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Flora in Beja Lexicon

Abstract In the present contribution the Beja botanical terminology is analyzed from the point of view of semantic motivation. The study is limited only to the unborrowed part of the botanical lexicon (with some exceptions), together 76 terms. First 51 terms are etymologized with help of external comparisons with probable cognates in other Cushitic or Afroasiatic languages. The last 25 terms are understandable from the point of view of internal etymology and their semantic motivation is more transparent than in the preceding cases.

Keywords botanical terminology, semantic motivation, etymology, borrowing, Beja, Cushitic, Afroasiatic

There are only two special studies devoted explicitly to the Beja botanic terminology. The author of the first collection of the Beja phytonyms was the German botanist and palaeontologist Georg August Schweinfurth (Riga 1836 – Berlin 1925). Its title is ‘Pflanzennamen der Bega-Sprache zwischen Suekin und Berber’, published in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 4: 334–339, 1869. It contains 146 phytonyms in a very imperfect transcription with corresponding Latin botanic counterparts. The second scholar operating in this field was the Swiss Egyptologist, Assyriologist, Arabist and generally orientalist, Johann Jakob Hess (Fribourg 1866 – Zürich 1949). He is the author of the article ‘Geographische Benennungen und Pflanzennamen in der nördlichen Bischari-Sprache’, *Zeitschrift für Kolonial-Sprachen* 9: 209–225, 1919. Hess had collected 144 phytonyms, all carefully recorded, with sophisticated grammatical and etymological comments. He was able to identify the Arabic counterparts, frequently from dialects of Sudan, Yemen or Central Arabia, which could be the direct sources of some Beja plant names. Occasionally he added the Ethio-Semitic or Egyptian parallels. All his *comparanda* may be seriously accepted till the present time.

The aim of the present study is to classify the etymologizable part of the botanic lexicon of Beja from the point of view of semantic motivation. With exception of several cases, the identified loanwords are excluded.

The remaining part of the etymologizable botanic lexicon was divided into the following sections:

- A. Plant names with probable parallels in other Cushitic and/or Afroasiatic languages (18),
- B. General terms describing vegetation, including parts of plants (27),
- C. Products, materials and instruments made from plants and their parts (6),
- D. Plants whose names are based on the members of a human society (3),
- E. Plant names motivated by human and animal body parts (11),
- F. Plant names motivated by animal names (11).

A. Plant names with probable parallels in other Cushitic and/or Afroasiatic languages

1. *ama* m. 'tamarisk' (Rp) = *amma* m. 'tamarisk tree' (HuB) = *u 'ame^h*, indet. *amaab*, pl. *i 'ame^h* 'Tamarix articulata' (Hs) = *ama* m. 'Tamariske' (Re) = *o'ama* id. (Mu)

Cu: (E) Afar *amayto* f. 'species of tree (?Delonix elata)' and/or *ʕàmay* m., sgl. *ʕamayto* 'species of tree (?Delonix elata)' (PaHy), ?Saho *amadoo* 'eine Baumart (Croton macrostachys)' (Re) ||| Be: (N) Ntifa *amay* 'tamarix', Zwawa *amemmai*, Zemmur *tamimait* id. (Laoust 1920: 484) || ?Eg (Pyr) *im3* 'Baumart' (Wb. I: 79).

Lit.: Hess (1918–1919: 218) Beja + Eg.

2. *ayaak* 'Balsamodendron opobalsamum' (HuB) = *ayookt* id. (Schw)

?Cu: (E) Som *yaaq* 'baobab' (Ce) = 'type of large tree' (Luling), Boni **jààq* id. (He) ||| Om: (N) Kafa *yaago* 'specie do grande albero' (Cerulli 1951: 520 Kafa + Som); Yemsa *yi'o* 'albero' (Ce) ||| Ch: (W) Sura *yoɣom* 'tree, wood', Angas *yom* 'wood'; ?Ngizim *wəkà* 'tree'; Geji *yokiti* 'mahagony' (Kr); Bokkos *yah* 'wilderness, bush' (Jg).

3. *biir* f., pl. *-a* 'date-palm', m. 'male date-palm' (Rp) = *biir* 'dum palm, used for ropes', def. sg. *oo-biir*, def. pl. *i-biir-a* (Wd) = *too biir*, indet. *biirt*, pl. *ti biire^h* 'Dompalme; Hyphaena thebaica' (Hs) = *biir* f., pl. *-a* 'die Dumpalme und der Dscherid davon, wovon Flechtarbeiten gemacht werden' (Re)

Cu: (E) Som *baar* 'tree top; Commilina spec.' (Ab), Rend *bààr* Hyphaena coracea' (Heine 1981: 183 Sam **bààr* m. 'river palm').

4. *barbarâb* (obj. pl.) 'Rose' (Se) = *berbere^h*, indet. *berberaab* 'ein Pflänzchen in den Bergen mit kleinem gelblichen Blüten' (Hs)

Cu: (E) **birbir*- ‘Juniperus procera’ (Sasse 1982: 36) > Or: Macha and Guji *birbir-sa* ‘juniper’ (LVC), Konso *pirpir-ta* id. (Bl); Harso-Dobase, Gawwada-Gollango *pirpir-ko* ‘Wachholder; Juniperus procera’ (AMS); Burji *birbír-i* ‘juniper-like firtree’ (Sa). Amh *birbirrā* ‘Milletia ferruginea’ quoted by Hess (1918–1919: 218) as the parallel to the Beja word, is probably borrowed from some East Cushitic source.

5. *bires*, *beress* and *embires*, *mberess* m. ‘Sodom apple, Calotropis procera’ (HuB) = *biras* m. ‘tree species, of no particular use’, def. sg. *um-biras*, def. pl. *im-biras-a* (Wd) = *biras*, *beras* m., pl. *biraa* id., with art. *emberás* (Rp) = *u’ambires*, indet. *ambiresaab*, pl. *i’ambirese^h* ‘Calotropis procera’ (Hs) = (*e*)*mberées* m., pl. *embráasa* m. ‘Uscherbaum; Calotropis procera’ (Re) = *im-beh-ress* ‘Oshar Asclepias’ (Kc) = *büirress*, with art. *umberrees* ‘Calotropis procera’ (Schw)

Formally compatible with Se **burāt*- ‘cypress’ > Akk *burāšu*, Hb *b^erōš*, Aram: Yudeo- and Christian Palestinian, Syrian *b^erōtā* (Cohen 1970f: 88).

6. *dad’a* m. ‘wild olive’ (Rp) = *u dada’*, indet. *dād’aab*, pl. *i dād’ä* ‘Olea europaea’ (Hs) = *dadaḡ* ‘wild olive, Olea Europaea (used for hair and carrying sticks)’ (HuB) = *o-dada* ‘large tree in the mountains’ (Bu) = *dāda* ‘Olea europaea’ (Schw)

Cu: (E) Som *cadaad* /*ṣadād*/ ‘Acacia Nilotica’, Rend *ḥadaad* ‘Acacia Seneg.’ (Heine 1981: 200) ||| ?Om: (N) Kafa *dūdo* ‘specie di albero’ = Amh *qālahe* and/or *dadeddoo* ‘sp. di albero; pianta che somiglia all’ensete, ma dè un frutto che fa inebriare’ (Ce).

7. (*u*) *delaaw*, pl. *i delow* ‘Acacia Ehrenbergiana, Hayne’ (= Ar colloquial *selem*) (Hs) = *daláaw* m. ‘eine Baumsorte’, in Ar *salām/silām* (Re) = *dallau* m. ‘Acacia Ehrenbergia’ (HuB)

Se **dulb*- > Akk *dulbu(m)*, Syr *dūlbā*, Ar *dulb* ‘platane’ (Cohen 1970f: 261).

8. *hiib* m. ‘Salvadora Persica (Arak bush)’ (HuB) = *hiib* m., pl. -a ‘Salvadora persica’ {= Ar *ṣarāk* (Rp)} = *heebt* f. ‘tree Salvadora persica (twig used as toothbrush)’, def. sg. *tooheeb*, def. pl. *tūheeba* (Wd) = *hiib* m., pl. *hūiba* id. (das Holz wird gekant zum Zweck der Reinigung der Zähne) (Re) = *oḡ hiib*, indet. *hiibaab*, pl. *i hiibe^h* ‘Salvadora persica’, in Ar *ṣarāk* (Hs) = *o’hib* ‘der Ādai’ (der Name einer Baumart im Tigre) (Mu) = *hiib* ‘Statica axillaris’, *uhiip* ‘Salvadora persica’ (Schw)

?Cu: (E) Som *hayaab* ‘Limeum viscosum’ (Re).

9. *ham* f. ‘sycamore’, m. ‘fruit of sycamore’ (HuB) = *ham* f. ‘Sykomore’, m. ‘Frucht davon’ (Re) = *ham* ‘Hamtebaum’ (Mu)

(1) Almkvist (1885: 29) identified it with *hant* ‘*Odina fructicosa*’ (HuB and Schw) and further with Ti *hamte* = ?*həmoṭe* ‘name of a shrub’ (LH 9).
 (2) Reinisch (1895: 118) connected it with Bilin *hamṭa* ‘eine bestimmte Baumart’ (Re), Ti *hamṭa* (Re) = *hamṭ* (Mu; see LH 9) = ?*hammat* ‘a climbing plant’ (LH 62) and Ar *hamāṭat*, pl. *himāt* ‘mountain-fig’ (Sg 296).
 (3) Cu: (HE) **hooma* ‘juniper tree’ > Had *hooma*, Kamb *hooma*, *hoon-ca*, Sid *hoomm-icco*, *hoon-co*, pl. *hoomme*, coll. *honna* (G. Hudson 1989: 86).

10. *harro* m. ‘millet’ (HuB) = *harrob* m. ‘grain, seed, rye’, def. sg. *wharru* (Wd) = *harroob* ‘durra’ (Tl) = *harri* m. ‘durra (growing plant or grain)’ (Rp) = (*u*) *harre*^h, indet. *harroḡb* ‘Getreide im allgemeinen’ (Hs) = *hár(r)o* m. ‘Büschelmais/Sorghum vulgare’, also ‘Korn, Getreide’ (Re) = *háro*, *héro* m. ‘Durra’ (Al) = *o’herro* id. (Mu) = *hwor-reh* id. (Kc) = [*wu*] *háro* id. (Se) Reinisch (1887: 44) compared it with Cu: (C) Bilin coll. *ar*, sg. *ara* ‘Getreidekorn, Feldfrüchte überhaupt und speziell die Durra, Sorghum, weil beinahe die einzige und alleinige Feldfrucht welche die Bilin pflanzen’, Khamir, Dembea, Qwara, Awngi *ar* id. (< Proto-Awngi **är-* ‘grain, cereal’ by Appleyard 2006: 277); cf. Bilin *ar* ‘Feldfrüchte einsammeln, ernten’, compared by Reinisch (1887: 44) with Gz *ʔarara* ‘to reap, gather, harvest’ (cf. Leslau 1987: 39) || (E) Or (*h*)*aru* ‘to clean or sweep the floor’ (Gamta).

11. *kunti* ‘*Ficus Bengalensis*’ (HuB) = (*u*) *kunta*^h, pl. (*i*) *kunt’aa*^h, indet. *kunt’aab* ‘ein grosser Baum mit Früchten, wie die vom *ḥarrúb* (*Ceratonia siliqua*), die aber gelb und bitter sind’ (Hs) = *kū’nte* m. ‘Sykomorenbaum; *Ficus bengalensis*’ (Re) = *kunteek* and *kuunteeb* ‘*Ficus sycomorus*, *Urostigma glumosum*’ (Schw) = [*u*] *künteh* ‘Sycomorbaum’ (Se) Reinisch (1893: §45b; 1895: 144) and Hess (1918–1919: 222) correctly connected it with Copt Bohairic *κεντε* ‘figue(s)’, Dem *ḵnt* ‘Feige’ (Vycichl 1983: 83), Eg (Gr) *ḵwnty* ‘nom d’un arbre sacré’ (Wb. V, 117).

12. (*oḡ*) *kʷad*, pl. (*i*) *kʷadā*^h ‘*Polycarpum prostratum* et al. Caryophyllaceae’ = *kwad* m. ‘*Crotolaria remotirolia*’ (HuB) = *quádd*, [*oh*] *koa*^h, [*oo*] *kot* ‘*Crotolaria mikrophylla* and *senegalensis*’ (Schw; Almkvist 1885: 41 **kʷad*) ?Cu: (E) Som *qudhac* /*ḵuḍa*ʕ/ ‘*Acacia spirocarpa*/*stenocarpa*’ (Ab).

13. (*oḡ*) *nha*^h, indet. *nēḥēb* ‘ein Strauch 1½ mannshoch’ (Hs) Eg (Pyr) *nh.t* ‘Sykomore; allgemein als Laubbaum’, cf. *nh.t n.t d3b* ‘figuier’ (Wb. II, 283), Demotic *nhy* ‘Sykomore’, Copt Bohairic *νοϣἰ* id. (Vycichl 1983: 151; he proposed the vocalisation **nāha.t* or **nāhi.t*).

14. (*oḡ*) *roḡg*, pl. (*i*) *roḡge*^h ‘die beste Art der Gräser oder Kräuter, die *ēle*^h genannt werden’ (Hs)

?Cu: (E) Som *rugumbax /rugumbah/* ‘*Jatropha ferox/parvifolia*, *Loewia glutinosa*, *Pavetta venenata*, *Phyllanthus hildebrandtii/maderaspatensis*’ (Ab).

15. *sui* f. ‘der wilde Balsambaum’ (Mu)

?Cu: (E) **saɸ-* / **siɸ-* ‘acacia’ (Sasse 1976: 127) > Saho *siɸ*, pl. -a, sgl. *siɸ-(i)to*, *saaf-ito* ‘Schirmakazie; *Acacia spirocarpa*’ (Re); Dasanech *sies*, sgl. *see-c* ‘acacia’ (To); Or *faa-ta* ‘albero sacro, dove vengono gettate le posature del caffè e gli avanzi del ciatt’ (Thiene 1939: 130). Reinisch (1887: 167) compared Saho + Bilin *caɸa* ‘Schirmakazia; *Acacia spirocarpa*’ + Ti *čäfa* and Ty *čaɸa* id. (LH 629) ||| Ch: (E) Sokoro *súo* ‘*Acacia albida*’ (Lk) || Se: Ar *sayāɸ* ‘juniper-tree’ (Sg 520).

16. *sag’a* m. sg. ‘thicket of *sag’aneb* bushes’, where *sag’áne* and *sang’áne* m. (also f. of small size) ‘acacia asak (?)’, a common thorny bush’ (Rp) = *sága* m. ‘eine Sorte Baum (= Ar *samur*)’ (Re) = (*tu*) *seg’ane^h*, indet. *seg’aneet*, pl. (*ti*) *seg’ane^h* ‘*Acacia spirocarpa* (= Ar *samur*)’ (Hs) = *ssanganeeb* id. (Schw; Almkvist 1885: 56 **sángane*) = ?*sanganeb* ‘*Juncillus alopecuroides*’ (HuB) = *s’aganeet* f. ‘tree species’, def. sg. *tus’agani*, def. pl. *tis’agani* (Wd)
Cu: (E) Afar *saàgan*, sgl. *saaganto* ‘tamarisk tree; *Tamarix nilotica*’ (PaHy), Saho *sagan*, pl. *saaguun*, sgl. *sagan-too*, pl. -*tit* ‘*Tamariske/Tamarix orientalis*’ (Re); ?Som *sogsog* ‘*Acacia sejal*’ (Re) = ‘*Acacia etbaica*’ (Ab).

17. *sinfaab* m. ‘plant species *Lepidium cress*’, def. sg. *usinfa*, def. pl. *isinfa* (Wd) = *i sämfä^h*, indet. *sämfaab* ‘*Gartenkresse/Lepidium sativum*’ (Hess) = *súmfa* m. ‘*Gartenkresse/Lepidium sativum*’ (Re)
Reinisch (1895: 201) collected numerous areal parallels: Cu (C): Bilin *sinfü* id. || (E) Saho *sunfa* ‘garden cress’ (Vergari), Afar *sinfaay* ||| EtSe: Ti *sənfa?* ‘a plant *Lepidium sativum*’ (LH 190).

18. *šaaɸ* m. ‘species of tree’, def. sg. *oošaaɸ*, def. pl. *eešaf* (Wd)

ECu: Gedeo *šafa* ‘leaf’ (G. Hudson 1989: 89), Hadiyya and Kabenna *šäfita* ‘leaf’ (Leslau 1979: 573; he also quoted Ga = Oromo *šäfo*) ||| Ch: (W) Siri *šaapi*, Miya *šepi*; (C) Lame *šapa*, Lame Pewe *šap*, Zime Batua *šab* ‘leaf’.
Lit.: Orel and Stolbova (1995: 126) ECu + Ch.

B. General terms describing vegetation including the plant parts

1. *aɸif* ‘bark (of tree)’ (Be) = *aɸift* f. ‘bark of tree’, def. sg. *tu’aɸif*, def. pl. *ti’aɸfa* (Wd) = *aɸif* f., pl. *áɸfa* ‘bark, rind’ (Rp) = *aɸif* f., pl. *áɸfa* ‘Rinde’ (Re) = *áɸif* f., pl. *áɸfa* ‘Rinde’ (Al) = *aɸif* f., pl. *aɸfá* ‘bark of tree’ (HuB) = *aɸift* (St) = *te’edf*, pl. *te’edfa*, acc. *eedfat* ‘die Rinde’ (Mu)

Cu: (E) Elmolo *étép-te*, pl. *étep* f. 'bark (of tree)' (He), although one would expect *d* as the reflex of **ḏ*, cf. Elmolo *dâl-* 'to bear children' < pECu **ḏal-* 'to beget, give birth' (Sasse 1979: 61); maybe also Som of Gabiley *jidhif* 'bark (of tree)' (Ehret and Nuuh 1985: 243) = *jídif* and *jílif* 'Rinde, Schale, Hülse' (Re), if we accept a dissimilation from the partial reduplication **ḏidif*, cf. Som *jáḏi* 'Stachelschwein, Hystrix cristata' (Re) vs. Or Wellega *ḏadee* 'porcupine' (Gg). Lit.: Zaborski (1989: 578) Beja + Elmolo.

2. *aggaab* m. 'stalks, straw', def. sg. *w'agga*, def. pl. *y'agga* (Wd) = ág(g)a 'straw, esp. durra stalks' (Rp) = *ag(g)a* m. 'das Stroh von Sorghum vulgare' (Re) = *ága* m. 'Halm, Schilf (von Durra)' (Al) = *o'agga* 'das Durraschilf' (Mu) Reinisch (1895: 10) sought a connection with Tigre *'äge* 'sorte d'herbe grosse ou de jonc, dont on revêtit les maisons par le côté' (d'Abbadie apud LH 380) and Nubian: Mahas and Kenuzi *agē* 'das Stroh, Durra-Stroh' (Lepsius 1880: 266) ~ Mahas-Fadidja *áge* 'Stengel', Kenuzi-Dongola *háge* 'Stroh' (Reinisch 1879: 5, 64, 229). Murray (1923: 5) added Coptic ⲁⲕⲉ, ⲟⲕⲉ, without translation. It could be Coptic ⲟⲕⲉ 'sesame', Demotic Ⲓⲕⲓ id. But there is also Coptic ⲉⲟⲓⲕ, ⲉⲟⲓⲕ 'jonc, roseau', Demotic Ⲓⲓⲕⲓ 'Schilf', besides ⲓⲕ(ⲓ)ⲣ 'Schilf, Dickicht' (Vycichl 1983: 155), which agrees better in semantics especially with the Tigre word, but the internal structure of the Coptic and Demotic word 'reed' probably excludes any relation to the Beja-Tigre-Nubian areal isogloss.

3. *allay* f., pl. *allayā* 'flower' (HuB)

Cu: (E) Or Wellega *ililli* 'flower' (Gg; Borello), Harar *ilili* (Cohen), maybe borrowed into Harari (EtSe) *ēlād* 'flower' (Leslau 1963: 25 following Cohen) ||| Be: (S) Ahaggar *élel* 'laurier-rose' (Fc), Taitoq *ilel* (Masqueray); (N) Shilha of Tazerwalt *alili* 'Oleander' (Stumme), Kabyle *ilili* 'laurier-rose' (Dallet) etc., besides Seghrushen *alillu* 'fleur' (Destaing), cf. also Laoust (1920: 503); Woelfel (1955: 134).

Cohen (1947: n. 118) Or + Be.

4. *áloy* m., pl. *alóya* 'pod, e.g. of senna-mocca', cf. *alo(y)* v. 2 'to seed, fruit' (Rp)

Cu: (E) Afar *àlay* m. 'species of tree with hard spiky edible fruit (?Balanites aegyptiaca)', sgl. *alayto* (PaHy), Saho *'allaa* coll., indiv. *allaytoo* 'Halm, Stängel' (Re).

5. *eelaab* m. 'grass', def. sg. *w'eela*, def. pl. *y'eela* (Wd) = *u 'eela*^h, indet. *eelaab* 'halbvertrocknetes Gras, Heu' → *'Weiße' (Hess) = *éela* m. 'dürres Gras, Heu' (Al) = *o'ēlab* 'trockenes, liegendes Heu' (Mu) = *ehlā[b]* 'Pan-icum' (Schw)

Originally apparently *'white', cf. *ela* 'white', as the diminutive to *era*

‘white’ (Roper 1928: 147). Similarly Reinisch (1895: 27): *éela/éera* ‘weiße Farbe; weiß, licht’ = *eerab/eelab* ‘white’ (HuB) = *é:rāb/é:lāb* id. (Starkey) = *eera/dim. eela* id. (Vanhove). The term seems to be of Nilo-Saharan origin: Nubian: Kenuzi-Dongola *arō* ‘white’; Dilling *ori*, Dair *ari*, Kadaru *orru*, Debrri *orri*, Garko *ɔ:re*, Gulfan *ori*; Birgid *eelē*; Midob *addē* ‘white’ (Reinisch 1911: 93; Murray 1923: 18) < pNubian **aurori* (Bechhaus-Gerst 1984: 71); cf. Surma: Didinga *ora*; Kunama *arā* ‘white’; Nara *erenka* id.; Taman: Tama *ará*: ‘yellow’; Songhay *kàaró* ‘white’ (Greenberg 1963 b: 107, n. 124; Ehret 2001: 542, n. 1288).

6. *īlay* m., pl. *īley* ‘pod, e.g. of acacia’ (Rp)

Cu: (E) Afar *ilo*, pl. *iloola* ‘club, heavy stick, cane’ (PaHy), Saho *iloo*, pl. *iilool* ‘Stock, Stab’ (Re) and/or Elmolo *īlate*, pl. *īlai* ‘dom palm’, *īlat* ‘dom palm branch’ (He); Black (1974: 139) compared the Saho-Afar data with Som *ul*; Elmolo *ûl*; Or *ûl-e*’, Konso *ûl-itta* ‘stick, stoff’.

7. *ēngili* f. ‘Rinde’, cf. *kwahūt ēngili* ‘Eierschale’ (Re), plus the variant *nēngili* f. ‘Eierschale’ (Re) = *nigiri* f. ‘scale, scab, eggshell’ (Rp)

Cu: (E) Saho *ŋengiŋiro* ‘bark’ (We) = *ŋingiŋiro* (Vergari) = *engiŋiroo*, pl. *engiŋir* ‘Rinde’ (Re), Afar *ŋingir* ‘bark’ (PaHy) = *engiŋiroo*, pl. *engiŋir* ‘Rinde’, *lelim-tii engiŋiroo* ‘Eierschale’ (Re).

8. *angwā* f. ‘dom-palm leaf, unopened, used for making fibre’ (HuB) = *angwaat* f. ‘mat of dum palm leaves’, def. sg. *tu’angwa*, def. pl. *ti’angwa* (Wd) = *angwa* f. ‘palm leaf’ (Rp) = *angwat* ‘palm leaf’ (St) = *tu’ang^wa^h*, indet. *ang^waat* ‘Blattfieder der Dattel- und Dumpalme’ (Hs) = *angwa* f. ‘Dumpalme, Hyphaena thebaica und das Palmenblatt zum flechten von Körben, matten etc.’ (Re) = *ang^wa* f. ‘Palmenblatt’ (Al)

A cultural word widespread in more languages:

Cu: (C) Kemant *anguaa* ‘palmier’ (Conti Rossini 1912: 166 compared it with Bilin *anqwa* ‘der afrikanische Wachholder’ by Reinisch) || (E) Saho *āngaa*, pl. *āngoog*, indiv. *āngaaytoo* ‘Dumpalme; Hyphaena thebaica’ (Re) = *ŋunga* ‘doum-palm’ (Vergari), Afar *ungaa/angwaa/*, pl. *unguug* id. (Re). Cf. also Nubian: Mahas *hambū*, *āmbī*, Kenzi-Dongola *āmbū*, Dair *ab-tē* ‘dôm-palm; Hyphaena thebaica’ – see Murray (1923: 8) who added Kunama *ōmaa* id. (Reinisch 1890: 12 Kunama + Saho).

Lit.: Reinisch (1895: 23) Beja + Saho-Afar + non-existing Bilin *angwa*.

9. **ašrat(t)a*, recorded as *ašratta* ‘eine lange Grasart’ (Mu)

Maybe a compound consisting of **aš-* and *raat*, pl. *rāt* ‘Blatt’ (Al). The first component could be connected with ECu **ṣawš-/ṣayš-* ‘grass’ (< **ṣawiš-* – see Sasse 1979: 44, 45, 47) > Saho *ṣayso* ‘grass’ (We), Afar *ṣayso*

id. (PaHy); Som *caws* /ʃaws/ 'dry grass' (Ab), Jiddu *ís* 'grass' (Banti and Ibraaw), Boni *aas*^e id., Rend *hos* id. (He), Bayso *ees* id. (Hy); Dasanech *?iış* id. (Sa; To); Or *ees* 'farro, farraggine, spelta, specie di frumento' (Thiene); Harso, Dobase, Gollango, Gawwada *ʃaš-kó* 'Gras', Harso, Dobase, Gollango *ʃawš-* 'reifen' (AMS); Sidamo *haysso* 'grass', ?Gedeo *anso*, *arso* id. (HG) ||| ?Om: (N) Gimirra: She *oš* 'cane; Bambusa abyssinica' (CR) ||| Ch: (W) Nbauchi: Miya *awasu*, Jimbin *awaši*, Mburku *wāsə*, Warji *wasəna*, Kariya *wasisi*, Pa'a *wei* 'grass' (Skinner 1977: 24) || ?(C) Ga'anda *ùšinna*; Masa *usna*, Banana *ùsinà* id. (Kr) || (E) Sokoro *ússī* id. (Lk); Bidiyo *?àwso* m., pl. *?àwás* 'herbe; mouche; saleté' (Alio and Jungrraithmayr 1989) ||| ?Se: Ar *ʃawsağ* 'a thorny shrub' (Sg 737). The second component may be identified probably with Beja *raat* ~ *laat* 'Baumblatt' (Re) = *laat* 'leaf, blade of grass; feather' (Rp).

10. *bee* in *hindi bee* 'leaves of tree' (HuB) – see *bāyi*, *beyi* m. 'leaf of the small crisp'

bee is the plural of *bay* 'ribs', cf. Eg (N) *bʃy* 'Palmenrippe' (Wb. I, 446); *hindi* = 'tree' (HuB).

11. *bus* m. 'stalk or stem decayed inside' (HuB) = *buus* m. 'Rohr, Halm, Schilf' (Re, Al)

(1) Almkvist (1885: 11) compared it with SudAr *būs*.

(2) Cu: (E) Burji *baš-aa* 'grass', Had *bass-ó'o* 'hay' (Sasse 1982: 34).

12. *bāyi*, *beyi* m. 'leaf of the small crisp (kind found on thorny acacia)' (Rp) = *u bayä^h*, indet. *bayęeb* = Ar *el ħabat* 'die zu Futterzwecken mit dem Stocke heruntergeschlagenen Blätter' (Hs) = *báya*, *báye* m. 'Blatt, Baumblatt' (Re) = *báye* m. 'Blatt, Laub' (Al)

(1) Eg (NK) *bʃy* 'tige de la branche du palmier', Dem *bʃy* 'Palmstab, -zweig', Copt Sahidic $\beta\Delta\epsilon\text{I}$, coll. $\beta\Delta\epsilon\text{I}\text{H}$ 'branche du palmier (dépouillée de ses feuilles)' (Vycichl 1983: 24 **biʃyaw*). Roquet (1980, 125-126) proposed a borrowing from late Eg into Beja.

(2) ?Cu: (E) Or: Borana, Orma, Waata *buy(y)o* 'grass' (Stroemer 1987: 278); Had *buyya* 'leaf' (Hudson 1989: 89).

13. *dala* m. 'forest' (HuB) = *dáala* m. 'thicket' (Rp)

Cu: (E) Arbore *deel* 'forest' (Hy) || Ch: (C) Zelgwa *dāla* 'brousse' (Mc), Buduma *délii* 'Wald' (Lk).

Lit.: Greenberg (1963 b, 57, n. 33): Beja + Buduma (not Logone!) and Sokoro *dəri* 'forest'. But this word is not cited by Lukas (1937). Newman and Ma (1966: 248) admit a borrowing of 'Logone', i.e. Buduma *délii*, 'forest' from Kanuri *dəli* 'uninhabited country'.

14. *daruur* m. 'grass', def. sg. *udaruur*, def. pl. *idaruur* (Wd); Cf. *daroor* m. 'health, green, freshness', def. sg. *udaroor* (Wd)

ECu **zaraar-* > Bayso *daraar-a*, Oromo *daraar-a* 'blossom', Burji *daráar-a* 'blossom of fruit of the earth (e.g. beans) or tree', Sidamo *daraar-o* 'blossom', Gedeo *daraar-o*, Kambatta, Kabenna, Alaba, *zaraar-úta*, Timbaro *zúraar-uta* 'flower' (Sasse 1982: 53–54, 195; Leslau 1980: 120; G. Hudson 1989: 33, 66).

15. *faar* m. 'flower, blossom', def. sg. *oofaar*, def. pl. *ifaara* (Wd) = *faar* m., pl. *fār* 'flower, blossom, bloom, seed' = *faar* m., pl. *far* 'Blüte, Blume, Knospe' (Re) = *faar* m., pl. *fār* 'Blüte, Blume' (Al) = *far* 'Blüte, Knospe' (Mu) = **faar* in *hindephâr* 'Blume' (Schw), lit. 'tree' + 'flower'

Reinisch (1895: 81) derived it from the verb *firi* 'gebären, zeugen' = *firi* 'to give birth; breed; produce offspring, fruit; lay eggs' (Rp). Reinisch (1895: 81) and Leslau (1987: 167) collected other areal parallels: CCu: Bilin *frii* 'to bear fruits', Khamir and Qwara *fir* 'fruit' < Proto-North Awn-gi **fār-* (Appleyard 2006: 73) ||| EtSe: Ge *far(a)ya* 'to bear fruit, produce fruit, yield fruit, be fruitful', *färe* 'fruit, blossom, bud, offering', Ti *fāra* 'to bear fruit', Ty *färäyā*, Amh and Gurage (*a*)*färra* id. |||| further Se: Ugaritic, Phoenician *pr* 'fruit', Hb *pārā* (√*p-r-y*) 'to bear fruit', *pārī* 'fruit', Aram *pārā* 'to bear fruit', Syr *pe^(r)rā* 'fruit' etc. Other possible comparanda were summarized by Orel and Stolbova (1995: 424, n. 1983): Harsusi-Mehri *ferrāt* 'unripe fruit' ||| Eg (OK) *pr.t* 'fruit, crop, seed' ||| Guanche *afaro* 'corn' ||| ECu: Saho *fire* 'seeds of the fruits' (Vergari); Oromo *firi* 'fruit'.

16. *gabaab* m. 'acacia fruit', def. sg. *ugaba*, def. pl. *igaba*; *gabaat* f. 'small acacia fruit', def. sg. *tugaba*, def. pl. *tigaba* (Wd) = *gaba* 'Zizyphus spina Christi' (tree f./fruit m.) = *gáaba* f. 'Rhamnus nebeke or Zizyphus spina Christi; die Frucht davon' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 87) collected areal parallels in neighboring languages: CCu: Bilin *gúubaa*; EtSe: Ge *gabā*, Tigray *gaba*, Tigre *gäba*, Amh *gäba* 'sp. tree: Zizyphus spina Christi' (LH 582; Cohen 1970f: 95; Leslau 1987: 176).

17. *gadum* m., pl. *gadamā* 'root' (HuB) = *gadam* m. 'root', def. sg. *ugadam*, def. pl. *igadama* (Wd) = *radam* (sic) 'root of tree' (St) = *gadam* 'root' (Tl) = *gádam* m., pl. *-a* 'root, all that part of tree or plant underground; source or head of khor', prep. 'near' (with gen.) (Rp) = *gedám* m., pl. *gádma* 'Wurzel' (Re) = *gedem* id. (Mu)

(1) Derived from the verb *gid* v.1 'niederwerfen', *gad* v.2 id., pas. *gad-am* (Re), cf. Or of Wellega *gad(i)* 'down', *gadaanuu* 'lower, under' (Gg).

(2) Borrowed from Ar *ğadm* and *ğidm*, pl. *ğudūm* and *ğāğdām* 'root, trunk or stump of a tree, branch' (Sg 225).

18. *hamaag* m., pl. *hamag* ‘fruit of any tree’ (HuB) = *háamag* m. ‘fruit, i.e. one or many units of fruit’ (Rp) = *hamáag* m., pl. *hamág* ‘Frucht’, *woo-híndi hamáag* ‘Baumfrucht’ (Re) = *hamáag* m., pl. *hámag* ‘Frucht’ (Al) = *o’hamag* ‘Frucht’ (Mu)

Reinisch (1902: 204) connected it with ECu: Som *hamag* ‘Fruchtkolben, -büschel, z.B. vom Mais’.

19. *hindi* m. ‘tree, wood, firewood’ (HuB) = *hindiib* m. ‘tree’, def. sg. *whindi*, def. pl. *yhindi* (Wd) = *hindib* ‘tree, bush, firewood’ (Tl) = *hindeeb* ‘long piece of wood, pole’ (St) = *Indiib* ‘tree’ (Be) = (*u*) *hundi* ‘tree, wood’ (Do) = *híndi* m., pl. (rare) *-a* ‘tree, plant, wood’ (Rp) = *u hindi^h*, indet. *hindiib*, pl. *i hindi^h*, indet. *hindib* ‘Baum und Strauch’ (Hs) = *híndi*, *hínde* m. ‘Holz, Baum’ (Re) = *hínde* m. ‘Baum’, *hindešádíd* m. ‘Baumrinde’ (Al) = *o’hinde* ‘Baum’ (Mu) = *uhinde* ‘Baum, Holz’ (Se)

Cu: (E) Or *hundā* ‘lower part of tree trunk, origin, principle’ (Sa), Wellega *hundee* ‘root’ (Gg), Borana *hunda-ni* ‘tronco o fusto d’albero, origine, principio’ (Venturiano); Sidamo *hunda* ‘root, under’, Burji *hín?-a* ~ *hínḍ-a* ‘down(ward), under’ (Sasse 1982: 97); ?Arbore *hundá* ‘leg’ (Hy) || ?Om: (N) Ganjula *hanтта* ‘root’ (Fl).

20. [*o*]kúud m., pl. *-a* ‘Ähre’ (Se; Almkvist 40 :1885 reconstructed **kuud*) With respect of the imperfect transcription used in the old records, it is tempting to connect it with Cu: (E) **kudh-* ‘thorn’ > Som *qodax*, pl. *qodx-an* id. (Ab), Rend *kudáh/kudáh* sg./pl. id. (Pillinger and Galboran 1999, 203); Arbore *kedeh* ‘thorn’ (Hy), Elm *ed* ‘thorn’ (He); Or: Wellega *qorr-ee* and *-(a)attii* id. (Gg), SOr (Borana, Orma, Waata) *koraa-at(t)ii* id. (Stroomer 1987: 354), Dirayta *kuḍḍ-eét*, Konso *qeét-ta*, pl. *qeét-aa*, Mashile *g’uḍḍ-eta* id. (Bl); ?Dobase *qaṭam-accé*, Harso *aṭim-accé*, Gollango *qánte* id. (AMS); Had *útt-a* (Black 1974: 180), Gedeo *ucco*, *ute*, Kamb *uta*, *-iccu*, Sid *utá*, *-icco* (HG) and/or Burji *kúw(w)-a* ‘thorn’; Sasse (1982: 129).

21. *le’íd* m., pl. *-a*, with art. *úu-l’íd* ‘Ast, Zweig’ (Re) = *l’iid* m., def. sg. *ool’iid*, def. pl. *il’iida* (Wd) = *liid* ~ *liig* m. ‘main branch of tree’ (HuB) = *to’lad* ‘Palmzweig’ (Mu), if it does not belong to *laat* ‘leaf’

(1) Cu: (E) Afar *lūud* ‘thick branches (of trees) (PaHy).

(2) Almkvist (1885: 42) quoted Beja *laúud* ‘Acacia pterocarpa’ and colloquial Ar *elḥūd* ‘Holz’.

22. *l(ə)’iig* m., pl. *l’íga* ‘twig, spring, branch’ (Rp) = *ligwoi* ~ *lingoi* ‘secondary branch of tree, inlet of sea, pastern of camel’s hind leg’ (HuB) = *tillingó* ‘Zweig’ (Schw; Almkvist 1885: 43 **lingo* f.)

Cu: (E) pSam **laʃam* f. 'branch' > Som *laan* f., pl. *láamo* 'Ast, Zweig' (Re), pBoni **låg'án* f., pl. **låg'àm-òòbà* 'branch' > Bireeri *laʔan*, pl. *laʔam-ə*, Baddey *lag'één*, pl. *lag'm-oobə* (He); Rend *liixím* f., pl. *liiximó* 'branch' (He).

23. *libaang* f. 'date (fruit)' (HuB) = *libáana* f. 'date (Sudan produce, hard, dry)' (Rp)

?Cu: (E) Som *lebi* m. 'Gattung Baum; Caesalpinia elata' (Re).

24. *lakwi* f. (acc. *lakwot*) 'dom-palm fruit complete with outer husk', m. (acc. *lakwob*) 'kernal of dom-palm fruit' (Rp) = *lakw* f. 'edible covering of dom nut' (HuB) = *lakwoob* m. 'dum palm tree', def. sg. *ulakwu*, def. pl. *ilakwu*; *lakwoot* f. 'dum palm, coconut fruit', def. sg. *tulakwu*, def. pl. *tilakwu* (Wd)
?Cu: (E) Som *luko* f. 'eine Convolvulacea: Ipomaea marmorata' or *liqa* m. 'eine Gattung Baum: Hydnora spec.' or *lika* m. 'Name eines niedern Gewächses mit roter, essbarer Behrenfrucht' (Re).

25. *rat* ~ *lad* f. 'leaf' (HuB) = *raat* ~ *laat* f., pl. *rat* ~ *lat* 'Baumblatt', cf. *oo-gwadít* *laat* 'Augendeckel, Augenlid' (Re) = *lat* ~ *erat* 'leaf' (St); the other scholars have recorded only the *r*- or *l*-variant: *raat* 'leaf', def. sg. *toora*, def. pl. *teera* (Wd) = *raat* f., pl. *rät* 'Blatt' (Al) = *to'rat* id. (Mu), besides *laat* 'leaf' (Be and Tl) = *laat* f., pl. *lät(it)* 'leaf, blade of grass; feather' (Rp) = *to lät* 'Baumblatt' (Se)

Cu: (E) Or: Wellega *lata* v. 'to sprout, bud', n. 'sprout, bud', *latee* 'sprout of plant' (Gg), Macha and Borana *lata* 'to sprout' (LVC), *lata* 'a young shoot of a plant or a tree; a young animal' (Stroomer 1995: 204); ?Had *lat-* 'to sprout from stem' (HG), if it is not borrowed from Or.

Reinisch (1895: 160) Beja + Or + Eg (Pyr) *rd* 'wachsen', (OK) *rd* 'Pflanze' (Wb. II, 462–463), Copt Sahidic and Bohairic ρωτ, Fayyumic λωτ 'croître', Sahidic and Bohairic ρωτ, pl. Sahidic ρατε, Bohairic ροτ 'plante, produit'; cf. also Sahidic ραιτε 'parenté, famille', Dem *ryt.t* 'parents' (Vycichl 1983: 172, 179). But the Beja-Oromo isogloss practically excludes the Egyptian counterpart and vice versa (*t* vs. *d*).

26. *saroob* m. 'fruit of the Capparis tree', def. sg. *usaru*, def. pl. *isaru* (Wd) = *sarób* m., pl. *-a* 'Capparis aphylla' ~ {Sudan Arabic *tundub*} (Rp) = *u sarəob*, pl. *i sarəobe^h* 'Capparis sodada' (Hess) = *serob* 'Serobbaum' (Mu) = *ssarōb* 'Sodada decidua' (Schw; cf. Almkvist 1885: 58 **sáro*)

Reinisch (1890: 334) mentioned Saho *saraw* coll. 'sp. acacia/Acacia etbaica' (Vergari), and Ty *särāw* coll., sg. *särāway* 'sp. tree' (~ Bilin *qarašáa*).

27. *sirdeeb* m. 'species of grass', def. sg. *oosirdeeb*, def. pl. *isirdeeba* (Wd) = *sárde* and *sérde* f. 'eine Raigrassorte an Wasserplätzen vorkommend/Panicum ternatum or Cynodon dactylon' = *serde* 'Serdetgras' (Mu; cf. Almkvist 1885: 58)

Reinisch (1895: 204) compared it with Ti *sərdāt* 'dry grass, straw', Amh *sārdo* 'kind of grass' > Ge *sardo* id. (Leslau 1987: 512; he added Ty *sārdo* 'tough grass that is difficult to eradicate' and Kemant *sārdo*). Cf. also ECu: Saho *sirdi* 'type of grass' (Vergari).

28. *siyáam* m. sg. 'grass, edible vegetable matter' (Rp) = *siyaam* m. 'grass', def. sg. *oosyaam*, def. pl. *eesyam* (Wd) = (oḡ) *syam* 'alle Kräuter' (Hs) = *seyaam*, *siyaam* m., pl. *siyám* 'Gras', cf. *siyáam bálama* 'Heu' (Re) = *siaam* m., pl. *siám* id. (Al) = *o'siam* id. (Mu) = *osyam* (Km) = *o'siám* (Kc) = [o]sziám 'Klee, Stroh, Gras' (Se)

?Cu: (E) Or of Wellega *sooyama* and *sooyoma* 'thin straight bamboo-like plant' (Gg) ||| Om: (N) Ganjule *saamo* 'cabbage' (Fl), Kachama *saamo* id., besides Wolayta *saan-ta* id. (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 498), Bench *sam* id. (Wd) ||| Ch: (E) Sumray *sémdē* 'Gras' (Lk), Bidiya *sóomà* 'herbe sp.' (Alio and Jungraithmayr 1989), Mokilko *sèemí*, pl. *sèmbàmí* 'foin' (Jg) ||| Eg (Pyr) *sm.w* 'Kraut' (Wb. IV, 119), Copt *сім* 'herbe' (Vycichl 1983: 188) ||| Se: Akk *šammu(m)* 'Pflanze, Kraut; Droge'; maybe Ar *samm*, pl. *simām* and *sumūm* 'poison' > Aram *sammā* 'Gift, Droge' (AHw 1156).

Lit: Reinisch (1895: 207) Beja + Eg and Copt + Nara *seemaa* 'grass' and Kunama *seena*; Dolgopolsky (1973: 94–95) Beja + NOm + Eg and Copt + Akk. Orel and Stolbova (1995: n. 395) reconstruct AA **cim-* on the basis of Iraqw *tsamo* 'kind of grass that puts out runners' (Ehret 1980: 229) and Dahalo *táami* 'grass', *táám-ine* 'blade of grass' (Ehret 1980: 168) = *táami* and *táámine* (To).

C. Products, materials and instruments from plants and their parts

1. *'aḏa* m. 'pole', f. 'long stick or support used by aged and halt' (Rp) = *'aḏab* 'pole' (St)

Cu: (E) Afar *ḥaḏa* 'tree', *ḥàḏda* 'stick' (PaHy), Saho *ḥaḏa* 'tree' (Be, We), pl. *ḥoḏit* (We) = *haaḏa*, pl. *hooḏ* 'Baum, Holz, Stamm, Stab, Stange, Halm' (Re).

Ch: (C) Wandala *háazà* 'Brennholz' (Lk) = *hàḏḏa* 'bois de feu' (Mc) ||| ?Eg (Med; BD) *ḏḏf* 'Zweig, Ast' (Wb. V, 535), if it is a result of the partial reduplication and metathesis ||| Se **ʕiṣ-* > Akk *iṣu(m)* 'Baum, Holz' (AHw 390–391), Eblaic *i-zu /ʕidu/* id. (Krebernik 1983: 15), Ug, Pun *ḥṣ* 'Baum, Weinstock' (Aistleitner 1965: 239), Hb *ḥeṣ* 'tree, wood', Aram *ʔāʔ*, EgAram

ƣq id., EpSAr ƣd ‘wood(work)’ (Biella 1982: 378), Ar *ƣidd* ‘small thorny tree’, *ƣidāh* ‘any great trees having thorns’, Saudi Ar *ƣuḍ* ‘fragrant wood burned before guests’, Daṭina *ƣaḍa*, *ƣuḍah* ‘tree’, Gz *ƣaḍ* ‘tree, shrub, bush, wood, stick, staff (of spear)’, Ti *ƣaččät*, Ty *ƣ/?anšäyti*, *ƣäy* ‘tree, wood’, Amh *ənčät*, *ət*, *aš*, Harari *inči*, Gurage *äčä* ‘tree’ (Leslau 1987: 57).

Note: One would expect Afar-Saho ƣ-, but the same anomaly occurs in the correspondence between Afar-Saho *han* ‘milk’ (PaHy/We) vs. Som *caano* /*ƣaano*/, Boni *aan^e*, Rend *haanú*; Or *aannan* id. or Afar *haad-o* (PaHy), Saho *had-o* ‘meat’ (We) vs. Som *cad* /*ƣad*/ ‘piece of meat’ || Eg (OK) ƣd ‘Fett’ (Wb. I, 239), Copt ωτ id. (Vycichl 1983: 251). Quoting these examples, Black (1974: 219) introduced for this correspondence the symbol *ƣ₁-.

Lit.: Illič-Svityč (1971: 276–277, n. 141) Afar-Saho + CCh + Eg + Se.

2. *oli* m. ‘geröstetes Getreide’ (Re) = *o’ollib* ‘der Brei’ (Mu)

Reinisch (1895: 14) connected it with Saho *alóo*, but it is missing in his Saho Dictionary; the closest safe cognate is Afar *alo* ‘roasted grain’ (PaHy).

3. (*e*)*mbaḍ*, *émbaj* and *mbáj* m., pl. -*a* ‘(Stroh)matte’ (Re) = *b’ad* m. ‘mat, bedding’, def. sg. *oomb’ad*, det. pl. *imb’ada* (Wd) = *b’ad* m., pl. -*a* ‘birsh matting’, with art. *umb’ad* (Rp) = *émbaḍ* m. ‘Matte’ (Al) = *émbadi* ‘Matte als Bettteppich’, *beda* ‘Matte, Teppich’ (Mu) = *mbadéh* ‘Teppich’, [*o*] *mbaḍ* ‘Fussmatte’ (Se)

A cultural term, cf. Eg (N) *nbđ* ‘flechten; Flechtwerk, Geflochtenes (Korb, Sieb etc.)’ (Wb. II, 246), Dem *nbt* ‘to wrap; wicker-work’, Copt Bohairic *noḃt* ‘to weave’, *nḃtε* ‘plait, tress’ (Černý 1976: 107) and Nubian: Mahas, Kenzi and Dongola *nébid*, Kenzi also *níbit* ‘mat, bedding’ (Reinisch 1895: 16–17; Murray 1923: 128 Beja + Eg and Copt + Nub).

4. *mokwa[b]* ‘gekrümmte Zeltstange’ (Mu)

Cu: (E) Som *mukoi*, *muki* ‘sicomoro’ (Cerulli 1961: 156); pBoni **múkày* ‘tamarind’ (He); Or: Wellega *muka* ‘tree, wood, bush’ (Gg), Macha *muka*, Guji *mukha* ‘tree, wood’ (LVC), Orma, Waata *muka*, Borana *muka* and *mux^a* ‘tree’ (Stroomer 1987: 370) || Dahalo *múku ná:dīte* ‘sp. bush with thorns’ (Maddiesson et al.) || (S) Asa *mogengera* ‘rot’; Burunge *muka* ‘chaff’ (Ehret 1980: 324 pRift **muk-*).

Ehret (1987: n. 101) Beja + Or + Rift.

5. *sir* m., pl. -*a* ‘staff, lance-shaft (if long and slender)’ (Re) = *sir* m. and f., pl. -*a* ‘Stange, langer Stab, Lanzenschaft’ (Re) = *sir* f. (or m.) ‘lange Stange (für Lanzen)’ (Al) = *to’sirr*, acc. *sirrt* ‘Stab, Stange’ (Mu)

?Cu: (E) Som *seeri* ‘Wald, Dickicht, Gebüsch’ (Re)?

6. *tīr* m., pl. -a ‘hooked stick to pull down branches’ (Rp)

There are interesting parallels: EtSe: Ti *tīr* ‘stick with a hook (e.g. in order to fetch fruit from the trees)’ (LH 307) and ECu: Som *tīr* ‘Säule, Stützbalken’ (Re).

D. Plants whose names are based on the members of a human society

1. (*u*) *duur* ‘äre^h ‘ein Kraut’ (Hs)

Comparing it with Ar colloquial *betâf wilâd el-ṣamm* ‘das den Vettern gehört’, Hess (1918–1919: 219) concludes that Beja *duur* = Ar *ṣamm* ‘Onkel’.

2. *rabq* m. ‘Trianthema pentandra’ (HuB) = *raabba* id. (Schw; Almkvist 1885: 53 **râaba*)

Cf. *râba* ‘männlich’ (Al).

3. *rabq hindi* f. ‘Moringa arabica’ (HuB) = (*u*) *rbaa-hindi^h*, indet. *ribaa-hindiib* ‘Bergstrauch’ (Hs)

A compound probably consisting of *râba* ‘männlich’ (Al) or (*u*) *rbaay* ‘Berg’ and *hindi^h* ‘Baum’ (Almkvist 1885: 54; Hess 1918–1919: 223).

E. Plant names motivated by human and animal body parts

1. *aboot niwq* m. ‘Crossophora obliqua’ (HuB) = *abóo-t niway* id. (Re) = *abotniuaïi* id. (Schw)

Cf. *aboot kwudq* ‘centipede’ and *niwq* ‘tail’ (HuB); see also Reinisch (1895: 5).

2. (*tu*) ‘*eeg^wadi^h*, pl. *eeg^wadiit* ‘Ruellia patula, Hedyotis Schimper’ (Hs) = *eguadiit* and *oguaioot* ‘Dipteracanthus patulus, Hedyotis Schimper’ (Schw) = *eegwadiit* ‘flower’ (Tl)

Hess (1918–1919: 217) analyzed it as a compound consisting of *eraab* ‘weiss’ and *g^wad* ‘Auge’ (cf. also Almkvist 1885: 18), cf. colloquial Sudanic Ar *umm fên bêdâ*.

3. *ankalay* ‘Zygophyllum Simplex’ (HuB) = *ankaláy* m., pl. -a ‘Pflanzensorte: eine Convolvulus’ (Re) = (*u*) *hank^wl’aay*, indet. *hank^wl’aayt* ‘Zygophyllum simplex’ (Hs) = *ankalaiit* id. (Schw)

Reinisch (1895: 25) connected it with Ti *?änqäláy* ‘a plant Convolvulus’ (LH 372) and Bilin *anqala* ‘Pflanzensorte: Winde, Convolvulus’ (Re). Hess (1918–1819: 221) derived it from *tu hank^wlä’t* ‘Niere’.

4. *darat niwq* m. 'shrub with white feathery flowers' (HuB) = *deretnioaab* 'Boerhaavia repens' (Schw)
Cf. *niwq* 'tail' (HuB).

5. *hamaš gwod* m. 'Trichodesma Africanum' (HuB) = *hamaaš g^w* ad id. (Hs)
= *hamaasch-guood* id. (Schw)
Hess (1918–1919: 221) correctly explained it as 'hellbläuliches Auge', cf. *hamiš* and *hamaaš* 'hellblau, weisslich blau, grau' (Re) = *hamaš* 'dirty yellow, grey' (HuB).

6. *mile* m. 'large ripe berries of *hiib*', *mileyai* f. 'one single berry' (Rp)
Cf. *mile* f. 'tear'?

7. (*u*) *mar miid*, pl. (*i*) *mar miide^h* 'eine ca. 50 cm hohe Staude mit hellgelben Blüten, wächst in tonigem, nassem Gelände' (Hs)
Cf. *u yaas miid* 'eine Orobanchacea', lit. 'Hundepenis', *u haḏeey miid* 'Cistanche lutea', lit. 'Löwenpenis' (Hess 1918–1919: 220–223), where *miid* 'Penis' (Hs) = 'männliche Schamglied' (Re).

8. *naal* m., pl. *nal* 'Knoten, Glied im Gras-, Strohalm' (Re) = ?*naal* m., pl. *nāl* 'Bettgestell' (Al)
Could it be related to *n'āli* f. 'groin' (Rp)?

9. **sa* f. (Almkvist 1885: 55), recorded as *ssaat* 'Premna resinosa' (Schw)
It is tempting to identify here the motivation based on the homonym *sa* f. 'Leber' (cf. Almkvist 1885: 55).

10. (*tu*) *sukumti^h*, indet. *sukumtiit* 'Boerhavia repens' (Hs) = *sukumti* id. (Schw)
Lit. 'die welche Milch gibt', cf. *oḡ skum*, indet. *sukum* 'die Milch, die die Frau oder die Haustiere in den ersten paar Tagen nach der Geburt geben' (Hess 1918–1919: 224).

11. (*u*) *šaawere^h*, indet. *šaaweraab* 'Avicenna officinalis', in 'Abâbde šōrây, Ma^câzeh šôre (Hs)
Cf. *šawāarib* pl. 'Schnurbart' < Ar *šawārib*, pl. of *šārib* 'moustache' (Re; Steingass 1988: 528).

12. (*toḡ*) *wle^h*, indet. *wilaat* 'Cucumis prophetarum' (Hs)
Primarily 'Hoden', cf. sg. (*oḡ*) *wle^h*, indet. *wulaab*, pl. (*eḡ*) *wle^h*, indet. *wi-laab* (Hess 1918–1919: 225).

F. Plant names motivated by animal names

1. *bokšénák* ‘*Usnea* sp.’ (Schw)

Almkvist (1885: 61) correctly determined the compound consisting of *bok* ‘Ziegenbock’ and *šénak*, *šának* ‘Kinn, Bart’, i.e. *‘Bockbart’.

2. *ganayhindi* m. ‘*Colostegia integrifolia*, *Oxytenanthea Abyssinica*’ (HuB) = (*u*) *ganaa hindi^h*, indet. *ganaa hindiib* ‘*Otostegia integrifolia*’ (Hs) = *ganahandip* id. (Schw)

Lit. ‘a gazelle-tree’, cf. *gana* ‘Gazelle’ + *hindi* ‘Baum’ (Almkvist 1885: 23) = (*u*) *ganaay*, pl. (*i*) *ganey* ‘Gazelle’ + (*u*) *hindi^h*, indet. *hindiib* ‘Baum, Strauch’ (Hess 1918–1919: 219).

3. (*u*) *haḍeey miid* ‘*Cistanche lutea*’, lit. ‘Löwenpenis’, cf. (*u*) *haḍe^h*, indet. *haḍaab* ‘Löwe’ and (*oḡ*) *miid*, pl. (*i*) *miide^h*, indet. *miidaab* ‘penis’ (Hs).

4. (*ti*) *kamteḡ birik* ‘*Cassia obovata*’ (Hs)

Lit. ‘das *birik* der Kamele’, cf. *amberki* ‘*Cassia acutifolia*’ (HuB) and (*oḡ*) *kam* ‘camel’ (Hess 1918–1919: 222).

5. *karay hindi* ‘*Buccrosia russelliana*’ (HuB) = *karaii* id., cf. also *karaiib* ‘*Pennisetum* sp.’ (Schw)

Lit. ‘hyaena-tree’ (Almkvist 1885: 38).

6. (*u*) *k^wiḷeey miid*, pl. (*i*) *k^wiḷeey miide^h*, indet. *k^wiḷeey miidaab* ‘eine Staude ca. 40 cm hoch mit gelben Blüten’ (Hs)

Hess (1918–1919: 222) explained it as ‘der Penis des kleinem Strausses’, where (*u*) *k^wiḷe^h* is a diminutive from (*u*) *k^wiṛe^h* ‘Strauss’ and (*oḡ*) *miid* = ‘penis’. Cf. e.g. *haḍeey miid* ‘*Cistanche lutea*’, lit. ‘Löwenpenis’.

7. **meekanís* ‘*Wathania somnifera*’ (reconstructed by Almkvist 1885: 46 after *mehkaniiss* recorded by Schw)

Almkvist (1885: 46) connected it with *mee* ‘donkey’.

8. (*tu*) *raay l^eh*, indet. *raay l^eet* ‘ein Kraut’ (Hs)

Hess (1918–1919: 223) convincingly explains it as ‘das *l^eh* (= ‘*Pulicaria undulata*’) der Ariel-Antilope (= *oḡ re^h*, indet. *raab*, ‘*Gazella Soemmeringi*’).

9. (*u*) *yas miid* ‘eine Orobanchacea’ (Hs)

Hess (1918–1919: 222) explained it as ‘Hundepenis’, cf. (*oḡ*) *yaas*, pl. (*eḡ*) *yes* ‘Hund’ and (*oḡ*) *miid*, pl. (*i*) *miide^h*, indet. *miidaab* ‘Penis’, similarly

(*u*) *haḏeey miid* ‘Cistanche lutea’, lit. ‘Löwenpenis’ etc. (Hess 1918–1919: 220).

10. *yaset-hiit* ‘Euphorbia Thi, Euphorbia triacantha’ (Schw), lit. ‘*hiit* of dog’ (so Almkvist 1885: 3), cf. *ahi* f. ‘Tephrosia apollinea’ (HuB) = (*tu*) *'aahi^h*, indet. *aahiit* ‘Tephrosia apollinea and Convolvulus hystrix’ (Hs) = *ahit* ‘Tephrosia apollinea’ (Schw; Almkvist 1885: 3 **ahi*), and *yaas* c., pl. *yās* ‘dog’ (Rp) = *yaas* c., pl. *yas* id. (Re).

11. (*ti*) *yaateṭ birik* ‘Cassia obovata’ (Hs)

Hess (1918–1919: 222) explained it as ‘das *birik* der Schafe’, cf. (*toḡ*) *ye^h*, indet. *yaat*, pl. (*teṭ*) *ye^h*, indet. *yaat*, and *birik*, see *amberki*.

Abbreviations of languages, dialects and language groups

| | | | |
|-------|--|------|---------------------------|
| AA | Afroasiatic | Hdd | Hadandiwa |
| Akk | Akkadian | Hb | Hebrew |
| Am | Amar’ar | IE | Indo-European |
| Amh | Amhara | Kamb | Kambatta |
| Ar | Arabic (see Hadr) | L | Lowland |
| Aram | Aramaic | Med | Medical Texts (Egyptian) |
| BA | Beni Amer | MK | Middle Kingdom (Egyptian) |
| BD | Book of the Dead (Egyptian) | N | North |
| Be | Berber | NK | New Kingdom (Egyptian) |
| Bi | Bisharin | Nub | Nubian |
| Bib | Biblical | OK | Old Kingdom (Egyptian) |
| C | Central | Om | Omotiic |
| Ch | Chadic | Or | Oromo |
| Copt | Coptic | p | proto- |
| Cu | Cushitic | Pyr | Pyramid Texts (Egyptian) |
| Dem | Demotic | Rend | Rendille |
| E | East | S | South |
| Eg | Egyptian (see BD Gr Med MK NK OK Pyr) | Se | Semitic |
| EpSAr | Epigraphic South Arabian | Sid | Sidamo |
| Et | Ethiopic | Som | Somali |
| Gr | Greek and Roman period (Egyptian) | Sud | Sudan |
| Gz | Geez | Syr | Syrian |
| H | Highland | Ti | Tigre |
| Had | Hadiyya, | Ty | Tigrinya |
| Hadr | Hadramawt (Arabic dialect) | Ug | Ugaritic |
| | | W | West |

Abbreviations of authors

| | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|------|---------------------------------------|
| Ab | Abraham | Lb | Lamberti |
| Al | Almkvist | LH | Littmann and Höfner |
| AMS | Amborn, Minker and Sasse | Lk | Lukas |
| Be | Bender | LVC | Leus, Van de Loo and Cotter |
| Bl | Black | M | Murray |
| Bu | Burckhardt | Mc | Mouchet |
| Ce | Cerulli | Mu | Munzinger |
| CR | Conti Rossini | Pa | Parker |
| Fc | Foucauld | Re | Reinisch |
| Fl | Fleming | Rp | Roper |
| Gg | Gragg | Sa | Sasse |
| He | Heine | Schw | Schweinfurth |
| HG | Hudson, Grover | Se | Seetzen |
| Hs | Hess | Sg | Steingass |
| HuB | Hudson, Richard via Blench | St | Starkey |
| Hy | Hayward | Th | Thompson |
| Ib | Ibrizimow | Tl | Thelwall |
| Jg | Jungraithmayr | To | Tosco |
| Kc | Krockow von Wickerode | Wd | Wedekind (Klaus or Charlotte & Klaus) |
| Km | Kremer | We | Welmers |
| Kr | Kraft | | |
| La | Laoust | | |

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