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**Toponomastics of Eritrea in the Light of Arabic Geographical Atlases.  
Part II: Materials<sup>1</sup>**

**5. Eritrean toponomastics**

There are 69 geographical features related to Eritrea, shown and supplied with appropriate toponyms in the atlases. They include regional names, names of populated places, maritime names and names of other physiographical features.

**5.1. The name of the country (1 feature)**

Eritrea being not a name of Arabic origin, its foreign shape creates a lot of problems when noted down with Arabic characters. Various graphic forms of Arabic spelling are interchangeably used in the atlases.

The atlases: A 11, A 13 and A 21 did not mention the name of Eritrea at all. At the time of their publication Eritrea was not yet an independent state what might have dissuaded their publishers from putting the country's name on the map. Publishers of other atlases did not hesitate to mark the existence of Eritrea even before its formal independence in 1993, usually as a kind of province (of not well defined autonomy) within Ethiopian borders.<sup>2</sup>

However, the atlas A 27, published 10 years after *de facto* and 8 years after *de jure* independence of Eritrea, refrained from presenting the country in any kind of graphic or textual form – its territory was still within the hold of Ethiopia.

The official country name in Arabic – إرتريا Iritriyā – appears, in its proper first place of alphabetical order on the following list of 16 variant names of the country, which are used indiscriminately in Arabic school atlases.

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<sup>1</sup> All footnotes refer to a bibliography attached to Part I of this article (*Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, T. LXIX, Z. 2, 2016, 205–219).

<sup>2</sup> *Red Sea* 1967: Eritrea province, 4–6.

ارتريا	Iritriyā, cited in 16 atlases, <sup>3</sup>
ارتريه	Iritriyya <sup>h</sup> , cited in 3 atlases, <sup>4</sup>
ارتيريا	Irtīriyā, cited in 10 atlases, <sup>5</sup>
ارتيرية	Irtīriyya <sup>t</sup> , cited in 1 atlas, <sup>6</sup>
الارتيرية	Al-Irtīriyya <sup>t</sup> , cited in 1 atlas, <sup>7</sup>
اريترا	Irītīrā, cited in 1 atlas, <sup>8</sup>
اريتره	Irītira <sup>h</sup> , cited in 1 atlas, <sup>9</sup>
اريتريا	Irītiriyyā, cited in 27 atlases, <sup>10</sup>
اريتريه	Irītiriyya <sup>h</sup> , cited in 2 atlases, <sup>11</sup>
اريترية	Irītiriyya <sup>t</sup> , cited in 8 atlases, <sup>12</sup>
الاريتريه	Al-Irītiriyya <sup>h</sup> , cited in 1 atlas, <sup>13</sup>
الاريترية	Al-Irītiriyya <sup>t</sup> , cited in 1 atlas, <sup>14</sup>
اريتيريا	Irītīriyā, cited in 7 atlases, <sup>15</sup>
ايريتريا	Īrītiriyyā, cited in 4 atlases, <sup>16</sup>
ايريترية	Īrītiriyya <sup>t</sup> , cited in 1 atlas, <sup>17</sup>
ايريتيريا	Īrītīriyā, cited in 1 atlas, <sup>18</sup>

The name of the country in its official standard form in Arabic is clearly marked on the state's emblem.<sup>19</sup> It's not always respected, however, in external Arabic publications which simply try to transcribe the name again and again from Latin letters into Arabic, thus

<sup>3</sup> A 2: 10, 12, 16, 37, 44; A 3: 23, 49; A 4: 22; A 6: 16; A 7: 27; A 9: 4, 10, 14; A 10: 18, 19, 43, 47, 60, 62, 67; A 14: 28, 62, 81; A 18: 28; A 22: 12, 16, 17; A 23: 4, 8-11, 15, 19; A 26: 24; A 28: 57; A 35: 57; A 36: 23, 24, 26-33, 35; Wołk and Zagórski 2004.

<sup>4</sup> A 6: 1, 24, 25; A 7: 9, 37; A 12: 9.

<sup>5</sup> A 15: 12; A 18: 24, 32, 38; A 19: 5, 18; A 20: 90; A 31: 100, 116; A 32: 19; A 36: 20; A 37: 50, 52, 53; A 42: 9, 10, 12, 16, 17; A 45: 18.

<sup>6</sup> A 20: 81, 83.

<sup>7</sup> A 26: 11, 22.

<sup>8</sup> A 5: 13.

<sup>9</sup> A 1: 25.

<sup>10</sup> A 6: 15; A 7: 13, 25; A 8: 39, 94; A 10: 19; A 12: 13, 29; A 16: 14; A 23: 24; A 25: 29, 117, 133; A 26: 28; A 28: 56, 65, 71, 77, 78, 116; A 29: 10, 12, 63, 77, 124, 142, 153, 168, 169, 202; A 30: 9, 11, 24, 46, 65, 69; A 31: 77; A 32: 16, 20, 22, 24, 83, 126; A 33: 15, 89; A 34: 38; A 35: 56, 65, 71, 77, 78, 116; A 36: 41, 42; A 38: 15, 23, 26, 33, 47; A 39: 15, 49, 56, 60; A 40: 7, 8, 15, 63, 64, 77; A 41: 9, 12, 17, 48-50, 65; A 44: s.n.; A 45: 27, 77; A 46: 33, 37, 42, 45, 47, 57, 60, 67; A 47: 25, 27; A 48: 12, 49, 57, 60, 61, 65. This non-standard version erroneously figures also on the UNGEGN list of country names: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/geonames/>.

<sup>11</sup> A 5: 30; A 26: 18, 42.

<sup>12</sup> A 20: 89; A 24: 61, 142, 143; A 26: 1; A 32: 125; A 39: 36; A 40: 18; A 43: 114; A 48: 36.

<sup>13</sup> A 5: 14.

<sup>14</sup> A 5: 16.

<sup>15</sup> A 17: 6, 9; A 18: 10; A 28: 75, 79, 82; A 29: 62; A 35: 75, 79, 82; A 39: 61; A 45: 23, 63, 64.

<sup>16</sup> A 31: 96; A 37: 57-62; A 38: 16; A 46: 7.

<sup>17</sup> A 24: 123;

<sup>18</sup> A 16: 29, 53.

<sup>19</sup> See the illustration enclosed with the Part I of this article.

adding to orthographic variability. The most popular name numerically (إريتريا Irītiriyā) appears to be one without formal authority in the country itself. It should also be observed that individual atlases cite diverging names of the country on different maps, creating additional confusion among students. The question may be asked therefore which of those names should be treated as the correct one, and according to what criteria.

Following 16 word formation patterns (noun patterns) find application in the Arabic renderings of the country name. The verbal stem, in this case, is a theoretical root \*<sup>20</sup>r t r. It is non-existent in Arabic and is deprived therefore of any semantic value.

ifʿil-iyā,	(al-)ifʿil-iyya <sup>t</sup> ,	ifʿil-iyya <sup>h</sup> ,	ifʿil-iyā,
ifʿil-iyya <sup>h</sup> ,	ifʿil-ā,	(al-)ifʿil-iyya <sup>h</sup> ,	ifʿil-iyā,
ifʿil-iyā,	fʿil-a <sup>h</sup> ,	ifʿil-iyya <sup>t</sup> ,	ifʿil-iyya <sup>t</sup> ,
ifʿil-iyya <sup>t</sup> ,	ifʿil-iyā,	(al-)ifʿil-iyya <sup>t</sup> ,	ifʿil-iyā.

The patterns can be reduced to just 4 basic forms: fʿil, -fʿil, ifʿil and ifʿil, further extended and differentiated by addition of either of the two prefixes: *i-*, a very common one in Arabic words, or *ī-*, unknown of in Arabic (occasionally appearing initial element *ī-* in Arabic words may only be a composed entity which appears when a regular prefix *i-* merges with an assimilated weak first consonant of the verbal root). Both prefixes are in reality a reflexion of diverse approaches to transcribing in Arabic a name of non-Arabic origin.

Additionally, some versions are donated with a definite article *al-*, apparently with intention to better mark an individual proper name.

Different versions of the name are supplemented with either of the following suffixes: *-ā*, *-a<sup>h</sup>* (so called *hā' muhmala<sup>t</sup>*, a non-regular version of the original *-a<sup>t</sup>* or *tā' marbūta<sup>t</sup>*), *-iyya<sup>t</sup>* (or *-iyya<sup>h</sup>*, a non-regular version of the latter one) and *-iyā*. All of these are feminine markers.

## 5.2. The name of the capital city (1 feature)

Asmara,<sup>21</sup> the name of the Eritrean capital city, seemingly of Tigrinya origin and etymology evoking the idea of brownness or darkness, is not at all mentioned in the atlases A 8, A 19, A 20, A 27 and A 31.

اسمرا	Asmarā, 8 citations in 5 atlases; <sup>22</sup>
اسمره	Asmara <sup>h</sup> , 57 citations in 20 atlases; <sup>23</sup>
اسمره	Asmara <sup>t</sup> , 76 citations in 36 atlases. <sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Asterisks mark theoretical roots that are non-existent within standard set of verbal roots in Arabic.

<sup>21</sup> *Red Sea* 1967: Asmara, 4–6, 138, 265.

<sup>22</sup> A 1: 25; A 10: 12; A 36: 23; A 45: 64; A 46: 7, 37, 53, 59.

<sup>23</sup> A 5: 30, 31, 38. A 6: 24, 25; A 7: 37; A 9: 10; A 10: 18, 43, 48, 60, 62; A 12: 41; A 13: 5, 6, 43; A 16: 14, 29, 51, 53; A 17: 9; A 18: 10, 32, 38; A 23: 19; A 24: 61; y6A 25: 117; A 26: 18, 22, 24, 42, 43; A 28: 56, 58, 60–63, 65, 71, 78, 80; A 30: 9, 65; A 35: 56, 58, 60–63, 65, 71, 78, 80; A 38: 15, 16; A 41: 65; A 44: s.n.

<sup>24</sup> A 2: 12, 16, 51, 55; A 3: 20, 49; A 4: 20, 49; A 5: 14, 16; A 6: 15, 16; A 7: 25, 27; A 9: 12, 14, 18 (duplicated; the second inscription, without a graphic sign indicating location, might possibly refer to some

The last version, most frequent one, may be considered the most regular from the point of view of Arabic grammar. Still another known Arabic variant of the name is اسمرى Asmará, but it was not used in the investigated atlases.<sup>25</sup> The Tigrinya name is Āsmera.<sup>26</sup>

Following noun patterns are deduced from the above variant names:

afʿal-ā, afʿal-a<sup>t</sup> (plus its irregular version afʿal-a<sup>h</sup>) and afʿal-á.

The root in all cases is **s m r**, evoking the notion of brown color.

### 5.3. Other populated places (50 features)

Remark: names in brackets, placed below for finding and identification purposes, represent the toponyms' versions in Latin letters that are most common in international publications.

اباشيري Abāšīrī (Abacheri);<sup>27</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;

pattern: afāʿīlī, root: **b š r**.

ابيلة Ubayla<sup>t</sup> (Obilet, Obellet);<sup>28</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;

pattern: fuʿayla<sup>t</sup>, root: **' b l**.

اخراطه Ahrāṭa<sup>h</sup> (Agurto);<sup>29</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;

pattern: afʿāla<sup>h</sup>, root: **ḥ r ṭ**;

the locality is shown close to the Djibouti border, but remains unidentifiable in that place; beside deformation of the name the village was displaced on the map far to the South-West from its original location.

اد Id (Ed, Edd);<sup>30</sup> عد ʿId;<sup>31</sup> العد Al-ʿId;<sup>32</sup> 3 variants, 7 citations in 5 atlases;<sup>33</sup>

pattern: fiʿ ← fiʿl, roots: **\*ʿ d / \*c d**.

other unidentified feature with misleadingly similar name; alternatively, it could be repeatedly applied on the map by simple mistake); A 10: 19; A 11: 48; A 12: 29, 31; A 14: 28, 35, 81; A 15: 12; A 16: 21, 28; A 17: 6, 7; A 18: 30; A 21: 54; A 22: 12, 16, 24; A 23: 4, 14, 17 (duplicated as on the map A 9: 18 from which it was mechanically copied unchanged), A 25: 73, 133, 141; A 26: 11; A 29: 12, 77, 124, 142, 202; A 30: 11, 24, 69; A 32: 16, 19, 22, 184; A 33: 89; A 34: 38; A 36: 41, 42; A 37: 57–59, 61, 62; A 38: 33, 47; A 39: 15, 36, 49, 56, 60, 61; A 40: 7, 8, 18, 63, 64; A 41: 12, 17, 49; A 42: 12, 16, 17, 74; A 43: 114; A 45: 27; A 47: 27; A 48: 12, 36, 49, 56, 60, 61; this name also appears, this time rightfully, on the UNGEGN list: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/geonames/>.

<sup>25</sup> Zagórski 2011.

<sup>26</sup> Wołk and Zagórski 2004; Vota 1938: Asmára 197 and *passim*; GeoName: Asmara, Tigrinya: Āsmera, 15°20'0"N 38°56'0"E.

<sup>27</sup> A 16: 21; Vota 1938: - ; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Abacheri 14°11'0"N 41°30'0"E.

<sup>28</sup> A 16: 21; Vota 1938: - ; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: - . GeoName: Obellet 16°7'0"N 39°9'0"E.

<sup>29</sup> A 16: 21; Vota 1938: - ; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Agurto 12°54'0"N 42°42'0"E;

<sup>30</sup> A 1: 25; A 42: 16, 17.

<sup>31</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>32</sup> A 39: 49; A 48 49;

<sup>33</sup> Vota 1938: Edd 335; *Red Sea* 1967: Edd village, 280; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: Ēd or Idī (Tigr.), ʿĪd (Ar.); GeoName: Edd, Īdī, Eid see Īd 13°56'0"N 41°41'0"E.

ادِّي اجري Addī Uğrī (Addi Ugri);<sup>34</sup> ادِّي اوغري Adī Ūğirī;<sup>35</sup> 2 variants, 3 citations in 2 atlases;<sup>36</sup>

a) patterns: fa<sup>c</sup>il / fa<sup>c</sup>il, root ' d y, b) patterns: fu<sup>c</sup>lī / fū<sup>c</sup>ilī, roots: ' ġ r / ' ġ r.

اروتا Irūtā (Erota);<sup>37</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>38</sup>

pattern: fi<sup>c</sup>ulā, root: \*' r t.

افمبو Afambū (Afembo);<sup>39</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>40</sup>

pattern: afa<sup>c</sup>lū, root: \*f m b.

اقردات Aqurdāt (Agordat);<sup>41</sup> ارغودات Argūdāt;<sup>42</sup> اچردات Ačurdāt;<sup>43</sup> اچوردات Ačüridāt;<sup>44</sup> اکوردات Aküridāt;<sup>45</sup> اغوردات Agüridāt;<sup>46</sup> 6 variants, 25 citations in 18 atlases;<sup>47</sup>

patterns: afu<sup>c</sup>lāt / af<sup>c</sup>ulāt / afu<sup>c</sup>lāt / afū<sup>c</sup>ilāt, roots: \*č r d, ġ r d, q r d (plus transposition: r ġ d, where ġ also replaced q) and k r d;

letters č, ġ, q and k are all used to represent the local sound g.

ألغينا Algīnā (Algena);<sup>48</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>49</sup>

pattern: af<sup>c</sup>ilā, root: \*l ġ n.

امارتي Amāriṭī (Amarti);<sup>50</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>51</sup>

pattern: afa<sup>c</sup>ilī, root: \*m r t.

ام حجر Umm Ḥaġar (Om Hajer);<sup>52</sup> 3 citations in 2 atlases; also known as ام هاجر Umm Hāġir<sup>53</sup>

a) pattern: fu<sup>c</sup>l → full, root: ' m m; b) patterns: fa<sup>c</sup>al / fā<sup>c</sup>il, roots: ḥ ġ r / h ġ r.

بادين Bādīn (Baden);<sup>54</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>55</sup>

pattern: fā<sup>c</sup>il, root: b d n.

<sup>34</sup> A 16: 24.

<sup>35</sup> A 42: 16, 17.

<sup>36</sup> Vota 1938: Áddi Úgri; Woł and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Addi Ugri: see Ādī Uğrī 14°53'0"N 38°49'0"E.

<sup>37</sup> A 42: 16, 17.

<sup>38</sup> Vota 1938: - ; Woł and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Erota 16°14'0"N 37°55'0"E.

<sup>39</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>40</sup> Vota 1938: - ; Woł and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Āfambo 13°33'0"N 41°40'0"E.

<sup>41</sup> A 2: 16, 35, 44; A 13: 6; A 14: 35; A 16: 29; A 22: 12; A 24: 143; A 41: 12.

<sup>42</sup> A 9: 10; A 23: 10.

<sup>43</sup> A 10: 62.

<sup>44</sup> A 16: 24.

<sup>45</sup> A 25: 73; A 39: 56; A 42: 16, 17; A 45: 64; A 48 56.

<sup>46</sup> A 28: 56-58; A 35: 56-58.

<sup>47</sup> Vota 1938: - ; Red Sea 1967: Agordat, 5, 6; Woł and Zagórski 2004: - . GeoName: Agordat, see Āk'ordat 15°33'0"N 37°53'0"E.

<sup>48</sup> A 42: 16, 17.

<sup>49</sup> Vota 1938: Alghéna; Woł and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Algena 17°19'0"N 38°31'0"E.

<sup>50</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>51</sup> Vota 1938: Bab el Mandèb; Woł and Zagórski 2004: - .; GeoName: Amarti, see Suwa 14°17'0"N 41°6'0"E.

<sup>52</sup> A 16: 21; A 42: 16, 17.

<sup>53</sup> Vota 1938: Om Áger; Woł and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Umm Hagar: see Om Hāġer 14°20'0"N 36°39'0"E.

<sup>54</sup> A 16: 24.

<sup>55</sup> Vota 1938: - ; Woł and Zagórski 2004: - .; GeoName: Baden 16°54'0"N 37°56'0"E.

بارنتو Bārintū (Barentu),<sup>56</sup> بارينتو Bārīntū,<sup>57</sup> برنتو Barintū,<sup>58</sup> 3 variants, 7 citations in 6 atlases;<sup>59</sup>

patterns: fā<sup>ʿ</sup>iltū, fā<sup>ʿ</sup>īltū, fa<sup>ʿ</sup>iltū, root: \*b r n;

the ending *-tū* gives appearance of a personal verbal ending; place names repeating verbal forms appear, though not frequently, in Semitic languages and are considered to be of archaic character.

بىسكيا Biskiyā (Bisha, Bishia, Biscia),<sup>60</sup> بيشيا Bīšiyā,<sup>61</sup> 2 variants, 2 citations in 2 atlases;<sup>62</sup>

patterns: fi<sup>ʿ</sup>liyā (plus its modification: fili<sup>ʿ</sup>yā, where a short vowel *i* merged with a weak root consonant); roots: \*b s k / b w š; original local sound š, noted in Italian as *sci*, was inadvertently transposed as *ski*.

بهلد Bahlad (Behld);<sup>63</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>64</sup>

pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>lal, root: b h l d.

بوشتمو Būštūmū (Dochtumo),<sup>65</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>66</sup>

pattern: fū<sup>ʿ</sup>lūmū, root: b š t.

بلوا Baluwā (Beylul);<sup>67</sup> بيتول Baytūl;<sup>68</sup> 2 variants, 3 citations in 2 atlases;<sup>69</sup>

patterns: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>ulā / fay<sup>ʿ</sup>ūl, roots: b l w / b t l.

تسني Tisinay (Teseney);<sup>70</sup> تيسيناى Tīsināy;<sup>71</sup> طسيناى Ṭisīnāy;<sup>72</sup> تيزيناى Tīzīnāy;<sup>73</sup> 4 variants, 15 citations in 11 atlases;<sup>74</sup>

patterns: fi<sup>ʿ</sup>ilay / fi<sup>ʿ</sup>īlāy / fi<sup>ʿ</sup>īlāy / fi<sup>ʿ</sup>īlay, roots: \*t s n / \*ṭ s n / \*t z n.

<sup>56</sup> A 14: 81; A 42: 16, 17.

<sup>57</sup> A 16: 24.

<sup>58</sup> A 39: 56; A 42: 74; A 48: 56.

<sup>59</sup> Vota 1938: Barentū; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: Barentu (Tigr.), Barantū (Ar.); GeoName: Barentu 15°7'0"N 37°36'0"E.

<sup>60</sup> A 13: 26.

<sup>61</sup> A 16: 24.

<sup>62</sup> Vota 1938: Biscia; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: -.; GeoName: Biscia, see Bīsha 15°29'0"N 37°33'0"E.

<sup>63</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>64</sup> Vota 1938: -.; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: -.; GeoName: Behld 13°42'0"N 42°4'0"E.

<sup>65</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>66</sup> Vota 1938: -.; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: -.; GeoName: Dochtumo 12°46'0"N 42°29'0"E.

<sup>67</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>68</sup> A 42: 16, 17.

<sup>69</sup> Vota 1938: Beilūl; *Red Sea* 1967: Beilul village 283; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: Beylul (Tigr.), Baylūl (Ar.); GeoName: Beyelul, Beilul, Beilil, Bailul see Bēylul 13°16'0"N 42°20'0"E.

<sup>70</sup> A 9: 10; A 12: 36; A 13: 26; A 14:81; A 23: 10; (wrongly located in Ethiopia) A 28: 56, 58; (wrongly located in Ethiopia) A 35: 56, 58; A 41: 50.

<sup>71</sup> (wrongly located in Ethiopia) A 16: 24.

<sup>72</sup> (wrongly located in Ethiopia) A 28: 57; (wrongly located in Ethiopia) A 35: 57.

<sup>73</sup> A 42: 16, 17.

<sup>74</sup> Vota 1938: Tessenèi; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: Teseney (Tigr.), Tasanāy (Ar.); GeoName: Teseney 15°8'0"N 36°40'0"E.

تِيو Tiyū (Ti'o);<sup>75</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>76</sup>

pattern: fi<sup>c</sup>ū ← fi<sup>c</sup>ul, root: \*t y w.

جُونْدَا جُونْدَا Ġūndā Ġūḥdā (Guna Guna);<sup>77</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>78</sup>

pattern: fū<sup>c</sup>lā, roots: ḡ n d / \*ḡ ḥ d.

دُبَيْسِيْمَا Dubaysīma<sup>t</sup> (Debaysima, Dybaysimo);<sup>79</sup> دُبَيْسِيْمَا Dubaysīmā;<sup>80</sup> 2 variants, 3 citations in 3 atlases;<sup>81</sup>

pattern: fu<sup>c</sup>aylīlā / fu<sup>c</sup>aylīlā, root: \*d b s m.

دَدَعْتُو Dada<sup>c</sup>tū (Daadatu, Dedaetu);<sup>82</sup> 2 citations in 2 atlases;<sup>83</sup>

pattern: fafaltū ← fa<sup>c</sup>altū, root: \*d d<sup>c</sup>.

دَنْقَال Danqal (Dangal);<sup>84</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>85</sup>

pattern: fa<sup>c</sup>lal, root: \*d n q l;

this root, nonproductive in the common language, is however quite frequent in Arabic onomastics, cf. Dunqula<sup>t</sup>, Ad-Danāqil, etc.

دَوْرُوْر Dawrūr (Dawirori);<sup>86</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>87</sup>

pattern: fa<sup>c</sup>lūl, root: d w r.

دِيْكَامِيْر Dīkāmīr (Dekemhare);<sup>88</sup> 3 citations in 3 atlases;<sup>89</sup>

pattern: fi<sup>c</sup>ālīl, root: \*d k m r.

رَنْدَاكُوْمَا Randākūmā (Rendakoma);<sup>90</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>91</sup>

pattern: fa<sup>c</sup>lālūmā, root: \*r n d k.

<sup>75</sup> A 45: 64.

<sup>76</sup> Vota 1938: Thiò; *Red Sea* 1967: Thiò settlement, 277; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: T'yo (Tigr.), Tiyū (Ar.); GeoName: Thio, see T'yo PPL 14°42'0"N 40°58'0"E.

<sup>77</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>78</sup> Vota 1938: - ; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Guna-Guna 14°32'0"N 39°26'0"E.

<sup>79</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>80</sup> A 42: 64; A 48: 57.

<sup>81</sup> Vota 1938: Dabaissīma; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Debaysīma (Tigr.), Dubaysīmah (Ar.); GeoName: Dabaissīma, see Debaysīma PPL 12°42'0"N 42°20'0"E.

<sup>82</sup> A 42: 64; A 48: 57.

<sup>83</sup> Vota 1938: Daddatō; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Daadatu 13°3'0"N 42°3'0"E.

<sup>84</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>85</sup> Vota 1938: - ; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Dengel (Tigr.), Danqal (Ar.); GeoName: Denghel, Dengel, see Dangal PPL 14°38'0"N 40°18'0"E.

<sup>86</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>87</sup> Vota 1938: - ; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Dauī Rori PPL 12°47'0"N 42°12'0"E.

<sup>88</sup> A 16: 21; A 28: 58; A 35: 58.

<sup>89</sup> Vota 1938: Decamerè; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Dek'emhare (Tigr.), Daqamhārī; GeoName: Dek'emhāre 15°4'0"N 39°3'0"E.

<sup>90</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>91</sup> Vota 1938: Rendacómo; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Randakoma, Renda Coma, see Renda 14°28'0"N 39°59'0"E.

رهيط Rahīt (Raheyta);<sup>92</sup> ريهيتو Rayhaytū,<sup>93</sup> رحيت Rahīt,<sup>94</sup> 3 variants, 4 citations in 3 atlases;<sup>95</sup>  
 patterns: fa<sup>c</sup>īl / fay<sup>e</sup>aylū, roots: r h ṭ. / \*r h t / \*r ḥ t.

زوللا Zūllā (Zula);<sup>96</sup> زولا Zūlā;<sup>97</sup> 2 variants, 2 citations in 2 atlases;<sup>98</sup>  
 patterns: fūllā ← fu<sup>e</sup>lā / fūlā ← fu<sup>e</sup>lā, roots: z l l / z w l.

سبدرات Sabdarāt (Sebderat);<sup>99</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>100</sup>  
 pattern: fa<sup>e</sup>lālāt, root: \*s b d r.

سندا Sandā (Sanda, Senda);<sup>101</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>102</sup>  
 pattern: fa<sup>e</sup>lā, root: s n d.

سنافي Sanāfi (Senafe);<sup>103</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>104</sup>  
 pattern: fa<sup>e</sup>ālī, root: s n f.

سيتونا Sītūnā (Sittona);<sup>105</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>106</sup>  
 pattern: fī<sup>e</sup>ulā, root: \*s t n.

شلامة Šalāma<sup>t</sup> (Kelmet, Kelamet, Chelamet);<sup>107</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>108</sup>  
 pattern: fa<sup>e</sup>āla<sup>t</sup>, root: \*š l m;

Italian orthographic cluster *che* for *ke* was interpreted as French *che* for *še* and then transcribed accordingly, though incorrectly.

صديحة مونغله Šiddīḥa<sup>t</sup> Mūngalla<sup>h</sup> (Sidiha Monghella);<sup>109</sup> 2 citations in 2 atlases;<sup>110</sup>  
 a) pattern: fī<sup>e</sup>āla<sup>t</sup>, root: š d ḥ; b) a) pattern: mūnfa<sup>cc</sup>a<sup>h</sup>, root: ḡ l l.

عرفالي Arafālī (Arafali);<sup>111</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>112</sup>  
 pattern: fa<sup>e</sup>alālī, root: \*c r f l.

<sup>92</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>93</sup> A 42: 64; A 48: 57.

<sup>94</sup> A 48: 48.

<sup>95</sup> Vota 1938: Raḥēita; Read Sea 1967: Raheita village, 139; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: -; GeoName: Raheita, see Rehayto 12°44'0"N 43°5'0"E.

<sup>96</sup> A 1: 25.

<sup>97</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>98</sup> Vota 1938: Zūla; Read Sea 1967: Zula village, 268; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Zula (Tigr.), Zūlah (Ar.); GeoName: Zula 15°15'0"N 39°40'0"E.

<sup>99</sup> A 13: 26.

<sup>100</sup> Vota 1938: Sabderāt; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Sebderat (Tigr.), Sabdarāt (Ar.); GeoName: Sabderat, see Sebderat 15°27'0"N 36°39'0"E.

<sup>101</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>102</sup> Vota 1938: Sandā; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: -; GeoName: Senda, see Sanda 14°19'0"N 40°32'0"E.

<sup>103</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>104</sup> Vota 1938: Senafē; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Sen'afē {Tigr.}, Sanāfi (Ar.); GeoName: Sen'afē 14°41'0"N 39°25'0"E.

<sup>105</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>106</sup> Vota 1938: Sittōna; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: -; GeoName: Sittona, see Sitona 14°25'0"N 37°21'0"E.

<sup>107</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>108</sup> Vota 1938: Chelāmet; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: -; GeoName: Chelamet: see Kelmet 16°4'0"N 38°55'0"E.

<sup>109</sup> A 42: 64; A 48: 57.

<sup>110</sup> Vota 1938: -; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: -; GeoName: Sidina Monghella, Sidi Amin Ghella, Sidiha Mengela, see Sidiha Monghella 12°33'0"N 42°51'0"E.

<sup>111</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>112</sup> Vota 1938: Arāfali; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: -; GeoName: Irafayle, see Arafali 15°5'0"N 39°45'0"E.



عسايلا °Asāyilā (Assa Ela);<sup>113</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>114</sup>

pattern: fa°āyilā, root: ° s l.

عصب °Aṣab (Aseb, Assab);<sup>115</sup> عَصَب °Aṣṣab;<sup>116</sup> اسَاب Assāb;<sup>117</sup> 3 variants, 65 citations in 31 atlases (in that number, 1 variant in 61 citations in 29 atlases, and 2 different variants, 4 citations in each of 2 atlases);<sup>118</sup>

patterns: fa°al / fa°°al / fa°cāl, roots: ° ṣ b / \*° s b.

عواسي °Awāsī (Oasi);<sup>119</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>120</sup>

pattern: fa°ālī or fawā°ī ← fawā°īl, roots: \*° w s / ° s y.

عوي كوالا °Awī Kawālā (Addi Kwala);<sup>121</sup> ادِّي كوالا Addī Kawālā;<sup>122</sup> 2 variants, 2 citations in 1 atlas;<sup>123</sup>

a) patterns: fa°ī ← fa°īl / fa°cī ← fa°cīl, roots: ° w y / ° d d; b) pattern: fa°ālā, root: \*k w l.

غندا Ġindā (Ginda);<sup>124</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>125</sup>

pattern: fi°lā, root: \*ḡ n d.

كارن Kāran (Cheren, Keren);<sup>126</sup> كرت Karat;<sup>127</sup> كرن Karan;<sup>128</sup> قيرن Qīran;<sup>129</sup> قرن Qaran;<sup>130</sup>

كيرن Kīran;<sup>131</sup> كيرين Kīrīn;<sup>132</sup> 7 variants, 24 citations in 20 atlases;<sup>133</sup>

patterns: fa°al / fi°al / fi°īl, roots: k r t / \*k r n / q r n.

<sup>113</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>114</sup> Vota 1938: - ; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Assa Ela 14°7'0"N 41°34'0"E.

<sup>115</sup> A 1: 25; A 2: 12, 16, 35, 50; A 3: 24, 25; A 4: 24, 25; A 5: 14, 18; A 6: 15; A 7: 13; A 10: 43, 47, 62; A 11: 58; A 12: 13, 29; A 13: 6; A 14: 62; A 16: 29; A 18: 28; A 19: 18; A 22: 17; A 25: 73; A 28: 56, 58, 60, 61, 65, 71, 78, 80; A 30: 11, 24, 69; A 33: 89; A 35: 56, 58, 60, 61, 65, 71, 78, 80; A 38: 15, 16, 32, 35; A 39: 36, 49; A 40: 18; A 41: 17, (wrongly located in Ethiopia) 23; A 42: 16, 17; A 44: *s.n.*; A 45: 64, A 48: 36, 48, 49.

<sup>116</sup> A 20: 90.

<sup>117</sup> A 46: 51, 55, 59.

<sup>118</sup> Vota 1938: Assab; Read Sea 1967: Assab town, 5, 134, 135, 137, 138; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Asseb (Tigr.), °Aṣab; GeoName: Assab, see Āseb 13°0'0"N 42°44'0"E.

<sup>119</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>120</sup> Vota 1938: - ; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Oasi 13°16'0"N 42°6'0"E.

<sup>121</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>122</sup> A 16: 24.

<sup>123</sup> Vota 1938: Addi Qualā; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Addi Kwala (Tigr.), °Addī Qawālāh (Ar.); GeoName: Addi Kuala, Adi Quala, see Ādi Kwala 14°38'0"N 38°50'0"E.

<sup>124</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>125</sup> Vota 1938: Ghinda; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Ġinda (Tigr.), Ghindah (Ar.); GeoName: Ghinda, Ghinda'e, Ġinda 15°27'0"N 39°3'0"E.

<sup>126</sup> A 24: 61;

<sup>127</sup> A 2: 44.

<sup>128</sup> A 9: 12; A 13: 26; A 14: 81; A 23: 4; A 25: 73, 141; A 30: 46; A 38: 26; A 39: 49, 56; A 48: 49..

<sup>129</sup> A 28: 56; A 35: 56.

<sup>130</sup> A 28: 57; A 35: 57.

<sup>131</sup> A 28: 58; A 35: 58.

<sup>132</sup> A 16: 21; A 42: 16, 17; A 45: 64.

<sup>133</sup> Vota 1938: Chéren; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Keren (Tigr.), Karan (Ar.); GeoName: Cheren, Hamelmalo, Kehrehn, Kerenas, Kereno, see Keren 15°47'0"N 38°28'0"E.

كولولي Kūlūlī (Kulul, Kolulli);<sup>134</sup> 2 citations in 2 atlases;<sup>135</sup>

pattern: fū<sup>o</sup>lī, root: **k l l**.

مدر Madar (Meder);<sup>136</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>137</sup>

pattern: fa<sup>o</sup>al, root: **m d r**.

مرسى فاطمة Marsá Fāṭima<sup>t</sup> (Mersa Fatma);<sup>138</sup> 5 citations in 4 atlases;<sup>139</sup>

a) pattern: fa<sup>o</sup>lā, root: **r s y**; b) pattern: fā<sup>o</sup>ila<sup>t</sup>, root: **f ṭ m**.

مصوّع Muṣawwa<sup>c</sup> (Massaua);<sup>140</sup> ماساوا Māsāwwā;<sup>141</sup> ماسوا Māsawā;<sup>142</sup> مساروع Masāwi<sup>c</sup>;<sup>143</sup>

ماساوا Masāwā;<sup>144</sup> مساوه Masāwa<sup>h</sup>;<sup>145</sup> 6 variants, 96 citations in 38 atlases (in that number: 5 wrong variants of this centuries-old name, otherwise well established in Arabic, 7 citations in 4 atlases);<sup>146</sup>

patterns: mufa<sup>o</sup>al / fā<sup>o</sup>allā / fā<sup>o</sup>alā / mafā<sup>o</sup>il / fa<sup>o</sup>ālā / fa<sup>o</sup>āla<sup>h</sup> / roots: ṣ w<sup>o</sup> / s w<sup>o</sup> / **m s w**; standard spelling Muṣawwa<sup>c</sup> has been presupposed also in cases where the sign of *šadda<sup>t</sup>* was not noted over the letter *wāw*.

مل عيني Mal<sup>o</sup> Aynī (May Ayni);<sup>147</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>148</sup>

a) pattern: fa<sup>o</sup> ← fa<sup>o</sup>al, root: **m l ← m l l**; b) a) pattern: fa<sup>o</sup>lī, root: **o y n**.

موركادا Mūrkaḏā (Morgada);<sup>149</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>150</sup>

pattern: mūf<sup>o</sup>ālā, root: **r k d**.

<sup>134</sup> A 16: 21; A 45: 64.

<sup>135</sup> Vota 1938: Culūlli; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Colluli, Colulli, Culculli, Cululli, Kolulli, Kuleli, Kululli, see Kulul 14°24'0"N 40°21'0"E.

<sup>136</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>137</sup> Vota 1938: Medèr; Read Sea 1967: Meder village, 276; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: - . GeoName: Meder, M<sup>o</sup>edr, see Mī<sup>o</sup>ida 14°44'0"N. 40°47'0"E.

<sup>138</sup> A 16: 21; A 28: 58; A 35: 58; A 42: 16, 17.

<sup>139</sup> Vota 1938: Mérsa Fātma; Read Sea 1967: Marsa Fatma village, 273; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: Marsa Fatima (Tigr.), Marsá Fāṭimah (Ar.); GeoName: Mersa Fat<sup>o</sup>ma, Mersa Fatuma, see: Mersa Fatma 14°54'0"N 40°18'0"E.

<sup>140</sup> A 1: 25, 27; A 2: 10, 12, 16, 35, 50; A 3: 20, 48, 49; A 4: 20, 48, 49; A 5: 14, 16, 38; A 6: 15, 16; A 7: 13, 25, 27, 37; A 8: 94; A 9: 18, 26; A 10: 43, 48, 60; A 11: 48; A 12: 13, 29, 30, 49; A 13: 6; A 14: 28; A 16: 21, 29, 53; A 17: 7, 9; A 18: 33; A 20: 27, 65, 69, 73, 90; A 22: 12, 47; A 23: 17, 24, 29; A 24: 142; A 25: 72, 73, 141; A 26: 22, 28, 42; A 28: 56, 58, 65, 71, 78; A 29: 124; A 30: 7, 24; A 31: 24, 25; A 32: 184; A 35: 56, 58, 65, 71, 78; A 36: 41; A 38: 15, 16, 33; A 39: 49; A 41: 12, 17, 48; A 42: 16, 17; A 43: 103; A 45: 64; A 48: 49.

<sup>141</sup> A 46: 27.

<sup>142</sup> A 46: 51, 55, 59.

<sup>143</sup> A 28: 80; A 35: 80.

<sup>144</sup> A 46: 7.

<sup>145</sup> A 33: 89;

<sup>146</sup> Vota 1938: Massáua; Read Sea 267: Massawa, 5, 6, 138, 238, 241, 248, 257, 262–266; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: - ; Mits<sup>o</sup>iwa (Tigr.), Muṣawwa<sup>c</sup> (Ar.); GeoName: Macua, Masaoua, Masava, Massaua: see Mits<sup>o</sup>iwa 15°36'0"N 39°28'0"E.

<sup>147</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>148</sup> Vota 1938: Mài Aini; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: May Ayni, see Mai Aini 14°47'0"N 39°6'0"E.

<sup>149</sup> A 16: 21.

<sup>150</sup> Vota 1938: - ; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Morgada 14°34'0"N 41°12'0"E.

نكفا Nakfā (Nakfa);<sup>151</sup> نقفه Naqfāh;<sup>152</sup> ناقفا Nāqafā;<sup>153</sup> 3 variants, 6 citations in 5 atlases;<sup>154</sup>  
 patterns: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>lā / fa<sup>ʿ</sup>la<sup>h</sup> / fā<sup>ʿ</sup>alā, roots: **n k f** / **n q f**.

هنكول Hankūl (Hancul);<sup>155</sup> 2 citations in 2 atlases;<sup>156</sup>

pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>lūl, root: \***h n k l**.

ولدخان Walad Hān (Uodgan);<sup>157</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;<sup>158</sup>

a) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>al, root: **w l d**; a) pattern: fāl ← fa<sup>ʿ</sup>al, root: **h y n**;

the name was interpreted in Arabic as if composed of two words, however doubtful this newly suggested etymology could seem; apparent association with the words *walad* (Arabic) and *hān* (Arabic of Turkish origin) can be discerned.

#### 5.4. The sea (1 feature)

البحر الاحمر Al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar (Red Sea);<sup>159</sup>

a) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>l, root: **b ḥ r**; a) pattern: af<sup>ʿ</sup>al, root: **ḥ m r**;

الاحمر Al-Aḥmar;<sup>160</sup>

pattern: af<sup>ʿ</sup>al, root: **ḥ m r**;

substantivization of an adjective separated from its generic term and replacing a compound name;

بحراحر Baḥr Aḥmar;<sup>161</sup>

a) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>l, root: **b ḥ r**; a) pattern: af<sup>ʿ</sup>al, root: **ḥ m r**;

on missing definite articles, see a commentary below;

“القزم” البحر الاحمر Al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar “Al-Qulzum”;<sup>162</sup>

a) for the pattern and root of the first part of the name, see above; b) pattern: fu<sup>ʿ</sup>lul, root: \***q l z m**;

“القزم خليج العرب” البحر الاحمر Al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar “Al-Qulzum Ḥalīġ al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Arab”;<sup>163</sup>

a) for the first parts of the name, see above; b) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>īl, root: **ḥ l ġ**; c) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>al, root: **ʿ r b**;

<sup>151</sup> A 16: 24.

<sup>152</sup> A 28: 58; A 35: 58.

<sup>153</sup> A 42: 16, 17; A 45: 64.

<sup>154</sup> Vota 1938: Náfā; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: Nak’fa (Tigr.), An-Naqafah (Ar.); GeoName: Nacfa: see Nak’fa 16°40’1”N 38°28’45”E.

<sup>155</sup> A 36: 64; A 48: 57.

<sup>156</sup> Vota 1938: - ; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Ancul, see Hancul 12°40’0”N 42°35’0”E.

<sup>157</sup> A 1: 25.

<sup>158</sup> Vota 1938: - ; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Vodgan: see Uodgan 17°20’0”N 38°36’0”E.

<sup>159</sup> A 1-A 48: *passim*; Vota 1938: Mar Rosso, 126; Read Sea 1967: Red Sea *passim*; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: Red Sea 25°0’0”N 35°0’0”E.

<sup>160</sup> A 20: 15 – shortened version of Al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar (Red Sea).

<sup>161</sup> A 1: 23.

<sup>162</sup> A 15: 18; A 20: 31, 32, 37, 40, 43, 44, 48, 49, 61, 65.

<sup>163</sup> A 20: 29.

بحر القلزم Baḥr al-Qulzum;<sup>164</sup>

for patterns and roots, see above;

“الاحمر” بحر القلزم Baḥr al-Qulzum “Al-Aḥmar”;<sup>165</sup>

for patterns and roots, see above;

“الاحمرحاليا” بحر القلزم Baḥr al-Qulzum “Al-Aḥmar ḥāliyan”;<sup>166</sup>

for patterns and roots, see above; the expression ḥāliyan, meaning *at present*, is a circumstantial description added to the name and not a part of it;

“البحرالاحمر” بحر القلزم Baḥr al-Qulzum “Al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar”;<sup>167</sup>

for patterns and roots, see above;

“البحرالاحمرحاليا” بحر القلزم Baḥr al-Qulzum “Al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar ḥāliyan”;<sup>168</sup>

for patterns and roots, see above;

“البحرالاحمر” “الخليج العربي” بحر القلزم Baḥr al-Qulzum “Al-Ḥalīġ al-ʿArabī” “Al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar”;<sup>169</sup>

a) for the first and last parts of the name, see above; b) pattern: faʿīl, root: **h l ġ**;

c) pattern: faʿālī, root: **ʿ r b**; similar to Ḥalīġ al-ʿArab above, in which a noun (proper name) was replaced by a corresponding adjective;

“الخليج العربي” “Al-Ḥalīġ al-ʿArabī” (indicating the Red Sea);<sup>170</sup>

for patterns and roots, see above;

باب المنذب Al-Ḥalīġ al-ʿArabī (indicating the Northern part of the Red Sea);<sup>171</sup>

for patterns and roots, see above;

“البحرالاحمر” “الخليج العربي” Al-Ḥalīġ al-ʿArabī “Al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar”;<sup>172</sup>

for patterns and roots, see above.

The name of the Red Sea appears on all maps of Eritrea in all atlases in its standard form. In addition to it, interesting innovations are Baḥr Aḥmar without definite articles, a possible effect of pidginization of that thalassonym,<sup>173</sup> and also several variants with Al-Qulzum (Ancient: Clysmā), differently situated in writing in relation to the main toponym. Al-Qulzum refers to a medieval sea name and appears only on historical maps. Quite exceptional is the appearance of the name Al-Ḥalīġ al-ʿArabī (with a variant form Ḥalīġ al-ʿArab), one of early Arabic names for the Red Sea, shown on historical maps. That name only in the years sixties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was reapplied in a new location, to replace – for political and emotionally motivated reasons – the hitherto commonly known in Arabic and widely used name of the Persian Gulf – Al-Ḥalīġ al-Fārisī.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>164</sup> A 15: 21; A 19: 19, 27; A 20: 27, 45.

<sup>165</sup> A 15: 19, 20; A 20: 19, 21, 23; A 20: 42, 59.

<sup>166</sup> A 19: 15, 17, 19, 22, 26.

<sup>167</sup> A 19: 5, 14; A 20: 27, 28, 56.

<sup>168</sup> A 19: 13, 23.

<sup>169</sup> A 20: 25.

<sup>170</sup> A 20: 18.

<sup>171</sup> A 20: 19.

<sup>172</sup> A 20: 6, 11, 17.

<sup>173</sup> Zagórski 2013b.

<sup>174</sup> Zagórski 2013b.

### 5.5. Parts of the sea (3 features)

باب المندب Bāb al-Mandab (Bab el-Mandeb);<sup>175</sup> مضيق باب المندب Maḍīq Bāb al-Mandab<sup>176</sup>;  
2 variants, cited in all atlases except A 27;

a) pattern: fāl ← fa<sup>ʿ</sup>al, root: **b w b**; b) pattern: maf<sup>ʿ</sup>al, root: **n d b**; c) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>īl, root: **m ḍ q**.

خليج بيلول Ḥalīḡ Baylūl (Beylul Bay);<sup>177</sup> cited in 1 atlas;

a) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>īl, root: **h l ḡ**; b) pattern: faylūl ← fay<sup>ʿ</sup>ūl, root: **b l l**.

خليج عصب Ḥalīḡ ʿAṣab (Assab Bay);<sup>178</sup> cited in 1 atlas;

a) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>īl, root: **h l ḡ**; b) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>al, root: **ʿ ṣ b**.

### 5.6. Other physiographic names (13 features)

بني عامر Banī ʿĀmir (Beni Amer);<sup>179</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;

a) pattern: ʿālī ← fa<sup>ʿ</sup>al, root: **ʾ b n**; b) pattern: fā<sup>ʿ</sup>īl, root: **ʿ m r**;

this tribal territory is placed in North-Western part of Eritrea; the Banī ʿĀmir are a nomadic, Cushitic and Tigre (being gradually replaced by Arabic) speaking tribe, of locally high political importance; their tribal territory is divided between Eritrea and Sudan.<sup>180</sup>

جبل سويرا Ġabal Suwayrā (Soira);<sup>181</sup> 1 citation in 1 atlas;

a) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>al, root: **ḡ b l**; b) pattern: fu<sup>ʿ</sup>aylā, root: **s w r**;  
a mountain S.-W. of Zula Bay.<sup>182</sup>

جبال دنالكيا Ġibāl Dānkāliyā (Dancal/Dankalian Alps); جبال دناكل<sup>183</sup> Ġibāl Danākīl,<sup>184</sup>  
2 variants, 3 citations in 2 atlases;<sup>185</sup>

a) pattern: fi<sup>ʿ</sup>āl, root: **ḡ b l**; b) pattern: fā<sup>ʿ</sup>lāliyā / fa<sup>ʿ</sup>ālīl, root: **\*d n k l**;

<sup>175</sup> A 1 and A 3–A 26, A 28–A 46: *passim*.

<sup>176</sup> A2, A 22, A 24 and A 48: *passim*; Vota 1938: Bab el Mandeb; *Red Sea* 1967: Bab-al-Mandab, Straits of, 13, 15, 121, 133, 141, 142, 146, 285, Wolok and Zagórski 2004: Bab al-Māndab (Tigr.), Bāb al-Mandab (Ar.); GeoName: Bab-el-Mandeb, see Mandeb, Bab el 12°35'0"N 43°25'0"E.

<sup>177</sup> A 41: (wrongly located in Ethiopia) 23; Vota 1938: Beilūl o Bailūl... baia omonima, 337; *Red Sea* 1967: Beilul bay, 134, 280, 283, 284, Wolok and Zagórski 2004: Bēylul Bahyr Sellat'ē (Tigr), Khalīj Baylūl (Ar.); GeoName: Bēylul Bahir Selat'ē 13°13'0"N 42°28'0"E.

<sup>178</sup> A 41: (wrongly located in Ethiopia) 23; Vota 1938: - ; *Red Sea* 1967: Baia di Assab, 134–137; Wolok and Zagórski 2004: Asseb Bahyr Sellat'ē (Tigr), Khalīj ʿAṣab (Ar.); GeoName: Assab Bay, Baia d'Assab, see Āseb Bahir Selat'ē 12°56'0"N 42°50'0"E.

<sup>179</sup> A 1: 25; Vota 1938: - ; Wolok and Zagórski 2004: Benī Amer (Tigr.), Banī Amīr, Banī cĀmir (Ar.); GeoName: Beni Amer 15°50'0"N 37°30'0"E.

<sup>180</sup> Longrigg 1965b; Ullendorf 1965b.

<sup>181</sup> A 42: 16.

<sup>182</sup> Vota 1938: M. Sóira; Wolok and Zagórski 2004: Soira (Tigr.), Jabal Suwayrah (Ar.); GeoName: Soira 14°45'0"N 39°32'0"E.

<sup>183</sup> A 16: 51.

<sup>184</sup> A 28: 58; A 35: 58.

<sup>185</sup> Vota 1938: Alpi Dāncale; Wolok and Zagórski 2004: *Góry Danakilskie*, - (Tigr.), - (Ar.).

a mountain chain near the Ethiopian border; the specific part of the name refers to Ad-Danāqil tribe<sup>186</sup> (and likewise its derivatives: Ad-Danāqil region and Munḥafaḍ ad-Danāqil depression, see below), but was unrecognized by maps editors and retransliterated from Roman characters.

دحلان Arḥabīl Dahlak;<sup>188</sup> ارخبيل دهلك<sup>187</sup> Ğuzur Dahlak (Dahlak Archipelago);<sup>187</sup> دحلان  
Dahlān;<sup>189</sup> دهلك Dahlak;<sup>190</sup> دهلك ج. Ğ[uzur] Dahlak;<sup>191</sup> جزر داهلاك Ğuzur Dāhlāk;<sup>192</sup>  
6 variants, 44 citations in 25 atlases (A 48 has 2 versions on different pages);<sup>193</sup>

a) pattern: fu<sup>ʿ</sup>ul, root: ḡ z r / af<sup>ʿ</sup>alīl, root: \*r ḥ b l; b) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>lal / fā<sup>ʿ</sup>lāl / fa<sup>ʿ</sup>lān, root: \*d h l k / d ḥ l.

جزر فاطمة Ğuzur Fāṭima<sup>t</sup> (Fatma Islands);<sup>194</sup> فاطمة ج. Ğ[uzur] Fāṭima<sup>t</sup>;<sup>195</sup> 4 citations in 3 atlases;

a) pattern: fu<sup>ʿ</sup>ul, root: ḡ z r; b) pattern: fā<sup>ʿ</sup>ila<sup>t</sup>, root: f ṭ m.

جزيرة دهلك Ğazīra<sup>t</sup> Dahlak (Great Dahlak Island);<sup>196</sup> 1 version, 2 citations in 1 atlas;

a) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>īla<sup>t</sup>, root: ḡ z r; b) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>lal, root: \*d h l k.

جزيرة هرمل Ğazīra<sup>t</sup> Harmil (Harmil or Hirmil Island);<sup>197</sup> 1 version, 2 citations in 2 atlases;

a) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>īla<sup>t</sup>, root: ḡ z r; b) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>lil, root: \*h r m l.

جزيرة هلب Ğazīra<sup>t</sup> Halib (Halib Island);<sup>198</sup> هلب ج. Ğ[azīra<sup>t</sup>] Halib;<sup>199</sup> 5 citations in 4 atlases;

a) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>īla<sup>t</sup>, root: ḡ z r; b) pattern: fa<sup>ʿ</sup>il, root: h l b.

<sup>186</sup> Longrigg 1965a.

<sup>187</sup> A 1: 25; A 2: 10, 12, 16, 35; A 6: 15; A 7: 55; A 10: 43, 48; A 12: 29; A 14: 35; A 18: 10, 28; A 22: 12, 16; A 26: 24; A 28: 65, 78, 87; A 30: 11; A 33: 89; A 35: 65, 78, 87; A 38: 33; A 40: 16; A 46: 19.

<sup>188</sup> A 5: 14; A 16: 21; A 48: 59.

<sup>189</sup> A 16: 51.

<sup>190</sup> A 20: 5, 27, 34, 73.

<sup>191</sup> A 24: 61; A 39: 34, 36, 49; A 45: 64; A 48: 34, 49; theoretically, this abbreviated form could also mean Ğazīra<sup>t</sup> Dahlak and apply to just one, the biggest island of the archipelago (see below, and it can not be *a priori* excluded); however, very small scales of the maps where it is found make it unlikely and would rather indicate that the name refers to a more widely extended geographical feature.

<sup>192</sup> A 46: 70.

<sup>193</sup> Vota 1938: Arcipelago Dahlac, isole Dáhalac; Read Sea 1967: islands on Dahlak bank, 241–257; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: Dahlak Desēt (Tigr.), Juzur Dahlak (Ar.); GeoName: Dahlak Islands: see Dahlak Archipelago 15°50'0"N 40°12'0"E.

<sup>194</sup> A 32: 125.

<sup>195</sup> A 32: 126; A 41. (wrongly located in Ethiopia) 23; A 48: 48; Vota 1938: isola di Fatma, 341; *Red Sea* 1967: 135–136, Fatma, an island [and] islets; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: -; GeoName: Fatmah, Isola: see Fatuma Desēt 13°1'0"N, 42°51'0"E.

<sup>196</sup> A 42: 16, 17; Vota 1938: isola Dáhalac, Dáhalac Chebira; *Read Sea* 1967: Dahlak Kebir, 243, 249, 271; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: Dahlak Kebir (Tigr.), Dahlak al-Kabīr (Ar.); GeoName: Dahlak Kebīr: see Dehalak<sup>t</sup> Desēt 15°40'0"N 40°5'0"E.

<sup>197</sup> A 2: 125; A 22 16; Vota 1938: -; *Read Sea* 1967: Harmil island, 241, 242, 248; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: Harmil (Tigr.), Harmil (Arab); GeoName: Armil, Isola, Harmil, Isola, see Harmil 16°31'0"N 40°9'0"E.

<sup>198</sup> A 31: 16; A 32: 125.

<sup>199</sup> A 32: 126; A 41: (wrongly located in Ethiopia) 23; A 48: 48; Vota 1938: isola Halèb; *Read Sea* 1967: Haleb island, 136; Wołk and Zagórski 2004: -; GeoName: Haleb, Isola, see Halba Desēt 12°56'0"N 42°55'0"E.

خور بركة *Hawr Baraka*<sup>t</sup> (Baraka River);<sup>200</sup> بركة *Baraka*<sup>t</sup>;<sup>201</sup> بركة ن. *N[ahr] Baraka*<sup>t</sup>;<sup>202</sup> وادي بركة *Wādī Baraka*<sup>t</sup>;<sup>203</sup> 4 variants, 13 citations in 11 atlases;

a) pattern: *fa<sup>l</sup>*, root: **h w r**; b) pattern: *fa<sup>l</sup>ala<sup>t</sup>*, root: **b r k**; c) pattern: *fā<sup>l</sup>il*, root: **w d y**.

خور القاش *Hawr al-Qāš* (Qash River);<sup>204</sup> القاش *Al-Qāš*;<sup>205</sup> 10 citations in 8 atlases;

a) pattern: *fa<sup>l</sup>*, root: **h w r** or **n [h r]**; b) pattern: *fāl* ← *fa<sup>l</sup>*, root: **q w š**.

دناقل *Danāqil* (Danakil, Dankalia);<sup>206</sup> الدناقل *Ad-Danāqil*;<sup>207</sup> داناكيل *Dānākīl*;<sup>208</sup> 3 variants, 3 citations in 3 atlases;

patterns: *fa<sup>l</sup>ālil* / *fa<sup>l</sup>ālil* / *fā<sup>l</sup>ālil*, roots: **\*d n q l** / **\*d n k l**;

regionym derived from a tribal name of Ad-Danāqil, analogical to Banī <sup>ʿ</sup>Amir (see above).

من دنكاليا *Mun[hafaḍ] Dankāliyā* (Dankalia Depression);<sup>209</sup> منخفض الدناقل *Munḥafaḍ ad-Danāqil*;<sup>210</sup> 2 variants, 3 citations in 3 atlases;

a) pattern: *munfa<sup>l</sup>*, root: **h f ḍ**; b) patterns: *fa<sup>l</sup>ālīyā* / *fa<sup>l</sup>ālil*, roots: **\*d n k l** / **\*d n q l**.

نهر تكازي *Nahr Takāzī* (Tekeze River);<sup>211</sup> نهر تكاز *Nahr Takāz*;<sup>212</sup> نهر تكازه *Nahr Takāza<sup>h</sup>*;<sup>213</sup> 3 variants, 12 citations in 8 atlases;

a) pattern: *fa<sup>l</sup>*, root: **n h r**; b) patterns: *fa<sup>l</sup>ālī*, *fa<sup>l</sup>āl*, *fa<sup>l</sup>āla<sup>h</sup>* or *tafā<sup>l</sup>* ← *tafā<sup>l</sup>il*, roots: **\*t k z** or **\*k z y**.

<sup>200</sup> A 2: 16, 34; A 9: 4; A 11: 48; A 14: 81; A 22: 16; A 23: 13.

<sup>201</sup> A 6:16; A 12: 30, 36; A 41: 50.

<sup>202</sup> A 16: 28.

<sup>203</sup> A 42: 16; Vota 1938: F. Bárca; *Red Sea* 1967: Baraka river, 230; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Baraka (Tig.), Khawr Barakah (Ar.); GeoName: Baraka, see Khawr Barakah 18°13'0"N 37°35'0"E.

<sup>204</sup> A 2: 16; A 5: 31; A 11: 46, 48; A 14: 81; A 23: 4; A 26: 18.

<sup>205</sup> A 9: 4, 12; A 23: 13; Vota 1938: Gasc 239, Mareb 238–9; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Gash (Tigr.) / Nahr al-Qāsh (Ar.), Mereb Wenz (Tigr.), Marab Wanz (Ar.). GeoName: Nahr al Qāsh, Gash 16°48'0"N 35°51'0"E, Mareb: see Mereb Wenz 15°6'0"N 38°50'0"E.

<sup>206</sup> A 13: 6.

<sup>207</sup> A 20: 73.

<sup>208</sup> A 46: 11; Vota 1938: Dancália; *Red Sea* 1967: – [Danakil tribe, 445; Banc Dankali, 446]; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: - ; GeoName: - .

<sup>209</sup> A 16: 28.

<sup>210</sup> A 39: 34; A 40: 16; A 48: 34; Vota 1938: Piano del Sale, depressione dancala; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Denkelya (Tigr.), Danqālī (Ar.); GeoName: - .

<sup>211</sup> A 1: 25; A 2: 10, 12, 16, 35; A 5: 31; A 11: 46; A 14: 81; A 23: 4, 15; A 26: 18; Vota 1938: Tacazzè; Wolk and Zagórski 2004: Tekkezē (Tigr.), - (Ar.); GeoName: Tekkezē Wenz (Eth.) or Nahr Saṭīt (Sud.) 14°20'0"N 35°50'0"E.

<sup>212</sup> A 48: 49.

<sup>213</sup> A 24: 143;

## 6. Noun patterns and verbal roots

All noun patterns and verbal roots discerned in the present corpus of Eritrean toponyms are arranged alphabetically and presented below.

### 6.1. Noun patterns

Following noun patterns in the number of 119 are extracted from the complete corpus of the toponyms cited above:

afā <sup>c</sup> ilī	fa <sup>c</sup> altū	fāl	fū <sup>c</sup> lā
afā <sup>c</sup> īlī	fa <sup>c</sup> āyilā	fawā <sup>c</sup> ī	fu <sup>c</sup> lī
afa <sup>c</sup> lū	fa <sup>cc</sup> al	fay <sup>c</sup> aylū	fu <sup>c</sup> lul
af <sup>c</sup> āla <sup>h</sup>	fa <sup>cc</sup> āl	fay <sup>c</sup> ūl	fū <sup>c</sup> lūmū
af <sup>c</sup> al	fa <sup>cc</sup> ī	faylūl	fu <sup>c</sup> ul
af <sup>c</sup> alā	fa <sup>cc</sup> il	fī <sup>c</sup>	fū <sup>c</sup> ūlī
af <sup>c</sup> ala <sup>h</sup>	fa <sup>c</sup> ī	fī <sup>c</sup> āl	fūlā
af <sup>c</sup> ala <sup>t</sup>	fa <sup>c</sup> il	fī <sup>c</sup> al	full
af <sup>c</sup> alā	fa <sup>c</sup> īl	fī <sup>c</sup> ālīl	fūllā
af <sup>c</sup> alīl	fa <sup>c</sup> īla <sup>t</sup>	fī <sup>cc</sup> īla <sup>t</sup>	if <sup>c</sup> īliyā
af <sup>c</sup> īlā	fā <sup>c</sup> ila <sup>t</sup>	fī <sup>c</sup> il	if <sup>c</sup> īliyya <sup>t</sup>
af <sup>c</sup> ūlāt	fa <sup>c</sup> īltū	fī <sup>c</sup> īl	if <sup>c</sup> īlā
afū <sup>c</sup> īlāt	fā <sup>c</sup> īltū	fī <sup>c</sup> īla <sup>h</sup>	if <sup>c</sup> īliyā
afu <sup>c</sup> lāt	fā <sup>c</sup> īltū	fī <sup>c</sup> īlay	if <sup>c</sup> īliyā
alī	fa <sup>c</sup> ī	fī <sup>c</sup> īlāy	if <sup>c</sup> īliyā
fa <sup>c</sup>	fa <sup>c</sup> īlā	fī <sup>c</sup> īlay	if <sup>c</sup> īliyā
fa <sup>c</sup> āl	fa <sup>c</sup> īla <sup>h</sup>	fī <sup>c</sup> īlāy	if <sup>c</sup> īliyya <sup>h</sup>
fa <sup>c</sup> ālā	fa <sup>c</sup> īlā	fī <sup>c</sup> ī	if <sup>c</sup> īliyya <sup>t</sup>
fa <sup>c</sup> āla <sup>h</sup>	fā <sup>c</sup> īlāl	fī <sup>c</sup> īlā	if <sup>c</sup> īliyya <sup>t</sup>
fa <sup>c</sup> ālīl	fa <sup>c</sup> īlālāt	fī <sup>c</sup> īliyā	if <sup>c</sup> īliyā
fa <sup>c</sup> al	fa <sup>c</sup> īlāliyyā	fī <sup>c</sup> ū	if <sup>c</sup> īliyya <sup>h</sup>
fā <sup>c</sup> alā	fā <sup>c</sup> īlāliyyā	fī <sup>c</sup> ūlā	mafā <sup>c</sup> īl
fa <sup>c</sup> alālīlī	fa <sup>c</sup> īlālūmā	fī <sup>c</sup> ūlā	maf <sup>c</sup> al
fa <sup>c</sup> ala <sup>t</sup>	fa <sup>c</sup> īlān	fīliyyā	mufa <sup>cc</sup> al
fa <sup>c</sup> āla <sup>t</sup>	fa <sup>c</sup> īlal	fu <sup>c</sup> aylā	mūf <sup>c</sup> ālā
fa <sup>c</sup> alī	fa <sup>c</sup> īlīl	fu <sup>c</sup> ayla <sup>t</sup>	munfa <sup>c</sup> al
fa <sup>c</sup> ālī	fa <sup>c</sup> īlūl	fu <sup>c</sup> aylīlā	mūnfa <sup>cc</sup> a <sup>h</sup>
fa <sup>c</sup> ālīl	fa <sup>c</sup> īlī	fu <sup>c</sup> aylīla <sup>t</sup>	tafa <sup>c</sup> ī
fā <sup>c</sup> ālīl	fa <sup>c</sup> ūlā	fū <sup>c</sup> īlī	tafa <sup>c</sup> īl
fā <sup>c</sup> āllā	fafaltū	fu <sup>c</sup> ī	

Only a few of the above patterns follow rules of the standard grammars of Arabic. Most of them are artificial constructs, sometimes a one time phenomena (unique use)



that might never reappear again. They testify of high level of creativity and irregularity in the process of adapting *substratum* words to the Arabic noun building system.

This is not new. Observed spontaneous notations illustrate the situations that had also occurred in the past (in the context of old historical sources) and which pose today significant identification problems in historical geography. It opens field to necessary emendation procedures carried out in original texts; by their own nature such emendations may incite additional heated debates.

### 6.2. Verbal roots

Our corpus of Eritrean toponyms reveals 73 verbal roots, cited below, that are noted in standard Arabic dictionaries. It does not necessarily mean that there is any connection of the original etymology of a *substratum* toponym, rendered into Arabic graphic form, with semantic value of the Arabic root that might quite occasionally appear in transcription; the outer resemblance, however, will be easily apprehended by an Arab speaker. In fact, those roots are not the same as in regular Arabic – they simply are homonymous. And if a reader would like to search in them semantic contents known from Arabic, it will only mean a practice of rendering new phenomena understood, easier to comprehend – a typical procedure of creating new folk etymologies.

' b l	° r b	h l b	q r d
' b n	° r b	h l ġ	q r n
' d d	° š b	h m r	q w š
' d y	° s l	h r t	r ġ d
' ġ r	° s y	h w r	r h t
' ģ r	° w y	h w r	r k d
' m m	° y n	h y n	r s y
b d n	d h l	k l l	š d h
b h l d	d w r.	k r d	s m r
b h r	f t m	k r t	s n d
b l l	ğ b l	m d q	s n f
b l w	ğ l l	m d r	s w °
b r k	ğ n d	m l l	š w °
b š r	ğ r d	m s w	s w r
b š t	ğ z r	n d b	w d y
b t l	h f d	n h r	w l d
b w b	h ġ r	n k f	z l l
b w š	h ģ r	n q f	z w l
° m r			

Additionally, there are roots in the corpus which do not appear in Arabic dictionaries and, consequently, they can suggest no meaning at all. There are 39 such theoretical

roots extracted from toponyms. They seem to be fortuitous combinations of characters trying to repeat, in an imperfect way, spelling of local toponyms noted down with Latin characters.

*' d	*d d c	*k r n	*r t r
*' r t	*d h l k	*k w l	*s b d r
*' s b	*d k m r	*k z y	*š l m
*b r n	*d n k l	*l ġ n	*s t n
*b s k	*d n q l	*m r t	*t k z
*c d	*f m b	*q l z m	*t s n
*č r d	*ġ h d	*r h b l	*t s n
*c r f l	*ġ n d	*r h t	*t y w
*c w s	*h n k l	*r ħ t	*t z
*d b s m	*h r m l	*r n d k	

## 7. Final observations

Presentation of Eritrea in the studied atlases, in terms of its political situation, is rather vague and undecided. It is hard to say if the country is really considered a part of the Arab World since this attribution changes from one atlas to another – in some it is variable on different pages, while others are silent on that question at all. To compare, one thing may be said for sure: Chad, a country which has roughly 10 times higher proportion of Arabic-speaking population than Eritrea, is never included in the Arabic block of countries on maps in Arabic atlases. In this respect Eritrea seems to be in a slightly different situation.<sup>214</sup>

The question of political inclusion or exclusion is of vital importance for the judgment on the toponymy. It could be presumed that if it is an Arab country, perhaps Arab authors and editors would apply more attention to proper treatment of its toponymy. Such a presumption does not seem confirmed.

The name of the country appears in 16 variant forms and that of the capital city in 4 diverging versions. Variability of such important names as that of a sovereign state where Arabic is in official use, and of its capital city, is astounding. This may have following explanations:

1. Unfamiliarity of the producers of atlases with original (local) sources of toponyms;
2. Treatment of the names as something alien to the orthographic rules of Arabic (which is true) and repeated attempts to create written Arabic forms again and again, just for one's own use (disregarding the idea of uniformity, continuity and standardization).

There are altogether 69 geographical features related to Eritrea, named in studied atlases. 33 of them appear only once in any of the atlases (*hapax legomena*). Further 8

<sup>214</sup> Zagórski 2014.

appear each in any two atlases (*dis legomena*), but 7 of them have differently orthographed names on different maps (*dis legomena* reduced back to *hapax legomena*). 6 features appear in three atlases each (*tetrakis legomena*). It makes an inventory of 47 features (68% of all recorded names) which appear in the 48 atlases only occasionally; what means that the country is regularly defined and described only by 22 remaining geographical features (32% of all cited ones) which assure any larger stability and comparativeness of cartographic representation. In any case, the geographical picture reflects little cohesion in the selection of features and names and rather low communication effect. A complete inventory of 69 names would be quite descriptive for the country on small scale maps, were it not the glaring inconsistency of toponymic coverage.

As may be observed in the corpus, Eritrean *substratum* names of non-Arabic origin are often adapted through transcription in a highly approximate way. Arabic superficial transcriptions/transliterations were, as a rule, executed basing on different notations in Latin script and thus, most probably, have little in common with the original local pronunciation of the names. Erroneous substitutes of Latin letters were occasionally given in Arabic and, once put on paper, were not checked before further stages of publication. This approach results in multiplying Arabic versions of one and the same name, found in various atlases and sometimes even on different pages of the same publication. Different spellings reflect low level of endurance of Arabic names for Eritrea in inter-Arab circulation.

There are common orthographic mistakes which become apparent when compared with their Latin counterparts, like:

بوشتومو Būštūmū for Dochtumo,

and that happens even in cases of historically well attested and widely known names as:

ماساوا Māsāwwā, ماسوا Māsawā, مساوع Masāwi<sup>c</sup>, مساوا Masāwā and مساوه Masāwa<sup>h</sup>  
for: مصوع Muṣawwa<sup>c</sup> (Massaua).

More than one graphic form of one and the same specific name may be found, like:

بلوا B.l.wā ↔ بيتول B.ytūl ↔ بيلول (خليج) (H.līġ) B.ylūl, for: Beilul/Beylul.

A glimpse at these variants is enough to say that, although different, Arabic graphic forms are still resembling each other superficially. In this case we do not observe individual attempts at transliteration/transcription procedures that create diverging names, but rather purely spelling mistakes, result of inattentive writing.

This reminds again of identification problems of geographical features mentioned in old historical sources, which may only be solved through comparison with other recorded versions and laborious text emendations. The problem is extremely complicated in situations where there is only one mention (*hapax legomenon*) of a name available, in a deformed shape. Correcting such a name linguistically and its proper identification

in geographical space often becomes close to impossible; reasonable linguistic analysis is even less possible.

If after a superficial Arabicization, a name adapts a word structure and a verbal root that are practically functional in current Arabic, the ensuing word may bring about a vague notion which the root and the noun pattern carry with them. The same may happen with unusual word structures when a root is still recognizable. However, many of the transcribed words which compose names, are made of roots without meaning and word structures that are strange to Arabic. Nevertheless, depending on further historical circumstances, such new words may remain for ever, like those cited above: Damanhūr, Tāza<sup>t</sup> or Baġdād; or they may vanish.

How can we categorize the names from the atlases? Are they real Arab names of the indicated geographical features? Or borrowings, assimilated loan words? When we deal with loanwords<sup>215</sup> between languages within the same alphabetic group, the situation is more clear, although it is seldom possible to separate the stages of assimilation very neatly.

The usually adopted categories are three. *Casuals* (*Gastwörter*) are unassimilated foreign words or phrases used in a borrowing language which retain their original pronunciation, spelling and meaning. *Foreign words* (*Fremdwörter*) are adapted into the borrowing native system, with a stable spelling and pronunciation. *Loan words proper* (*Lehnwörter*) become undistinguishable from the rest of the borrowing native lexicon and subject to normal rules of word use and word formation. In this context the toponyms in the atlases – adapted through retranscription from intermediary notations in Latin script – may at present be generally considered a sort of between *casuals* and *foreign* words. Permanent use of them in Arabic and ensuing stabilized spelling may eventually grant them the status of loan words proper with all further consequences in everyday use (analogically to the names mentioned above: Damanhūr, Tāza<sup>t</sup>, Baġdād etc.). However, it should be reminded that all cited names are derived from Arabic external sources and not from those produced *in situ*, in Eritrea. It is hard to expect that they may become a part of the local linguistic heritage and constitute a vital cultural element in the formation of local national identity and integrity.

Etymology of the toponyms does not play role in it. Apparently, it is easier to adopt a name like Muṣawwa<sup>c</sup> or Marsá Fāṭima<sup>t</sup> which are of clearly recognizable Arabic origin. A name like Ṣiddīḥa<sup>t</sup> Mūngalla<sup>h</sup>, on the way to complete superficial Arabicization, is in fact based on a deformed shape of a toponym with underlying another Arabic meaning: Sidina Monghella or Sidi Amin Ghella (see footnote <sup>131</sup>; in need of further verification *in situ*). We can also put the question another way round: maybe those Arabic-looking forms were themselves products of *popular etymology* (*Volksetymologie*) which tried to

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<sup>215</sup> Some linguists propose to change the term “loanwords” or “borrowings” for “appropriated words” basing on the logical fact that words allegedly subject to a loan, or lending, or borrowing, in fact are usually taken spontaneously without asking permission from the original source and, in principle, are never returned (adverse situations are exceptionally rare); I refer to, among others, concepts raised by Dr. Philip Matthews of New Zealand during heated discussions at UNGEGN meetings.

explain the local name in reference to its allegedly more prestigious Arabic origin?<sup>216</sup> Identification of a feature creates natural curiosity about the actual meaning of a given name and popular etymology receives strong emotional support in the strive of exploration into the meaning of names.

When names do not have the meaning identical with that of a common word of the same spelling and pronunciation, and explanation remains hidden in undersurface meaning (*deep etymology*) which is not easily understood, then surface meaning will be spontaneously invented when there is a social need for it, and the shape of the name be adjusted to the new meaning. Space around human beings and their politics is undoubtedly one of the strongest factors shaping their feelings of *sameness* and *otherness* and names applied to geographical features of one's own territory (factual or mythical) belong to fundamental elements of culture. Any disagreement between appropriated land and one's own linguistic tradition cannot last long and will be spontaneously levelled.

As far as the structure of names is concerned, it may be observed that most of the names are one-word creations and only a few are composed, like Marsá Fātima<sup>a</sup>, Nahr Takāzī or Halīg Baylūl. Generic terms may be easily separated from the meaningful part of the name. There are composed names like Šiddīḥa<sup>t</sup> Mūngalla<sup>h</sup> or Ğūndā Ğūhdā which do not offer a reasonable explanation in the Arabic language. Any possible generic terms and other meaningful words, existing in source names, remain hidden in *understructure* because of the transformation, deformation and putting the names in a new Arabic linguistic context. Their retrieval may only be achieved after a painful reverse procedure, if at all possible.

The question opens what are – or will be – the Eritrean Arabic toponyms. *Substratum*-originated Arabic toponyms that have been functioning in Arabic for centuries (see above) were at the beginning in the position of typical loan words. Their spelling was moulded into the syllabic patterns conformed with Arabic grammar. Permanent usage assured for them full assimilation and absorption into the Arabic language, playing the role of *superstratum* or *superstructure*. The new toponyms from our corpus, whatever is their origin and structural formation, may eventually expect the same acceptance. On the condition, however, that other variant toponyms do not appear and take prevalence over them, being better concurrent with the local linguistic reality.

In this context it would be interesting to know if, and to what possible degree, the bookish, dynamically Arabicized names found in foreign publications, may or may not exert influence on local toponomastic practice. And how much they can contribute to so much required process of standardization of geographical terminology in the country.

In the course of time theoretical patterns and roots of names may vanish, or survive, or change. It depends on the communicative value of the toponyms noted down in the atlases and how many of them can persist or, adversely, fall into oblivion. If they remain, they might create new standards and give new meanings to places named with them.

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<sup>216</sup> Rzetelska-Feleszko 2006.

The sets of elements, extracted from our small corpus, may be useful for comparative studies on similar collections of toponyms connected with other areas and other times.

In a further perspective, the scope of source material on Arabic toponomastics of Eritrea should be much widened and encompass, first of all, publications in Arabic – educational and political works – produced by Eritreans themselves, either in the country or in diaspora (political *emigrés* etc.). At least two detailed maps of Eritrea in Arabic<sup>217</sup> were known to exist, but no copy is at present available for consultation. There are also a few Arabic external monograph publications devoted to Eritrea that seem worth of close investigation. Other sources are in need of exploration and results of such works will undoubtedly put the present corpus in a new perspective. Neither we should forget the option of a field research whenever circumstances allow for that. A thin floating veil of the Arabic toponymy in Eritrea leaves all areas of research open.

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<sup>217</sup> *Irītiriyā = Eritrea = Ērtra*. 1975, was printed in Damascus by Syrian military cartographers and measured 59 x 68 cm; the other one, a big wall map, is only known from an imperfect journalist photograph showing the Eritrean Liberation Forces' office in Khartoum.