sense of 'administrator' (Littmann 1913:44 and 45, inscr. 12 and 13).

awaḡ 'proclamation'

An agent noun (*kätali*) pattern from the Eth.Sem. root **wd* 'go round'. In Ge'ez **awadi* has the meaning 'bandit, one who roams the country', but the root has a wide range of meanings to which 'proclamation' can easily be related. This etymology would seem preferable to a derivation from the S. Ethiopian root **wd* (Har. *ēda*, Arg. *aweda*, Ch. *odām*, Gaf. *awädä*) meaning 'speak, tell'.

ṅgoda 'guest, stranger' : Gz.Te. **ṅgoda*, Har. *nugda*, Gaf. *ṅgoda*, Sod. *nägda*, etc.
From the Eth.Sem. root *ngd* in the primary sense of 'travel'.

bad ~ bada 'stranger' : Gz. *ba^cd*, Tna. *ba^cdī*.
Semitic, cf. Ar. *ba^cūd* 'strange, distant', ESA. *b^cd* 'remote'.

dañña 'established order', *dañña* 'judge' (n): Gz. *däyyänä* (vb), *däyyani* (n), Tna. *däyyänä*, *dañña*, Har. *dañña*.

The Tigrinya noun *dañña*, and perhaps also the Harari noun, are probably amharicisms. The Amharic root would appear to derive from **dny* with transposed second and third radicals. Alternatively, if the verb root *dañña* is a secondary formation from the noun *dañña* and not a primary formation, then *dañña* may be explained as an extension in *-ya* of a noun **dani* (? *däy(y)ani*). Common Semitic *dyn*.

färrädä 'judge' : Gz.Tna. *färrädä*, Har. *färäda*, Ch. *fänädäm*, etc.
Semitic *prd* 'separate, distinguish'.

fätta 'release, divorce' : Gz. *fätḥa*, Tna. *fätḥe*, Har. *fätaḥa*, Ch. *fätam*, etc.
Common Semitic *pth* 'open'.

gäbbärä 'pay tax, tribute' (*gäbäre* 'farmer', *gäbbär* 'vassal', *gəbər* 'tax'):
Gz. **agäbbärä* 'impose tribute', *gäbr* 'slave', *gäbar* 'worker', etc., Tna. *gäbbärä* 'pay tax', Har. *gēbära* 'pay an amount of money or cloth to the bride at the conclusion of the engagement', Sod. *gäbbäräm* 'tame', Wl. *gebärä*, etc.

The root *gbr* also means 'work, do, make' in N. Ethiopian (Gz. *gäbrä*), which would appear to be the starting point of the various semantic developments in the rest of Ethiopian Semitic. Common Semitic *gbr* 'force, be strong'; with reference to the Ethiopian developments note especially ESA. **gbr* 'servants', *gbrm* 'a group of serfs'.

gult 'fief' : Gz. *g^wult*, Tna. *g^wulti*, Te. *gult*.
 Semitic, cf. ESA. *g(w)l*, and perhaps also Ar. *ḡūl* 'the wall round a well or grave'.

geta 'master, lord' : Tna. *g^wäyta*, Har. *gōyta*, Gaf. *g^witä*, Arg. *geta*, Ch. *g^wäta*, Old Amh. *g^weta*, etc.

Various attempts at the etymology of this item have been made; Cerulli (1936:252) considers it to be of Agaw origin, deriving it from a form analogous to Khm. *qawata* 'leader'. Leslau (1963:76) suggests a connection with Galla *goḥta*, which is, however, a purely Galla form and derivative of *gosa* 'tribe'. Rather, the etymology proposed by Cohen (1939:88) is the most likely, namely a derivative of **g^wäy* (Amh. *-ge* 'place'), which appears in Old Amharic as an independent item *gay* ~ *gäy* ~ *gey*, and elsewhere in S. Ethiopian with meanings ranging from 'country' to 'town', 'village', and as a locative postfix. It is almost certainly Semitic and related to ESA. *gw* 'collegium', Heb. *gōy* (Cohen 1933:34).

gäzza 'rule, buy' : Tna. *gäzz^e* 'possess, buy', Te. *gäzz^a*, Har. *gäza^a* 'govern', Arg. *gäzza*, etc.

The root occurs in Ge'ez in the nominal form *ḡgzi^a* 'lord, master'. Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḡaza^a* 'distribute, share'.

ḡan(hoy) 'emperor'

Composed of *ḡan* and the vocative particle *hoy*. The element *ḡan* is of Agaw origin: Bil.Kem. *ḡana* 'elephant', used as a royal epithet. The introduction of this term into Amharic is traditionally dated to the reign of Särṣä Dəngəl (1563-97).²²

hogg 'law' : Gz. *hogg*, Tna. *hoggí*, Te. *hog* 'limit'.

The presence of the initial *h-* in the Amharic term corresponding to *h-* elsewhere indicates that this is a Ge'ez take-over and not a genuinely inherited item. The root is Semitic, cf. especially ESA. *hg* 'law'; this appears to be a peculiarly South Semitic development of *hqq*, which occurs in the rest of Semitic.

həzb 'people' : Gz. *həzb*, Tna. *həzbi*.

A take-over from Ge'ez. Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḥizb* 'crowd, group of people', *ḥazaba* 'collect'.

kasä 'compensate' : Tna. *käḥasä*, Te. *käḥasa*, Har. *kēḥasa*, Arg. *käḥasa*, Ch. *kasäm*, etc.

Praetorius (1879:7) suggested connecting *kḥs* (and Eth. *kṣḥ* 'grow lean') with Heb. *kāḥaš* also meaning 'grow lean'.

kässäsä 'accuse' : Tna. *käsäsä*, Te. *kässa*, Har. *käsäsa*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Syr. *kāses* 'blame, reprove', and perhaps also Heb. *kāsas* 'compute', Akk. *kasāsu* 'cut up', Ar. *kassa* 'pulverize'.

²²Mittwoch (1911:286): "die Abessinier glauben, dass das Wort *ḡan(hōi)* erst seit dem 16. Jahrhundert im Gebrauch sei, während man früher dafür *danzō* gesagt habe."

kätäma 'town' : Tna. *kätäma*, Har. *kätäm-* in *kätämbäri* 'entrance to a compound'.

In Ge'ez *kätäma* means 'edge, end, summit', but is used later in the sense of 'royal camp', as in earlier Amharic, from which the meaning 'town' has developed. Probably Semitic, cf. Ar. *katama* 'hold, hide, conceal' and Gz. *kätämä* 'seal, close'.

ḵäṭṭa 'punish' : Gz. *ḵäṣ^a* 'humiliate', Tna. *ḵäṣ^e* 'punish', Te. *ḵäṣ^a*, Har. *ḵaṭa^a*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *qaṣa^a* 'grind, squash', Heb. *qāṣa^c* 'scrape'.

leba 'thief' : Arg. *leba*, Gaf. *libä*, E. *neba*, End. *nīwä*.

Perhaps of Galla origin, cf. *labobu* 'steal'.

malä 'swear' : Gz. *māhalä*, Te. *māhala*, Gaf. *malä*, etc.

The root *mhl* occurs in other Semitic languages but with a range of meanings difficult to relate to Eth.Sem. 'swear': Ar. *maḥala* 'be barren', Heb. *māḥal* 'renounce', Syr. *mehel* 'be weak', ESA. *mhl* 'misfortune'. The root shape is plainly of Semitic type, but is not readily relatable on semantic grounds to the other Semitic root(s) *mhl*.

näggäsä 'become king' : Gz. *näggä*, and hence modern Eth.Sem. *ngä*.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *naḡaṣa* 'compel', Heb. *nāgas* 'urge, drive', ESA. *ngä* 'impose tribute'.

näṭa ~ näṣa 'free' : Tna.Te. *näṣa*.

If, as seems likely, *näṣa* is to be derived from Eth.Sem. *nṣḥ* 'be pure', then the Tigrinya and Tigre forms must be loans from Amharic; the protoform would then be **näṣaḥ*. The root *nṣḥ* is Semitic; cf. Ar. *naṣaḥa* 'be pure', Heb. *nāṣaḥ* 'sparkle', etc.

Another term with the same meaning in Amharic is *ara*, occurring in Old Amharic as *hara*, and in Ge'ez as *hara* 'army, troops, officers', *harawi* 'free, noble, warrior'. The root is **ḥrr*, to which Heb. *ḥor* 'nobles', Ar. *ḥarra* 'be of noble stock', Aram. *ḥarar* 'liberate', etc., may be compared.

rätta 'win a lawsuit' : Gz. *rät^a* 'be straight, prosper', Tna. *rät^e* 'win', Te. *rät^a* 'succeed', Har. *räta^a*, Arg. *rätta*, Wl.Z. *rätä*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Akk. *retû* 'be fortified'.

särra (i) 'work', (ii) 'prescribe' : (i) Gz.Te. *särḥa*, Tna. *särḥe*; (ii) Gz. *ṣär^a*, Tna. *sär^e*, Te. *sär^a*, Har. *sära^a*.

The root *ṣr^c* may be compared with Ar. *ṣara^a*, ESA *ṣr^c* 'order'. For the root *srḥ*, on the other hand, I can find no satisfactory cognate.

šäffätä 'revolt' : Tna. šäffätä, Arg. šeffäta, Sod. šiffätäm, etc.

In some S.Eth. languages the root appears as šft and it is this form of the root that may be compared with Gz. šft (ʾasfätä 'deceive, seduce'). Probably Semitic, cf. Ar. safuṭa 'be liberal'.²³

šällämä 'award' : Tna. šällämä, Har. šēläma, Arg. šelläma, Gaf. šillämä, etc.
A S. Ethiopian B-type pattern from the root šlm 'peace'. Common Semitic šlm.

šum 'chief' : Gz. šuyum (p.p. of šemä 'put, appoint')

The item occurs throughout Ethiopian Semitic. The root šym is, of course, common Semitic, but for an especially close semantic parallel to the noun šuyum, šum compare ESA. šym 'praefectus, dominus'.

šmagalle 'elder' : Tna.Te. šmagale.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil. šimgär (pl. šimāgal), Khm. sämgəl, Kem. šimgär. Amh. šmgəl(l)e appears to be derived from the plural stem šimagäl- plus an individualizing suffix -e.

wärräsä 'inherit' : Gz.Tna. wärräsä, Te. wärsa, etc.

From this root is derived the noun rəst 'hereditary landrights'. Common Semitic wrt.

was 'guarantor' : Gz.Tna. wahəs, Te. wəhsa, Har. wās, Ch. was, etc.

Semitic, cf. ESA. whš in Qatabanian swḥš 'gift, donation'.

wäsän 'border' : Gz.Tna.Te. wäsän, etc.

Semitic, cf. ESA. wtn.

Another Amharic item of the same meaning, dämbär, was related by Praetorius (1879:100) to the root dbr 'mountain'.

zega 'subject' : Gz. zega 'poor', Har. zēga.

This is probably of Agaw origin: cf. Bil. ġixa 'poor', Kem. ġäg 'be ruined'; note also Beja ġehaana 'beggar'. Another form of the same Cushitic root appears as a loan in Amh. dāha 'poor'.

4.2. ECONOMY

amole 'salt-bar currency' : Tna. ʾamole, Har. amōle, Arg.Sl.W.Z. amole, etc.

Of East Cushitic origin, cf. Galla amole, Sid. amōle, Afar amole.

²³See Rundgren (1953:19-21) for a detailed discussion on this root; see also Wajnberg (1937a:39).

bərr 'silver, dollar' : Tna. *bərrī*, Gaf. *bərrä*, etc; a different root pattern occurs in Gz. *bərrur*.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *barra* 'be just', Heb. *bārār* 'be pure', and especially Akk. *barāru* 'shine'.

barya 'slave'

This item is traditionally connected with the ethnic name Barya, an Eastern Sudanic speaking people of N.W.Ethiopia, already mentioned in the 4th century inscriptions of 'Ezana. These people do not, however, use the name of themselves. It is not inconceivable that the ethnic name (of whatever origin) came to be used as a common noun 'slave', since these and related peoples have long been the traditional source of slaves for highland Ethiopia. Praetorius (1879:171) suggested a derivation from Sem. *bʿn* 'cattle' (cf. Amh. *bāre* 'ox'), but I do not think that this is very likely; in the inscription of 'Ezana the name occurs in the same form as in Amharic today, *barya*.

čanä 'load' : Gz.Tna. *šāʿanä*, Te. *ʾašʿana*, Har. *šaʿana* ~ *tāna*, Wl. *šanä*, Sod. *čanä*, Ch.E. *čarām*, etc.

Semitic *zʿn* 'travel, migrate' (Ar. *zaʿana*, Heb. *šāʿan*, Akk. *šānu* 'load'), but note also Heb. *šāʿan* 'load'.

dəha 'poor' : Tna. *dəxa*, Gaf. *dəha*.

Of Cushitic origin; cf. the Agaw root **žēg* (Bil. *ḡixa* 'poor', etc.) taken into Amh. as *zega* 'subject'. Forms with initial *d-* do occur in Agaw (Kem. *däxa*, Khm. *dəxa* 'poor') but these look more like loans from Amharic; but note also Galla *dega* 'poor'.

gäbäya ~ *gäböya* 'market' : Gaf. *gäböya*, Go. *gebi*, Ch. *gäbäya*, etc.

The root is almost certainly *gbʷ* 'enter'; thus **gäböʷ* + *ya* would originally and literally have meant 'meeting, reunion, assembly'.

gänzäb 'money, property' : Gz. *gänzäb* 'treasure', Tna. *gänzäb* 'money'.

The immediate origin of this item is an Aramaic term such as *gʿnūzbā* (also occurring as *gizzʿbar*) 'treasury'. The ultimate source of all these is Old Persian *ganza-* 'treasure' and *ganzabara* 'treasury'.

gʷaz 'caravan', *tägʷazä* 'travel': Gz. *gəʿzä* ~ *gäʿazä* 'change camp, migrage', Tna. *gäʿazä*, Har. *gāza*, Sod. *gazä*, etc.; for the noun *gʷaz* cf. Gz. *gʷaʿəz*, Sod. *gʷaz*, Har. *gāz*.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḡāza* 'travel', Heb. *gāz* 'pass, change' (*gwz*), rather than *gzʿ* as cited by Dillmann (1865:col. 1187), meaning 'cut'.

habt 'wealth'

This is a take-over from Gz. *habt* (*√whb* 'give'); a purely Amharic development of this occurs as *käbt* 'cattle' with false restitution of *k* for *h*, and subsequent differentiation of meaning.

käffälä 'pay, divide' : Gz. *käffälä* 'divide, assign', Tna. *käffälä* 'pay', Te. *käfla*, Har. *käffäla*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *kaḥala* 'support, maintain', Heb. *kāpal* 'double, multiply'.

kʷäṭṭärä 'count' : Tna. *kʷäṣärä*, Arg. *kʷäṭṭära*, Gaf. *kʷiṭṭärä*, Sod. *koṭṭäräm*, Ch.Gy. *kaṭäräm*, etc.

This root *kʷṣh* 'count' is probably identical with *kʷṣh* 'tie a knot' (Gz. *kʷäṣärä* ~ *kʷäṣṣärä*, Amh. *kʷäṭṭärä*, etc.). If this assumption is correct, it gives an interesting glimpse into early methods of recording numbers. Semitic, cf. perhaps Syr. *qeṭar* 'attach'.

a-läḳḳa 'lend', *tä-läḳḳa* 'borrow' : Gz. *läḳḳaha* 'loan', Tna. *ʾaläḳḳhe*, Har. *alēḳäha*, etc. Semitic, cf. Ar. *laqiḥa* 'conceive', Heb. *lāqah* 'take'.

näggädä 'trade' : Tna. *näggädä*, Tna. *nägda*, Har. *nigdi āša*, Sl. *näggädä*, Ms. *neggädäm*, etc.

The root in Ge'ez maintains a wider range of meanings than the modern Ethiopian Semitic forms: Gz. *näggädä* 'travel, migrate, trade', which reoccur in several derivatives in Amharic: *mängäd* 'road', *ṅgoda* 'stranger'.

Semitic, cf. Aram. *ngd* 'flow'.

šäṭä 'sell' : Gz. *šeṭä*, Tna. *šäyāṭä* ~ *šäṭä*.

Semitic, cf. ESA. *š(y)ṭ* 'sell', and perhaps also Ar. *šawwaṭa* 'make a long journey'; for the semantic development compare the previous item.

4.3. WARFARE

aškär 'soldier, servant' : Tna.Te. *ʾaskär* ~ *ʾaškär*, Har. *aškär*.

From Ar. *ʾaskar*.

dəl 'victory' : Tna. *dəl*, Har. *dil* ~ *dəl*.

Both the Tigrinya and the Harari items are probably loans from Amharic. The root is *dhl* (Gz. *tādahlä* 'retreat, flee') and **dahl* > *dəl* would originally have meant something like 'flight, rout', the apparent reversal of meaning coming from a phrase such as *dəl adärrägä* 'make a rout' > 'be victorious'. Semitic, cf. Ar. *daḥala* 'flee', Syr. *deḥel* 'be afraid'.

gäddälä 'kill' : Har. *gädäla*, Arg. *gäddäla*, Sod. *gäddäläm*.

This is almost certainly not connected, at least directly, with Eth.Sem. *ktl* 'kill' as suggested by Praetorius (1879:72). It is rather derived from *gdl*: cf. Gz. *tägädälä* 'fight', *gädäla* 'carcass', Te. *gadäla* 'fight'. Semitic, cf. Ar. *gädala* 'quarrel', *tagädala* 'idem.'. The root *ktl* does not occur in Amharic, but is preserved elsewhere in Eth.Sem: Gz.Tna. *kätälä*, Ch. *kʷäṭṭäräm*, Enn. *ʾätärä*, etc.

gorade 'scimitar' : Tna. *gʷarade*, Te. *gorade*, Har. *gurāde*, Ms. *gʷarade*, etc.

Probably from Aden Arabic *gurad*.

gašša 'shield' : Tna.Arg. *gašša*, Gaf. *gašä*, etc.

Of East Cushitic origin: cf. Galla *gačana*, *gačča*, Som. *gaašāan*; note also Kem. *gaša*, S.Ag. *gaši*.

marräkä 'take prisoners' : Gz. *mahräkä*, Tna. *maräxä*, Te. *maräka*, Har. *maräxa*, Ch. *manäxām*, etc.

Throughout modern Eth.Sem. this item is construed as a C-type trilateral ($\sqrt{mrk}$), a remodelling of the A-type quadrilateral (*mhrk*) of Ge'ez.

säffärä 'set up camp' : Gz.Tna. *säffärä*, Te. *säfra*, Har. *säfära*, etc.

This is probably the same root as Eth.Sem. *sfr* 'measure' and common Semitic *spr*: Ar. *sāfara* 'travel', Heb. *sāpar* 'count', ESA. *sfr* (n) 'measure'.

särawit 'army' : Gz.Tna. *särawit*.

Semitic, cf. ESA. *srwt*.

säyḥ 'sword' : Gz. *säyḥ*, Tna. *säyḥi*, Har. *sāḥ*.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *sayḥ*.

šäššä 'flee' : Gz. *säkäyā* 'take refuge', Te. *säka*, Har. *säka* 'flee', Arg. *säka*, Sod. *šäššām*, Ch. *säk-ām*, Sl. *säce*, Wl. *šäše*, etc.

The initial *š*- may be explained as due to removed assimilation to the medial *š*; the latter would seem to derive from *k* through palatalization to *č* and thence *š*. An alternative etymology was proposed by Praetorius (1879:132), who connected Amh. *šäššä* with Gz. *susw* ('*ansosäwä* 'walk'), Heb. *šiššā* 'lead on'. The former derivation, from *sky*, is, I think, preferable.

šotäl 'dagger' : Gz. *säwtäl*, Tna. *šotäl* ~ *šutol*, Te. *sotäl*, Har. *šötäl*, etc.

Perhaps from an East Cushitic source: cf. Saho *šotal*, Som. *šootal*.

ṭälla 'hate', *ṭälat* 'enemy' : Gz.Te. *šäl^a*, Tna. *šäl^e*, Har. *ṭäla^a*, Gaf. *täṣalä*, Arg. *ṭälla*, Ch.Gy. *ṭānam*, etc.

The common Semitic, cf. Akk. *šelû* 'be hostile'. The common Semitic term for enemy, **ḏrr*, occurs in N.Ethiopian: Gz. *zär*, Tna. *šär*.

ṭor 'spear'

This might be connected with the Eth.Sem. root *šwr* (Gz. *šorä* 'carry', *šor* 'burden, load'). Alternatively, it might be connected with an identical root occurring in Gaf. *šäwäwä* 'strong, rigid'. The former has a Semitic cognate in Soqotri *šor* 'wear'.

wägga 'stab', *täwagga* 'fight': Gz. *wäg^a*, *täwag^a* 'wound o.a.', Tna. *wäg^e*, Ch. *wäkam* 'crush', etc.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *wağ^a* 'hit', Soq. *ʔēge*.

wättaddär 'soldier' : Tna. *wättəhaddär* ~ *wättahaddär*.

Guidi (1901:col. 579) suggested derivation from a phrase *wätto addär* 'che vive andando quā e lā'; this is ingenious, but sounds a little like popular etymologizing.

zärräḥä 'plunder' : Tna. *zärräḥä*, Te. *zärḥa*, Har. *zäräḥa*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *zaraḥa* 'come upon s.th.', Aram. *neḥripūtā* 'impetus, attack', ESA. *zrḥt* 'incursio bellica'.

4.4. RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION

amlak 'God' : Gz. *ʾamlak*, Tna. *ʾamlax*.

Formally a plural of **mālk* 'king'. The same development of the common Semitic root *mlk* to express 'divine ruler' as well as 'secular ruler' occurs outside Ethiopian Semitic.

ʾgziabəher 'God'

From Gz. *ʾgziʾabəher* lit. 'lord of the earth'.

buda 'one who has the power of casting the evil eye':

This term occurs throughout modern Ethiopian Semitic and in various Cushitic and E. Sudanic languages. It is to the latter that Cerulli (1931-2:346 note) ascribed the origin of this item, deriving it from a noun originally meaning 'smith': Shilluk *bōdo*, Bari *bōdo*, Bongo *bodo*. Smiths and metalworkers were traditionally associated with the power of the evil eye throughout much of Africa and elsewhere.

barrākä 'bless' : Gz. *barākä*, Tna. *baräxä*, Te. *baräka*.

Common Semitic *brk*.

däbtära 'lay priest, cantor': Tna. *däbtära*

In Ge'ez *däbtära* has the meaning 'tent, tabernacle' and *däbtärawi* 'one who lives in a tent', of which Dillmann (1865:col. 1106), says "vulgo etiam vocatur *Canoncus* homo *literatus*." The item is ultimately of Greek origin: *diphthērai* 'skins made into a tent' (pl. of *diphthēra* 'skin, leather').

ḳäbbärä 'bury' : Gz.Tna. *ḳäbärä*, Te. *ḳäbra*, Har. *ḳäbära*, etc.; a nominal derivative occurs in most Eth.Sem. languages with the meaning 'grave, tomb': Gz. *mäḳbärt*, *ḳäbär*, Amh. *mäḳabər*, Har. *ḳäbrī*, Tna. *mäḳbär*, Sod. *mäḳbar*, etc.

Common Semitic *qbr*.

ḳäddäsä 'consecrate' : Gz.Tna. *ḳäddäsä*.

Nöldeke (1910:35) regarded Eth.Sem. *ḳds* as influenced by Jewish-Christian usage. Common Semitic *qdš*.

ḵes 'priest' : Gz. *ḵäsis*, Tna. *ḵäšši*, Te. *ḵäs*, Har. *ḵēs*.

The modern Eth.Sem. forms may be derived from a pattern **ḵäss*. A loan from Syriac *qašešā* 'elder'.

märräḵa 'bless' : Tna. *märräḵä*, Arg. *merräḵa*, Gaf. *mirräḵä*, E. *männäḵä*, etc.

A denominative formation from *məraḵ* 'saliva'. Spitting as a mark of benediction occurs widely in Ethiopia, cf. Galla *tuḡa* 'benedizione di augurio o di riconoscenza manifestata a mezzo della saliva soffiata leggermente verso la faccia o l'oggetto che si vuol benedire' (Da Thiene 1939:323).

räggämä 'curse' : Gz.Tna. *räggämä*.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *raḡama* 'stone', Heb. *rāgam*, Akk. *ragāmu* 'protest, cry'.

ṭomä 'fast' : Gz.Tna. *ṭomä*, Te. *ṭoma*, Arg. *ṭoma*, Gaf. *ṭimä*, Ch.E. *ṭomäm*, etc.

The same root, *ṣwm*, also occurs in Arabic; both it and the Ethiopian Semitic root are regarded as a loan from Heb. *ṣām* (Nöldeke 1910:36).

zar 'evil spirit'

This item occurs throughout Ethiopian Semitic. It is almost certainly derived from the name of a pagan Cushitic sky god, probably Agaw: cf. Bil. *gar* 'sky, sky-god', Khm. *zar* 'evil spirit' (perhaps rather from Amharic?); the same Cushitic root occurs in Rendille *ṣgre* 'sky', and perhaps in several Omotic languages, too. The term *zar* also occurs in Arabic as a loan from Ethiopian Semitic.

5. GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: PRONOUNS, NUMERALS, AND PARTICLES

This final section covers what is, strictly speaking, not a semantic but a grammatical field, in so far as the referents of the items discussed are not definable objects, actions, or qualities, but are (in the case of pronouns) part of the relation of the speaker to his audience, or (in the case of particles) the internal structurals of the language itself. These two categories, pronouns and particles, and numerals which in many ways lend themselves to grouping with the other two, are typically included under the "basic" vocabulary pole of the lexicon. For example, the 1952 Swadesh 200-item "basic" word-list (Swadesh 1952: 452-63) includes the cardinal numerals from 'one' to 'five', the pronouns of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons, singular and plural, as well as other pronominals like 'here', 'there', 'when', 'how', and the particles 'and', 'at', 'if', 'in', 'not'. The principal behind the inclusion of these items is in part that such elements tend to be among the most conservative areas of the lexicon because of their intimate connection with morphology. Whether all the items selected by Swadesh can be correctly classified as lexical universals or not does not immediately affect this discussion. Some of the items, especially 'not', 'if', 'and', cannot, I feel, be thought of as lexical universals and should not be included in a "basic" word-list without due consideration of the typology of the language(s) under examination. However, in most languages the lower numerals and the primary pronominal forms are, on the whole, derived from the inherited stock of the language. There are naturally exceptions; within the field of Afroasiatic alone one need only note the use of Arabic numerals above 'two', or 'ten', in many of the Berber dialects. However, the data from

Amharic follow the expected trend in that all the morphemic elements (though not the actual items themselves) of the personal and other pronouns are inherited Semitic, as are all numerals except 'nine' and 'thousand'.

The personal pronouns of the 2nd person, *antä*, *anči*, *antu*, the interrogatives, *man*, *mən*,²⁴ and the demonstratives, *yəh* ~ *-zzih*, and *ya* ~ *-zzəya*, present no problems in derivation from common Semitic forms.²⁵ The 1st person pronouns, *əne* and *ənña*, are clearly derived from inherited Semitic components, but not directly. The final *-e* of *əne* 'I' appears to be due to the influence of the corresponding possessive suffix, *-e*; a similar confusion of independent and dependent pronoun forms occurs throughout S. Ethiopian (Hetzron 1972:32-3). The initial *ə-*, on the other hand, instead of an expected *a-* (cf. Gz. *ʔanä*, Har. *ān*, Arg. *ay*, etc.), is probably taken over by analogy from the plural *ənña*, a feature which, again, occurs in several other S. Ethiopian languages: Ch. *əya*, etc. The 1st person plural pronoun, *ənña*, together with its cognates throughout S. Ethiopian and in Tigre in N. Ethiopian, lacks the initial *n-* found in Gz. *nəhnä*, Tna. *nəhna*, and the generally reconstructed Proto-Semitic form. The loss of this initial *n-*, whether it occurred at the common Ethiopian Semitic stage or independently in S. Ethiopian and Tigre, can be attributed to a kind of haplology: *nəhna* > **əhna* ~ *həna* (cf. Egyptian Arabic *ihnā*, Yemeni Arabic *hinna*, etc., for parallel developments). Hetzron (1972:33-4) derives the S. Ethiopian forms from *nəhna* > **nina* > **ñña* > *ñ(ñ)a*, etc., and regards S. Ethiopian forms like Arg. *ənna* as having been depalatalized later. While there is some evidence for the change *-əhC-* > *-iC-* in Amharic and more so in certain Gurage languages,²⁶ there would appear to be no other instance of palatalization caused by a preceeding element, as opposed to a following one, in Amharic. Might not all the S. Ethiopian forms, then, be derived from a common **əhna* ~ *həna* (as Te. *həna*) and the palatalization *n* > *ñ* be secondary, Arg. *ənna*, etc., preserving a more original, unpalatalized form? However, be this as it may, the pronoun is ultimately of inherited Semitic origin, which is the main point here.

The 3rd person pronoun base *ərs-* ~ *əss-* derives from the noun 'head', Gz. *ṛəʔs* and almost certainly originated in the use of a noun denoting a part of the body together with the appropriate pronominal suffix as an emphatic pronoun, a construction which is still current in Amh. *əne rase* 'I myself' and Tna. *ʔanä ṛəʔsäy*. Thus, *ərsu* 'he' derives from *ṛəʔs* + *u* 'his head' and similarly Tna. *nəssu* 'he' from *nəʔs* + *u* 'his soul', and perhaps also along similar lines Arg. *kəssu* 'he' from *kərs* + *u* 'his belly'. The original independent pronouns of the 3rd person in Ethiopian Semitic (Gz. *wəʔtu*, *yəʔti*, etc.) survive in Gafat (*wəʔt*, *yəʔt*), Zway (*ut*, *it*), and a variant form in *h* occurs in Tigre (*hətu*, *həta*) and apparently in many of the Gurage languages. The old plural pronouns are mostly replaced in S. Ethiopian including Amharic by a compound of *ənna-* (Ge'ez plural demonstrative/relative *ʔallā*) and the singular pronoun (Hetzron 1972:29).

The numerals in Amharic are of inherited Semitic origin, except for 'nine', whose origin is enigmatic, and 'thousand', which is of Agaw origin. Some of the Semitic numerals, whilst presenting no etymological problems, do exhibit interesting phonetic developments, especially *and* 'one', *hulät(t)* 'two', *sost* 'three', and *arat(t)* 'four'. The numeral *and* 'one' (Old Amh. *hand*) derives from *hadä* (Tna. *hadä* ~ *hade*, Te. fem. *hatte*, Arg. *hand*), an ellipsis of *ʔahad-*, which occurs in Gz. *ʔahadu* and Har. *ahad*. The other S. Ethiopian forms could derive

²⁴The element *-dəh* ~ *-dən* in the interrogative *məndəh* 'what?' is, however, of Agaw origin. See Tübiana (1963:15-17).

²⁵The reconstructed protoforms of the demonstratives are **zikä* and **ziʔa*, to which Gz. *zəku* 'that' and *ziʔa-*, possessive pronoun base, may be formally compared.

²⁶Exx: Amh. *ṭim* besides *ṭəm* 'beard': Gz. *ṣəḥm*; Amh. *mize* 'best man' from **məḥz* + *äy*; see Hetzron (1972:33).

either from the shortened or the longer form: Gy. *āt*, Ch. *at*, Sl. *ad*, etc. The numerals 'two', 'three', and 'four' exhibit the following "weak" sound changes:²⁷ *hulä(t)* from **k*^h*el^hetä* (*k* > *h*); *sost* from *sälüstä* (*l* > *F*, i.e. rounding; possibly the only instance of this sound change in Amharic); *arat(t)* from **arba^htä* (*b* > *ø*; one of two instances of this change in postconsonantal position).

The Ethiopian Semitic languages all use the root *kl^h* for the numeral 'two': Gz. *käl^he(tu)*, Tna. *kälättä*, Te. *käl^hot*, Amh. *hulät(t)*, Arg. *ket*, Har. *ko^hot~köt*, Ch. *x^het*, etc. The numeral 'twenty' is also formed from this root in S. Ethiopian (Amh. *haya*, Har. *kuya*, Arg. *kiya*, Ch. *x^huya*, etc.), whilst the original inherited Semitic term survives only in N. Ethiopian (Gz. **šra*, Tna.Te. **šra*). The form *haya*, etc., is analogous to the other tens, being formed from the root of the unit numeral plus the suffix *-a*: **k(l^h)el^he + a*. The root *tny*, from which all other Semitic languages derive the numeral 'two',²⁸ survives in Ethiopian Semitic only in the day name Gz. *sänuy*, Amh. *sännö* 'Monday' and the verb 'accompany' (Tna. *sännäyā*, Amh. *sännä*, Arg. *šēñä*, Har. *ašēñä*, etc.), to which Ar. *ṭanā* 'double' and Heb. *šānā* 'repeat' may be compared.

Various attempts have been made at the etymology of the numeral 'nine', Amh. *zäṭāñ*, which has cognates throughout S. Ethiopian, whilst N. Ethiopian preserves the inherited Semitic root (Gz. *ts^hatu ~ täš^hatu*, Tna. *tš^hattä*, Te. *š^h*). Praetorius (1879:203) tried to derive it from a compound of the demonstrative *zä* plus a form of the root *hšš* 'be small' plus an adjectival ending *-āñ*: **zäh^hššāñ* 'the smaller', presumably referring to a kind of subtraction method, like Lat. *undeviginti* 'nineteen'. Leslau (1949:278-9), on the other hand, tries to relate S. Ethiopian *zṭñ* to N. Ethiopian *ts^h + -āñ* by a rather tortuous combination of metathesis and irregular sound changes. Neither is, to say the least, satisfactory, nor can any cognate be found for this S. Ethiopian root outside the Semitic languages of Ethiopia.

The numeral *šī(h)* 'thousand' is of Agaw origin: cf. Bil. *šix*, Kem. *ši*, S.Ag. *šay*, and is not from the Semitic root *syh* as suggested by Praetorius (1879:203). The borrowing of this Agaw item here may be neatly explained as "filling a gap" in the inherited numerical system. The Semitic root **šlp*, which is used for 'thousand' in the other Semitic languages, has the meaning 'ten thousand' in Ethiopian Semitic (Gz. **šl^h*, etc.), whilst 'thousand' is expressed by the phrase 'ten hundred' (Gz. **ašärtu m^hš^ht*).

We must now turn to the slightly more complicated sphere of particles, which may be either separable or inseparable, and which includes a wide range of items such as time and place adverbs, syntactic markers (conjunctions, etc.) and prepositions and postpositions. The majority of these is of inherited Semitic origin. Some of the more fundamental ones are common to all or most Semitic languages: *bä-* 'in, by', *lä-* 'to, for', *māce* 'when?', *alä* 'without', *tač* 'below', etc. Most, however, are peculiar to Ethiopian Semitic: *šə-* 'when', *əškä* 'as far as', *šənt* 'how many?', *zare* 'today', *əndä* 'as, like', *əngä* 'I don't know', *bəčča* 'only', etc. The number of items that may be attributed to a Cushitic source in this field is quite small: *ahun* 'now', *gən* 'but', *əngi* 'but rather', *na* 'come!', *gar(a)* 'with', and not all of these are incontestable.

²⁷I.e. sound changes that do not occur wherever the appropriate phonetic environment is present, but are restricted to certain lexical items only. The weak sound changes of Amharic are: (i) fricativization of *k* > *h*, *b* > *w* ~ *F* ~ *ø*, *m* > *w*; (ii) the intrusive or inorganic nasal, ...VC... > -VnC-.

²⁸Occasionally in ESA. *kl^hy* and *kl^hty* are used as cardinal numerals besides more usual *tny*, *t(n)ty*.

5.1. INSEPARABLE PARTICLES

bä-/bə- 'in, by/if', *lä-/lə-* 'to, for/in order to', *kä- ~ hä-* 'from, by, with'²⁹ and *yä-* 'of' are all straightforward common Semitic.³⁰ The conjunctive suffix *-m(m)* and its widespread cognates in Eth.Sem. (Gaf. *-mma*, Arg.Har. *-m*, and the particle of insistence in Gaf. *-m*, Har. *-m(o)*, Tna. *-mmo*, Gz.Te. *-mä*) are related to the Semitic element *-m* which occurs as an enclitic in various languages: Akk. *-ma*, ESA. *-m*, *-mw*.

The prefixed particle *se-* 'when, whilst', which also occurs in Argobba, is probably to be identified with the first element in the free standing preposition *askä* 'as far as' and is, perhaps, ultimately derived from another single pronominal element in Semitic, *t-*. The enclitic particles *-s(s)* 'but' and *-nna* 'and' may be of Cushitic origin; at least, Somali *se* and *na* have almost exactly parallel functions. Within Ethiopian Semitic Gz. *-sä* and Tna. *-n* may be compared. Similarly, the interrogativizing suffix *-no* (Gz. *-nu*) has a parallel in Cushitic, cf. Agaw *-ni* (Kemant). These Cushitic enclitics may, of course, be loans from Ethiopian Semitic and not *vice versa*. With most of these particles that are not straightforward common Semitic like *bä-*, *-m(m)*, etc., one is on rather unsure ground in trying to establish etymologies for individual items, especially where only one consonant, or one consonant plus a vowel, is involved. A more positive statement can, however, be made over the point that enclitic particles marking such syntactic functions as coordination, emphasis, interrogation, etc., are a feature more of Cushitic languages. Whilst the actual forms of such particles in Amharic cannot be readily identified as to origin, the principal behind such particles is surely to be sought amongst the Cushitic languages rather than be attributed to an inherited Semitic development.

5.2. SEPARABLE PARTICLES

ahun 'now' : Arg. *ahañ*, Har. *axxa*², Gaf. *ahuñ*, Sod. *ahu*, Ch. *äx*ä*, M. *äxuñña*, Sl. *akku*, etc.

Praetorius (1879:262) derived this from the root *kwn* 'be': **hakun*, *bäkun* 'im Zustand'. It would be a little difficult, however, to relate all the S. Ethiopian forms to such a derivation; a case could just possibly be made out for a development **bä-kun > ahun* in Amharic, but not so for the others. Cerulli (1936:232, under *aha*), on the other hand, prefers a derivation from a Sidamo demonstrative element *ak*, *hak*. The absence of the final *n/ñ* in the Harari and other forms leads one to suspect that it is an added element and not part of the root and, therefore, if this assumption is correct, a derivation from *kwn* becomes even more unlikely.

alä ~ yalä 'without' : Arg.Gaf. *alä*, Sod. *yalä*, Z. *balä*, etc.

This is most likely derived from the element *bälä* occurring in Gz. *ʔənbälä*, Te. *ʔəmbäl*, also meaning 'without', rather than from the negative verb prefix *al-*. Compare Ar.Heb. *bal*. In the Zway item *balä* the *b-* would be the preposition and not part of the root; similarly the *y-* in Amh. *yalä* is the preposition *yä-*.

²⁹According to Praetorius (1879:267) the preposition *ə-* is also ultimately from *kä-*: *kä- > hä- > ä- > ə-*. For the Semitic cognates of *kä-* cf. in particular ESA. (Minaean) *k-* 'to, towards, for', (Sabaean) *k-* 'at the time of'.

³⁰*yä-* derives from the demonstrative/relative *zä*.

amna 'last year' : Arg.Har. *amna*, Gaf. *yaymən*, Ch. *emra*, Sod. *yəmənna*, Z. *amnä*, etc.

Composed of Eth.Sem. **am* 'year' and an element *-na* also occurring in other time adverbs in S. Ethiopian: Amh. *tənantənnä* 'yesterday', Har. *tāčəna*, *sēstina* 'the day before yesterday'.

əkko emphatic particle : Tna. **əkko* ~ *-(k)ko*, Gaf. *-ko*; also Gz. *-ke*, Te. **ake*.

Probably to be related with Heb. **ak* 'surely, indeed', but note also the ESA. *-k* severative particle. As with several other particles discussed here, the nucleus is a common Semitic element *k* with various functions. The extensions on this theme, however, remain obscure; Heb. **ak*, ESA. *-k*, and Eth.Sem. (**a/ə*)*ko/e* may all be derived from the same original element, but as always in the case of one-radical etymologies, no definite statement can really be made.

əndä 'as, like', *əndə-* 'in order to': Arg.Gaf. *əndä*.

Praetorius (1879:86) derived this from Gz. **əntä* 'as'. The etymology is attractive on semantic grounds, but slightly irregular on phonetic grounds, as the development *nt > nd* cannot be established elsewhere in Amharic. Gz. **əntä* has been connected with Heb. **əṭ* 'with' (Praetorius 1873:643; also Barth 1893:17), and also, less successfully I feel, with Ar. **inda* 'at, near'. Heb. **əṭ* and Akk. *itti*, which would appear to be cognate, may have developed from **əint-*, or conversely Gz. **əntä* may be a dissimilation of **əitt-*.

ənġa 'I don't know' : Gz. **ənda^ci*, Tna. **əndə^ci*.

Amh. *ənġa* must derive from a form **əndi^ca* to account for the palatalization *d > ġ*. Gz. **ənda^ci* is usually explained as a compound of negative **ən* + *da^ci* 'my knowledge' (Sem. *√yd^c*).

ənġi contrastive particle

Praetorius (1879:85) connected this with the last item, particularly Tna. **əndə^ci*, which, it is true, could be expected to correspond to an Amharic form *ənġi*. However, the exact semantic equivalent of *ənġi* in Tigrinya is not **əndə^ci*, but **əndo*. Amh. *ənġi* is fundamentally an emphasizing, affirmative particle placed at the end of a clause, which may optionally be followed by a contrasting clause. Hence, the function of *ənġi* in sentences of the type *tägabäz ənġi* 'do help yourself!' and *təllək nāw ənġi tənnoṣ aydolläm* 'it's big, not small' is essentially the same and agrees semantically very well with a particle occurring in other S. Ethiopian languages, the form of which is entirely compatible with Amh. *ənġi*: Har. *hanġe*, Ch. *ägi*, Gy. *ägiya*, Enn. *akiya*, End. *akkiyā*, etc., all meaning 'indeed' and apparently of Cushitic origin: cf. Kambatta, Tembaro *äkkü*. The apparent formal convergence of *ənġa* and *ənġi* may, therefore, be accidental and the two may not be directly related.

əskä, *əskə-* 'up to, until' : Gz. **əskä*, Te. **asək*, Arg. *əstä*, Gaf. *əskə- ~ əškə*, etc.

This is almost certainly composed of the same element as the conjunction *əṣ-* and the preposition *kä-*. Praetorius (1879:296) suggested a connection between **əs-* and Ar. *haytu*. An immediate connection between the two, however, seems unlikely on phonetic grounds alone. If *haytu* is to be analysed as composed of a separable element *hay* + *t* + *u* (see Fleisch (1968:146)) then perhaps the element *t* and Eth.Sem. **əs-* are ultimately related.

əyyä (i) distributive particle, (ii) 'whilst'

These two formally identical but semantically separate particles are most likely to be distinguished from one another etymologically, too. The distributive *əyyä* is probably merely a reduplication of *yä-*, itself from *zä*, the demonstrative/relative pronoun. The temporal conjunction *əyyä*, on the other hand, is probably to be connected with Gz. *ʔənzä*, to which Ar. *ʔidā* may be compared.

bəčča 'only' : Gz. *baḥtu* 'only', *bəḥut* 'alone', Tna. *bəḥti*, Te. *bəḥət*, Arg. *bəčča*.

Amharic and Argobba *bəčča* derive from **bəḥt + ya*. Praetorius (1879:140) explained this as a contraction of Gz. *bäʔahatti* 'in one'. This seems highly unlikely both on phonetic and structural grounds. Rather Eth.Sem. *bḥt* should be compared with Ar. *baḥt* 'pure' and ESA. *bḥt* of the same meaning.

gən 'but' : Tna. *gən ~ gəʔən*, Arg.Gaf.Go.Sod. *gən*.

Praetorius (1879:149) derived this from the root *wgn* (*wägän* 'side'). However, a similar item occurs in Agaw, Kem. *gän*, which is, moreover, often combined with the item *där* (*dära* 'thing') as *därgän*. This appears as a loan in Amharic as *daru gən*, or, with *daru* translated into Amharic terms, as *nägär gən* (Tubiana 1970:343-7).

gar(a) 'with' : Gaf. *gara*.

This postposition is probably a loan from Galla *gara*.

lay 'upon' : Gz. *laʕlä*, Tna. *ləʕli*, Te. *läʕal*, Har. *läʔay ~ läy*, Gaf. *lağgä*, Sod. *lalä*, Ch.Go. *nän*, etc.

The common Eth.Sem. root *lʕl* is composed of the Semitic prepositional elements *l* 'to, for' and *ʕl* 'on'. The palatalization in the Amharic, Harari, and Gafat forms arises from *laʕle-*, as occurring in Ge'ez before pronoun suffixes.

mäče 'when?' : Har. *mäči*, Arg. *mäčče*, Gaf.Ch. *mäčä*, etc.

All derive from **mäte*, which Ludolf (1698:13) actually records for Old Amharic. Common Semitic *mty*. The N. Ethiopian languages use a term of different origin: Gz. *maʔze*, Tna. *mäʔas*, Te. *mäʔaze*.

nä-w 'is'

Functionally this is a verb, but its etymology and features of its inflection betray its origin as a declarative particle. The stem *nä-*, to which various pronominal endings are added (originally object markers), is common to S. Ethiopian in the function of copula (Hetzron 1972:80). The same pattern, *nä* + pronoun suffixes, occurs in Ge'ez as a declarative or deictic: *nahu* 'behold (him)!', (rarer *näyo*), *näyomu* 'behold them!', etc. Ethiopian Semitic *nä-* is related to the common Semitic declarative particle, cf. Ar. *ʔinna-*, Heb. *hinne-*.

na 'come' : Gz.Te. *näʕa*, Tna. *noʕa*, Har. *naʔ*.

An irregular imperative of the verb 'to come' occurs in most Cushitic languages, as well as in other Afroasiatic languages. The Eth.Sem. form *nä^c*, the inflection of which follows the usual imperative pattern (Gz. Sg.m. *nä^ca*, Sg.f. *nə^ci*, Pl.m. *nə^cu*, Pl.f. *nä^ca*; Amh. Sg.m. *na*, Sg.f. *näy*, Pl. *nu*), is most probably to be connected with the comparable irregular imperative in most of the Agaw languages: Bil. *laxⁿ*, *laxⁿa*, Kem. *lağ*, *lağa*, etc. It is not possible to say outright which has borrowed from which here, if, indeed, borrowing has taken place. However, in the absence of any formal cognates of Eth.Sem. *nä^c*- in the rest of Semitic, an Agaw origin would not seem unlikely.

sənt 'how much?'

Arg. *sənt* is the only direct formal cognate, though other Ethiopian Semitic languages exhibit forms which are almost certainly ultimately related to *sənt*: Gz. *ʔəsfontu*, perhaps derived from interrogative *ʔəf(o)* + *sənt-u*; also Har. *misti*, Sl.Wl.Z. *məst*, Gaf. *əmməstā*, Ms. *əmməst*, perhaps composed of an interrogative *mə-* and *sə(n)t*. The element *sənt* itself would seem to be a primary nominal derivative of the root *wsn* 'limit'. There is no need to assume, as Praetorius (1879:129) does, that Amh. *sənt* is a development of an earlier **ʔəsfont*; *sənt* could merely be the noun without any prefixed interrogative.

tač 'below'³¹

: Gz. *tahtā*, Tna. *tahti*, Te. *tāhat*, Har. *taḥay*, Gaf. *taččä*, Ch.Gy. *täte*, Sod. *tata*, Wl. *tat*, etc.

Common Semitic *tḥt*. The palatalization in Amh. *tač* and elsewhere derives from *taḥte-*, as occurring in Ge'ez before pronoun suffixes.

tənant(ə)na 'yesterday'

: Gz. *təmaləm*, Tna. *təmalī*, Arg. *təmay*, Gaf. *təlam(ə)na*, Ch.Gy. *təramä*, Go. *tamäñña*, etc.

An alternative form *təlant(ə)na* also occurs in Amharic. Amharic *tənant*, etc., is the only Eth.Sem. form with a suffix *-t*; both *tml* and metathesized *tlm* occur in Ethiopian Semitic. The suffix *-(ə)nna* also occurs on *amna* 'last year'. Common Semitic *tml*: cf. Heb. *tēmōl* ~ *ʔetmōl*, Aram. *tēmāley* ~ *ʔitmāley*, Akk. *timāli* ~ *itimāli*.

wädä 'towards'

: Gz. *wäʔädä* ~ *wəʔädä* 'next to, by the side of', Arg. *wädä* 'towards'.

This is composed of the conjunction *wä-* and an adverbial accusative of *ʔəd* 'hand'. Similar constructions employing the noun 'hand' occur in other Semitic languages; cf. especially Akk. *ida* 'by the side of', Soq. *ʔid* 'towards, into', Šheri *id*.

wäyəm(m) ~ *wäyəs(s)* 'or'

: Tna. *wäyəm* ~ *wäy*, Arg. *wem*, Gaf.Ch. *wäy*, Sod. *wäyəs*, Sl.Z. *we*, etc.

This is derived from something akin to Gz. *wämimmä* used in alternate questions. The form *wämimmä* > *wäyəm(m)* has been analysed as *wäy* + conjunctive enclitic *-m(m)*, hence the substitution of *-s(s)* in some forms, and the dropping of *-m(m)* in others.

³¹Also *hač* from **kač*, exhibiting the *k/t* interchange found elsewhere in Amharic.

yet 'where?' : Gz. ^ʔayte, Tna. ^ʔayti, Te. ^ʔaya, Arg. yed, M. että, Ch. ete. Amh. yet and Arg. yed must derive from *^ʔayt, as the Tigrinya form.

The root is the common Semitic interrogative ^ʔy, to which various suffixes are added to form the interrogative adverb: cf. Ar. ^ʔayna, Heb. ^ʔē ~ ^ʔēkhā, Aram. ^ʔaykā, Akk. ayyānu.

zare 'today'

This appears to have no cognates elsewhere in Ethiopian Semitic, or in Semitic in general. Praetorius (1879:57, 169) ingeniously suggested a derivation from a compound of the demonstrative zä + ^ʔabre(t) (Gz. ^ʔabret 'alternation, turn, period of office') and compared Ar. *al-mutabāriyāni* 'day and night' as a derivative of the same Semitic root, *bry*, with a specialized temporal sense. A form like *zä^ʔabre could, indeed, develop into Amh. zare. The N. Ethiopian languages preserve the common Semitic term for 'day' here: Gz.Te. yom, Tna. lomí ~ lom. Most of the S. Ethiopian languages use items cognate with Amh. ahun 'now', except for Har. ḥōǧi, Sl.Wl. awǧe, Z. awǧi, which may be cognate with Tna. ḥəzi ~ ḥəǧǧi 'now'.

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