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### Article

*Towards a Comprehensive Edition of the Arabic–Ethiopic Glossary of  
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Part III: New Readings from the Third Sheet*

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## Bibliographical abbreviations used in this volume

- AE* *Annales d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1955ff.
- ÄthFor* Äthiopistische Forschungen, 1–35, ed. by E. HAMMERSCHMIDT, 36–40, ed. by S. UHLIG (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner (1–34), 1977–1992; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (35–40), 1994–1995).
- AethFor* Aethiopistische Forschungen, 41–73, ed. by S. UHLIG (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998–2011); 74–75, ed. by A. BAUSI and S. UHLIG (*ibid.*, 2011f.); 76ff. ed. by A. BAUSI (*ibid.*, 2012ff.).
- AION* *Annali dell'Università degli studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale'*, Napoli: Università di Napoli 'L'Orientale' (former Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli), 1929ff.
- BSOAS* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London, 1917ff.).
- CSCO* Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1903ff.
- EAE* S. UHLIG, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, I: A–C; II: D–Ha; III: He–N; in cooperation with A. BAUSI, eds, IV: O–X (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010); A. BAUSI in cooperation with S. UHLIG, eds, V: Y–Z, *Supplementa, Addenda et Corrigenda, Maps, Index* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014).
- EMML* Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa.
- JAH* *The Journal of African History*, Cambridge 1960ff.
- JES* *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1963ff.
- OrChr* *Oriens Christianus*, Leipzig–Roma–Wiesbaden 1901ff.
- PdP* *La Parola del Passato. Rivista di studi classici*, Napoli 1946ff.
- PICES 8* TADDESE BEYENE, ed., *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, University of Addis Ababa (26–30 November) 1984*, I–II (Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies–Frankfurt am Main: Frobenius Institut, Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, 1988–1989).
- PICES 10* C. LEPAGE and É. DELAGE, eds, *Études éthiopiennes: Actes de la X<sup>e</sup> Conférence internationale des études éthiopiennes, Paris, 24–28 août 1988* (Paris: Société française pour les études éthiopiennes, 1994).
- PO* *Patrologia Orientalis*, 1903ff.
- RIÉ* É. BERNAND, A.J. DREWES, and R. SCHNEIDER, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*, I: *Les documents*, II: *Les planches* (Paris: (Académie des inscriptions et belle-lettres) Diffusion de Boccard, 1991).
- RRALm* *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma, 1892ff.
- RSE* *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Roma, 1941–1981, Roma–Napoli, 1983ff.
- SAe* *Scriptores Aethiopici*.

## Towards a Comprehensive Edition of the Arabic–Ethiopic Glossary of al-Malik al-Afḍal Part III: New Readings from the Third Sheet

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This article is the third and last in a series of preliminary publications of selected entries from the Arabic–Ethiopic Glossary of al-Malik al-Afḍal (Varisco and Smith 1998, sheets 217–219). In Bulakh and Kogan 2013 and 2014, the new readings from first and second sheets of the Glossary have been discussed. The present contribution focuses on the new readings from the third sheet, updating and correcting the results previously obtained in Muth 2009–2010.<sup>1</sup>

### 219 A 3

التركاس | <sup>o</sup>*at-tarkās* ‘carquois’ (Dozy 1881, I, 145) فِلاطَةُ | *filāṭah*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*fəlaṣa/fəlaṭa*, cf. Tna. *fəlaṣa* ‘arrow (for a bow)’ (Kane 2000, 2648), Amh. *fəlaṣa* ‘arrow, projectile’ (Kane 1990, 2271, Guidi 1901, 870), *fəlaṣṣa/fəlaṭṭa* id. (Gankin 1969, 863). The semantic overlap between the Arabic term (‘quiver’) and the Ethiopic gloss (‘arrow’) is not complete, but the identification appears to be reasonably certain.

### 219 A 4

النشاب | <sup>o</sup>*an-nuššāb* ‘arrows’ (Lane 1863–1893, 2792) حناب | *ḥnāt*

The Ethiopic gloss, reconstructed as *\*ḥənač*, can be directly identified with Har. *ḥināč* ‘arrow’ (Leslau 1963, 84). Further ES cognates are structurally different: Gə<sup>o</sup>əz *ḥaṣṣ* ‘arrow, dart’ (Leslau 1987, 247), Tgr. *ḥaṣ* ‘sting’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 103), Amh. *ḥaṣ* ‘arrow’ (Kane 1990, 35: ‘Gə<sup>o</sup>əz only’).

### 219 A 5

الترس الكبير | <sup>o</sup>*at-tursu l-kabīru* ‘a big shield’ (Lane 1863–1893, 302)<sup>2</sup>  
عْخْرَه | *ağriḥ*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*<sup>o</sup>agri*. The spelling of the Glossary suggests initial <sup>o</sup>, which cannot be supported by comparable Ethio-

<sup>1</sup> Our work on this project has been supported by RFH/PIHΦ (grant no. 12-04-00092a), to which we extend our sincere gratitude.

<sup>2</sup> The non-grammatical *sukūn* above the final letter of nominal lexemes is a frequent feature of the Glossary (cf. 217 D 6, 217 D 7, etc.).

pic forms as none of the languages in question preserves the etymological ʿ: Amh. *aggəre*, *aggər* ‘large shield which protects the entire body’ (Kane 1990, 1324), Har. *agri* ‘shield’ (Leslau 1963, 21), Səl. *agre*, Zay *agri* id. (Leslau 1979b, 27). Gəʿəz ʿ*agre* ‘large shield’ (Leslau 1987, 11, absent from Dillmann 1865) is likely an Amharism and, therefore, has no bearing on the nature of the initial guttural. According to Leslau (1979b, 27), the Ethiopian Semitic lexemes listed above are borrowed from Cushitic, cf. Had. *agira* ‘shield’ (Hudson 1989, 269).

### 219 A 6

While the Arabic entry remains illegible, the reading of the Ethiopic gloss is fairly certain: جَرِيحَر | *ǧarǧar*, to be reconstructed as \**ǧärəngär*. The comparable Ethiopic terms are Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>äräng<sup>w</sup>ära* ‘scabbard’, *g<sup>w</sup>äräng<sup>w</sup>äre*, *g<sup>w</sup>ərang<sup>w</sup>äre* ‘quiver; spear case; case for carrying sharp instruments’ (Kane 1990, 1937, Guidi 1901, 727; attested in Esteves Pereira 1892, 225), Wol. *ǧärängäre* ‘shield’ (Leslau 1979b, 295), Muḥ. Msq. Gog. *ǧärängär*, Sod. *ǧärängäre* id. (*ibid.*).

### 219 A 9

الام لعنان | ʿ*al-ʿumm*- ‘mother’ (Lane 1863–1893, 89); *luǧatāni* ‘two words’

Both Ethiopic glosses are left undeciphered in Muth 2009–2010, yet for both convincing interpretations can be proposed.

1) انانى | ʿ*nātī*<sup>3</sup>

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as \*ʿ*annate* on the basis of Amh. *ənnat* ‘mother’ (Kane 1990, 1221; also in Old Amharic, Littmann 1944, 492, Ludolf 1698, 60). Cf. also Tna. *ənnat* (Kane 2000, 1480), apparently an Amharism. Since the Amharic term has no final *i* or *e*, the ending of the Ethiopic gloss must be explained as the 1 sg. pronominal suffix (Amh. *ənnate* ‘my mother’).

2) ادوب | ʿ*ndwt*

The reconstruction of the Ethiopic gloss is \*ʿ*əndot*, cf. Səl. Wol. *əndät* ‘mother’ (Leslau 1979b, 18), Čaha Eža Muḥ. *adot*, Gyt. *adöt*, Ěnm. Ěnd. *adöt* (*ibid.*) and, perhaps, Tna. *addä* (Kane 2000, 1529). One has to admit that none of the cognates fully corresponds to the gloss: the East Gurage terms lack the labial vowel, whereas the Gunnän-Gurage lexemes have no *-n-*.

<sup>3</sup> The *nūn* rather resembles a *lām* in shape, but absence of ligature with the ʿ*alif* makes it clear that *lām* was not intended. For a similar case (a lengthened *bā*) cf. 218 F 5.

219 A 23

الحصْبِيَّة | *al-ḥaṣabat*- ‘measles’ (Lane 1863–1893, 582) اكلحس | *°nklḥs*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*°ankälḥis*: Amh. *ankälis* ‘measles’ (Kane 1990, 1224; Guidi 1901, 467; Ludolf 1698, 60).

219 A 24

الاصم | *al-°ašamm*- ‘deaf’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1724) دُونَقَه | *daḥnaqah*<sup>4</sup>

The Ethiopic gloss, reconstructed as *\*donka*, is to be identified with Gəʿəz *dənḳəw* ‘deaf, hard of hearing’ (Leslau 1987, 138, Dillmann 1865, 1116), Har. *dōnka* ‘deaf’ (Leslau 1963, 58), Wol. *donkä*, Səl. *dōnka* id. (Leslau 1979b, 214), Gaf. *dänḳu-š* id. (Leslau 1945, 153), Ḑnd. *dānu* id. (Leslau 1979b, 214).

219 A 25

الاجنم | *al-°ağdam*- ‘having his arm, or hand, cut off, or amputated’ (Lane 1863–1893, 398) نَدْيَه | *ndayah*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*nädäyā*<sup>5</sup>, cf. Muḥ. *näde* ‘leper whose extremities are cut’ (Leslau 1979b, 450, Leslau 1979a, 912). In East Gurage, the cognate term *näday* means ‘leprosy’: Wol. *Zay näday* (Leslau 1979b, 450, Leslau 1979a, 1167). According to Leslau (1979b, 450), the Gurage terms are borrowed from Kafa (cf. Kafa *nadaō*, *nadaḡwō*, *nadayō* ‘lebbroso’, Cerulli 1951, 478) or Sidaama. Interestingly, the meaning ‘leper’ is also registered for the Amharic cognate of Gəʿəz *ndy* ‘to be poor’ (Leslau 1987, 387): Amh. *näday* ‘poor, needy, destitute person, leper (euphemism)’ (Kane 1990, 1056, Ludolf 1698, 52, Guidi 1901, 394), which may be likewise a result of the influence of the terms for ‘leprosy’.

219 A 27

الحامل لعنان | *al-ḥāmīl*- ‘pregnant’ (Lane 1863–1893, 649); *luğatāni* ‘two words’

The second Ethiopic gloss has been correctly identified in Muth 2009–2010, 102 as *ērguz* (*\*urguza*) = Amh. *ərguz* ‘pregnant, gravid’ (Kane 1990, 417). The first gloss, left undeciphered in Muth 2009–2010, can be plausibly interpreted as لَقْبَه | *lqbah* (the stroke of the *lām* is very short, rather like that of a *bā*). The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*lākäba*, compa-

<sup>4</sup> The reading *dänqoro* in Muth 2009–2010, 102 is paleographically difficult.

<sup>5</sup> For *-äyāb* corresponding to *-e* cf. 219 C 20: نجانتَه | *ngādayah* = *\*nāgadäyā*, cf. Amh. *nāggade* ‘merchant’.

rable to Gaf. *läkkäbay* ‘enceinte’ (Leslau 1956, 212, Leslau 1945, 161), Sod. *läkkäba* ‘pregnant’ (Leslau 1979b, 382).

### 219 A 28

الولادة | <sup>ʾ</sup>*al-wilādat*- ‘bearing forth a child’ (Lane 1863–1893, 2966)

حَرَاس | *ḥarās*

The Ethiopic gloss, reconstructed as *\*ḥaras*, is to be compared to Gəʿəz *ḥarās* ‘who is with child or with young’ (Leslau 1987, 264, Dillmann 1865, 588), Tna. *ḥaras* ‘woman in confinement, parturient woman’ (Kane 2000, 188), Tgr. *ḥarās* ‘woman in childbed, female animal with young’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 67), Amh. *aras* ‘woman in childbed’ (Kane 1990, 1146), Arg. *haras* id. (Leslau 1997, 206), Har. *ḥarās* id. (Leslau 1963, 87), Səl. *arās*, Wol. Zay *aras* id. (Leslau 1979b, 91), Gaf. *aras* id. (Leslau 1956, 182). The Ethiopian Semitic terms, while structurally compatible with the Arabic entry, denote a woman in childbed rather than birth as a process.

### 219 B 2

العرس | <sup>ʾ</sup>*al-irs*- ‘wife’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1999) مَشْر | *mšr*

The Ethiopic gloss, reconstructed as *\*mušər*, is to be compared to Amh. *mušərṛa* ‘newlywed, bride, bridegroom’ (Kane 1990, 228), Zay *mušru* ‘bride, bridegroom’ (Leslau 1979b, 434), Gaf. *mušrə-š* ‘betrothed’ (Leslau 1945, 164), Čaha Eža Msq. *məšra*, Ənm. Gyt. *məšəra*, Ənd. *miširä*, Muḥ. Msq. *mušra*, Gog. Sod. *mušərṛa* ‘bride, bridegroom’ (Leslau 1979b, 434). Note that the meaning ‘bride’ is not registered for <sup>ʾ</sup>*irs*- in the available Classical and dialectal dictionaries: the expected shape of the Arabic entry would be <sup>ʾ</sup>*al-ʿarūs*- ‘bride, newly wed girl’. Therefore, the possibility of a graphic mistake on the part of the copyist is not to be ruled out: the expected *wāw* after the *rā* could be omitted haplographically (the two letters are often very similar in the Glossary).

### 219 B 3

الرضاع | <sup>ʾ</sup>*ar-riḍāʿ*- ‘sucking’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1097) تَاطَب | *tāṭb*

The Ethiopic gloss must be related to the common Ethiopian Semitic root *\*ṭbw* ‘to suck (breast)’: Gəʿəz *ṭabawa* (Leslau 1987, 587), Tna. *ṭäbäwä* (Kane 2000, 2458), Tgr. *ṭabā* (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 616), Amh. *ṭäbba* (Kane 1990, 2139), Arg. *ṭäbba* (Leslau 1997, 222), Har. *ṭäba* (Leslau 1963, 151), Səl. Wol. *ṭobe*, Zay *ṭobū* (Leslau 1979b, 607), *ṭäba* (Leslau 1945, 176), Eža Muḥ. *ṭäbb<sup>w</sup>ä*, Msq. Gog. Sod. *ṭobbä*, Čaha Ənm. Gyt. *ṭäp<sup>w</sup>ä*, Ənd. *ṭoppä* (Leslau 1979b, 607). In most languages, this root has also produced the causative stem with the meaning ‘to suckle’: Gəʿəz <sup>ʾ</sup>*aṭbāwa* (Leslau 1987, 587), Tna. <sup>ʾ</sup>*aṭbäwät* (Kane 2000, 2458), Tgr. <sup>ʾ</sup>*aṭbā* (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 616), Amh. *aṭäbba*

(Kane 1990, 2139), Ancient Har. *aṭaba* (Cerulli 1936, 433), Səl. Wol. *aṭobe* (Leslau 1979b, 607, Leslau 1979a, 1021, 1183), Eža Muḥ. *aṭabb<sup>wä</sup>*, Gog. Sod. *aṭobbä*, Ənd. *aṭoppä* (Leslau 1979b, 607, Leslau 1979a, 605, 1106).

The form in the Glossary can hardly correspond to a nominal lexeme; rather, a feminine form of the causative stem (*\*taṭäb(a)* ‘she suckles’) is to be surmised.

#### 219 B 4

الحاربه | *al-ḡāriyat-* ‘a girl or young woman; a female slave’ (Lane 1863–1893, 416) حافه | *ḡāfh*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*gafä*, comparable to Har. *gāfa* ‘slave’ (Leslau 1963, 69), Ancient Har. *gāfā*, *gāfi* (Cerulli 1936, 416), *gafi* (Wagner 1983, 286). The semantic discrepancy between the Arabic entry (‘female slave’) and the hypothetic Harari source word (with the general meaning ‘slave’) is not a serious obstacle.

#### 219 B 11

الفس | *an-nafs-* ‘soul’ (Lane 1863–1893, 2827) ورن | *wazan*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*wāzän*: Har. *wāzāna* ‘chest, courage’ (Leslau 1963, 163), Wol. *wāzän*, Səl. Zay *wāzänä* ‘heart, chest’ (Leslau 1979b, 675). Cf. also Amh. *wāzāna* ‘glossy appearance of the face, attractive appearance’ (Kane 1990, 1555).

#### 219 B 13

المسجد | *al-masḡid-* ‘mosque, house of prayer’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1308)

بسا | *byt ḥstān* or *byt ḥsyān*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*betä ḥstān* or *\*betäḥsiyan*, comparable to the well-known Ethiopic terms for ‘church’: Gə‘əz *beta krəstiyān* (Leslau 1987, 294), Tna. *betä krəstiyān* (Kane 2000, 1154), Tgr. *bet kəstān* (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 294), Amh. *beta krəstiyān*, *betäksiyān*, *betäskiyat* (Kane 1990, 912), Har. *bētäskān* (Leslau 1963, 48), Gog. *betä krəstyan*, Čaha *betäskyan*, Ənd. *betäskān*, Eža *bätäskyan*, Gyt. *bätäskyan*, Muḥ. Msq. *bätāstan*, Gog. Sod. *bätəstan*, Sod. *bäəstan* (Leslau 1979b, 162).

#### 219 B 17

الحدار | *al-ḡidār-* ‘wall’ (Lane 1863–1893, 389)<sup>6</sup> حو | *ḡwl*

<sup>6</sup> For the non-grammatical *sukūn* above the final letter of a noun cf. n. 2.

The Ethiopic gloss can be reconstructed as \**g<sup>w</sup>al* on the basis of Čaha Eža *g<sup>w</sup>alla* ‘outside part of the wall’ (Leslau 1979b, 271).

#### 219 B 20

The Arabic entry remains obscure. The straightforward reading الماربر could perhaps be related to the verbal root ʾzr ‘to wrap’ (Piamenta 1990, 7), cf. *mayzar* ‘curtain’ (*ibid.*).

The interpretation of the Ethiopic gloss is, however, quite certain: دبتره | *dbtrah*, to be reconstructed as \**däbtära*. The comparable forms are Gəʿəz *dabtarā* ‘tabernacle, (royal) tent, hut, pavilion, sanctuary’ (Leslau 1987, 122, Dillmann 1865, 1106), Amh. *däbtära* ‘tent’ (Kane 1990, 1786). According to Kane, Amharic *däbtära* is an unadapted Gəʿəz word (‘Gəʿəz only’). The presence of a typically Gəʿəz lexeme with no genuine Southern cognates in the Glossary is thus remarkable.

#### 219 B 21

الصيوان | ʾaš-šiwān- ‘a repository for a garment’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1750)  
طلالموت | *tlālmwt*

The Ethiopic gloss can be reconstructed as \**ṭälal mot*/\**čälal mot* on the basis of Har. *čäläl moʾot* ‘kind of basket used as decoration of the house’ (Leslau 1963, 51).

#### 219 B 22

عود الخام | ʿādu l-ḥāmi ‘the stalk of a tent’ (Lane 1863–1893, 2190)  
وَلْتَة | *waltah*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as \**wälta*, comparable to Tgr. *wältā* ‘round piece on the top of a round hut’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 429), Amh. *walta* ‘a round, flat wooden plaque of sycamore, *zəgba* or *wanza* wood which is placed at the top of the central pillar and against the underside of the roof in a traditional round Ethiopian house’ (Kane 1990, 1486). Cf. also Gyt. *wañät*, Enm. *wañäd*, End. *waññod* ‘central pillar of the house’ (Leslau 1979b, 658).

#### 219 B 23

المَحْدَه | ʾal-miḥaddat- ‘a pillow or cushion’ (Lane 1863–1893, 706)  
بُرْكُم | *burkum*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The first letter is to be interpreted as *bā*, despite the second dot.

The Ethiopic gloss should be reconstructed as *\*burkum*: Amh. *bərkwamma* ‘wooden headrest’ (Kane 1990, 886), Wol. *borkimma*, Zay *burkumma* ‘headrest of wood’ (Leslau 1979b, 154). These lexemes are borrowed from Cushitic (cf. *ibid.*): Had. *barkumma* ‘head-support’ (Hudson 1989, 271), Kam. *borkaanu* ‘head-support’ (*ibid.* 311), Sid. *barko* ‘head-support of wood’ (*ibid.* 352), Bur. *bórke-e* ‘headrest’ (Sasse 1982, 40, with further Cushitic cognates).

### 219 B 26

الحبال مطلقا لغتان | *°al-ḥibālu muṭlaqan* ‘ropes in general’ (Lane 1863–1893, 504; for *muṭlaqan* ‘in general’ v. *ibid.*); *luḡatāni* ‘two words’

Both glosses are left undeciphered in Muth 2009–2010, although for both quite plausible interpretations can be proposed.

1) ودر | *wdr*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*wädärä*: Amh. *wädäro* ‘a thick rope of fiber’ (Kane 1990, 1564), Səl. Wol. *wädäro* ‘rope, vein of a special leaf of the *äsät* when used as a rope, measure of land’ (Leslau 1979b, 644), Gaf. *wädärä* ‘corde’ (Leslau 1956, 243), Čaha Eža Ěnm. Ěnd. Gyt. Muḥ. Msq. Gog. Sod. *wädärä* ‘rope, vein of a special leaf of the *äsät* when used as a rope, measure of land’ (Leslau 1979b, 644).

2) حمد | *ḡmd*

The Ethiopic gloss, reconstructed as *\*gämäd*, is to be compared to Tna. *gämäd* ‘hempen rope, cord, hawser, rigging’ (Kane 2000, 2244), Amh. *gämäd* ‘rope’ (*ibid.* 1915, Ludolf 1698, 86), Arg. *gämäd* ‘rope’ (Leslau 1997, 201). Cf. also Gəʿez *gamad* ‘cord, rope’ (Leslau 1987, 193, absent from Dillmann 1865 and probably borrowed from Amharic).

### 219 B 27

المضمد | *°al-miḍmad-* ‘yoke’ (Piamenta 1990, 296, Behnstedt 1992–2006, 754; cf. *miḍmadat-*, Lane 1863–1893, 1803) قنبر | *qnbar*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*känbär*. The comparable Ethiopic designations of ‘yoke’ are Tna. *kämbär* (Kane 2000, 917), Amh. *känbär*, *kämbär* (Kane 1990, 786; *kämbär*: Ludolf 1698, 32), Arg. *kämbär* (Leslau 1997, 216), Wol. *kämbärrä* (Leslau 1979b, 480), Gaf. *kämbärä* (Leslau 1956, 223), Čaha Eža Ěnm. Ěnd. Gyt. Muḥ. Sod. *kämbär*, Gog. Sod. *kämbärrä* (Leslau 1979b, 480).

### 219 B 28

القعدة | *°al-qaāda* ‘seat or couch’ (Piamenta 1990, 406; cf. also Behnstedt 1992–2006, 1011, Lane 1863–1893, 2547) عرش | *arš*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*arš*, to be identified with Arg. of Aliyu Amba *arš* = Amh. *alga* ‘bed, throne, loft’ (Girma Demeke 2013, 269), Har. *arši* ‘throne’ (Leslau 1963, 32; also in Ancient Har.: *arši*, Cerulli 1936, 410). The Argobba and Harari words are borrowed from Arabic *arš*- ‘throne’ (Lane 1863–1893, 2000).

### 219 B 29

الباب | *al-bāb*- ‘door’ (Lane 1863–1893, 272) سانيق | *sāniq*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*sanək*: Amh. *sanka* ‘board, plank, lumber, leaf of a door, door’ (Kane 1990, 536, Ludolf 1698, 25: ‘clausura’), Wol. *sanka*, Səl. *sānka* ‘door of wood’ (Leslau 1979b, 553), Čaha Eža Muḥ. Msq. Gog. Sod. *sanka*, Ənm. Gyt. *sānka*, Ənd. *sānkä* id. (*ibid.*).

### 219 C 3

روب البعر | *rawtu l-baʿri* ‘dung of cattle’ (Lane 1863–1893, 226, 1177)<sup>8</sup>  
حُبَّتْ | *hubat*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*hubät*: Gəʿəz *kəbo* ‘dry cow’s dung’ (Leslau 1987, 272, not in Dillmann 1865), Tna. *kubo* ‘dried cake of cow dung, used as fuel where wood is scarce’ (Kane 2000, 1623), Tgr. *kəbo*, *kəbotat*, *kebo* ‘dry excrements of animals’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 409), Amh. *kubät*, *kəbot* ‘dry cow’s dung used as fuel’ (Kane 1990, 1421), Arg. *kubät* ‘dry dung’ (Leslau 1997, 207), Wol. *kəbot*, Səl. *kəböt*, Zay *hubut* id. (Leslau 1979b, 335), Gaf. *kubät* ‘excréments secs’ (Leslau 1956, 208), Gog. *kubäta*, Sod. *kəbota*, Muḥ. Msq. *xubäta*, Čaha Eža Gyt. *xəwäta*, Muḥ. *xuwäta*, Ənm. *xəwäda*, Ənd. *həwäd* ‘dry dung’ (Leslau 1979b, 335).

### 219 C 7

الاحضر | *al-ahḍar*- ‘green, verdant; of a dark or an ashy, dast-colour; applied to a man: tawny, or brownish, black, black-complexioned’ (Lane 1863–1893, 756) طَيِّم | *ṭayyım*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*ṭayyəm*. The comparable ES terms are Gəʿəz *šallim* ‘black’ (Leslau 1987, 556), Tna. *šallim* id. (Kane 2000, 2541), Tgr. *šallim* id. (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 632), Amh. *ṭäyyämä* ‘to be dark of complexion, dark brown of skin (between *käy* (light brown) and *ṭəkür* (black))’, *ṭäyyəm*, *ṭäyyəma* ‘dark brown of complexion, color of a

<sup>8</sup> This combination appears to be pleonastic: *baʿr*- already means ‘the dung of camels, sheep and goats’. The reading *baʿir* ‘camel’ is not to be ruled out completely, which would yield the meaning ‘camel’s dung’ for the whole collocation.

mule's coat' (Kane 1990, 2172), Arg. *čelläma* 'be dark' (Leslau 1997, 197), Har. *ṭäy* 'black' (Leslau 1963, 157; also in Ancient Har.: *ṭay* 'schwarz', Wagner 1983, 314), Səl. *tēm*, Wol. *ṭem* 'black (man, cattle, object)' (Leslau 1979b, 619), Səl. Wol. *ṭäläme* 'to be dark, to be black' (*ibid.* 618), Zay *čälämä*, Səl. *čälämä*, Wol. *čelämä* id. (*ibid.* 180), Gaf. *šälläma* 'noir' (Leslau 1956, 235), Sod. *čällämä*, Gog. Muḥ. Msq. *čällämä*, Ənm. *čänämä* 'to be dark, to be black' (Leslau 1979b, 180).

Both semantically and phonetically, the Amharic term *ṭäyyəm* is the closest to the Ethiopic gloss. In view of the semantics of the comparable ES terms, Arabic *ʿal-ʿahḍar-* is likely intended here as a designation of a skin colour ('dark, black') rather than in its primary meaning 'green'. This makes Amharic *ṭäyyəm*, *ṭäyyəma* the most likely candidate as the source word: it is not the basic colour term for 'black' (as its cognates elsewhere in ES are), but rather displays the specialized meaning 'dark (of complexion)'.<sup>9</sup>

#### 219 C 9

الحدید | *ʿal-ğadīd-* 'new' (Lane 1863–1893, 387) هَحْسَن | *hağğs*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*hağğəs/\*haggəs*, compared to Gəʿəz *ḥaddis* 'new, recent, junior' (Leslau 1987, 225), Tna. *ḥaddis*, *ḥaddiš*, *ḥaddəs*, *ḥadduš* (Kane 2000, 285), Tgr. *ḥaddis* (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 94), Amh. *addis* (*haddis*, *ağğis*) (Kane 1990, 1306, 1317; Old Amh. *ḥağəs*, Ludolf 1698, 8; *ḥaddasa* 'neue Kraft gewinnen', Littmann 1944, 484), Arg. *hağəs*, *hağəs* (Leslau 1997, 204), Har. *ḥağīs* (Leslau 1963, 81), Wol. *ağis*, Səl. *hağis* (Leslau 1979b, 18), Gaf. *addäsä* 'être neuf' (Leslau 1956, 172), *hadis* (Leslau 1945, 158), Gog. *addis*, Sod. *ağğis* (Leslau 1979b, 18). The concept 'new' is somewhat unexpected in the present section of the Glossary, otherwise restricted to colour terms.

#### 219 C 14

الصالح | *ʿas-šāliḥ-* 'good, incorrupt, right, just, righteous, virtuous, honest' (Lane 1863–1893, 1715) مَلَاحِشْ | *mulāḥis*

The Ethiopic gloss, reconstructed as *\*molāḥəs*, can be compared to Gəʿəz *manakos* 'monk' (Leslau 1987, 350), Tna. *mänäkwās* 'monk, religious, anchorite' (Kane 2000, 437), Amh. *mäläkse*, *mäläkuse*, *mäläk<sup>w</sup>əse*, *moläk<sup>w</sup>əse*, *moläkuse*, *moläkse* 'monk' (Kane 1990, 156), *mänäkse*, *mäläkuse*, *mänokse*, *monäk<sup>w</sup>əse*, *mänäkse*, *monäk<sup>w</sup>se*, *monäkse* id. (*ibid.* 274), Wol. Səl. *molokse* id. (Leslau 1979b, 403), Ənd. Msq. *mäläk<sup>w</sup>se* id. (*ibid.*).

The absence of spirantization of *k* in the attested forms is unproblematic: as is well known, this process was more widespread in Old Amharic (probably also in other Southern ES languages of the same period) than in mod-

ern literary Amharic (Podolsky 1991, 32f.). In the Glossary, Arabic *ḥā* corresponding to *k* in modern ES languages is indeed not uncommon, cf. 217 A 27A, 217 B 20, 217 E 17 etc.

### 219 C 15

الساحر | *ʿas-sāḥir*- ‘an enchanter’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1317) خِدَالَى | *ḡadālay*

The reconstruction \**ḡadäläy* corresponds to Gəʿəz *ḡʷədāle*, *gudāle* ‘evil spirit, man possessed by an evil spirit’ (Leslau 1987, 182) and Amh. *gudale*, *ḡʷədale* ‘demon; illness which renders one mentally deficient; pagan idol’ (Kane 1990, 2038). The meaning ‘priest of a pagan deity’ (best compatible with the Arabic entry of the Glossary) is present at least in some contexts of *Maṣḥafa Milād* and *Maṣḥafa Sällāse*, cf. Wendt 1962, 37 (tr., with n. 3) as well as Wendt 1934, 161, where the term is understood as referring to a ‘Zauberer’.

### 219 C 21

السعيد | *ʿas-saʿīd*- ‘prosperous, fortunate, happy’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1362)

حبر | *ḥbr*

Both structurally and semantically, the most attractive ES parallel is Arg. *kəbər* ‘rich’ (Leslau 1997, 207). The meaning ‘rich’ as equivalent to ‘lucky’ in the Arabic entry is paralleled by 219 C 22, where ‘unfortunate’ in Arabic is rendered with an Ethiopic term for ‘poor’. The Ethiopic gloss can thus be reconstructed as \**ḥəbər* ‘rich, prosperous’.

The Argobba term is considered by Leslau (1990, 346) to be an Arabic borrowing, together with semantically similar lexemes elsewhere in ES: Amh. *käbbärä* ‘to get rich, become well-to-do, wealthy’ (Kane 1990, 1416), *käbari* ‘one who prospers, gets rich, who has the chance of becoming prosperous’ (*ibid.* 1417), Sod. *käbbärä* ‘to become rich’ (Leslau 1979b, 334). This is, however, far from evident, since the meaning ‘to be rich’ does not seem to be in any sense prominent for *kbr* in Arabic but, incidentally, can be easily derived from ‘to be honoured, famous’, the normal meaning of this root ES: Gəʿəz *kəbur* ‘honoured, honorable, glorious, magnificent, famous, illustrious, noble, precious’ (Leslau 1987, 274), Tgr. *kābər* ‘honoured, noble’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 409), Tna. *kəbur* ‘honourable, honoured; respectable, reputable, eminent, venerable, noble, dignified, impressive, stately’ (Kane 2000, 1628), Amh. *kəbur* ‘honored, respected’ (Kane 1990, 1417).

### 219 C 22

المحارف | *ʿal-muḥāraf*- ‘prevented from obtaining goods; withheld from good fortune’ (Lane 1863–1893, 551; cf. *ḥirāf* ‘famine, poverty, need’, *ḥirfān* ‘penniless, poor’, Piamenta 1990, 90) زَنْجَة | *zayḡah*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as \**zega*, comparable to Gəʿəz *zegā* ‘poor, subject, client’ (Leslau 1987, 646, Dillmann 1865, 1065), Tna. *zega* ‘citizen, national, subject; tributary’ (Kane 2000, 2020), Amh. *zega* ‘national, subject, citizen; poor person’ (Kane 1990, 1675; *zega* ‘pauper’, Ludolf 1698, 79), Har. *zēga* ‘poor’ (Leslau 1963, 165), Wol. *zegä*, Səl. *zēgä* id. (Leslau 1979b, 718), Čaha Eža Muḥ. Msq. Gog. Sod. *zega*, Gyt. *zēga*, Ənm. *zīga*, Ənd. *zīgä* id. (*ibid.*). For the semantic compatibility, cf. 219 C 21.

#### 219 C 27

الحَدَاد | ʾal-*ḥaddād*- ‘a black-smith; a worker in iron’ (Lane 1863–1893, 526)  
 بَرْتِنْيَا | *bartinyah*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as \**bärtəñña*, corresponding to Gaf. *beretenis* ‘blacksmith’ (Leslau 1945, 149). The Gafat term is a derivative from \**bərät* ‘iron’, widespread in ES: Gəʿəz *bərat* (Leslau 1987, 108; absent from Dillmann 1865), Tna. *bərät* (Kane 2000, 1121), Amh. *bərät* (Kane 1990, 884, Ludolf 1698, 39; also in Old Amh., Littmann 1944, 489), Arg. *bərät* (Leslau 1997, 196), Har. *brät* (Leslau 1963, 46), Səl. Wol. *Zay brät* (Leslau 1979b, 157), Čaha Eža Gyt. Muḥ. Msq. Gog. Sod. *brät*, Ənm. Ənd. *bräd*, *bəräd* (*ibid.*).

#### 219 D 2

النقيب | ʾan-*naqīb*- ‘the intendant, superintendent, overseer’ (Lane 1863–1893, 2834) جُوَيْتَا | *ǧūytab*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as \**goyta*, comparable to the well-known ES terms for ‘master, lord’: Tna. *gʷäyta*, *goyta* ‘lord, master, sir’ (Kane 2000, 2353), Amh. *geta* ‘lord, master, owner, proprietor’ (Kane 1990, 1991; Old Amh. *gʷeta*, *geta* ‘Bote, Gesandter eines Königs’, Littmann 1944, 497), Arg. *geta* ‘master’ (Leslau 1997, 203), Har. *gōyta* ‘Lord’ (Leslau 1963, 76), Wol. *goytä*, *getä*, *Zay gʷoyta*, Səl. *gēta* ‘master, God, Lord’ (Leslau 1979b, 300), Gaf. *gʷitä* ‘maître’ (Leslau 1956, 205), Čaha Eža Ənm. Gyt. Muḥ. Msq. Gog. *gʷeta*, Ənd. *gʷetä*, Eža *gäta*, Msq. *geta*, Čaha Eža Ənm. Gyt. Muḥ. *g’äta*, Ənd. *g’ätä*, Gog. Sod. *g’eta* (Leslau 1979b, 300). Semantically, the Old Amharic term *gʷeta*, *geta* ‘Bote, Gesandter eines Königs’ is the closest to the Ethiopic gloss.

#### 219 D 11

احبز | *iḥbaz* ‘make bread!’ (Lane 1863–1893, 697) جَاغِرْ | *ǧāǧir*

The Ethiopic gloss can be reconstructed as \**gagər*: Tna. *gagärä* ‘to bake *angēra*-bread’ (Kane 2000, 2378), Amh. *gaggärä* ‘to bake bread’ (Kane 1990, 2057), Arg. *gaggära* ‘to bake, to cook’ (Leslau 1997, 201), Har. *gāgära* ‘to bake’ (Leslau 1963, 70), Wol. *gagärä*, Səl. *gāgärä* id. (Leslau 1979b, 268).

219 D 12

اخلع | ʾihla<sup>c</sup> ‘take off, remove!’ (Lane 1863–1893, 789f.) جَعُرُ | ḡufr

The reconstruction \**gufär* (with *u* instead of the expected *a*, likely due to the influence of the labial) implies comparison to Har. *gäfära* ‘to let go, to release, to loosen, to send a thing’ (Leslau 1963, 69), Səl. Wol. Zay *gäfärä* ‘to leave, to release, to set free, to let go’ (Leslau 1979b, 266), Gaf. *gäf(f)ärä* (Leslau 1956, 201), *gäfärä* ‘to send, to put’ (Leslau 1945, 156), Čaha Īnm. Gyt. *gäfärä*, Eža Īnd. Muḡ. Msq. Gog. Sod. *gäffärä* ‘to leave, to release, to set free, to let go’ (Leslau 1979b, 266).

219 D 13

اكل لعنان | ʾakala ‘he ate’ (Lane 1863–1893, 71); *luḡatāni* ‘two words’

The first Ethiopic gloss (بلع | *bl<sup>c</sup>*) has been correctly identified in Muth 2009–2010, 104 with the pan-ES verbal root \**bl<sup>c</sup>* ‘to eat’. The second gloss has been read as *ḥrs* by Muth, with no concrete lexical identification. An alternative, better founded reading is حرس | *ḡrs*, with the underlying reconstruction \**goräsä*. The comparable ES forms are Tna. *g<sup>w</sup>äräsä* ‘to tear *angēra*-bread with the teeth, to take a bite of *angēra* or other bread’ (Kane 2000, 2259), Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>ärräsä* ‘to take a mouthful, to take a bit or morsel of something’ (Kane 1990, 1931), Arg. *g<sup>w</sup>ärräsa* ‘to take a mouthful’ (Leslau 1997, 203), Har. *agöräsa* ‘to put a mouthful into the mouth of someone else’ (Leslau 1963, 75), Zay *göräsä* ‘to take a mouthful, to take a morsel’ (Leslau 1979b, 296), Muḡ. *g<sup>w</sup>ärräsä* id. (*ibid.*). One is also tempted to compare to these terms Gəʿəz *gārśā* ‘soft or powdery food’ (Leslau 1987, 203, Dillmann 1865, 1155), but as Alessandro Bausi (2004, 244–245) has shown, this term must go back to Greek *gáros*.

219 D 14

امرط | ʾumrut ‘swallow!’ (Piamenta 1990, 463, Landberg 1920–1942, 2688)  
وَحَطَّ | *wahat<sup>9</sup>*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as \**wahat<sup>10</sup>*:<sup>10</sup> Gəʿəz *wəḥta*, *wahata* ‘to gulp down, to devour, to swallow’ (Leslau 1987, 611), Tna.

<sup>9</sup> The dot below the *hā* must be unintentional.

<sup>10</sup> The guttural must go back to \**ḥ* in Proto-ES, which by the time of the creation of the Glossary must have merged with *h* in all contemporary ES languages. In Gəʿəz, the two phonemes are not distinguished in the late epigraphy of the Aksumite period (Bulakh 2013, 202); neither is the historical \**ḥ* preserved in modern ES languages. Meyer (2011, 1180) states that \**ḥ* and \**h* were distinguished in Old Amharic, referring to Appleyard (2003, 114), yet Appleyard evaluates the Old Amharic data with much more caution,

*wāḥaṭā* (Kane 2000, 1721), Tgr. *wahāṭa* (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 433), Amh. *waṭā* (Kane 1990, 1592; Old Amh. *wāḥṭā*, Ludolf 1698, 72), Arg. *wāḥaṭa* (Leslau 1997, 225), Har. *wāḥaṭa* (Leslau 1963, 159; Ancient Har. inf. *wihāṭōt*, Cerulli 1936, 435), Wol. *waṭä*, Səl. *Zay waṭä* (Leslau 1979b, 672), Čaha Eža Muḥ. Msq. Gog. Sod. *waṭä*, Gyt. *wātä*, Ənm. Ənd. *wāä* (*ibid.*).

#### 219 D 15

اشرب | *ʾišrab* ‘drink!’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1525) طَطَعَ | *ṭaṭaʿ*

The Ethiopic gloss, reconstructed as *\*ṭaṭaʿ*, is to be compared to Amh. *tātta* ‘to drink’ (Kane 1990, 2185; Old Amh. *tāṭṭā*, Ludolf 1698, 94; *tātta*, Littmann 1944, 498), Gaf. *ṭiṭṭä* (Leslau 1956, 242), *ṭeṭa* (Leslau 1945, 176).

#### 219 D 16

ارقد لعسان | *ʾurqud* ‘sleep!’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1135, Behnstedt 1992–2006, 456, Piamenta 1990, 186); *luḡatāni* ‘two words’

For both Ethiopic glosses, left undeciphered in Muth 2009–2010, reliable interpretations can be proposed.

1) اُنِيعَ | *ʾinyaʿ*, to be reconstructed as *\*ʾən(ñ)aʿ*: Amh. *tāñña* ‘to sleep’ (Kane 1990, 985, Ludolf 1698, 45; Old Amh. *tāññaʿ*, *\*ʾənña* (cf. *ʾənallähu* ‘I sleep’ etc.), Getachew Haile 1969–70, 71), Arg. *teñña*, *əñä* (Leslau 1997, 222), Har. *ñēʾa* (Leslau 1963, 120; also in Ancient Har., Wagner 1983, 306), Wol. *əññe*, Səl. *əñe*, *Zay inñ* (Leslau 1979b, 466), Čaha *nəya*, Eža *nəyyä*, Ənd. *ñāä*, Gyt. *ñiä*, Ənm. *neä*, Sod. *əññä* (*ibid.*). In Amharic and Argobba, the root can be used with the *tä*-prefix, but the more archaic basic stem is also in evidence. Interestingly, the *tä*-prefixed variant is also recorded in the Glossary (cf. 219 E 24).

2) دَقَسَ | *dqs*. The reconstruction *\*däḳḳəs* derives from Gəʿəz *daḳḳasa* ‘to be sleepy, to fall asleep, to slumber’ (Leslau 1987, 140), Tna. *däḳḳäsä* ‘to sleep, to slumber’ (Kane 2000, 2105), Amh. *däḳḳäsä* ‘to lie down (to sleep), to go to sleep (Geez)’ (Kane 1990, 1767, Dästa Täklä Wäld 1962 EC (1970 CE), 381). It is noteworthy that only the Təgrəñña verb is used as the basic term with the meaning ‘to sleep’.

rightly surmising ‘an element of orthographic archaism’. Indeed, a perusal of Littmann’s glossary of Royal Songs (1944) suggests that the grapheme *ḥ* can be used indiscriminately for Proto-ES *\*ḥ* and *\*b*, but etymologically correct spelling prevails in those terms which have cognates in Gəʿəz. This trend is to be accounted for by historical (Gəʿəz-oriented) orthography and does not reflect the contemporary Amharic pronunciation.

219 D 17

اطحن | <sup>ʾ</sup>*iḥan* ‘grind wheat!’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1831) أفج | <sup>ʾ</sup>*afaǧ*

The Ethiopic gloss is likely connected with Amh. *fäččä* ‘to grind grain’ (Kane 1990, 2346, Ludolf 1698, 102), Arg. *fäčča* (Leslau 1997, 199), Har. *fäča* (Leslau 1963, 60), Səl. Wol. *fäče*, Zay *fäč* (Leslau 1979b, 227), Čaha Gyt. *fäčä*, Eža Muḥ. Msq. Gog. Sod. *fäččä*, Ənm. Ənd. *fe<sup>ʾ</sup>ä* (*ibid.*). The Ethiopic gloss suggests the reconstruction <sup>ʾ</sup>*afač*, albeit the initial <sup>ʾ</sup>*alif* is difficult to explain. One can imagine that both the Arabic and Ethiopic glosses represent 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg. imperfect forms (<sup>ʾ</sup>*aḥanu* and <sup>ʾ</sup>*afač* respectively).

219 D 21A

ويعال له | *wa-yuqālu labu* ‘and it is said for it’ (the second gloss to 219 D 20, ‘sit!’) ارحر | <sup>ʾ</sup>*rǧz*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as <sup>ʾ</sup>*argaz*: Arg. *aräggäza* ‘to sit down; to stay; to ride’ (Leslau 1997, 218), Har. *arägäza* ‘to settle (lees), to settle down, to be settled down’ (Leslau 1963, 133; Ancient Har. *arägäza*, Wagner 1983, 306).

219 D 23

اخرج | <sup>ʾ</sup>*uḥruǧ* ‘go out!’ (Lane 1863–1893, 718) وط | *waṭ*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as <sup>ʾ</sup>*wät*/<sup>ʾ</sup>*wäš*: Gə<sup>ʿ</sup>əz *waš<sup>ʾ</sup>a*, *waš<sup>ʾ</sup>a* ‘to go out’ (Leslau 1987, 605), Tna. *wäšä* (Kane 2000, 1812), Amh. *wätta* (Kane 1990, 1583; Old Amh. *wäšša*, Ludolf 1698, 74, Littmann 1944, 495; *wäšša*, *ibid.*), Arg. *wätta* (Leslau 1997, 226), Har. *wäta<sup>ʾ</sup>a* (Leslau 1963, 162; Ancient Har. *watā*, Cerulli 1936, 436; *wäta<sup>ʾ</sup>a*, Wagner 1983, 317), Səl. *wäta*, Zay *wätā*, Wol. *wätä* (Leslau 1979b, 671), Čaha Gyt. *wäta*, Eža Muḥ. Msq. Gog. Sod. *wätta*, Ənm. Ənd. *wa<sup>ʾ</sup>a* (*ibid.*). The final *sukūn* seems to point towards the Woläne *wätä* (imperative *wəṭä*) as a likely source word.

219 D 25

انزل | <sup>ʾ</sup>*anzil* ‘bring down!’ (Wehr 1980, 956) اورد | <sup>ʾ</sup>*wrd*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as <sup>ʾ</sup>*awräd*: Gə<sup>ʿ</sup>əz <sup>ʾ</sup>*awrada* ‘to make go down, to lower, to bring down’ (Leslau 1987, 617), Tna. <sup>ʾ</sup>*awradä* ‘to cause to come down’ (Kane 2000, 1734), Tgr. <sup>ʾ</sup>*awrada* ‘to cause to descend, to lead to the watering-place’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 436), Amh. *awärrädä* ‘to put down, to take down’ (Kane 1990, 1511), Har. *aräda* ‘to put down, to place, to deposit’ (Leslau 1963, 161; Ancient Har. *aräda* ‘hinabbringen’, Wagner 1983, 316), Səl. Wol. Zay *awärrädä*, Wol. *arädä* ‘to bring down, to lower’ (Leslau 1979b, 662), Muḥ. Msq. Gog. Sod. *awärrädä*, Muḥ. *qrrädä*, Ənm. Ənd. Gyt. *awändä*, Eža *wandä*, *wannädä*, Čaha *andä*, *ondä* id. (*ibid.*).

219 D 26

اركب | *irkab* ‘ride!’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1142) سِنَّر | *sinr*

The reconstruction *\*sənār* is supported by Tna. *sārārā* ‘to climb, to mount a horse, to ride (an equine)’ (Kane 2000, 617), Amh. *sārrārā* ‘to cover, to serve (of a male animal); to mount an animal, to ride’ (Kane 1990, 485, Ludolf 1698, 24), Čaha Ęnm. Gyt. *sänärä*, Eža *sännärä* ‘to get on tiptoe and stretch to get on a horse, to stretch upward to get something from a high place’ (Leslau 1979b, 553). The phonological shape of the gloss suggests a West Gurage origin, the semantic difference being quite insignificant.

219 D 27

باع | *bā<sup>c</sup>a* ‘he sold’ (Lane 1863–1893, 284) فَجْر | *qǧr*

The Ethiopic gloss can be reconstructed as *\*čǧǧār*, to be compared to Zay *čǧǧārā* ‘to sell’ (Leslau 1979b, 179, 615), Sod. *tiǧǧārā* id. (*ibid.* 615) (cf. also Dästa Täklä Wäld 1962 EC (1970 CE), 541: *tǧǧārān šetä malät yǧ<sup>w</sup>ǧarage k<sup>w</sup>an<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>a näw* ‘*tǧǧārā* means ‘to sell’ in the Gurage language’). Other examples of *qāf* rendering *č* in the Glossary are 217 F 22 (فَحْيَب | *quhayt* = *\*šuhayt*/*\*čuhayt* ‘sun’) and 219 C 6 (نَفْح | *naqih* = *\*näčih* ‘white’).

219 D 28

استرا | *ištarā* ‘he bought’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1544) وَاخ | *wāǧa*

The reconstruction is *\*waǧǧä*: Amh. *waǧǧä* ‘to purchase, to buy in the market’ (Kane 1990, 1572, Ludolf 1698, 73), Sod. *waǧǧä* ‘to buy’ (Leslau 1979b, 648).

219 D 29

ضَرَبْتُ | *daraba* ‘he beat, struck’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1777)<sup>11</sup> مَتَعَ | *mata<sup>c</sup>*

The Ethiopic gloss can be reconstructed as *\*mäta<sup>c</sup>*: Amh. *mätta* ‘to beat, to hit’ (Kane 1990, 241, Ludolf 1698, 13; cf. Old Amh. *tämätta* ‘wurde geschlagen’, Littmann 1944, 484), Arg. *mätta* (Leslau 1997, 214), Arg. of Ṭollaha *mättä<sup>c</sup>* (Wetter 2010, 34). Note that *ayn* in the Ethiopic gloss corresponds to *ᶜ* in the cognate term in Argobba of Ṭollaha, but does not fit the (otherwise likely) etymological parallel in Arabic (*mata<sup>a</sup>* ‘to beat’, Lane 1863–1893, 2688).

219 E 3

تحِيى | *tagi<sup>w</sup>* ‘you come’ (Lane 1863–1893, 492) سَنْيَحْ | *sanyah*

<sup>11</sup> The *sukūn* above the final letter is ungrammatical; similar cases for other verbs are 219 E 11, 219 F 8 etc.

A reconstruction *\*sānʾaḥ* can be proposed on the evidence of Gaf. *sällä* ‘venir’ (Leslau 1956, 229), *sälä* (Leslau 1945, 171), Muḥ. Msq. Gog. Sod. *sälla*, Čaha *sāna*, Eža *sänna*, Īnd. *säʿna*, Īnm. Gyt. *sānʾa* ‘to arrive, to reach, to be ready’ (Leslau 1979b, 542). The underlying Ethiopian form must be understood as 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sg. masc. of the perfect (‘you came’) and is thus not fully identical to the Arabic entry (‘you come’).

### 219 E 7

The Arabic entry is read in Muth (2009–2010, 104) as *nāla* ‘geben, schenken’, whereas the two Ethiopic glosses have been left undeciphered. However, the alternative reading نال لعان | *bāla* ‘to urinate’ (Lane 1863–1893, 276); *luḡatāni* ‘two words’ allows one to propose plausible interpretations for both Ethiopic glosses.

1) سحاب | *sḥḥāt*, to be reconstructed as *\*səḥḥatä/\*šəḥḥatä*. The comparable Ethiopic forms are as follows: Səl. *šumānā*, Wol. *šumanä*, Zay *šumānā*, Səl. *šumātä* ‘to urinate’ (Leslau 1979b, 579), Čaha Eža Muḥ. Msq. Gog. Sod. *səmatä*, Gyt. *səmtä*, Īnm. *səmdä*, Īnd. *səwdä* id. (*ibid.* 548). Cf. also Southern Arg. *šimad* ‘urine’ (Leslau 1997, 221), Səl. *šumān*, Wol. Zay *šuman*, Səl. *šumāt* id. (Leslau 1979b, 579), Čaha Eža Muḥ. Msq. Gog. Sod. *səmat*, Gyt. *səmt*, Īnd. *səmd*, Īnd. *səwd* id. (*ibid.* 548). See further Har. *šāḥat* ‘urine’ (Leslau 1963, 145), apparently from *\*šəḥḥat*, which would be identical to the Ethiopic gloss. In view of the meaning of the second gloss, one cannot rule out that a nominal term with the meaning ‘urine’ (rather than a verb ‘to urinate’) has been intended by the compiler.

2) شت | *šnt*, to be reconstructed as *\*šənt*. Cf. Gəʿəz *šənt* ‘urine’ (Leslau 1987, 540), Tna. *šənti* (Kane 2000, 866), Tgr. *šən(t)* (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 227), Amh. *šənt* (Kane 1990, 641, Ludolf 1698, 30). In view of the meaning of the Arabic entry, one would expect a verb ‘to urinate’, but this is not directly compatible with the extant ES evidence: although a denominative verb *\*šännätä* can easily be imagined, only primary verbs directly going back to Proto-Semitic *\*tyn* (Militarev and Kogan 2000, no. 77<sub>v</sub>) are attested with this meaning in Ethiopian Semitic: Gəʿəz *šəna* ‘to urinate’ (Leslau 1987, 540), Tna. *šänä*, *šənä* (Kane 2000, 866), Tgr. *šəna* (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 227), Amh. *šänna*, *šännä*, *šənnä* (Kane 1990, 640, Ludolf 1698, 30), Arg. *šännä* (Leslau 1997, 221). It is, therefore, more likely that the Ethiopic gloss corresponds to a nominal term for ‘urine’ and does not render exactly the Arabic entry.

219 E 10

تَغَسَّلَ | *tagassala* ‘to bathe oneself by plunging; to be washed’ (Piamenta 1990, 356, Behnstedt 1992–2006, 902; cf. Lane 1863–1893, 2258) نَحَطَبَ | *taḥṭb*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*taḥaṭbal/\*taḥaṣba*:<sup>12</sup> Gəʿəz *taḥadba* ‘to bathe, to wash oneself’ (Leslau 1987, 259), Tna. *täḥaṣäbä*, *täḥaṣbä* (Kane 2000, 302), Tgr. *taḥaṣṣaba* (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 102), Amh. *tattäbä* (Kane 1990, 1336), Har. *täḥätäba* (Leslau 1963, 88), Čaha *tatäbä*, Eža Msq. Gog. Sod. *tattäbä*, Gyt. *tätäbä* (Leslau 1979b, 108).

219 E 15

The Arabic entry has been interpreted as *iskar* ‘betrinke dich!’ in Muth 2009–2010, 104, with no interpretation for the Ethiopic glosses. The alternative reading اسكت لعنان | *uskut* ‘be silent’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1389); *luḡatāni* ‘two words’ provides plausible interpretations for both Ethiopic glosses.

Both Ethiopic terms are to be understood as composite verbs, the second part of which is to be reconstructed as *\*bäl*, imperative of the common ES verb *\*bhl* ‘to say’ (on the ES composite verbs with the reflexes of *\*bhl* as declinable part v. Appleyard 2001 and elsewhere): Gəʿəz *bähla* ‘say’ (Leslau 1987, 89), Tna. *bälä* (Kane 2000, 1074), Tgr. *bela* (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 267), Amh. *alä* (Kane 1990, 1094, also in Old Amh., Ludolf 1698, 55, Littmann 1944, 491), Arg. *ala* (Leslau 1997, 190), Har. *bāya* (Leslau 1963, 49; also in Ancient Har.: *bāya*, Cerulli 1936, 413, *baya*, Wagner 1983, 279), Wol. *balä*, Səl. Zay *bälä* (Leslau 1979b, 138), Gaf. *balä* (Leslau 1956, 189), *bälä* (Leslau 1945, 147), Sod. *balä*, Čaha Eža Ěnm. Ěnd. Gyt. Msq. *barä*, Muḥ. *beä*, Gog. *bea* (Leslau 1979b, 138).

The composite verbs are to be identified as follows.

1) سَتَيْلَ | *snbal*, reconstructed as *\*sän bäl* on the evidence of Har. *säm bāya* ‘to be quiet, to be silent (person)’ (Leslau 1963, 140; also in Ancient Har.: *šam bāya* ‘tacere’, Cerulli 1936, 432). The presence of *n* (instead of *m*) in the Ethiopic gloss can be explained as dissimilation or hypercorrection.

2) سَقِيلَ | *sqbl*, to be reconstructed as *suk bäl* on the basis of Tna. *suk bälä* ‘to be quiet, silent, not to answer’ (Kane 2000, 689).

219 E 17

سَافَرَ | *sāfara* ‘he journeyed’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1370) نَجَّدَ | *nǧǧad*

The Ethiopic gloss, reconstructed as *\*näggäd*, is to be compared to Gəʿəz *nagada* ‘to go on a journey’ (Leslau 1987, 390), Tna. *näggädä* ‘to go on a

<sup>12</sup> Cf. n. 10 above.

journey or trip’ (Kane 2000, 1374), Tgr. *nagda* ‘to go on a pilgrimage’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 342), Amh. *näggädä* ‘to travel about from district to district’ (Kane 1990, 1068; cf. Ludolf 1698, 53).

**219 E 18**

طَبَخ | *ṭabaḥa* ‘to cook’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1821) سَخَم | *šaḥam*

The Ethiopic gloss can be reconstructed as \**šäḥam* on the evidence of Arg. of Ṭollaha *šəḥmo* ‘gekochtes Getreide’ (Wetter 2010, 245), Har. *šuhum* ‘grain boiled in water’ (Leslau 1963, 145), Zay *šūmu* ‘boiled grain’ (Leslau 1979a, 1225, Leslau 1979b, 578). It likely represents a verbal root \**šḥm* ‘to boil’ (from which the attested nouns derive).

**219 E 22**

رصى | *radiya* ‘he was pleased’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1099) تارو | *tarräqä*

The Ethiopic gloss can be reconstructed as \**tarräkä*, comparable to Gəʿəz *taʿaraka* ‘to be reconciled, to reconcile oneself’ (Leslau 1987, 71), Tna. *täʿaräkä*, *täʿarkä* ‘to be reconciled, pacified, to make up, to settle accounts’ (Kane 2000, 1845), Tgr. *taʿarraḳa* ‘fit la paix’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 459), Amh. *tarräkä* ‘to be straightened, straightened out; to make peace (vi), be reconciled, patch up a quarrel (vi)’ (Kane 1990, 1147), Gog. *tarräʾä* ‘to be reconciled’ (Leslau 1979b, 90).

**219 E 24**

سهر | *sahira* ‘he waked, was sleepless’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1451)<sup>13</sup>

التنيع | *ʾltnya*<sup>c14</sup>

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as \**ʾaltäñña<sup>c</sup>* — a negative form of the verb \**täñña<sup>c</sup>* ‘to sleep’. It consists of two elements.

(1) The common SES negative element \**ʾal-* (Bulakh 2012). Note the absence of the postfix *-m*, which accompanies the negative particle \**ʾal-* in the main verb forms in the modern SES languages.

(2) The verb \**täñña<sup>c</sup>* ‘to sleep’:

Amh. *täñña* ‘to sleep’ (Kane 1990, 985, Ludolf 1698, 45; Old Amh. *täñña<sup>c</sup>*, Getachew Haile 1969–1970, 71), Arg. *teñña* ‘sleep’ (Leslau 1997, 222). For the more widespread (and apparently more ancient) variant without \**tä-* v. 219 D 16.

<sup>13</sup> An alternative reading *tasabhara* could perhaps be considered, although the fifth stem is not common for this root either in Classical or in Yemeni dialectal Arabic (but cf. Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860, I, 1156).

<sup>14</sup> The shape of the *nūn* (without dots) rather resembles *fā<sup>ʾ</sup>* or *qāf*. The diacritical signs of the *tā<sup>ʾ</sup>* are displaced to the left; the diacritical signs of the *yā<sup>ʾ</sup>* are displaced to the right.

219 E 26

اسلّم لعنان | *ʾaslama* ‘he gave, delivered, payed in advance; he resigned, or submitted, himself’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1412f.); *luġatāni* ‘two words’

1) لقا | *laqqā* (the stroke of the *lām* is rather short; for a similar case cf. 219 A 27 above)

The ES gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*lākka* on the evidence of Gəʿəz *lakḳəḳə* ‘to lend’ (Leslau 1987, 317, Dillmann 1865, 38f.), Tgr. *lakḳəḳə* ‘borrowing’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 36), Tna. *tälākḳəḳə*, *tälākḳəḳə* ‘to borrow, to receive as a loan’ (Kane 2000, 89), Amh. *lākka* ‘to lend money’ (Kane 1990, 59f.), Har. *alēkəḳə* ‘to lend’ (Leslau 1963, 101), Wol. *lekä*, Səl. *lēkə*, Zay *a-līkə* ‘to lend money’ (Leslau 1979b, 382).

2) خبر | *ğabr*

The source lexeme, reconstructible as *\*gäb(b)ärä*, is likely related to one of the derivatives of the common ES root *\*gbr*:

(1) Har. *agäbära* ‘to tame’ (Leslau 1963, 67; Ancient Har. *gäbära* ‘unterwürfig sein’, Wagner 1983, 285)

(2) Tna. *gäbbärä* ‘to pay tribute, tax’ (Kane 2000, 2297), Tgr. *gabbara* (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 583), Amh. *gäbbärä* (Kane 1990, 1973; also in Old Amh., Littmann 1944, 497), Arg. *gebbära* (Leslau 1997, 201), Zay *gäbärä*, Wol. *gebärä*, Səl. *gēbärä* (Leslau 1979b, 257), Ənd. Gog. *gebbärä*, Sod. *gibbärä*, Čaha Ənm. Gyt. *gʾäbärä*, Eža Muḳ. Msq. *gʾäbbärä* (*ibid.*). Cf. also Gəʿəz *gabbara* ‘to pay taxes’ (Leslau 1987, 178, not in Dillmann 1865).

219 E 27

hibat- | *hibat-* ‘gift’ (Lane 1863–1893, 2969), ‘gift, present, donation, grant’ (Wehr 1980, 1102) شَقَطَ | *šaqaṭa*

The Ethiopic gloss can be reconstructed as *\*šākät(ä)*, to be compared to Amh. *sākät*, *šākät* ‘goods, merchandise, thing sold at retail’ (Kane 1990, 511, 632), Har. *šākät* ‘grocery’ (Leslau 1963, 146), Muḳ. *šākät*, *šäät* ‘small items of merchandise’ (Leslau 1979b, 583). Cf. also Tna. *šākät* ‘retail business, trade, traffic (trade); grog shop’ (Kane 2000, 836) and Tgr. *sāktat* ‘merchants’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 182). The semantic discrepancy between the Arabic entry and the ES gloss is considerable, but not irreconcilable in view of the semantic link between ‘to give’ and ‘to sell’ (cf. Russian *prodat* ‘to sell’, derived from *dat* ‘to give’). The vocalic Auslaut, suggested by the diacritics of the Ethiopic gloss, is not confirmed by the etymological data.

219 E 29

احرث | *uḥrut* ‘plough!’ (Lane 1863–1893, 541) حرس | *hrs*

The Ethiopic gloss can be reconstructed as \**ḥəräs*: Gə°əz *ḥarasa* ‘to plow, to cultivate land’ (Leslau 1987, 243), Tna. *ḥaräsä* (Kane 2000, 187), Tgr. *ḥarsa* (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 67), Amh. *arräsä* (Kane 1990, 1145; Old Amh. *ḥarräsä*, Ludolf 1698, 5), Arg. *harräsa* (Leslau 1997, 206), Har. *ḥaräsa* (Leslau 1963, 87; also in Ancient Har.: *ḥaräsa*, Wagner 1983, 291; inf. *ḥiräsöt*, Cerulli 1936, 419), Səl. Wol. Zay *aräsä* (Leslau 1979b, 91), Gaf. *arräsä* (Leslau 1956, 182), Msq. Gog. Sod. *arräsä* (Leslau 1979b, 91).

### 219 F 3

قلت | *qultu* ‘I said’ | بالْح | *bālḥ*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as \**baluḥ*, the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg. perfect of the pan-ES verb \**bhl* ‘to say’ (cf. above on 219 E 15). The ending \*-*uḥ* (< Proto-ES \*-*ku*) comes the closest to the word-final forms in Woläne and Zay (Zay *näkälub* ‘I took’, Meyer 2005, 94; see Meyer 2006, 108 for the word-final ending -<sup>w</sup>*ḥ* in Woläne).

### 219 F 6

ذَكَرَ | *dakara* ‘he remembered’ (Lane 1863–1893, 968) | فَكَّدَتْ | *faḳdat*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as \**faḳdat*. The comparable ES term is Tgr. *faḳda* ‘to remember, to meditate, to remember someone with a gift’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 664). The feminine ending *-at* (‘she remembered’) has no match in the Arabic entry.

### 219 F 10

كَشَّ | *ka(na)sa* ‘he swept’ (Lane 1863–1893, 2633)<sup>15</sup> | طَرَحَ | *trḡ*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as \**tär(r)ägä*: Tna. *šärägä* ‘to clear a field (removing brush, stones); to clean a place, to sweep or wipe clean’ (Kane 2000, 2568), Tgr. *šarga* ‘to lay a road, to clean (the road), to wipe off’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 638), Amh. *ṭärrägä* ‘to sweep, sweep clean, to sweep away’ (Kane 1990, 2123; Old Amh.: *šärrägä*, Ludolf 1698, 97), Arg. *ṭärräga* ‘to sweep’ (Leslau 1997, 224), Har. *täräga* id. (Leslau 1963, 156), Səl. Wol. *ṭärrägä* id. (Leslau 1979b, 631), Gaf. *šärrägä* id. (Leslau 1956, 237), Gog. Sod. *ṭärrägä* id. (Leslau 1979b, 631). Cf. also Gə°əz *šaraga* ‘to sweep, to cut, to tear off (a piece of bread to eat)’ (Leslau 1987, 563, not in Dillmann 1865).

### 219 F 11

الكاسات | *al-kunāsāt* ‘sweepings’ (Lane 1863–1893, 2634) | حَسَّنَ | *ḥasas*

<sup>15</sup> The expected *nūn* cannot be discerned, but the identification is virtually certain in view of the full semantic identity with the Ethiopic gloss.

The Ethiopic gloss, reconstructed as \**hasäs*, is to be identified with Amh. *asäs* ‘sweepings from the threshing floor’ (Kane 1990, 1167); cf. also *asäs* ‘sweepings (from the griddle), dust’ (*ibid.* 1180).

219 F 14

الفاطوح | <sup>o</sup>*al-qātūḥ* = *sināḡu n-nāri wa-duḥānihā* (al-Iryānī 2012, 864)  
 طفر | *taqar*<sup>16</sup>

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as \**tākär*: Gə<sup>o</sup>z *taḳar* ‘soot’ (Leslau 1987, 596, Dillmann 1865, 1223), Tna. *tākär* ‘soot, smut, dirt’ (Kane 2000, 2445), Tgr. *taḳaro* ‘soot’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 614), Amh. *tākära* ‘soot clinging to the roof’ (Kane 1990, 2133), *tākärša* ‘soot which collects on the underside of the roof’ (*ibid.* 2135; *tākärša*, Ludolf 1698, 93), Har. *tikär* ‘soot’ (Leslau 1963, 155), Səl. Wol. *tākär*, Sod. Muḥ. Msq. Eža Čaha Gyt. *tākär*, Gog. *täär*, *täärša*, Ənm. Ənd. *däär* ‘soot on the roof’ (Leslau 1979b, 628).

219 F 16

الطبل | <sup>o</sup>*at-tabl*- ‘a drum’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1828) حرنثه | *ḥarnbub*

The Ethiopic gloss is clearly related to the well-known terms for ‘drum’: Amh. *käräbo* (Kane 1990, 1389), Arg. *käräbo* (Leslau 1997, 208), Har. *käräbu* (Leslau 1963, 93; also in Ancient Har.: *käräbu*, Wagner 1983, 294), Səl. Wol. *käräbo*, Zay *haräbu* (Leslau 1979b, 334), Gaf. *käräbo* (Leslau 1956, 209), Msq. Gog. Sod. *käräbo* (Leslau 1979b, 334). The *nün* in the Ethiopic gloss has no parallel among the attested ES forms. It is either to be ignored as an accidental stroke, or a secondary insertion of *-n-* has to be surmised. The reconstruction of the Ethiopic gloss is thus \**ḥärä(n)bo*.

219 F 23

ارقص | <sup>o</sup>*urqus* ‘dance!’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1136) زيفين | *zifim*<sup>17</sup>

The Ethiopic gloss can be reconstructed as \**zafän* (which does not quite match the expected imperative form \**zafän*). The comparable forms are Gə<sup>o</sup>z *zafana* ‘to dance’ (Leslau 1987, 632, Dillmann 1865, 1069), Tna. *zäfänä* ‘to sing, to perform shoulder-shrugging in time to music’ (Kane 2000, 2027), Tgr. *zafna* ‘to dance the funeral dance (woman), to dance’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 506), Amh. *zäffänä* ‘to sing, to dance and sing’ (Kane 1990, 1684, Ludolf 1698, 79), Arg. *zäffäna* ‘to dance, to sing’ (Leslau 1997, 227), Gaf. *zäfänä* ‘to dance’ (Leslau 1945, 180).

<sup>16</sup> The dot above the *rā* is to be ignored.

<sup>17</sup> The shape of the *zayn* rather resembles an <sup>o</sup>*alif*.

219 F 26

الروح | *ʿar-rūḥ*- ‘the soul, spirit’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1180) معس | *mfs*<sup>18</sup>

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*maffas*, comparable to Gəʿəz *manfas* ‘spirit’ (Leslau 1987, 389), Tna. *mānfās* ‘spirit, soul’ (Kane 2000, 1401), Tgr. *manfas* ‘ghost, spectre’ (Littmann and Höfner 1962, 347), Amh. *mānfās* ‘spirit, demon’ (Kane 1990, 1058, Ludolf 1698, 54). The form *maffas*, suggested by the spelling of the Ethiopic gloss, is actually attested in Epigraphic Gəʿəz (*mfs* in RIÉ 191, 7; 192, 1), but it is hardly probable that such a form stands behind the Ethiopic gloss. It may be wise, accordingly, to reconstruct the standard form *mānfās* with a graphic mistake by the scribe (the notch was intended for *nūn*, and *fā* was omitted).

219 F 27

القلب | *al-qalb*- ‘heart’ (Lane 1863–1893, 2553) وزن | *wzn*

The Ethiopic gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*wāzān* (see 219 B 11 above). Note that according to M. Bulakh’s fieldnotes of 2012, *wāzāna* is the basic anatomic designation of heart in Harari, not unlike its cognates in East Gurage.

219 F 28

الطاهر | *at-tāhir*- ‘clean, pure’ (Lane 1863–1893, 1887) قال | *qāl*

The Ethiopic gloss can be reconstructed as *\*šall*: Tna. *ʿašlälä* ‘to filter or strain beer’ (Kane 2000, 2539), Amh. *ṭällälä* ‘to be or become pure, clean’, *ṭälala* ‘clear or filtered liquid, filtrate’ (Kane 1990, 2088), Har. *ṭalila* ‘filtered, limpid, pure’ (Leslau 1963, 153), Səl. Wol. *Zay ṭälälä* ‘to be filtered, purified’ (Leslau 1979b, 617), *Zay ṭälälu*, Səl. Wol. *tull* ‘filtered, purified, liquid, clear (liquid), light-colored (object)’ (*ibid.*), Msq. Gog. Sod. *ṭällälä*, Muḥ. *ṭälleä*, Čaha Ḃnm. Gyt. *ṭänärä*, Eža Ḃnd. *ṭännärä* ‘to be filtered, purified’ (*ibid.*), Muḥ. *ṭälälä*, Msq. *ṭalil*, Msq. Gog. Sod. *yä-ṭällälä*, Čaha Eža Ḃnm. Gyt. *ṭärärä*, Ḃnd. *ṭurur*, *ṭororä* ‘filtered, purified, liquid, clear (liquid), light-colored (object)’ (*ibid.*). Cf. also Gəʿəz *ṭalla*, *ṭalala* ‘to be pure’, *ṭälul* ‘pure’ (Leslau 1987, 591, not in Dillmann 1865, probably an Amharism).

For the Arabic *qāf* rendering Ethiopic *š* or *č* cf. 219 D 27 above with further examples. Since no actual form with palatalization of *t* into *č* has been registered among the cognates of the ES *\*šll*, the reconstruction with *š* is more attractive.

<sup>18</sup> The loop of the *fā* is hardly visible, so the grapheme rather resembles a vertically stretched *yā*.

### Abbreviations of language names

|      |               |      |          |      |                     |
|------|---------------|------|----------|------|---------------------|
| Amh. | Amharic       | Gog. | Gogot    | Səl. | Səlṭi               |
| Arg. | Argobba       | Gyt. | Gyeto    | SES  | South Ethio-Semitic |
| Bur. | Burṣi         | Had. | Hadiyya  | Sid. | Sidaama             |
| Ḃnd. | Ḃndägañ       | Har. | Harari   | Sod. | Soddo               |
| Ḃnm. | Ḃnnämor       | Kam. | Kambaata | Tgr. | Təgre               |
| ES   | Ethio-Semitic | Msq. | Məsqañ   | Tna. | Təgrəñña            |
| Gaf. | Gafat         | Muḥ. | Muḥər    | Wol. | Woläne              |

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### Summary

In *Aethiopica* 16 and 17, the first and the second sheets of the al-Malik al-Afḍal's fourteenth-century Arabic–Ethiopic Glossary have been analysed. The present paper offers the results of the analysis of the third—and last—sheet of the Glossary and contains all identifications which differ from those offered by F.-C. Muth in his pioneering article. This amounts to 74 entries from the third sheet of the Glossary, whose identification in Muth's publication is either missing altogether or not sufficiently convincing.