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Abstract

PIE *mēms- 'meat, flesh' has no generally-accepted underlying etymological source. After a detailed analysis of earlier etymological attempts and suggestions, I propose and support an etymology as a reduplication of an s-extended form of the root *meh₁- '(ab)messen' — that is, meat being conceived of as something measured out or divided up. The derivation, as I will show, is another example of the process I propounded in a previous paper, viz. a generalization of so-called e-reduplication in nouns. This etymology supplies solutions for all the well-known morphological problems associated with *mēms-, including the absence of medial m in some Old Indian reflexes.

Keywords

*mēms-; reduplication; root structure; root extension.

1. Introduction

Despite a long history of proposals by various scholars, PIE *mēms- 'meat, flesh' has no generally-accepted etymology. Over the last 40-odd years, potential solutions have been put forward by, *i.a.*, Illič-Svityč (1971), Rasmussen (1978 [1999]; 1989), Puhvel (1992), Manaster Ramer, Michalove, et al. (1998), *NIL*, Manaster Ramer (2010), and Pinault (2013); and explicit criticisms and suggestions have been made by Vine (1991, 1998). I will examine these in detail below, and propose and support a new etymology.

2. Illič-Svityč's etymology & Vine's 1991 critique

To my knowledge, the earliest analysis in the modern timeframe that offers a possible source for *mēms- is by Illič-Svityč (1971, 252), who advocates

a Nostratic proto-form with an initial laryngeal: *$Homsa$. However, Vɪɴᴇ (1991, 30f.), reacting directly to that attempt, argues convincingly for a form without an initial laryngeal and recommends "IE. *$mēms$- (also $mēms$-o-, $mēms$-ro-) 'meat, flesh' (Ved. $mā́ḥ$, $māṁsá$-, OCS. $mę̨so$, Lat. $membrum$, etc. ...)".

Vine continues, significantly: "This word, to be sure, has a rather unusual root-shape (including the consistent lengthened grade)...." In fact, *$mēms$- has a **very** unusual shape: Besides the unusual lengthened grade, it has the same consonant immediately before and after the vowel, thus contravening the PIE root-structure restriction against C_iVC_i... (see, e.g., *OHCGL*, 44; Cᴏᴏᴘᴇʀ 2009, 56). Moreover, it has a seemingly anomalous sequence ending the root, similar sequences having been eliminated by Szemerényi's Law. The relevant subset of the Law is summarizable as *VRs* > *V̄R* / _ #; therefore, PIE roots do not normally end in *V̄ms*. Completing the picture, Bʏʀᴅ (2010, 68) writes: "In early PIE *Vms* > *V̄m* by Szemerényi's Law: *$dhéghōm$ < *$dhéghoms$ ...; in later PIE, the sequence *-*Vms* was restored ...." Thus, morphological shapes like †$mēm$- and †$mems$- would be possible in later PIE—but not the actually reconstructed *$mēms$-.

To summarize, *$mēms$- has three structural features that militate against its being a PIE root:

- Consistent lengthened-grade vowel
- Identical consonant on both sides of vowel
- Impossibility of long vowel to have been generated by Szemerényi's Law

But if *$mēms$- cannot be a root, it must be a compound or reduplication. The idea of its being a reduplication has been in the literature for at least 100 years; thus, *LEW* (2.65 *s.v. membrum*) mentions an etymology given by Pᴇᴛᴇʀssoɴ (1915, 125f.) for "*$mēmso$- aus redupl. *me-$meso$-, zu einer Wz. *mes- 'fett' ...", which *LEW* rightly terms "[g]anz hypothetisch".

3. Puhvel's etymology

Pᴜʜᴠᴇʟ (1992, 268f.) uses the reduplication idea in attempting to etymologize *$mēms$-. Taking the Hittite root $has(s)$- as a departure point, he writes:

> Physical creation is clearly at the semantic nucleus of $has(s)$-.... This insight determines further etymological research. The variant $hansannas$ for $hassannas$, and Luwian $hamsa$- 'grandson', corresponding to Hitt. $hassa$- 'progeny, descendant' prove the proto-form to have been *$hams$-....
>
> The third person singular $has(s)i$ goes back to *$Homsey$, and the noun $hassa$-to *$Homso$-. The root vocalism a is due to the inherited o-grade (as in Greek γέγονα and γόνος) and does not indicate coloration by a laryngeal. The root is therefore *$Hém$-s-, *Hm-$és$-. It is found elsewhere in a reduplicated root-noun *Hme-$H(m)s$- which is the word for 'flesh' (Skt. $mā́s$ or thematized $māṁsá$-, Arm. mis, Alb. $mish$, Goth. $mimz$, OPr.

mensa, OCS *męso*, Toch. B *misa*). A neuter *r*-stem extension *$*HmeHms_r$* appears thematized in Lat. *membrum* (< *$*mēmsro-$*) which denotes both the products and the tools of carnal creation. The zero grade *$*HmH_o(m)s-$* (> *$*mas-$*) resulted in Lat. *mas-* in the diminutive *masculus* and the genitive *maris*, with *mās* due to the lengthening of monosyllables....

This etymology, with an initial laryngeal in its underlying form, fails in the same way as Illič-Svityč's, inasmuch as the relevant Greek and Armenian forms evince the absence of an initial laryngeal.[1] In addition, it requires us to accept an unreduplicated Anatolian root having to do with procreation as a cognate of a reduplicated extra-Anatolian etymon meaning 'meat, flesh'; while the metaphor is not implausible, it is hardly compelling.

And there is another problem in Puhvel's etymology (which also shows up in many other works dealing with the PIE 'meat'-word): As Benedicte Nielsen Whitehead (p.c.) points out, "... the loss of the second nasal in the root [i.e., *$*mēms-$*] is unparalleled; it has been explained as the result of a sound law operating in late PIE and attested only in IIr. *$*mās$*...." In other words, we are offered, here and elsewhere, an etymology having an underlying form with an anunsupported, unique allomorphy. A potential explanation for this apparently anomalous morphology emerges below as a by-product of the etymology I propound.

4. Manaster Ramer, Michalove, et al.'s etymology & Vine's 1998 critique

Manaster Ramer, Michalove, et al. (1998, 69f.) include a possibility that seeks to modify Illič-Svityč's Nostratic etymology, build on Puhvel's attempt, and integrate the discussion in Vine (1991). Manaster Ramer, Michalove, et al. write:

> Let us ...see if we can after all use the Nostratic proposal to explain the two striking deviations of this form from the usual Indo-European root shapes: the long vowel and the final cluster. Both of these features are highly unusual for what Vine takes to be a PIE "root".[2]
>
> Instead, it may be more useful to analyze *$*me:ms-$* as some kind of complex form, perhaps a reduplicated *$*hme-hms-$* or a compound *$*(h)me-hms-$*. In either case, the second part would be a completely regular zero-grade reflex of the proposed Nostratic etymon ..., *Homa.

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1   Puhvel omits citation of any Greek forms.

2   To which I would of course add the third "highly unusual" (not to say, anomalous) feature: the C_iVC_i sequence.

They continue their proposal by quoting Puhvel's analysis extensively and in detail; therefore, the same two arguments I gave in §3 may be cited against their formulation as a reduplication. However, a compound without an initial laryngeal remains a possibility—though they give no indication of which *(h)me-* morpheme might be adduced or of what the semantics of the putative compound might be.[3]

As its title indicates, Vɪɴᴇ (1998) is a direct response to the article by Manaster Ramer, Michalove, et al. On pp. 92–96, Vine offers a discussion of *mēms-* embodying and elucidating the *communis opinio*—namely that it is an acrostatic (Type I) noun, with its *s* thus part of the root (though he mentions [p. 93] "... the unusual root shape and the pervasive lengthened grade ..." of the IE form). He continues with a detailed rejection of the etymological possibilities for *mēms-* offered by Manaster Ramer, Michalove, et al.—that, in the context of its possibly being a Nostratic lexeme, *mēms* was a reduplication or compound. On p. 94, Vine writes:

> At most I would grant the possibility that Nostr. *Homsa 'meat, flesh' could be related to such forms as CLuv. *hamša/i-* 'grandchild', HLuv. *ha-ma-sa-* 'id.', Lyc. *xahba-* 'id.' (< Proto-Anatolian *Hamsa-), ... presumably via some such semantic route as might be provided by expressions like Eng. 'flesh of my flesh' = 'offspring' .... It is impossible for me to accept, however, the further connection ... with the IE word for 'flesh', in view of the following phonological and morphological problems.

Vine then gives specific argumentation (pp. 94f.) against basing *mēms-* on a laryngeal-initial root.

- *Contra* a reduplication, he points out that if we posit the *e* of the unreduplicated root to be underlyingly short, the laryngeal immediately following the *e* must have been $*h_1$; but the initial *h/x* of the Anatolian forms must go back to $*h_2$ or $*h_3$. Thus *ĕ* is untenable. To obviate this problem, we may posit the underlying vowel to be *ē*, and take advantage of Eichner's Law. But, Vine continues, "this would require lengthened grade in a reduplicating syllable (i.e. $*(h_2)mē-h_2ms-$ or $*(h_3) mē-h_3ms-$), an utterly anomalous configuration."[4]

- *Contra* a compound, he writes:

> [I]f "*(h)me-hms-*" is a "compound", one could then appeal to the phenomenon of laryngeal loss in compounds ... in order to justify the apparent absence of the initial laryngeal, since loss of laryngeal in a reduplicating syllable is not otherwise known....[5]

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3   But see below for two possibilities: the quotation from *NIL* (209f.[6]) in §6 and Pɪɴᴀᴜʟᴛ's (2013) exposition, discussed in §8.

4   It should be noted that I demonstrate in Cᴏʜᴇɴ (forthc.) that a long vowel in a reduplicating syllable (or "echo"—as I prefer to call it, having borrowed the term from Piotr Gąsiorowski [p.c.]) is perfectly possible if engendered by the loss of a laryngeal following a short vowel. This process is in fact a crucial part of the etymology I propose for *mēms-* below.

5   This statement of Vine's has been in effect invalidated by the etymologies as reduplications of Lat. *papāver* 'poppy', Gk. πάπῡρος 'papyrus', and, if accepted, PIE $*b^ha-b^heh_2-$ 'bean' given in Cᴏʜᴇɴ (forthc.), in

But if one takes these assumptions seriously, one arrives at the attendant claim that "*(h)me-" (i.e. *(h₂)me- ? *(h₃)me- ?) is in effect a *different root* from that which appears in "*-hms-" (i.e. "*-h₁ms-")—hardly an attractive result, and one which raises at least as many questions as it would answer....

Vine (pp. 95f.) continues with three points he believes argue against a medial laryngeal in *mēms-, no matter what sort of etymology one might choose. We will respond to these in §9.

5. Rasmussen's etymology

There are also attempts at elucidation of *mēms- in the timeframe we are examining that do not involve reduplication. One prominent example of this approach is found in Rasmussen (1978 [1999, 23]):

> ... [V]ed. *mā́s* ist Neutrum, sodaß es sich hier nicht um Restitution eines Nom. *-s* handeln kann. Der stamm kann auf Grund von z.B. got. *mimz* (mit Osthoffkürzung) und RV *māṁs-pácanī* 'zum Fleischkochen dienender (Topf)' nur als *mēms- angesetzt werden. Die nasallose Nom.Acc.Sg. muß dann durch folgenden Stufen gegangen sein: Dehnung zu *mḗms ..., Abtönung ... zu *mṓms, Schwund des Nasals ... zu *mṓs.[6] Dass der Vokal dabei entgegen der üblichsten Auffassung ... mit *o*-Timbre erscheint, verstößt gegen kein bekanntes Faktum: arisch *mā́s : *māṁs- kann ja ebenso gut auf *mos : *mḗms- als auf *mḗs : *mḗms- zuruckgehen....[7]

Whether or not one finds Rasmussen's invocation of overlong vowels or of an *o*-grade plausible, his etymology has the same inherent flaw as others not involving reduplication or compounding do: They offer no explanation for the fact that, though *mēms- is a PIE lexeme, its shape ($C_iVC_i...$) is illicit for PIE roots.

6. *NIL's* discussions

NIL discusses the 'meat'-word at two locations.
1. The entry for *mē(m)s- (pp. 486–488), which makes some remarks relevant to the item's etymology, primarily in 487[1], *viz.*:

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which the vowels of the echo wind up being short despite the fact that they are derived from *eh₂ in the underlying root.

6   Rasmussen uses "ḗ" and "ṓ" to represent trimoraic versions of the vowels (see Rasmussen 1978 [1999, 21]).

7   Rasmussen (1989, 259) references and, a bit diffidently, endorses this position; he writes there: "Idg. /ō/ kann sein ... Dehnung von /ē/ (via ẽ): Nsg *pṓd-s 'Fuß' viell. *mṓs 'Fleisch' aus mḗs, älter mḗmz."

> Die Struktur ist auffällig, vielleicht ist mit einem urspr. Kompositum zu rechnen.... In **mēms #* dürfte **-m-* vor *-s #* bereits spätgrundsprachlich geschwunden sein ...; inlautend bleibt es indessen bewahrt. Rechnet man mit bereits grundsprachlicher Assimilation von **-ms- > *-ns-*, so bleibt zu klären, auf welchem Wege Einzelsprachen *-m-* wieder eingeführt haben.

> Das Verhältnis von **mē(m)s-* zu **mĕmsó-* ... ist nicht klar: handelt es sich um eine Ableitung oder um eine bloße Thematisierung, die eine geläufige Flexionsweise liefert ...? Unklar ist weiter das Verhältnis zu Formen, die auf **mĕms-* weisen. Während sich die Mehrzahl durch Osthoff-Kürzung auf **mĕms-* zurückführen läßt, muß wenigstens für das Toch. mit **ĕ* gerechnet werden.... Die Beurteilung der bsl. Formen ist unstritten....

The footnote continues by offering possibilities (it calls insecure) for a relationship between **mĕms-* and **mĕms-ó-*; these include restructurings involving hypothetical forms, analogy, and later simplifications. It concludes:

> Die Formen lassen sich auf einen Ausgangspunkt reduzieren, wenn mann annimmt, daß ein Paradigma **mēms*, GSg. **mems-(s)* zugrunde liegt, das vom schwachen Stamm aus als Kollekt. **mems-(a)h₂* recharakterisiert wurde. Der o-St. **mems-ó-* könnte zu diesem Kollekt. hinzugebildet sein. Dieses Szenario bleibt freilich hypothetisch.

2. The entry "?**Hem-* 'roh; bitter (?)'" (pp. 202–204). Specifically in 202f.[6], speculations are made about a possible connection with *mē(m)s-*:

> Wenn der Ansatz ... **HoHmó-* lautet, ist *ō* laryngalbedingt. **HoHmó-* (oder **HoH-mó-?*) wäre strukturell ungewöhnlich, aber nicht unmöglich. Es könnte aus Reduplikation (z.B. **h₃e-h₃m-ó-* ...) entstanden sein. Wenn **HoHmó-* ein Kompositum ist, ware es womöglich in **h₂o-h₁(o)m-ó-* zu analysieren ... [—] Präfix **h₂o-* 'bei'.... Im HG könnte eine themat. Bildung zu einer Wz. z.B. **h₁em-* 'bluten' vorliegen, die auch in strukturell gleichfalls auffälligem **mē(m)s-* 'Fleisch' gesucht werden kann.... Sollte es ein **h₁em-* 'bluten' gegegen haben, so ließen sich der Wörter für 'roh' als geläufige Ableitungen (**h₁om-ó-* 'blutend, blutig' etc.) davon verstehen. Das mutmaßliche Kompositum **h₂o-h₁(o)m-ó-* hatte etwa 'Blut bei sich habend, beim Blut(en)' bedeutet; in **mē(m)s-* wäre gleichfalls ein Kompositum ***me-h₁ēm-s- / *me-h₁em-s-* zu sehen, das aus VG **me-* 'inmitten, mitten hinein'.... [D]iese Überlegungen sehr spekulativ bleiben ....

As we can see, *NIL*'s discussion in 487[1] is noncommittal about

1) Whether the item is originally a root, compound, or reduplication
2) Whether the (presumably) underlying medial *m* became *n* by assimilation, and, if so, how and when the *m* was restored
3) The specifics of the relationship of **mē(m)s-* to **mĕmsó-*, and to **mĕms-*
4) Various hypothetical recharacterizations

In sum, an almost complete set of often vague possibilities is listed there: We could

be dealing with a root, compound, reduplication, derivation, thematization, or ana-logical form. *NIL* gives a treatment there that is scholarly and lengthy, but one that does little to enlighten us.

A similar comment could be made about *NIL*'s discussion in 202f.[6]: The noncom-mittal mention of a hypothetical root *$h_1$em-* 'bluten' to be sought in *mē(m)s* is spec-ulative at best.

7. Manaster Ramer's 2010 etymology

Manaster Ramer (2010, 3) briefly revisits *mēms-*; he cites it as what he calls a (re-duplicated) "perfect noun"[8] and refers to it as

> … the long-troublesome word for 'member' (> 'meat'), about which we wro-te nonsense in 1998 (duly critiqued by Vine 1998) and which is nothing but *(h$_1$)meh$_1$ms-* 'one that has been opened up, cut up', related to the words for 'shoulder' and the Anatolian words for 'open' or the like….

In this regard, while we find that the word for 'shoulder' is given by, e.g., *EIEC* (515 *s.v.*) as *$h_{1/4}$ómsos*, its status as etymon for the putative Hittite cognate in *EIEC* (p. 516), "*an(as)sa* 'hip, buttocks' or 'upper back'" is explicitly rejected by *EDHIL* (178 *s.v. anašš(a)-*). Furthermore, it is unclear which "Anatolian words for 'open' or the like" Manaster Ramer is referring to, or whether there even was a PIE verb root like *$h_1$em(s)-*, 'to open, cut, or the like'.[9] There is a verb root *$h_1$em-* that could fill the bill semantically, which *EIEC* (564) and Watkins (2000, 23) gloss as 'take, dis-tribute'. But, crucially, a noun reduplication of *$h_1$em°* does not yield *mēm°* (see §9).

8. Pinault's etymology

Pinault (2013, 1–5) devotes about half of his presentation to PIE *mē(m)s-* and de-rivatives. Much of his discussion focuses on Tocharian developments, but he also analyzes material in several other daughter languages and offers an etymology. After referring to the proposals in *NIL* (487, 203), he proposes (p. 3): "PIE point of departure: compound *me-h$_1$ems-* 'in the middle of the back), i.e., around the spine or backbone, where the best meat (or the 'prime cut' in butchers' slang) is to be found." And, after giving some Turkic material for semantic support, he writes:

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8   I have, in Cohen (forthc.) and below in the present paper, referred to this type of noun reduplica-tion as "resultative", a term that I believe more accurately represents the relevant semantics.
9   But see the next section for another etymology that advocates both an underlying root of *h$_1$ems-* 'to cut, *vel sim.*' and a relationship with the 'shoulder'-word.

"…*me-h_1ems- > (contraction in other languages) *$m\acute{e}ms$-. The alternative reconstruction with zero grade of the second member would not give the right outcome: *me-h_1ems- > *meh_1-$\mathring{m}s$- > IIr. *$maHas$- > *$m\acute{a}s$-, compare OAv. $m\mathring{a}$, YAv. $m\mathring{a}s$-ca, Ved. $m\acute{a}s$- 'moon' < *$m\acute{a}Has$- < *$m\acute{e}h_1$-$\mathring{n}s$- …." He supplies argumentation for the two portions of his proposed compound:

- "Prefix *me-, cf. *me 'inmitten, mitten hinein' (Präverb) according to LIPP: 190–192." This is followed by a list of cognates and derivatives in Greek, Germanic, Italic, Celtic, Indo-Iranian, and Armenian.
- (p. 2) "*$h_1\acute{e}ms$- 'back, spine region', weak stem allomorph of a root noun *$h_1\acute{o}ms$-, resultative noun ('what is cut up'), from *h_1ems- 'to flay, to cut up'. Root reflected by Lat. $\bar{e}nsis$ masc. 'sword' < *$h_1(e)ms$-i-, Ved. $as\acute{\imath}$- 'sword, slaughtering knife' < *$h_1\mathring{m}s$-$\acute{\imath}$-."

Then, after a discussion of the $as\acute{\imath}$- in Vedic animal sacrifice, he goes on (pp. 4f.) to an analysis of the 'shoulder'-word:

> PIE *$(H)\acute{o}mso$- 'shoulder' (Ved. $a\dot{m}sa$-, Arm. ows (gen. sg. $owsoy$), Go. acc. pl. $amsans$, OIcel. $\acute{a}ss$) to be rewritten as *$h_1\acute{o}ms$-o-, concretization of action noun from *h_1ems-…. CToch. *$\bar{a}ns\ae$ < *$(h_1)\bar{o}mso$- and cognate with Gk. $\tilde{\omega}\mu o\varsigma$ 'shoulder, armpit'. Now, one may understand *$(h_1)\acute{o}mso$- 'shoulder' as the vṛddhi derivative of *$(h_1)\acute{o}mso$-, provided that the latter meant originally 'back, backbone': 'belonging to the back' > 'shoulder'. Later, *$(h_1)\acute{o}mso$- shifted through metonymy to the designation of the two shoulders.

I have given the objections to *h_1ems- 'to cut *vel sim.*' and to a connection with the 'shoulder'-word in the previous section. Here, let me say that I find the semantics of Pinault's etymology plausible, though unconvincing; but such decisions are, to a significant extent, matters of opinion. With respect to formal concerns, the etymology, since it is a PIE compound, avoids root-structure problems. There are two points, however, on which the proposal should be called in question:

1. There is no direct evidence for a PIE verb *Hem- (or the presumably s-extended *$Hems$-) 'to flay, to cut up', though such a form could, in theory, underlie Lat. $\bar{e}nsis$, Ved. $as\acute{\imath}$-. But which laryngeal would begin the item? Pinault needs it to be *h_1, in order for there to be no coloration of the vowel of *me- in his compound. However, as, e.g., endorsed in *EIEC* (561 *s.v. sword*), there is a presumptive cognate of $\bar{e}nsis$ and $as\acute{\imath}$- (and Av. $a\eta h\bar{u}$-) that demands an initial *h_2 or *h_3: *viz.*, Palaic $has\bar{\imath}ra$ 'dagger'.
2. Pinault mentions (p. 2) "[t]he IE allomorph *$m\acute{e}s$ (in pausa) of *$m\acute{e}ms$", although it is unclear whether he means this to be explanatory or merely descriptive. In any event, the unique allomorphy can hardly be explained in this way, since the general linguistic tendency is to lose final, not medial, consonants prepausally.

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9. The noun-reduplication process & my proposed etymology

The noun-reduplication process, first delineated in Cohen (forthc., §9) and emended slightly in Cohen (2014, 26) and here, operates as follows:

1. Copy the initial portion of the *e*-grade root up through the vowel and any immediately-following laryngeal (with [later] consequent coloration and lengthening), and prepose it to the root.

2. a) For intensive reduplications,[10] reduce the vowel of the preposed portion to zero-grade (with concomitant syllabification of a following sonorant, where phonologically appropriate).

   b) For resultative reduplications, shift the accent to the preposed portion and reduce the vowel of the (original) root to zero-grade (with concomitant syllabification of a following sonorant, where phonologically appropriate).

Thus, if, following Manaster Ramer (2010), we begin with $h_1 ém°$ for the requisite resultative reduplication, we will generate (via Step 1) $h_1 e\text{-}h_1 ém°$, and then (via Step 2b) $h_1 é\text{-}h_1 m°$ (> $ēm°$).

I propose that a different lexeme in the same semantic field underlies **mēms-*, namely **meh_1 s-*, a (previously unrecognized) *s*-extended form of the verbal root **meh_1 -* '(ab)messen' (see *LIV* 424f.), meaning 'to apportion, to allot'. Some remarks that justify invoking the root extension would appear to be in order.[11] In this regard, I note that there are examples of other verbal roots where both unextended and *s*-extended versions are attested. Specifically, there are a group phonologically analogous to **meh_1 -* : **meh_1 s-* (i.e., *C(C)eH/R-* : *C(C)eH/Rs-*) that share a pairwise semantic relationship of the same sort we posit for **meh_1 -* : **meh_1 s-*, *viz.* unmarked : resultative (*vel sim.*). We have

- **h_2 eh_1 -* 'heis sein' (*LIV* 257) : **h_2 eh_1 s-* '(durch Hitze) vertrocknen' (*LIV* 257f.)
- **k̑leu̯-* 'hören' (*LIV* 334f.) : **k̑leu̯s-* '(zu)hören' (*LIV* 336)
- **kʷei̯-* 'wahrnehmen, bemerken' (*LIV* 377f.) : **kʷei̯s-* 'auf etwas achten, wahrnehmen' (*LIV* 381f.)

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10   Examples and explications of this type of intensive noun reduplications are given in Cohen (forthc.) and Cohen (2014). From the former: Lat. *papāver* 'poppy' (based formally on **péh_2 u̯r* 'fire' and having a figurative semantic reference to the poppy's fire-red color), Gk. πάπῡρος 'papyrus' (also based formally on **péh_2 u̯r* 'fire', but having a literal semantic reference to papyrus's burning with an especially intense flame), and PIE **bʰa-bʰeh_2 -* 'bean' (based formally on **bʰu̯eh_2 -* 'to grow' and having a semantic reference to the bean-plant's prolific growth pattern). From the latter (pp. 33f., 36): Arm. *mamuṙ* 'moss' (based on PIE **meus-* 'moss, mold; damp').

11   I.e., beyond what is given in Fortson (2010, 78f.): "It is not uncommon for roots to appear with extra phonetic material (one or two sounds) added on to them, generally without any discernible change to the meaning of the root. These additional sounds are called 'extensions' or 'enlargements'.… The source and function of these extensions are not known."

- **ten-* 'sich spannen, sich dehnen' (*LIV* 626f.) : **tens-* 'ziehen' (*LIV* 629)

The reduplication process operates as follows: Beginning with **méh₁s-*, we generate (via Step 1) **meh₁-méh₁s-*, and then (via Step 2b) **méh₁-mh₁s-*, which, with the lengthening by, and loss of, the laryngeal in the echo together with the deletion of the laryngeal in the base, presumably via a rule suggested in OHGCL (113),[12] gives us **mēms-*. In this derivation, **mēms-* 'meat'—a resultative noun reduplication generated from an originally resultative verb root—is 'that which has been allotted'.[13]

It still remains to respond to the three arguments we mentioned above given by Vine (1998, 95f.) against a medial laryngeal in **mēms-*:

1. <u>Syllabification of a sequence like **/-meHms-/*:</u> Vine cites "IE **meh₁ns-* 'moon; month' and **h₂weh₁-nt-o-* 'wind'", saying "the resonant after the laryngeal should be treated as syllabic in Indo-Iranian, at least vestigially". But the *nt* of **h₂weh₁-nt-o-* is a derivational morpheme, and the *ns* of **meh₁ns-* is the reflex of at least one derivational morpheme as well.[14] Whereas in my etymology of **mēms-*, the medial *m* begins the underlying root and was syllabified with the preceding stressed vocalic nucleus; it was therefore never syllabic.

2. <u>The root vowel of TochB *mīsa* 'meat' cannot continue PIE **ē*, but seems to show **e*, pointing therefore to an acrostatic root noun **mēms-/*méms-*:</u> But it seems to me that once **méms-* had been generated, it would have been perfectly reasonable for any daughter language (in this case Tocharian B) to treat it as an acrostatic root-noun. An example of exactly this phenomenon, as I was apprised by Adam Hyllested (p.c.), is provided by the Albanian reflex, *mish* 'meat', which can only have resulted from a *secondary* acrostatic root-noun form with a short vowel (see Hyllested 2012, 76 with refs.).

3. <u>If lengthened grade vowels regularly show circumflex intonation in Balto-Slavic, then the available evidence (e.g. SCr. *mêso*) points to lengthened grade, not laryngeal lengthening:</u> Vine's position, apparently arguing against

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12   Thus we find in *OHCGL* (113): "The νεογνός Rule. A laryngeal is deleted following a sonorant consonant and preceding a vowel in non-initial syllables of 'long' words (including compounds and reduplicated forms).... There may have been a more general rule of laryngeal loss in non-initial syllables of 'long' forms, to judge from cases like **kom-dʰh₁tu-* 'putting together' > *Cōnsus* (Roman god of grain storage)." It is noteworthy that both **meh₁-mh₁s-* and **kom-dʰh₁tu-* have the shape **CVC-CHO(...)*. And Michael Weiss (p.c.) has also pointed me toward two other relevant references (see Cohen 2014, 27 for discussion).

13   An anonymous reviewer has insightfully pointed out that there is a parallel in Greek (namely δαιτ°) for formally-related forms to refer to allotting/dividing and to meat. Indeed, those Greek forms (and others) are based on PIE **deh₂(i)-* 'teilen' (see, e.g., *LIV* 103f., where Greek, Vedic, and Albanian reflexes are given). In Greek, we have, e.g., δαιτήριον 'place of distribution', δαιτρεία 'place where meat is cut up', and δαιτρεύω 'to cut up (meat), to cut up for distribution (among the people), to distribute (booty)', as well as Homeric and later Greek δαίς 'meal, banquet, meat, food' and δαὶς εἴση, which literally means 'equally divided' and is used by Homer in reference to the usual meal.

14   Thus, e.g., Rasmussen (1989, 132) gives **h₂ṷéh₁-ṇt-o-s* for the former and "**méh₁-ṇs* (hervorgegangen aus einem idg. Paradigma **méh₁-nōt-s*, Gen. **meh₁-ṇs-ós*...)" for the latter.

meh₁msó- as an underlying form, is based, as Vine states, on Kortlandt (1985, 1988) and is dependent on Hirt's Law, which, in general, as Thomas Olander (p.c.) writes, "allows us to distinguish between roots with PIE *VH* (which attracts the accent) and *V̄* (which doesn't)...". Crucially, however, Olander continues, "but Hirt's Law, is not in my view, triggered by tautosyllabic PIE *VHR*—Kortlandt, on the other hand thinks it [is]...". The bottom line is that Vine's position is dependent on a point where knowledgeable scholars of Balto-Slavic disagree and, consequently, it need not be accepted.

One further phonological point about the Balto-Slavic reflexes of the 'meat'-word that has some relevance here, but has even more vs. Vine's second argument: Villanueva Svensson (2011, 12), referring to the length of the root vowel of what he takes to be a root-noun, writes:

> Sl. *mę̃so* AP *c* and OPr. *mensā* 'meat' are ambiguous. East Baltic faces us with a notoriously problematic picture.... Žemaitian and Latvian present circumflex intonation, but it is uncertain whether they continue a form with long vowel. Vedic presents only lengthened grade in *mām ˘sa-* n., acc. sing. *mā́s* (2x). Arm. *mis*, Goth. *mimz*, are ambiguous, but TB *mīsa* must continue a form with short *e* and thus points to acrostatic ablaut *mḗms- / méms-*.... It follows that there is no particular reason to favor *mēms-ó-/ éh₂-* over *mems-ó-/éh₂-* in Balto-Slavic.

But I emphasize that, as shown by Alb. *mish*, there is no reason to believe *mēms-* originally to have been a root-noun, rather than to have been later interpreted as one.

10. Other recent work relevant to *mēms-* & my explanation for forms without a medial *m*

Benedicte Nielsen Whitehead (p.c.) has drawn my attention to unpublished work by Birgit Olsen that attempts to elucidate *mēms-* via a possible root having the form *mV̄s-* underlying various Germanic items meaning 'food'. Olsen mentions OHG *muos*; OE, OFris. *mōs*; and MDu. *moes*, and, following Rasmussen, suggests PIE *mōs* as the source of these, as well as of Ved. *mā́s*. As Nielsen Whitehead notes, *EDPG* considers these Germanic items to reflect a pre-Gmc. *mōsa-* 'food', related to *mati-* 'food'.

It seems to me, alternatively, that the attested Germanic words without medial *m* might rather be directly derived from *meh₁s-*. And, significantly, Ved. *mā́s* might also be directly derived from this root. Thus we find that my formulation can explicate the anomalous Indic allomorphy: If we had a resultative (*vel sim.*) verbal root *meh₁s-* (> *mēs-*) and a juxtaposed, phonetically similar, resultative noun *meh₁ms-*

(> *mēms-), it would not be surprising to find contamination between the two paradigms.

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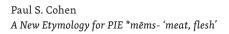
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The etymology I propose, however, is mine alone, and it should not be assumed that any of the aforementioned subscribe to it.

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