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## Article

*Towards a Comprehensive Edition of the Arabic–Ethiopic Glossary  
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## Bibliographical abbreviations used in this volume

AÉ	<i>Annales d'Éthiopie</i> , 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, <i>ibid.</i> , 2011f.; 76ff. ed. by A. BAUSI, <i>ibid.</i> , 2012ff.
AION	<i>Annali dell'Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"</i> , Napoli: Università di Napoli "L'Orientale" (former Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli), 1929ff.
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> , London 1917ff.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1903ff.
EAe	S. UHLIG (ed.), <i>Encyclopaedia Aethiopica</i> , I: A–C, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003; II: D–Ha, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005; III: He–N, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007; (in cooperation with A. BAUSI), IV: O–X, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010; A. BAUSI (ed. in cooperation with S. UHLIG), V: Y–Z, <i>Supplementa, Addenda et Corrigenda, Maps, Index</i> , Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014.
EFAH	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Orient-Abteilung, Epigraphische Forschungen auf der Arabischen Halbinsel, herausgegeben im Auftrag des Instituts von NORBERT NEBES.
EMML	Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa.
IJAHS	<i>International Journal of African Historical Studies</i> , Boston, MA – New York 1968ff.
JAH	<i>The Journal of African History</i> , Cambridge 1960ff.
JES	<i>Journal of Ethiopian Studies</i> , Addis Ababa 1963ff.
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i> , Manchester 1956ff.
NEASt	<i>Northeast African Studies</i> , East Lansing, MI 1979ff.
OrChr	<i>Oriens Christianus</i> , Leipzig – Roma – Wiesbaden 1901ff.
OrChrP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i> , Roma 1935ff.
PICES 15	S. UHLIG – M. BULAKH – D. NOSNITSIN – T. RAVE (eds.) 2005, <i>Proceedings of the XV<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Hamburg July 20–25, 2003</i> = AethFor 65, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
PICES 16	H. ASPEN – BIRHANU TEFERRA – SHIFERAW BEKELE – S. EGE (eds.) 2010, <i>Research in Ethiopian Studies: Selected papers of the 16<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Trondheim July 2007</i> = AethFor 72, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> , 1903ff.
RIÉ	É. BERNAND – A. J. DREWES – R. SCHNEIDER 1991, <i>Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite</i> , I: <i>Les documents</i> , II: <i>Les planches</i> , Paris: [Académie des inscriptions et belle-lettres] Diffusion de Boccard.
RSE	<i>Rassegna di Studi Etiopici</i> , Roma 1941–1981, Roma – Napoli 1983ff.
SAe	<i>Scriptores Aethiopici</i> .
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> , Leipzig – Wiesbaden – Stuttgart 1847ff.

## Towards a Comprehensive Edition of the Arabic–Ethiopic Glossary of al-Malik al-Afdal Part II: New Readings from the Second Sheet

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In the 2013 issue of this journal (Bulakh – Kogan 2013) we published the first part of our analysis of the Arabic–Ethiopic Glossary of al-Malik al-Afdal (Varisco – Smith 1998, sheets 217–219). The present contribution offers to the readers' judgement the results of our interpretation of the second sheet. As in the first article, the presentation will be limited to readings missing from Muth 2009–2010.<sup>1</sup>

### 218 A 23

بِلْ عَمَاتٍ | <sup>وَالْأَلْفُ</sup> *al-<sup>o</sup>alf-* ‘a thousand’ | *bql <sup>c</sup>am<sup>t</sup>*.

The gloss consists of two elements.

The second one is clearly identical with the second elements in 218 A 1–10 and 22. In each case, the Arabic entry displays just a numeral, whereas the ES gloss consists of a numeral and a noun *<sup>c</sup>am<sup>t</sup>* (*<sup>c</sup>amat*) ‘years’, identical with Gə<sup>c</sup>əz *<sup>c</sup>ām* ‘year’, *<sup>c</sup>āmat* ‘year, epoch’ (Leslau 1987: 62) and its ES cognates.

The first one is to be identified with the numeral ‘hundred’: Arg. *bäkäl* (Id. 1997: 195; Wetter 2010: 269), Har. *bäklä* (Leslau 1963: 43; Ancient Harari *bakla*, *baklān*, Cerulli 1936: 412), Zay *bäkäl*, Səl. Wol. *bäkkäl* (Leslau 1979b: 147), Gaf. *bäklä* (Leslau 1956: 189), *bäkäl* (Id. 1945: 148), Sod. *bäkäl*, Msq. Gog. *bäkkäl*, Čaha Eža Gyt. *bäkər*, Muh. *bäki*, Ǝnm. Ǝnd. *bäär* (Id. 1979b: 147).

The whole gloss can thus be reconstructed as *\*bäkl <sup>c</sup>amat* ‘hundred years’. The discrepancy between the meanings of the ES gloss (‘hundred years’) and the Arabic entry (‘thousand’) is not unexpected if one compares 218 A 22, where ‘hundred’ in Arabic corresponds to ‘twenty’ in Ethiopic.

In Muth 2009–2010: 100 the first word is read as *bä<sup>c</sup>al* and the whole combination, as *bä<sup>c</sup>al <sup>c</sup>amät* ‘Jahresfesttag’. This is paleographically difficult; besides, no such word-combination is actually attested anywhere in ES.

### 218 B 4

وَيَعَالُ لَهُ بِزَتْ | *wa-yuqālu lahu bizat* ‘and it is said for it *bizat*’.

<sup>1</sup> Our work on this project is supported by RFH/РГНФ (No. 12-04-00092a), to which we extend our sincere gratitude.

This is the second gloss for Arabic *'al-muḥmal-* ‘a garment having nap on its surface’ (Lane 1863–1893: 813) in 218 B 3.

The ES gloss can be reconstructed as *\*bəz(z)ät* and identified with Ge'ez *bəzzət* ‘linen, wool’ (Leslau 1987: 118; Dillmann 1865: 532), Tna. *bäzzto* ‘carded wool or cotton’ (Kane 2000: 1190), Amh. *bäzät* ‘fluffed cotton’, *bəzzət* ‘cotton or wool which has been fluffed’ (Id. 1990: 931).

The reading *bēranna* ‘[Kalbs]pergament’ proposed in Muth 2009–2010: 100 is improbable.

## 218 B 6

الفوطه القرطاسي | *'al-fūtat-* ‘cloths that are brought from Es-Sind, thick, or coarse, and short, used as waist-wrappers’ (Lane 1863–1893: 2459, Dozy 1845: 339–343)<sup>2</sup> | افقرط | *fkrat-*

The ES gloss can be reconstructed as *\*afäkärät*, comparable to Amh. *afä käräṣ* ‘a kind of garment’ (Kane 1990: 1348; Täsämma Habtä Mika'el – Käṣate Bärhan Täsämma 1951 °A.M. [1958/1959 A.D.]: 632; Guidi 1901: 515; Ludolf 1698: 63).

## 218 B 9

القميص | *'al-qamīṣ-* ‘shirt’ (Lane 1863–1893: 2564) | قمبیسہ

The ES gloss can be reconstructed as *\*kämbissa* on the basis of a few comparable terms in East and Gunnän-Gurage: Wol. *kämbis*, Sel. *kämbisa* ‘woman's dress, shirt’ (Leslau 1979b: 480, 482), Čaha Eža *kambis*, Čaha Ḥnm. Gyt. Gog. *kambisa*, Ḥnd. *kambisä*, Eža Muh. *kambissa* ‘woman's dress, shirt’ (*ibid.* 480, 482). These lexemes eventually go back to Arabic *qamīṣ-* (Id. 1990: 357). Phonetically more straightforward borrowings are attested in Ge'ez *kamis* ‘shirt’ (Id. 1987: 432; Dillmann 1865: 420) and other ES.

## 218 B 14

البرد | *'al-burd-* ‘a kind of a striped garment’ (Lane 1863–1893: 2576) | مربوي | *marwī-*

The ES gloss can be reconstructed as *\*märwe*, comparable to Amh. *märwäwi*, *märwe* ‘machine-made cotton sheeting having a printed pattern of stripes, percale’ (Kane 1990: 190), *märäwi* (Täsämma Habtä Mika'el – Käṣate Bärhan Täsämma 1951 A.M. [1958/1959 A.D.]: 80; Guidi 1901: 57).

<sup>2</sup> The interpretation of the second element of the Arabic entry is uncertain. The reading *'al-qirtāṣi* is not improbable (although the penultimate letter looks more like *mīm* than like *sīn*), but its grammatical relationship to the first word is hard to establish. LANE 1863–1893: 2518 mentions *qirtāṣ-* ‘a kind of *burd-* of the fabric of Egypt’, but this is not identical to *qirtāṣi*. Given the fact that *fūtat-* is feminine, an attributive collocation (*\*'al-fūtat- 'al-qirtāṣi*) is rather difficult to imagine (but cf. 218 D 19).

The word is attested as *märwe* in the 15<sup>th</sup>-century Chronicle of Zar<sup>a</sup> Ya‘kob (Perruchon 1893: 20f.).

### 218 B 18

الثوب الخام | <sup>”</sup>*al-tawbu l-bāmu* ‘unbleached cloth’ (Lane 1863–1893: 837)  
قطن | *qaṭin*.

The ES gloss can be reconstructed as *\*käṭin*, comparable to Ge‘əz *kaṭṭant* ‘fine linen, soft clothing’ (Leslau 1987: 453; Dillmann 1865: 470), Tna. *käččən*, *käččin* ‘gauze, fine, soft (cloth), muslin, fine thread, clothing made of fine thread’ (Kane 2000: 1049).

### 218 B 19

الشملة | <sup>”</sup>*al-šamlat-* ‘a garment with which one wraps himself’ (Lane 1863–1893: 1600) مَحْق | *mahq*.

The ES gloss is identical with Amh. *mak* ‘a dark (us. black) woolen cloth of local manufacture, a black burnoose made of this cloth’ (Kane 1990: 233; Täsämma Habtä Mika’el – Kästate Bärhan Täsämma 1951 °A.M. [1958/1959 A.D.]: 145), *mak* (ort. ant. *mahak*) ‘stoffa di lana, spesso di color nero; si fabbrica in Abissinia’ (Guidi 1901: 80). Note especially the ancient Amharic spelling with a guttural, recorded by Guidi (with no reference), which allows us to reconstruct the ES gloss as *\*mäḥak*. Cf. also Tna. *mak* ‘kind of cloak of gray wool, black rough homespun coarse covering’ (Kane 2000: 412), apparently an Amharism since no guttural is preserved.

### 218 B 20

الحصير | <sup>”</sup>*al-hasīr-* ‘a mat woven of reeds or of palm-leaves; a garment, or piece of cloth, ornamented and variegated’ (Lane 1863–1893: 583) مُشَا | *mušā*.

The ES gloss can be reconstructed as *\*mušā*, comparable to Čaha *mʷeša*, Muh. *mes̥ša*, *mʷess̥a*, Eža *mʷes̥ä*, Gyt. *mēšä*, የንም. *mʷsä* ‘woman’s dress made of leather’ (Leslau 1979b: 433).

### 218 B 23

الشمط | <sup>”</sup>*al-simt-*<sup>3</sup> ‘thong, strap’ (Lane 1863–1893: 1427) طُفْر | *tufr*.

The ES gloss is to be compared with Tgr. *safər* ‘pack-rope, leather-strap’ (Littmann – Höfner 1962: 650), Amh. *täfər* ‘rawhide or leather strip, thong or strap’ (Kane 1990: 2194; Guidi 1901: 837), Arg. *täfər* ‘strap’ (Leslau 1997: 223), East Gurage, Gunnän-Gurage *täfər* ‘strap of leather; skin of the leg of the animal’ (Id. 1979b: 614). Cf. also Ge‘əz *tafr* ‘rawhide, leather strip’ (Id. 1987: 588, absent from Dillmann 1865 and likely an Amharism).

<sup>3</sup> Despite the three dots, the third letter is to be read as *sīn*.

## 218 B 24

| الْوَحْفَةُ | <sup>o</sup>*al-wahfa* = *ğildun min ȝulūdi l-da<sup>n</sup>i yudbaǵu wa-yunza<sup>c</sup>u sawfuhu wa-tufras̄u tahta l-tifli l-ṣaḡiri li-taqiya firāshbu mina l-balali* ‘sheep’s hide which is tanned and its hair removed and which is spread under a small child in order to protect its bed from wetness’ (al-Iryānī 2012: 1081) | لمد (ləmd). Comparable Ethiopic forms include Amh. *lämd* ‘sheepskin cloak or ornate ceremonial garment of velvet and gold brocade which may also have a lion’s mane or panther skin attached to the shoulders and which is worn by persons of status; leather or hide backpack for carrying a baby’ (Kane 1990: 50; Täsämma Habtä Mika<sup>o</sup>el – Käṣate Bərhan Täsämma 1951 A.M. [1958/1959 A.D.]: 9; Guidi 1901: 18), Wol. *lämd*, Səl. *länd* ‘warrior’s garment made of skin or of colorful material, war cap, hide (of sheep or goat) used as a garment, dress’ (Leslau 1979b: 380), Čaha Eža Ǝnd. Muh. *lämd*, Sod. *lända*, Muh. Msq. Gog. *ləmad*, Čaha Eža *nəmad*, Ǝnm. Gyt. *nəmd*, Ǝnd. *nəwād* id. (*ibid.* 380). Cf. also Gə<sup>c</sup>əz *lamd* ‘sheepskin cloak, ornate ceremonial garment’ (Id. 1987: 315, absent from Dillmann 1865 and likely an Amharism). Note that the *kasra* in the ES gloss suggests the reconstruction *\*ləmd*, whereas the comparative data rather favor *\*lämd*.

## 218 C 1

| النَّحَاسُ | <sup>o</sup>*al-nuḥās-* ‘copper’ (Lane 1863–1893: 2775) | سِنْتَال | *sntāl*.

The ES gloss, to be reconstructed as *\*säntäl*, is comparable to Amh. *säntäl* ‘metal, us. copper or brass’ (Kane 1990: 544; Guidi 1901: 177).

## 218 C 2

| الرَّصَاصُ | <sup>o</sup>*al-raṣāṣ-* ‘lead’ (Lane 1863–1893: 1092) | عَرَزٌ | <sup>c</sup>*arar*.

The ES gloss, to be reconstructed as *\*c arär*, is identical with Gə<sup>c</sup>əz <sup>c</sup>*arar* ‘lead’ (Leslau 1987: 71; Dillmann 1865: 960f.), Tgr. <sup>c</sup>*arar* ‘lead (metal), bullet’ (Littmann – Höfner 1962: 458), Tna. <sup>c</sup>*arär* ‘lead, tin, rifle ball, bullet, lead shot’ (Kane 2000: 1843), Amh. *arär* ‘lead portion of a bullet, ball, lead; pewter, tin’ (Id. 1990: 1145; Guidi 1901: 431; Old Amh. <sup>c</sup>*arär*, Ludolf 1698: 74).

## 218 C 8

| الْبَقِيرُ | <sup>o</sup>*al-nafir-* ‘trumpet’ (Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860 I, 1309; Wehr 1980: 984; Piamenta 1990: 492)<sup>4</sup> | اِنْجُرْتٌ | <sup>c</sup>*ingṛt*.

<sup>4</sup> The reading implies that the diacritical signs were wrongly copied or inserted by the copyist: *nūn* is marked as *bā*, with the dot below, whereas *fā* is marked as *qāf*. A reading with *qāf* is not completely excluded, cf. *naqir-* ‘cor, trompette’ in BIBERSTEIN-KAZIMIRSKI 1860 II, 1324. In MUTH 2009–2010: 100 the Arabic entry is read as *naqir* ‘Trog’. This reading is not compatible with the meaning of the neighbouring terms (all

The ES gloss is comparable to Gə<sup>c</sup>əz ‘ənzirā, ənzirā ‘musical instrument (flute, lyre, pipe)’ (Leslau 1987: 65; Dillmann 1865: 992), ‘əndər, əndar ‘musical instrument (flute)’ (Leslau 1987: 64), Tgr. ‘əndər ‘flute’ (Littmann – Höfner 1962: 474), Tna. ‘anzar ‘chatterbox, windbag’ (Kane 2000: 1890), ‘əndur, əndər ‘a shepherd’s flute made from tree bark rolled into a tube and having three to five holes’ (*ibid.* 1893), Amh. *andur*, *andir*, *əndər* ‘a kind of flute having 3–5 holes, a hollow cane or tube through which one blows when trying to kindle a fire’ (Id. 1990: 1238), ənzira ‘harp, accordion, pieces of leather on the bridge of a bāgāna-harp’ (*ibid.* 1228), Wol. *andur* ‘flute’ (Leslau 1979b: 59), Gog. Sod. *andər* ‘flute’ (*ibid.* 59). The comparison implies a palatalization *zi* > ɣə or *di* > ɣə, quite plausible, albeit not actually attested in the available ES terms.

Since none of the comparable ES lexemes exhibits a final *-t*, it is not unlikely that *ta* in the Arabic spelling corresponds to a vocalic ending (-ə) in the ES source lexeme (for this phenomenon cf. 217 D 29, 217 E 11, 217 F 28, 218 E 2 2)). The ES gloss can thus be reconstructed as \*ənɣəra.

#### 218 C 9

البوق الطويل الكبير | ٰلـبـوـقـ طـوـلـيـكـيـرـ | <sup>۱</sup>al-būqu l-tawīlu l-kabīru ‘a long big trumpet’ (Lane 1863–1893: 276)<sup>5</sup> | جـرـطـخـ | ڇـاـرـتـاـڻـ

The ES gloss can be reconstructed as \*gärtäč on the basis of Gə<sup>c</sup>əz *gərtāt* ‘a musical instrument’ (Dillmann 1865: 1158).<sup>6</sup>

#### 218 C 10

البوق الاعوج | ٰلـبـوـقـ اـعـوـجـ | ڇـاـنـاتـاـهـ

The ES gloss, reconstructed as \*ganta, is to be compared to Gə<sup>c</sup>əz *gantā* ‘small trumpet, flute’ (Leslau 1987: 199; Dillmann 1865: 1176), Amh. *gänta* ‘large drum, flute, trumpet, horn, megaphone, bullhorn’ (Kane 1990: 2005; Guidi 1901: 754).

#### 218 C 18

القعموص | ٰلـقـعـمـوـصـ | طـاطـاـتـ | ٰلـتـاـتـ | tātāt.

the three designate musical instruments) and is likely to be rejected, all the more since the ES gloss has been qualified as illegible by Muth.

<sup>5</sup> In MUTH 2009–2010: 100 the Arabic entry here (as well as in 218 C 10) is read as *būn* ‘Zeltpflock’, which is not compatible with the meaning of the neighboring terms (see also fn. 3).

<sup>6</sup> Strikingly enough, the text quoted in Dillmann 1865 mentions *gərtāt* side by side with *gantā*, for which see next entry. The word is adduced with *-t* in LESLAU 1987: 204 (*gərtāt*), perhaps a misprint.

The ES gloss must be identical with Gə<sup>c</sup>əz *sāsut*, *sāsot*, *sāset* ‘gnat, stinging insect, red ant’ (Leslau 1987: 564; Dillmann 1865: 1319), Tna. *saṣā* ‘ant, crawling insect’ (Kane 2000: 2624), Amh. čəčat ‘swarm of ants or bugs; kind of small ant’ (Kane 1990: 2241; Ludolf 1698: 87), Arg. *tuče* ‘ant’ (Leslau 1997: 223), Har. čūč ‘small black ant’ (Id. 1963: 50).

The reading *t* for the second *ta*<sup>2</sup> is not supported by any of the attested ES forms. There are three possible explanations for the Arabic rendering: the source lexeme was a non-attested early SES form with non-palatalized *t*; Arabic *ta*<sup>2</sup> renders ES *s*; Arabic *ta*<sup>2</sup> renders ES *č*. The ES form behind the gloss can thus be alternatively reconstructed as \**saṣat*, \*čəčat or \**tačat*.

### 218 C 23

بَنْتُ وَرَدَانٍ | *bint wardān* ‘a certain insect, well known, like the beetle, of a red colour, mostly found in baths and in privies’ (Lane 1863–1893: 2936), ‘cockroach’ (Wehr 1980: 1060) | وَرَبْنٌ | *warab*.

The ES gloss is to be reconstructed as \**wäräb*, comparable to Čaha Eža Muh. *wäräba*, Ḥnm. Gyt. *wäräba*, Sod. *woräba* ‘kind of cockroach’ (Leslau 1979b: 661).

### 218 C 24

الْفَارُ | *al-faṛ* | الفَارُ | *afar*.

The ES gloss corresponds to Səl. *ufr*, Wol. Zay *ufur* ‘mouse, rat’ (Leslau 1979b: 21), Gaf. *ūfərā* ‘souris, rat’ (Id. 1956: 172), Gog. Sod. *äfur* ‘mouse, rat’ (Id. 1979b: 226). These terms go back to Proto-Semitic \**paṛ*- (Militarev – Kogan 2005, no. 170) with a prosthetic vowel, cf. Har. *für* (Leslau 1963: 63), Gaf. *forä* (Id. 1945: 154), Gog. Sod. *äfur*, Ḥnm. Ḫnd. Gyt. *fu'ur*, Čaha Eža Muh. Msq. *fur* ‘mouse, rat’ (Id. 1979b: 226). Within this interpretation, *‘* in the ES gloss is non-etymological.

### 218 C 26

وَيَعَالُ لَهُ إِيضاً حَنْطَوَهُ | *wa-yuqālu lahu 'aydan hantwah* ‘and it is also said for it *hantwah*’.

This is the third gloss for Arabic *al-faṛ* ‘mouse’ in 218 C 24.

The ES gloss can be reconstructed as \**hanṣəwa* (*hantəwa*, *hančəwa*)<sup>7</sup> and compared to Gə<sup>c</sup>əz *'anṣawā*, *'ansewā*, *'anṣowā* ‘mouse, weasel’ (Leslau 1987: 32), Tgr. *'ansāy*, *'ansāy* ‘mouse’ (Littmann – Höfner 1962: 476), Tna. *'ančəwa* ‘mouse, rat’ (Kane 2000: 1497). While none of the North ES terms exhibits the initial *h-*, this feature is patent in South ES: Amh. *ayt* ‘mouse,

<sup>7</sup> For ES phonemes possibly represented by *ta*<sup>2</sup> in the Arabic script v. above in connection with 218 C 18.

rat' (Id. 1990: 1296; Guidi 1901: 491, note the ancient orthography *bays*), Arg. *hent* ‘mouse, rat’, *hayt* ‘rat’, *het* id. (Leslau 1997: 206f.). Conversely, the South ES forms lack the final *-wa*. Perhaps we are dealing with an early SES form before the loss of *-wa*.

## 218 C 28

While the Arabic entry remains uncertain, the ES gloss can be plausibly read as جنزيز | *hnziz*<sup>8</sup> and reconstructed as \**hənziz*, to be compared to Tna. *hənġəg* ‘kind of greenish-black beetle, scarab, cockchafer’ (Kane 2000: 245), *hənziz* ‘scarab beetle’ (*ibid.* 244), Amh. *ənziz*, *ənzəz* ‘a black and green beetle, dung beetle, a beetle which secretes small globules of honey in bamboo’, *hənziz*, *hənziz* id. (Id. 1990: 1228, 16; Guidi 1901: 7, 468), Čaha Eža ዳንም. ደንብ. Gyt. *ənzəz*, Muh. Msq. Gog. Sod. *ənzizza* ‘May bug’ (Leslau 1979b: 78). Cf. also Gə‘əz *hənzəz* ‘beetle’ (Id. 1987: 239, absent from Dillmann 1865). Clearly related are Wol. *zizo*, Səł. *zīzo* ‘May bug’ (Leslau 1979b: 78); cf. Militarev – Kogan 2005, no. 112.

## 218 D 2

| نَحَانٌ | الْكَبَانُ | *al-kuttān-* ‘bug’ (Ullmann 1970– K: 55) | *thān*.

The ES gloss is to be reconstructed as \**təkan*, comparable to Gə‘əz *təkʷān* ‘bedbug’ (Leslau 1987: 573, absent from Dillmann 1865), Tgr. *təkān* ‘(bed)-bug’ (Littmann – Höfner 1962: 317), Tna. *təkʷan* ‘bedbug’ (Kane 2000: 1279), Amh. *təkʷan*, *təhʷan* ‘bedbug’ (Id. 1990: 992; Old Amh. *təkʷan*, Ludolf 1698: 45), Arg. *tuhan* ‘bug’ (Leslau 1997: 222), Har. *tuxān* ‘bug’ (Id. 1963: 149; also in Ancient Harari, Wagner 1983: 312), Wol. *Zay tuhan*, Səł. *tuhān* ‘bedbug’ (Leslau 1979b: 594), Msq. Sod. *təhan*, ደንብ. *tuhān* ‘bedbug’ (*ibid.* 594). Cf. Militarev – Kogan 2005, no. 122.

## 218 D 3

| مَرْجَرٌ | الْكِرَاسُ | *al-kurrāš-* ‘kind of tick’ (Ullmann 1970– K: 130) | *mzgar*.

The ES gloss is to be reconstructed as \**mäzgär*, comparable to Amh. *mäzgär*, *mäžgär* ‘tick’ (Kane 1990: 316; Ludolf 1698: 16), Arg. *məžgär* ‘tick’ (Leslau 1997: 214), Eža *məžgər*, Čaha Eža ዳንም. ደንብ. Gyt. *məškər* ‘tick’ (*ibid.* 444).

## 218 D 7

| حُبَابٌ | الْحَنْسُ | *al-hanaš-* ‘serpent’ (Lane 1863–1893: 656) | *hubāb*.

The ES gloss can be reconstructed as \**hubab*, comparable to Amh. *əbab* ‘snake, serpent’ (Kane 1990: 1198; Guidi 1901: 453f.; Old Amh. *həbab*,

<sup>8</sup> Despite the dot below, the first letter is to be read as *ha*.

*ḥabab*, Ludolf 1698: 6, 48; Guidi 1901: 453f.), Har. *hubāb* ‘serpent, snake’ (Leslau 1963: 79), Wol. *ambab*, Zay *ambāb*, Sel. *imbab* ‘serpent, snake’ (Id. 1979b: 6), Gaf. *əbabwä* ‘serpent’ (Id. 1956: 170), *əwawi* (Id. 1945: 146), Muh. Gog. *əbab*, Sod. *äbab*, End. *äwāw* ‘serpent, snake’ (Id. 1979b: 6).

## 218 D 9

الضفدع | <sup>فَلْحٌ</sup> *al-difdi<sup>c</sup>*- ‘frog, water-toad’ (Lane 1863–1893: 1795) | *qalğ*.

The ES gloss can be reconstructed as *\*käl(ä)č*, to be compared to Muh. Gog. Sod. *kʷäläčä* ‘frog’ (Leslau 1979b: 476), Čaha Ḥnm. Gyt. *kʷänčä*, End. *kōnčä* id. (*ibid.* 486), Eža Msq. *kʷäčä* id. (*ibid.* 471).

## 218 D 11

السوار | زَنْجَا *al-siwār*- ‘bracelet’ (Lane 1863–1893: 1465) | *zangā*.

The ES gloss is to be reconstructed as *\*zänga* and compared to Wol. *zongäya*, Sel. *zōngäya* ‘bracelet, armband’ (Leslau 1979b: 711).

## 218 D 17

The exact reading of the Arabic entry is uncertain, but an eventual connection with *hiğl-* ‘anklet’ (Lane 1863–1893: 520) is likely. Differently from most of the Arabic entries in the Glossary, the present one is not provided with the definite article; instead, we find what looks like *mā* ‘what’. A periphrastic verbal expression like *\*mā yuhğalu* ‘what can be worn as an anklet’ readily suggests itself, although one has to admit that the verb *hağala* is not attested with the meaning ‘to wear an anklet’ in the available lexicographic sources.

The ES gloss is to be read as جوندر | *ğawndar* and reconstructed as *\*gondär*. It is comparable to Čaha Eža Ḥnm. End. Gyt. Muh. *gʷändär*, Msq. Gog. Sod. *gʷändära* ‘armband of metal worn by a noblemen or chief, bracelet worn above the elbow, kind of necklace’ (Leslau 1979b: 283).

## 218 D 19

الhuge الكبير | حج حبّة *al-ğafnat- al-kabīr*- ‘a big bowl’ (*ğafnat-* ‘a bowl of the kind called *qas<sup>c</sup>at-*’, Lane 1863–1893: 434)<sup>9</sup> | أَحْجَ حِبَّة *ağıg gibtah*.

The ES gloss can be reconstructed as *\*ağag gəbäta*. It consists of two elements: the first one (*ağag*) is an adjective ‘big’, the second one (*gəbäta*) is a designation of a bowl.

- (1) Amh. *ağğag* ‘much, very, exceedingly, enormously, excessively, a lot’ (Kane 1990: 1310; Ludolf 1698: 64), Arg. *äggəg* ‘abundantly, much, very’

<sup>9</sup> The final *hā* (= *tā* *marbūṭa*) is incompatible with the masculine form of the adjective. No solution for this remarkable discrepancy has been found (but cf. 218 B 6).

- (Leslau 1997: 189), *ändəg* ‘many’ (*ibid.* 191), Gaf. *ağəgu* ‘very’ (Leslau 1945: 142).<sup>10</sup>
- (2) Gə‘əz *gabatā* ‘bowl, pan, platter, plate’ (Leslau 1987: 179; Dillmann 1865: 1168), Amh. *gäbäta* ‘large, flat-bottomed wooden bowl having outward flaring sides and a narrow centre strip dividing the inside area into equal parts’ (Kane 1990: 1980), Har. *gäbäta* ‘eating bowl serving for one member of the family or for the whole family’ (Leslau 1963: 67), Wol. *gäbäta*, Səl. *gäbäta* ‘plate made of wood, bowl made of wood’ (Id. 1979b: 258), Msq. Sod. *gäbäta*, Gog. *gäbäte*, የንድ. *gabate* id., Gog. *gäbäta* ‘feeding trough’ (*ibid.*).<sup>11</sup>

## 218 D 20

تَقِيتُ | التَّقِيَّةُ | <sup>الجَفْنَةُ الصَّغِيرَةُ</sup> | *al-ğafnat-* <sup>وَالْمُؤْنَى</sup> *al-ṣaqīr-* ‘a small bowl’<sup>12</sup> | *taqīt*.

The ES gloss can be reconstructed as *\*taqīt* and understood as a word with the meaning ‘few; small, little in number’ (which is also recorded in 217 F 09, where it corresponds to Arabic *\*al-qalil-* ‘few; small, little in number’). Comparable ES terms are Amh. *təkit* ‘little, few, some; small amount’ (Kane 1990: 2137, also in Old Amh.; cf. Littmann 1944: 498; Ludolf 1698: 93), *təkit* ‘little, few’ (Kane 1990: 975), Har. *təkkaššo* ‘small, little, few, a little bit, a little while’ (Leslau 1963: 155).<sup>13</sup> Especially noteworthy is the Amharic variant form *təkit* with non-ejective *t*, fully corresponding to the spelling of the Glossary. According to M. Cohen (*apud* Kane 1990), the shift *t* > *t* is due to analogy with *tənnəš* ‘small’. Another possibility is dissimilation of *t* in the vicinity of *k*.

In the present gloss, the lexeme apparently renders Arabic *ṣaqīr-* in opposition to *\*ağəg* ‘big’ in 218 D 19. The name of the vessel is omitted, presumably indicating that the same *gäbäta* is meant.

<sup>10</sup> Note the semantic difference between the ES gloss (‘big’) and the attested ES terms (‘much, many’).

<sup>11</sup> This lexeme is not directly attested in Təgre and Təgrəñña, but Tna. *gäbäta* ‘measure for grain’ (KANE 2000: 2299) and Tgr. *gäbäta* ‘a corn-measure’ (LITTMANN – HÖFNER 1962: 584) are clearly connected with it. Note that in most ES languages the word also designates a table: Tna. *gäbäta* ‘table’ (KANE 2000: 2299), Amh. *gäbäta* ‘table of woven bamboo strips and drum-like ‘feet’ of the same material’ (ID. 1990: 1980, LUDOLF 1698: 88), Arg. *gäbäta* ‘table’ (LESLAU 1997: 201), Zay *gäbäta* ‘circular table used for eating (it is made of bamboo)’ (ID. 1979b: 258), Gyt. Msq. Gog. *gäbäta*, Čaha Eža. የንድ. *gäbäte*, የንድ. *gabatä* id. (*ibid.*).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 218 D 19.

<sup>13</sup> According to Leslau, the ES words are borrowed from Oromo *tikkā* ‘little’ (GRAGG 1982: 385). Their presence in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Glossary rather speaks against this suggestion.

### 218 D 21

خونجَه | *bawangah* ‘petite table sur laquelle on pose des plats, plateau de bois ou de métal, sur lequel on met ou présente les plats, les coupes, etc.’ (Dozy 1881 I, 414) وَلْتَمْ | *waltam*.

The ES gloss \**wältäm* corresponds to Tna. *wältäm* ‘a kind of trestle on which a *lemat* basket is placed for offering food to those invited to a meal’ (Kane 2000: 1707), Amh. *wältäm* ‘wide, wooden plaque; kneading trough’ (Id. 1990: 1486).

### 218 D 22

الصحن | <sup>°</sup>*al-sahn-* ‘a bowl, drinking cup, plate, dish’ (Lane 1863–1893: 1656) وَجَحْثُ | *wağħaħt*.

The ES gloss \**wäčaht* can be compared to Amh. *wäčat* ‘large, round-bottomed metal or crockery bowl, basin’ (Kane 1990: 1597; Täsämma Habtä Mika’el – Käśate Bərhan Täsämma 1951 A.M. [1958/1959 A.D.]: 961; Guidi 1901: 601), Səl. Wol. *wäčit* ‘bowl made of clay for hashed meat’ (Leslau 1979b: 642), Msq. Gog. Sod. *wäčät* id. (*ibid.*).

### 218 D 23

المكّبَه | <sup>°</sup>*al-mikabbat-* ‘Deckel, Decke’ (Ullmann 1970– K: 16) وَسْخَنْبَيَه | *washanbyah*.

The ES gloss \**wäskänbiya* is to be compared to Amh. *wäskämbiya*, *wäskänbay* ‘lid (for a *lemat*-basket or *mäsob*-basket), lid for a pan’ (Kane 1990: 1522; Täsämma Habtä Mika’el – Käśate Bərhan Täsämma 1951 A.M. [1958/1959 A.D.]: 936), Har. *wäskämbāy* ‘kind of basket’ (Leslau 1963: 1020), Sod. *wäskomba* ‘lid of the basket used for eating’ (Id. 1979b: 667). Cf. also Tna. *wäskämbiya*, *wäskänbiya* ‘cover for a sauce pot or *əngēra*-bread tray’ (Kane 2000: 1745), likely a borrowing from Amharic.

### 218 D 24

لِيمَات (المَائِدَه | <sup>°</sup>*al-mā'idat-* ‘a table with food upon it’ (Lane 1863–1893: 2746) | *līmāt*.

The ES gloss \**lemat* is to be compared to Tgr. *lemāt* ‘large basket made of palm-leaves’ (Littmann – Höfner 1962: 34), Tna. *lemat* ‘large straw platter on which *əngēra*-bread is served’ (Kane 2000: 78), Amh. *lemat* ‘a round basket with a tight-fitting domed lid which is used for keeping or transporting *əngēra*-bread’ (Id. 1990: 46; Ludolf 1698: 1; Guidi 1901: 16), Har. *lēmāt* ‘large basket’ (Leslau 1963: 100), Wol. Zay *lemat* ‘low wicker basket used for eating’ (Id. 1979b: 380), Gaf. *lemätä* ‘panier à pain’ (Id.

1956: 212), Muh. Msq. Gog. Sod. *lemaṭ*, የንድ. *lēmāṭ* ‘low wicker basket used for eating’ (Id. 1979b: 380).

## 218 D 25

الْكُورَ | <sup>وً</sup>*al-kūr-* ‘a blacksmith’s fireplace’ (Lane 1863–1893: 2637) | *mādḡgħ.*

The ES gloss *\*madäggā* is to be compared to Tna. *mədəggā* ‘hearth, brazier’ (Kane 2000: 511), Tgr. *məgdā*, *mədgā* ‘camp-fire, fire’ (Littmann – Höfner 1962: 143), Amh. *mədəggā* ‘hearth, fireplace, stove, brasier, firepan; furnace’ (Kane 1990: 332), Səl. *mədāggā*, Wol. *muġaġġā* ‘fireplace’ (Leslau 1979b: 391), Sod. *midaġġā*, የንም. Gyt. *mədaččā*, የንድ. *midaččā*, Eža Muh. *məgaġġā*, Sod. *miġaġġā*, Muh. *muġaġġā*, Msq. Gog. *mʷəġaġġā*, Čaha *məġaččā* id. (*ibid.*).

## 218 D 26

الْحَرَّ | <sup>وً</sup>*al-ġarrat-* ‘a jar’ (Lane 1863–1893: 400) | *hurah.*

The ES gloss *\*kura* is comparable to Gə‘əz *korā* ‘cup, bowl, jar’ (Leslau 1987: 289; Dillmann 1865: 861), Tna. *kurro*, *kʷərro* ‘pot or small woven grass basket, for milking cows; container in which milk or butter is kept’ (Kane 2000: 1587), Amh. *kora* ‘sorte de vase plu petit que le *gan*’ (Guidi 1901: 523, not in Kane 1990), Wol. *kuro* ‘small jar for butter of (sic!) milk’ (Leslau 1979b: 348), Sod. *kuro* id. (*ibid.*).

## 218 D 27

الْعَفَّهَ | <sup>وً</sup>*al-quffat-* ‘basket’ (Lane 1863–1893: 2991) | *minql.*

The ES gloss *\*mənkäl* is comparable to Amh. *mänkäl* ‘small footed jug with a narrow neck, gourd container having a long neck which is constricted slightly at the base’ (Kane 1990: 1027, Guidi 1901: 383), Gaf. *mänkäl*, *mänkäli* ‘vessel’ (Leslau 1945: 166).

## 218 E 2

الْعَدْرَهُ فِيهَا لِعْتَانٌ | <sup>وً</sup>*al-qidrat- fīhā luğatāni* ‘a cooking-pot: there are two words for it’

This Arabic entry has two ES glosses.

1) مِنْكَيْتٍ | *minkyt.*

The gloss *\*mənket* is to be compared to Tgr. *manket* ‘pot en terre’ (Littmann – Höfner 1962: 129), Amh. *mənčät*, *mənčet* ‘a small earthenware pot used for heating water or making *gänfo*-pudding’ (Kane 1990: 271, Ludolf 1698: 14).

2) سِكَيْتٍ | *tnkyt.*

The gloss *\*tankayat* is to be compared to Čaha Eža የንም. የንድ. Gyt. Muh. Msq. Gog. *tənkiyä*, የንድ. Gog. *təkkiyä*, Sod. *təkkiyyä* ‘kind of jar,

pot of clay' (Leslau 1979b: 600). For the final *tā* possibly rendering a vocalic ending in the source lexeme see the note to 218 C 8.

#### 218 E 14

| الملعقة | *al-mil<sup>c</sup>aqat-* ‘a spoon’ (Lane 1863–1893: 3011) قِرْشٌ | *qirs*.

The ES gloss *\*kärš* is comparable to Zay *kärši*, Səl. Wol. *kärše* ‘locally made spoon’ (Leslau 1979b: 501).

#### 218 E 17

| الملحة | *al-malahbah* ‘flache Backform, ortsfest über einer Feuerstelle angebracht, in der man Pfannkuchen zubereitet’ (Behnstedt 1992–2006: 1107), *malahbeh* ‘flache Tonschüssel zum Pfannkuchenbacken’ (*ibid.*), ‘pierre ronde et mince pour cuire le pain’ (Landberg 1920–1942: 2619) مطبعةً | *mit<sup>c</sup>ad*.

The ES gloss *\*mät<sup>c</sup>ad* is to be compared to Amh. *mätad* ‘griddle (us. a disc of metal or pottery on which መንግሥራ-bread is baked)’ (Kane 1990: 360; Guidi 1901: 829), Arg. *mätad* ‘griddle’ (Leslau 1997: 214), Har. *mätad* ‘griddle’ (Leslau 1963: 115), Wol. Zay *mätad*, Səl. *mätād* ‘griddle’ (Leslau 1979b: 437), Sod. *mätad*, Ənm. Ənd. *mätād*, Čaha Eža Muh. Msq. Gog. *mädad*, Gyt. *mädād* id. (*ibid.*). Cf. also Gečəz *məş<sup>c</sup>ad* ‘hearthstones, griddle’ (Leslau 1987: 542, not in Dillmann 1865).

#### 218 E 18

| العَرَارَة | *al-girārat-* ‘a sack’ (Lane 1863–1893: 2240), ‘grand sac pour les grains, la farine; nom d'une mesure’ (Dozy 1881 II, 204), ‘large bag, sack; sack for cereals; dry measure’ (Piamenta 1990: 353) نَارَاتٌ | *nārat*.

The ES gloss *\*narät* is comparable to Amh. *narät* ‘large waterskin made from the entire hide of a cow; large measure made of tanned hide’ (Kane 1990: 1019; Baeteman 1929: 233; Pankhurst 1969: 133).

#### 218 E 20

| الْحَلْدٌ | *al-ğild-* ‘skin’ (Lane 1863–1893: 442), ‘outre’ (Dozy 1881 I, 206) قُرْبَتْ | *qarbat*.

The ES gloss *\*kärbät* is comparable to Tgr. *karbat* ‘dressed skin; skin (for milk, water, honey)’ (Littmann – Höfner 1962: 242), Tna. *korbät* ‘skin, hide, bark, rind, skin or peel (of fruit, etc.); skin container’ (Kane 2000: 941), Amh. *korbät* ‘skin, hide’ (Kane 1990: 734; Guidi 1901: 261; Ludolf 1698: 33).

The reading *kérētit* (sic) ‘Sack’ proposed in Muth 2009–2010: 101 cannot be accepted since comparable lexemes have *t* rather than *t* as the third consonant: Amh. *kärätit* ‘bag, money sack’ (Kane 1990: 744 and Leslau 1979b: 503 for further parallels).

## 218 E 23

النور | *al-tawrat* ‘large basket or chest; basket for bread; large decorated wicker tub-shaped basket’ (Piamenta 1990: 54, Behnstedt 1992–2006: 144), cf. *tawr-* ‘a vessel, a certain well-known vessel, a small vessel, from which one drinks; a vessel of brass, or of stone’ (Lane 1863–1893: 322) دَجَادٌ | *dağad*.

The ES gloss *\*dägäd* can be compared to Tna. *dagud* ‘milking vessel, a tightly woven straw basket made waterproof with euphorbia sap’ (Kane 2000: 2165). The Tigrinya term is apparently a Cushitism, cf. Saho *dagūt* ‘milchgefäß, aus palmenblättern wasserdicht geflochtener korb’, Afar *dagūd* id. (Reinisch 1890: 103). It is not to be excluded that the source lexeme behind the gloss was taken directly from Afar.

## 218 E 24

المحلل | *al-munħal-* ‘sieve, strainer’ (Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860 II, 1223; Ibn Mandūr 2003 XI, 777; cf. Lane 1863–1893: 3029) وَنَطْفَةٌ | *wantafah*.

The ES gloss *\*wäntäfa* is comparable to Gə'əz *mantaf*, *mantaf* ‘strainer, sieve, filter’ (Leslau 1987: 408; Dillmann 1865: 698), Tgr. *mantafi* n. instr. zu *natfa* ‘to filter beer’ (Littmann – Höfner 1962: 344), Amh. *wäntäf* ‘filter for *tälla*-beer’ (Kane 1990: 1548), *wäntäft* ‘strainer used in making *tälla*-beer which is fashioned from coiled straw and horsehair’ (*ibid.*), Səl. *wäntäfčāt* ‘filter for beer’ (Leslau 1979b: 463), Čaha Eža *anṭaf*, Muh. Msq. Gog. *anṭaf* ‘sieve’ (*ibid.*).

The reading *wänfit* proposed in Muth 2009–2010: 101 is unacceptable for paleographic reasons.

## 218 F 8

الملح لعاب | *al-milħ- luġatāni* ‘salt: two words’ (Lane 1863–1893: 2732).

Whereas the identification of the first ES gloss still escapes us, the second gloss can be safely read as عَشْ | *‘ašab* (\**ašab*) and compared to Amh. *ašabo*, *ašabo* ‘crushed or ground and purified salt for table use’ (Kane 1990: 1180), Səl. Wol. *asäbo*, Zay *asobu* ‘salt’ (Leslau 1979b: 95), Sod. *assäbo*, Gyt. *asäwā*, Muh. *assäwā*, Čaha *aso*, Eža Msq. Gog. *asso* id. (*ibid.*).<sup>14</sup> Cf. also Oromo *aśšaboo* ‘salt’ (Gragg 1982: 20), Somali ‘*usbo* ‘sale’ (Agostini – Puglielli – Ciise Moxamed Siyaad 1985: 110), etc. Note that the Somali cognate confirms the initial *‘*.

## 218 F 10

السنبوسَك | *al-sanbūsak* ‘small triangular pie’ (Piamenta 1990: 234; Dozy 1881 I, 690) حَاجَةٌ | *ğāğbah*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. also Har. *ässu* ‘pepper prepared with other spices’ (LESLAU 1963: 32).

The ES gloss *\*g(w)aguba* can be compared to Tna. *gʷaguba* ‘a kind of wheaten bread larger than the *bəbəsti*’ (Kane 2000: 2378), Amh. *gʷagubba* ‘a kind of bread cooked by steam heat in which strips of wood are placed over a vessel of boiling water, sheets of dough placed on them and these sheets then covered with leaves’ (Id. 1990: 2058; Guidi 1901: 782).

### 218 F 14

| الْبَيْضَ | *al-bayd-* ‘egg’ (Lane 1863–1893: 282) | قَلَاحٌ | *qlālh*.

The ES gloss *\*kulaləb* is comparable to Tna. *ənkulalib* ‘egg’ (Kane 2000: 1477), Amh. *ənkʷalal* ‘egg, larvae of ants, termites, spiders, bees, or wasps’ (Id. 1990: 1215), Arg. *ənkulal* ‘egg’ (Leslau 1997: 192), End. *ənkulä*, Čaha Eža Ǝnm. Gyt. *ənkura* ‘egg’ (Id. 1979b: 70); cf. Militarev – Kogan 2000, nos. 170, 171.

### 218 F 19

| الْمِزْرَهُ | *al-mizrat-*, cf. *mizr-* ‘a kind of beverage made of a kind of millet’ (Lane 1863–1893: 2711) | سَخْرٌ | *sab̥ar*.

The ES gloss *\*sähär* is to be compared to Zay *səxär* ‘native beer made without the *g’iša*-plant, hydromel’ (Leslau 1979b: 540), Sod. *səkär*, Čaha Eža Ǝnm. End. Gyt. Muh. *säxär*, Msq. Gog. Sod. *səhär* ‘native beer without the *gešo*-plant’ (*ibid.* 539).

### 218 F 21

| الْقَطِيبَ | *al-qatib-* ‘Dickmilch’ (Behnstedt 1992–2006: 1005; Piamenta 1990: 404) | حَيْبٌ | *hayb*.

The ES gloss *\*hayb* is to be compared to Amh. *ayəb* ‘a kind of cottage cheese, curds’ (Kane 1990: 1289; Old Amh. *hayb*, Ludolf 1698: 8), Arg. *ayb* ‘cheese’ (Leslau 1997: 194), Sel. Wol. *ayb*, Zay *ayəb* ‘milk’ (Id. 1979b: 116), Gaf. *ayb* ‘fromage’ (Id. 1956: 186), Čaha Eža *eb*, Ǝnm. Gyt. *ayəm*, End. *añnu* ‘milk’ (Id. 1979b: 38).<sup>15</sup>

### 218 F 22

| الْرَّابِطَنْ | *al-rāib-* ‘thick, coagulated (milk)’ (Lane 1863–1893: 1176) | خَجَابٌ | *hağāt*.

The ES gloss *\*baggat* is comparable to Tna. *hangə* ‘residue of butter which sticks to the vessel or skin in which it was churned; thick yogurt

<sup>15</sup> Cf. further Gəzəz *halib* ‘milk, curds’ (LESLAU 1987: 229), Tgr. *halib* ‘milk’ (LITTMANN – HÖFNER 1962: 54f.), Tna. *halib* ‘milk, anything made of milk, cheese, curd, butter’ (KANE 2000: 154), Har. *hay* ‘milk’ (LESLAU 1963: 89; also in Ancient Harari: CERULLI 1936: 420; WAGNER 1983: 291).

scraped from the churn’ (Kane 2000: 245), Amh. *aggʷat* ‘whey’ (Id. 1990: 1328; Guidi 1901: 504), Wol. *uggat*, Səl. *uggāt* ‘whey’ (Leslau 1979b: 60).

### 218 F 23

| السُّوِيقَ | *al-sawīq-* ‘meal of parched barley or wheat; a kind of gruel, or thick ptisan, being moistened with water, or clarified butter’ (Lane 1863–1893: 1472) | طَجْنٌ | *təhn*.

The ES gloss *\*təhn* is comparable to Gez *təhn* ‘fine flour, parched corn’ (Leslau 1987: 590; Dillmann 1865: 1217), Tna. *təhni* ‘roasted barley flour (ordinarily carried on trips when it is mixed with water and eaten uncooked with a little salt)’ (Kane 2000: 2413).

### 218 F 24

| الْخَنْجَرِ | *al-hanğar-* ‘a knife; a dagger’ (Lane 1863–1893: 815) | طَلْوَقَتْ | *ṭalūqat*.

The ES gloss *\*ṭaluka* is to be compared to Amh. *təlləkkko* ‘small sharp ax, narrow-bladed spear’ (Kane 1990: 2002; Täsämma Habtä Mika’el – Käṣate Bərhan Täsämma 1951 A.M. [1958/1959 A.D.]: 1260; Dästa Täklä Wäld 1962 A.M. [1970 A.D.]: 557).

### 218 F 27

| السَّيْفُ | *al-sayf-* ‘a sword’ (Lane 1863–1893: 1485) | وَرْمَتْ | *warmat*.

The ES gloss *\*wärmät* is to be compared to Gez *warmat* ‘spear’ (Leslau 1987: 617; not in Dillmann 1865),<sup>16</sup> Har. *wäräm* ‘spear, war’ (Leslau 1963: 161; also in Ancient Harari: Wagner 1983: 316). According to Leslau (Leslau 1987: 617; 1963: 161), these terms are Cushitisms, cf. Awngi *werém*, *waräm*, *woramī* ‘spear’ (Appleyard 2006: 127), Somali *waran* ‘lancia’ (Agostini et al. 1985: 607).<sup>17</sup> One cannot exclude that the lexeme behind the gloss is taken from a Cushitic language.

### 218 F 29

| الْرَّمْبَ | *al-rumb-* ‘a spear, or lance’ (Lane 1863–1893: 1153) | حَرْبٌ | *harb*.

The ES gloss *\*harb* is to be compared to Amh. *harb* ‘spear’ (Geez only) (Kane 1990: 10, Dästa Täklä Wäld 1962 A.M. [1970 A.D.]: 527; Old Amh. *harb* ‘Krieg’, Littmann 1944: 483; cf. *bä’alä harb* ‘sorte d’officier de la maison royale’, Guidi 1901: 6), Arg. *harb* ‘spear, battle, war’ (Leslau 1997:

<sup>16</sup> The term is well attested in post-Aksumite Gez texts, such as the Chronicle of ‘Amda Ṣəyon (cf. KROPP 1994 I, 34). It is reasonable to assume that it was borrowed from contemporary living ES languages.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. also Amh. *wärana* ‘spear’ (KANE 1990: 1507), a borrowing from Oromo *waraanaa* ‘lance, weapon’ (GRAGG 1982: 400).

206), Har. *harbi* ‘battle, war’ (Id. 1963: 85), Səl. Wol. *arb*, *arəb* ‘battle, war; spear’ (Id. 1979b: 727), Čaha Eža Muh. Msq. Gog. *arb*, *arəb*, የንም. Gyt. *arəb*, የንም. የንድ. *arəw* ‘battle, war’ (*ibid.* 727), Gyt. *aräb* ‘sharp sword’ (Id. 1979a: 636). Cf. also Ge'ez *harb* ‘war’ (Id. 1987: 241; not in Dillmann 1865).

### Abbreviations of language names

Amh.	Amharic	Gog.	Gogot	SES	South Ethio-Semitic
Arg.	Argobba	Gyt.	Gyeto	Sod.	Soddo
የንድ.	የንዳገና	Har.	Harari	Tgr.	Tägre
የንም.	የንኩም	Msq.	Μəsqan	Tna.	Tägrəñña
ES	Ethio-Semitic	Muh.	Muhər	Wol.	Woläne
Gaf.	Gafat	Səl.	Səlti		

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### Summary

In *Aethiopica* 16, the first part of new readings from the al-Malik al-Afdal's 14<sup>th</sup>-century Arabic–Ethiopic Glossary was published. The present paper offers the results of analysis of the second sheet of the Glossary and contains all identifications which differ from those offered by Franz-Christof Muth. For the 53 entries from the second sheet of the Glossary, whose identification in Muth's publication is either missing altogether or not sufficiently convincing, new readings are offered and discussed.