

**Modern South Arabian Plant Names
and Their (Not Very Rich) Comparative Semitic Background**

Leonid Kogan

(National Research University – Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

1. Soq. *îrišhe!* ‘Juncus rigidus’ (Miller–Morris 2004:389)¹
Akk. *ašlu* ‘reed, rush’ (AHw. 81, CAD A₂ 449)
Ebla *a-sa-lu* = Sum. Ú.NINNI₅ (VE 300)
Arb. *ʔasal-* ‘rush’ (Lane 59, LA I 17)
PS **ʔašal-* (Fronzaroli 1969:276, 289, 299, Kogan 2012:235)

2. Soq. *ḡáʔad* ‘Ziziphus spina-christi’ (Miller–Morris 2004:660, LS 359)
Jib. *ḡed* id. (Miller–Morris 1988:242, JL 327)
Mhr. *ḡōt* id. (ML 478)
Hbr. *ṣāʔālīm* ‘Ziziphus lotus’ (HALOT 992)²
Syr. *ʔālā* ‘Rhamnus lotus’ (LSyr. 503)
Arb. *ḡāl-* = *sidr-* ‘Ziziphus spina-christi’ (Lane 1816)
PWS **ṣaʔl-* (Blau 1998:189–192)

3. Soq. *îrite!* ‘Tamarix aphylla’ (Miller–Morris 2004:696)
Mhr. *ḡōtāl* ‘Tamarix articulata or aphylla’ (ML 9)
Hbr. *ʔēšāl* ‘Tamarix syriaca’ (HALOT 95)
JBA *ʔtlʔ* (Löw 1881:65)
Arb. *ʔatl-* (Lane 21), *ʔitl* ‘Tamarix aphylla’ (Pianta 3), *ʔatl* id. (Behnstedt 8)
Sab. *ʔtl* (SD 9, Sima 2000:181–184)
PWS **ʔatl-* or **ʔitl-* (Kogan 2012:235)

4. Soq. *témre* ‘Phoenix dactylifera’, *tómər* ‘dates’ (Miller–Morris 2004:393, LS 443)
Jib. *təmret* ‘date’ (JL 271)
Mhr. *tōmər* ‘dates’ (ML 402)
Hbr. *tāmār* ‘date palm’ (HALOT 1756)
Syr. *tmartā* ‘date’ (LSyr. 828)
Arb. *tamr-* ‘dates’ (Lane 317)
Sab. *tmr*, Min. *tmr* ‘dates’ (Sima 2000:246),
Gez. *tamr* ‘dates’, *tamart* ‘date palm; date’ (CDG 576, LLA 555)
PWS **tam(a)r-* (Fronzaroli 1969:291, 279, 300)

¹ *āl ihél ešaleten* ‘Nicht sitzt er unter dem Palmendorn’ (Müller 1902:169₁₂) = (الماء من قريب) ما يجلس تحت شجر أشل. Interpreted as ‘nom d’arbre’ in LS 76, where the reflexes of PS **ʔašal-* ‘rush’ and PWS **ʔatl-* ‘tamarisk’ are mixed up.

² In Job 40:21–22, as the habitat of Behemoth: “Under the lotus plants it lies, in the covert of the reeds and in the marsh. The lotus trees cover it for shade, the willows of the wadi surround it” (NRSV).

5. Jib. *ben* ‘Tamarix aphylla’ (Miller–Morris 1988:282)
 Jib. *yēn* ‘Moringa peregrina’ (Miller–Morris 1988:210)
 Akk. *bīnu* ‘tamarisk’ (CAD B 239, AHw. 127)
 Ebla *ì-zu ba-ne, ba-nu* = Sum. GIŠ.ŠINIG (VE 395)
 Syr. *bīnā* ‘tamarisk’ (LSyr. 69), probably < Akk.
 Arb. *bān-* ‘Moringa peregrina’ (Lane 278, Piamenta 47, Sima 2000:198)
 Dhofari Arb. *bēneh* ‘Tamarix aphylla’ (Miller–Morris 1988:282)
 Sab. *bn* ‘Moringa peregrina’ (SD 33, Sima 2000:198–199)
 ? Soq. *bóyhān* ‘Sterculia africana’ (Miller–Morris 2004:694)
 PS **bay(a)n-* (Kogan 2012:238)
6. Jib. *ʿarʿeyr* ‘Tamarix aphylla’ (Miller–Morris 1988:282)
 Mhr. *ʿarʿōr* ‘Juniperus-Bäume’ (Sima 2009:200)
 Hbr. *ʿarʿār* (Jer 17:6)/*ʿārōʿēr* (Jer 48:6) ‘tamarisk’ (LXX μωρίκη) or ‘juniper’ (BDB 792, HALOT 887)
 Ugr. *ʿrʿr* ‘tamarisk’ (DUL 178)
 Syr. *ʿarʿūrā* ‘tamarisk resin’, *ʿarrā* ‘tamarisk’ (LSyr. 544, SL 1141, 1133)
 Arb. *ʿarʿar-* ‘juniper’ (LA 4 644, Lane 1990, Behnstedt 819, al-Iryani 746)³
 Sab. *ʿrʿr* ‘juniper?’ (Stein 2010:200, l. 12 and ibid. 203, 720)
 ? Akk. *erēnu* ‘juniper’ (AHw. 237, CAD E 274, Klein–Abraham 1997)
 PWS **ʿarʿar-* (Kogan 2012:242–244)⁴
7. Soq. *ḵāḵḵahal* ‘general term for a variety of mainly halophytic plants’ (Miller–Morris 2004:755)
 Akk. *ḵaḵḵullu* ‘a plant; a tree’ (CAD Q 124), *ḵulḵullānu* ‘a plant’ (ibid. 301)
 Ugr. *ḵlḵl* ‘a medicinal plant’ (DUL 691)
 Arb. *qilqil-*, *qulāqil-*, *qulqulān-* ‘cassia’ (LA 11 676, Piamenta 411, Dozy I 407)
 Gez. *ḵʷəlḵʷāl* ‘Euphorbia’ (CDG 431)
 Tgr. *ḵələnḵāl* id. (WTS 233)
 Tna. *ḵʷəlḵʷal* id. (TED 891)
 Amh. *ḵʷəlḵʷal*, *ḵʷäläḵḵʷäl* id. (AED 685)
 Cha. Muh. *ḵulḵʷal*, Sel. *ḵālḵāl*, Sod. *ḵäläḵḵal*, Msk. Gog. Wol. *ḵäläḵḵäl*, Cha. Eža *ḵurḵʷar*, Enm. Gyt. *ḵaraḵar*, End. *ḵaraḵḵār* id. (EDG 478)
 ? Hbr. *ḵəlōḵēl* in *läḵäm ha-ḵḵəlōḵēl* ‘miserable² food’ in Nu 21:5 (HALOT 1106)⁵

³ “Il est réputé ennemi du palmier et tenu à distance de ce dernier” (BK 2 224).

⁴ Tamarisk leaves are “très petites, alternes et écailleuses, un peu semblables à celles de certains conifères” (<http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamaris>).

⁵ “Why have you brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? For there is no food and no water, and we detest this miserable food” (NRSV).

8. Soq. *šanébher* ‘fruit of *Dracaena cinnabari*’ (Miller–Morris 2004:325)
 Greek κιννάβαρι (Frisk 855) > Latin *cinnabaris*, English *cinnabar*, French *cinabre*,
 Russian *киноварь*
9. Soq. *tanéže* ‘*Citrus aurantium* (tree and fruit)’ (Miller–Morris 2004:672)
 Middle Persian *wādrang*, Sanskrit *mātulaṅga-* (Ciancaglini 2008:105)
 Syr. *ʔaṭruḡgā* (Ciancaglini 2008:105)
 Arb. *ʔutruḡḡ-*, *ʔutrunḡ-*, *turunḡ-* (Lane 301, Dozy I 146, Piamenta 51)
 Port. *toranja*, *toronja* < Arb.

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