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## THE PREFIX *\*Sm-* / *\*Som-* IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN TREE- & PLANT-NAMES

The main purpose of this article is to verify the idea that in some tree- & plant-names and names of their parts in various Indo-European languages the prefix *\*sm-/\*som-* can be identified (cf. already Blažek 2001b: 54; Id. 2002: 203). Finally its function is discussed.

1.1. In Greek there is a set of words designating trees & plants or their parts, fruits or products, for which a vacillation *a-/∅* is typical. This phenomenon is frequently classified as the ‘prothetic vowel’ and its origin has been sought in the influence of substratum languages of the Eastern Mediterranean. Let us mention the characteristic examples (mostly after Furnée 1972, 370–74):

with <i>a-</i>	without <i>a-</i>	cognates / etymology
ἄγλις, -ῖθος “Knoblauchkopf” (Ar., Hp.), ἀγλῖδια· σκόροδα (Hesych.)	γέλις, -ῖθος / -ῖδος id. < *γέλις	*gel- > Skt <i>gṛīja(na)</i> - “Art Knoblauch”, Ukr <i>žolá</i> “Erdnuss” (P 357)
ἄκωνα “gelbe Distelart”	κόρυς· κεντρομυρσίνη· Σικελοί (Hesych.)	? Arm <i>kañ</i> “cardoon thistle” (Mann 1984–87: 535)
ἄκρον “Wasser-Schwertlilie / Iris Pseudacorus”, ἄκρος “Kalmus”	‘Libyan’ κύρα· ἀσφόδελος “lilienartige Pflanze, Asphodill” (Ps.-Diosc. 2: 169)	from κόρη “pupil” < κόρυα (so Arcadian, cf. Myc <i>ko-wa</i> )
ἄκρεμών “Ast, Zweig”	κρεμών id. (Eratosthene)	Toch B <i>kremṭya</i> “a plant part” < *krom- (Adams 217)
ἄμωτον· καστάνειον (Age-loch. ap. Ath. 2: 54d)	μότα n. pl. ‘Σαρδιαναι βάλανοι’ (Diosc. 1: 106 codd.)	? cf. μόστινα κάρνα (Ath II, 52b) < *mod-t- (C 181)
ἄσκυρον “Art Johanniskraut / Hypericum” (Diosc., Gal.), ἄσκυροι· βοτάναι τινές (Hesych.)	σκόρον (Nic.)	cf. σκῦρος “Steinsplitter”, Goth <i>skaiuro</i> “Schaufel”, Latv <i>caũrs</i> “hohl ist” (C 41; P 954)
ἄσταφίς “Rosine, getrocknete Weintraube”	σταφίς id., cf. σταφυλή “Weintraube”, στέμφυλα “ausgepresste Oliven oder Trauben”	*steb <sup>h</sup> - : *stemb <sup>h</sup> - > Skt <i>stambhate</i> “stützen”, OIr <i>sab</i> “Schaft, Pfeiler, Stock” (P 1012–13)

with <i>a-</i>	without <i>a-</i>	cognates / etymology
ἄσταχυς "Kornähre"	στάχυς id.	* <i>steng<sup>h</sup></i> - "stechen" > MHG <i>stunge</i> "Stachel" (P 1014f)
ἄστυλις · φυτόν, ὄθεν ὁ ἰξός (Hesych.)	στελις, -ίδος "Mistel / Viscum album"	* <i>stel-</i> "aufstellen" > Arm <i>steln</i> "Stamm, Zweig", OEng <i>stela</i> "Pflanzenstiel" (P 1019)
ἄφάκη, ἄφακος "Wicke / Vicia angustifolia"	φακός "Linse"	Alb <i>bathë</i> "Saubohne" < * <i>b<sup>h</sup>akā</i> (P 106)
ἄχάλιον "Art Malve" (Hipp.)	χλόη, χλοῖη, Doric χλόα "junges Grün, junges Gras"	* <i>ǵ<sup>h</sup>elH-</i> "green" > Lith <i>žolė</i> "Gras, Kraut", <i>želmūō</i> "Pflanze, Sprössling" (P 430)
ἄχύνωψ <sup>1)</sup> "Flohkraut / Plantago Psyllium" (Theophr., Plin.)	κύνωψ "Art Wegerich / Plantago lanceolata", lit. "face of dog"	from κύων "dog", in comp. κυνο-, cf. Gr κυνόγλωσσα "Wegerich" (Diosc. 2, 126; see Detschew 1957, 560)

1.2. In other cases the prefix can be recognized thanks to the external parallels:

with * <i>a-</i> < * <i>sm-</i>	without * <i>sm-</i>
* <i>sm-ǵ<sup>h</sup>rd-</i> > Gr ἄχράς, -άδος f. & * <i>sm-ǵ<sup>h</sup>erd-</i> > ἄχερδος f. "wild pear-tree / Pirus amygdaliformis"; Macedonian ἀγέρ[δ]α · ἄπιος, ὄγξνη (Hesych.)	* <i>ǵ<sup>h</sup>ord-</i> > Alb <i>dardhë</i> "pear(-tree) / Pirus communis"
* <i>sm-pelno-</i> > Gr ἀπελλον · αἰγειρος (Hesych.)	* <i>p<sup>h</sup>no-</i> > Lat adj. <i>pōpulus</i> : <i>pōpulus</i> "poplar" (EM 753); cf. Gr πάλλω "schwingen" (C 31)
* <i>sm-piso-</i> > Gr ἄπιον n. "pear", ἄπιος f. "pear-tree"	* <i>piso-</i> > Lat <i>pirum</i> n., <i>pirus</i> f. id.

1.3. In his careful analysis of the Greek prothesis, Beekes (1969, 23–28) prefers to derive Gr ἄ- by breathe dissimilation (and further generalized) from ἄ- "the same" < \**sm-* = Skt *sa-* "together" rather than from \**ǵ-*, naturally in the case of the words with convincing IE etymologies. This idea can be confirmed by etymons with other apophonic grades of the same root: ἀμαμηλίς & ὀμομηλίς "a tree or shrub with edible fruits", probably "medlar-tree", where in the latter component μῆλον "apple" has been identified (Frisk I, 85). Formally corresponding formation occurs in ὀλόκυρον "Bärlapp, -ohr" (Diosc. 3, 158; see Detschew 1957, 563), where the first component represents ὄλος "ganz, vollständig" (\**sólmo-*).

1.4. Another reflex of the same prefix may be identified in the case of the vocalic anlaut:

with * <i>sm-</i>	without * <i>sm-</i>
* <i>sm-l-</i> > Gr σμίλαξ "yew; Taxus baccata", Arcadian "sp. oak; Quercus ilex"; cf. the variants μίλαξ and μίλος (Frisk II: 749); Myc <i>mi-ra₂</i> < *(σ)μίλνᾱ (Aura Jorro I: 454)	* <i>l-</i> > Macedonian ἰλαξ · α πρίνος, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Μακεδόνες (Hesych.), Lat <i>īlex</i> "holm oak"

with * <i>sm-</i>	without * <i>sm-</i>
* <i>sm-ār-</i> > Gr <i>σημρία</i> : <i>κισσός</i> , <i>Χαλκιδείς</i> (Theophr., Hesych.)	* <i>ar-</i> > Gr <i>ἄρον</i> "Natterwurz, Art Schilfrohr" (Theophr., Diosc.); Lat ( <i>h</i> ) <i>arundō</i> "reed" (EM 425; P 68); Khot <i>āra-</i> "the plant rush"; OI <i>ālu(ka)-</i> "Arum campanulatum", Bihari <i>aruī</i> "Arum colocasia" (Bailey 1979, 22; Adams, EIEC 481: * <i>H<sub>er-</sub></i> )

2. In the Iranian languages the corresponding prefix \**ha(m)-* has also been used in formation of the plant- & tree-names:

with * <i>ha(m)-</i>	without * <i>ha(m)-</i>
* <i>ham-druma-</i> > Khot <i>hamdramā</i> "forest"; the change * <i>-u-</i> > * <i>-a-</i> in ° <i>dramā</i> has an analogy in <i>hamgari</i> "part of body" < * <i>anguri-</i> ~ Vedic <i>aṅgūri-</i> "finger, toe", Baluchi <i>angul</i> , Ossetic Digor <i>ængulzæ</i> "thumb" (Bailey 1979: 454; Abaev I: 161)	Skt <i>druma-</i> (Brāhmaṇa), <i>drumā-</i> (Pāṇini) "tree, plant" (EWAI I: 759) Gr <i>δρυμά</i> pl. "Gehölz, Wald" R <i>drom</i> "Dickicht" < * <i>dr̥m̥b</i> < * <i>drumo-</i> (P 216)
* <i>ham-gaura-</i> > ZorPhl, Pers <i>angūr</i> , Shugni etc. <i>angūrδ</i> "grapes" < Pers dial. <i>angurda</i> (Steblin-Kamenskij 1982: 116–17)	Khot <i>gūra-</i> "grapes", Yidgha <i>γῆρο</i> "cluster of grapes" (Bailey 1979: 87)
* <i>ham-gauza-</i> > Ossetic Iron <i>ængūz</i> , Digor <i>ængožæ</i> "walnut", Munjan <i>āyuzā</i> , Yidgha <i>oγuzo</i> ; cf. also Arm <i>ængoyz</i> id. of Iranian origin (Steblin-Kamenskij 1982, 110)	Pers <i>gōz</i> , Kurd <i>gūz</i> , Pashto <i>γuz</i> "walnut" – from Iran * <i>gauz-</i> : * <i>guz-</i> > Av <i>guzaēta-</i> "er würde verbergen", OPers <i>apa-gaudaya</i> "du sollst vebergen", Sogd <i>pt-γwz</i> "cover", cf. Skt <i>goh-</i> "verbergen, verhüllen" (EWAI I: 502)
* <i>ham-pṛsā</i> > Sarikoli <i>ūmbars/c</i> , Yidgha <i>yovurso</i> , Shugni <i>ambaḫt</i> , Pashto <i>obḫta</i> , Baluchi <i>apūrs</i> id., Tadjik <i>burs</i> "sp. juniper", Pers <i>bors</i> "fruits of the juniper"; besides Iranian * <i>ha-pṛsī</i> (* <i>sm-pṛk̥s-</i> ) f. "juniper" > Avestan <i>hapərəsī</i> id. (Yt. 14.55), etc. (Morgenstierne 1974: 14; Oranskij 1977: 138); cf. also * <i>sm-pṛk̥ā</i> > pre-Gr * <i>ha-parkā</i> > Gr <i>ἄφρακη</i> <sup>1)</sup> f. "an evergreen tree / Arbustus hybrida"; ? * <i>sm-pṛkos</i> > Celtic * <i>sm-(p)rikos</i> > Slavic * <i>smr̥k̥s</i> or * <i>sm̥rk̥s</i> > Cz <i>smrk</i> "spruce", cf. OR <i>sm̥r̥čb</i> "cedar", OChSl <i>sm̥r̥čb</i> "juniper", and SCr <i>smr̥eka</i> "juniper", Sln <i>smr̥eka</i> "pine" (Stalmaszczyk & Witczak 1995: 227–229)	* <i>pṛk̥ā</i> > Gmc * <i>fūr(h)ǣn</i> f. "pine, fir" > OHG <i>forha</i> , OEng <i>furh</i> , Olc <i>fura</i>

In Khotanese there are more plant names where the prefix \**ha(m)-* can be identified: *hamγsā* "plant name" < \**ham-alz-*, *hamārāne* "plant name" < \**ha(m)-māranā-* (or \**ham-āranā-*?; cf. *āra* "reed"), maybe also *hajārmā* "a flower name", *haspye* "nux vomica" (Bailey 1979: 458, 459, 443, 476).

3. There are several promising examples for the plant- & tree-names with the prefix \**sm-* in Albanian:

with * <i>sm̥</i> -	without * <i>sm̥</i> -
* <i>sm̥-porġ</i> - > Alb <i>shpardh</i> m. "oak" (Orel 1998: 427) * <i>sm̥-pġġ</i> - > Gr ἄπαργία "Name einer Pflanze, die ihre Blätter auf der Erde hat"	* <i>pġġ</i> - > Gmc * <i>furka</i> - > Olc <i>forkr</i> "stick, pole"; cf. also Ol <i>parjánya</i> - "rain(cloud), god of rain" < * <i>pe/orġono</i> -; with a semantic parallel in Lith <i>Perkūnas</i> "thunder-god" vs. Lat <i>quercus</i> "oak"
* <i>sm̥-kʰmā</i> > Alb <i>shkurre</i> f. "bush" (Jokl 1963: 121)	* <i>kʰr</i> - > Sl * <i>kъrb</i> > OR <i>kъrb</i> "small forest, bush grown on the place of the cleared forest", Czech <i>keř</i> "bush, shrub"

Jokl (1963, 130) adds Alb *shpat* "Wald; Hang", reconstructing \**sm̥-pot*-, where the base \**pot*- should have been derived from the root \**pet*-, cf. Ol *pátati* "fliegt, senkt sich, fällt", Gr πέτομαι, προπετής "geneigt".

4. Another language using the same prefix can be found in Gaulish:

with * <i>sm̥</i> -	without * <i>sm̥</i> -
* <i>sm̥-arā</i> > Gaulish <i>samara</i> "seed of elm" (Plin. <i>NH</i> 16,72; 17,76)	* <i>ar</i> - > Greek ἄρρα · τὰ Ἡρακλεωτικὰ κάρρα (Hesych.), Alb <i>arrë</i> "Nussbaum" (P 61)
* <i>sm̥-bʰu[ġ]nos</i> (?) > Gaulish (?) * <i>sambukkos</i> ~ * <i>sambunkos</i> > Lat <i>sambūcus</i> ~ <i>sabuncus</i> f. "elder"; cf. Celtic * <i>bugno</i> - > * <i>bukko</i> - "he-goat" > Mlr <i>bocc</i> , Welsh <i>bwch</i> , Cornish <i>boch</i> , Breton <i>bouc'h</i> (P 174)	* <i>bʰuġo</i> - > Sl * <i>bъzb</i> m. "elder" > Bulg <i>băz</i> , OCz <i>bez</i> , gen. <i>bza</i> , OR <i>bozъ</i> etc. maybe from * <i>bʰuġo</i> - "he-goat" (Blažek 2002: 203)
* <i>sm̥-amol</i> - > Celtic * <i>sam-amol</i> - > Gaulish <i>samolus</i> "mistletoe / <i>Samolus valerandi</i> " or "pasque-flower / <i>Anemone pulsatilla</i> " (Plin. <i>NH</i> 24, 103; cf. Holder II, 1346)	* <i>amel</i> - / * <i>amǎ</i> - > Lith <i>āmalas</i> ; <i>emelas</i> & <i>emela</i> "mistletoe", Latv <i>āmul(i)s</i> , <i>amu(o)ls</i> , <i>ģmuols</i> "id., clovel", OPr (EV 646) <i>emelno</i> "Mispel", corr. "Mistel" Sl * <i>omela</i> : * <i>jъmelъje</i> "mistletoe" (Hamp 1971, 254) > Bulg <i>ímel</i> m., <i>ímela</i> f., <i>ímelo</i> n., Sln <i>iměla</i> ~ <i>oměla</i> f., <i>oměje</i> n., OCz <i>jmel</i> m., <i>jmelé</i> n., Ukr <i>omelá</i> , <i>iměla</i> , <i>jamelína</i> f. etc. Dacian <i>amolusta</i> ~ <i>amalusta</i> ~ <i>amulusta</i> "chamomile", 'Etruscan' [Thusci] <i>amulla</i> id. (see Detschew 1957, 543)

5. Some Slavic plant-names usually classified as substratal or with the *s*-mobile may also be included into our set:

with * <i>sm</i> -/* <i>sm̥</i> -/* <i>som</i> -	without * <i>sm</i> -
Sln <i>smléd</i> "Peucedanum oreosel", Cz <i>smldí</i> , - <i>ník</i> "Peucedanum", Pol <i>smlód</i> "Peucedanum album & palustre, Polygonatum multiflorum, Daucus carota", Ukr <i>smovd</i> "Anthriscus silv., Peucedanum, Thalictrum" (Machek 1954: 164) < Sl * <i>s(ъ)mьldь</i> < * <i>sm</i> -/ <i>sm̥</i> -/ <i>m̥ldʰo</i> -	Lith <i>meldà</i> , <i>mėldas</i> , <i>maĩdas</i> "Sumpfung, Teich, Pflanzengruppe", Latv <i>mēdi</i> "Binsen" (F 431); OHG <i>melta</i> , <i>malta</i> , <i>multa</i> "Melde", OSax <i>maldia</i> , OEng <i>melde</i> , OSw <i>mæld</i> , <i>molda</i> id.; cf. Gr μαλαθακός "weich, zart, mild" (P 719)
Sln <i>soržica</i> , Cz <i>souřež</i> , dial. (Morava) <i>sůržica</i> "mixture of rye and wheat", Pol <i>sgr̥życa</i> , R <i>sůržanka</i> , <i>suržik</i> < * <i>sgr̥żь</i> (Machek 1954: 284; Vasmer III: 806)	Sl * <i>rbъzъ</i> "rye" (Vasmer III: 493–94); Lith <i>rugỹs</i> & <i>rugiaĩ</i> , Latv <i>rudzis</i> , Prus <i>rug(g)is</i> "Roggen(-Korn)" (F 745–46); Olc <i>rugr</i> , OEng <i>ryze</i> , OHG <i>rocko</i> "rye"

6. At least one promising example may be identified in Armenian *antaṛ* “forest”, which is derivable from the prefix \*sm- plus *caṛ* “tree” (Džaukjan 1967: 182), etymologized from \*ǵrso- (cf. Gr γάρρα · ῥάβδος Hesych., Oic *kjarr* “bush”; P 392) or as an adaptation of Urartian *zarile* “orchard; thicket” (Džaukjan, l.c.). Let us mention that Bugge (*Etruskisch und Armenisch*, Christiania 1890: 86) speculated about a compound of \*sm- and a derivative of IE \*deru-/\*dreu- (see Saradževa 1981: 163–64).

7. The same can be said about Anatolian, where Palaic *samluwa-*, Luwian *samluwanza-* “apples”, reflecting the root \*samlu- (Starke 1981: 153–54), are derivable via haplology from a compound \*samamlu- and further through assimilation from \*sam-ablu- (Blažek 2001b: 54), cf. Hittite *sankui-* “claw” < \*sananku<sup>o</sup> < \*sm-H<sub>3</sub>ong<sup>h</sup>-u- (Blažek 2001a: 192).

## CONCLUSION

The presented examples confirm the hypothesis formulated in the beginning of this article. The analyzed data allow the following conclusions:

1. The prefix \*sm-/\*sm-//\*som- was productive in formation of tree- & plant-names, their parts and fruits.

2. Its original function was more probably collective than individualizing. An illustrative analogy can be found in German *Gebüsch* : *Busch*, *Gehölz* : *Holz*, where the prefix *Ge-*, if derived from \*kō(m)- “with, together with”, has the same function.

3. The prefix was usable for both the indigenous and borrowed words.

Note: 1) A metathesis of aspiration (cf. Lejeune 1972: 59, §47)?

## ABBREVIATIONS

Alb Albanian; Arm Armenian; Bulg Bulgarian; Cz Czech; Eng English; G German; Gmc Germanic; Goth Gothic; Gr Greek; H High; I Indic; Ic Icelandic; IE Indo-European; Ir Irish; Khot Khotanese; Kurd Kurdic; Lat Latin; Latv Latvian; Lith Lithuanian; Myc Mycenaean; O Old; Pers; Phl Pahlavi; Pol Polish; Pr Prussian; R Russian; SCr Serbo-Croatian; Skt Sanskrit; Sl Slavic; Sln Slovenian; Sogd Sogdian; Sw Swedish; Ukr Ukrainian; Ved Vedic; Zor Zoroastrian.

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