ANCIENT GREEK ΣΙΔΗ AS A BORROWING FROM A PRE-GREEK SUBSTRATUM

The correspondences between Ionic σίδη or σίβδη, Aeolic ξίμβᾱ, Doric (Cyrenaean) σίβδᾱ f. ‘pomegranate, Punica granatum L.’, Boeotian σίδᾱ f. ‘pomegranate (tree and fruit)’, also ‘a water plant, probably water-lily, Nymphaea alba L.’, Attic σίδη f. ‘water-lily’, are carefully discussed in the paper. It is concluded that the words demonstrate certain Pre-Greek features, which cannot be treated as native.

Keywords: Greek Botanical Terminology, Pre-Greek Substrate, Pomegranate

In our article we want to discuss the origin of Greek σίδη f. ‘pomegranate’ and to explain, if possible, its numerous alternative forms and derivatives.

In Greek literary tradition the word σίδη (or Σίδη) appears in four following contexts:

A) as a name of the city;
B) as a female personal name;
C) as a word for pomegranate tree and its fruit;
D) as a word for water plant, similar to pomegranate, attested twice in Theophrastus (HP IV 10.1), most likely the water lily (mentioned among plants of Orchomenus and Egypt). Interestingly, when Theophrastus refers to pomegranates, he consistently uses the synonymous term ῥόᾱ.

In other words, all meanings of the name σίδη / Σίδη can be divided into three main groups: appellatives, toponyms and eponyms. As all nomina propria derive from appellatives, we intend to discuss firstly the Mycenaean evidence, later the attested Greek (or non-Greek) nomina appellativa and finally proper names.
1. Mycenaean evidence.

The personal name *si-da-jo* (KN Dl 947.B; X 7626), perhaps also registered as *jsi-da-jo* (KN Nc 4490; KN Od 562.2), should be read as *Σιδαῖος*, AURA JORRO (1993: 291). This Mycenaean anthroponym may be treated as an ethnic form derived from the place name Σίδη or Σίδαι, CHADWICK–BAUMBACH (1963: 244, 269), though RUIGH (1967: 220) does not exclude a straightforward derivation from the Greek appellative σίδη f. ‘pomegranate’.

The Linear B evidence seems to suggest that the Mycenaean called pomegranates *ro-a /rhoai/*, also *ro-i-ko /rhoiskoi/* in a diminutive form, FORTES FORTES (1984: 8); BARTONEK (2003: 173, 356, 600). The synonymic term σίδα f. ‘pomegranate’ is not attested in the Mycenaean Greek. The personal name *si-da-jo* is hardly a direct indication that the Mycenaean Greeks have known and used the synonymic term in question, though they must have known a Pre-Greek place name called Side or Sidai.

2. Synonymy in the pomegranate terminology: Greek literary evidence.

The problem of two synonymic terms for ‘pomegranate’ is presented by Agatharchides of Cnidus. He gives an anecdote, recounted by Athenaeus (Ath. XIV, 64), about Epaminondas and the Boeotian name σίδα for the pomegranates, see MALINOWSKI (2007: 282–283).

σίδας δ’ ὅτι τὰς ροίας καλοῦσι Βοιωτοὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδης ἐν τῇ ἐννεακαϊδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἑὐρωπικῶν οὖσας γράφει: ᾧμισθητοῖτων Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς περὶ τῆς χώρας ἣν καλοῦσι Σίδας, Ἐπαμινόνδας δικαιωμένος εξάγονης ἐκ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς μεταλαβὼν κεκρυμμένην ρόαν καὶ δείξας ἤρετο τί καλοῦσι τοῦτο. τὸν δ’ εἰπόντων “ῥόαν” “ἄλλα ἡμεῖς, εἴπε, σίδαν” ὁ δὲ τόπος τουτ’ ἔχει τὸ φυτὸν ἐν αὐτῷ πλεῖστον, ἀφ’ οὗ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴληφε προσηγορίαν: καὶ ἐνίκησεν. Μένανδρος δ’ ἐν Αὐτὸν Τιμωρουμένῳ ῥοίδια αὐτὰς ὠνόμασε (…).

But Agatharchides, in the nineteenth book of his History of Europe, tells us that the Boeotians call pomegranates not ροιαί but σίδαι, speaking thus: – “As the Athenians were disputing with the Boeotians about a district which they called Sidae, Epaminondas, while engaged in upholding the claims of the Boeotians, suddenly lifted up in his left hand a pomegranate which he had concealed, and showed it to the Athenians, asking them what they called it, and when they said ροία, ‘But we’, said he, ‘call it σίδα’. And the district bears the pomegranate-tree in great abundance, from which it originally derived its name. And Epaminondas prevailed”’. And Menander, in his Heauton-Timorumenos, called them ῥοίδια (…). Translated into English by YONGE (1854: 1041).
On the basis of Agatharchides’ anecdote it seems obvious that two different names for ‘pomegranate’ was used in Boeotia and Attica. The observed synonymy was well known in the entire Hellenic world. Numerous equivalents of the Boeotian name are attested in the Ancient Greek lexicons and Greek dialects.

2.1. The homonymic water plant (Boeotian σίδᾱ, Attic σίδη).

In his discussion on pomegranate Athenaeus (Ath. XIV, 64) informs us that the name σίδα denotes also a water plant.

There is, however, another plant called sida, which is something like the pomegranate, and which grows in the lake [near] Orchomenus, in the water itself; and the sheep eat its leaves, and the pigs feed on the young shoots, as Theophrastus tells us, in the fourth book of his treatise on Plants; where he says that there is another plant like it in the Nile, which grows without any roots.

The plant from Orchomenus is identified with nenuphar (Nymphaea alba L.), and the one from the Nile with lotus (Nymphaea lotus L.). It is worth emphasizing that in his work History of Plants (IV 10.1–4) Theophrastus of Eresus, the well known scholar and writer, uses the term σίδη to denote exclusively the water lily, mentioned in the list of plants of the lake Copais. When he mentions pomegranates, he uses the word ῥόα. Also Hesychios of Alexandria registers a water plant in Egypt called σίδη, referring to Theophrastus as an authority (cf. σίδη ὁ Θεόφραστος φυτὸν ἔτερον τῆς ῥοιᾶς φησιν ἐνὶ τῷ Νείλῳ “side - Theophrastus says that a plant, different from the pomegranate, growing in the Nile”).

3. Ancient Greek lexical evidence.

[A] Boeotian σίδᾱ f. ‘pomegranate’, also ‘a water plant, probably water-lily, Nymphaea alba L.’ (Ath. XIV 64); Attic σίδη f. ‘water-lily’ (Thphr., HP IV 10.1–4) seems a probable borrowing from Boeotian.

[B] Ionic σίδη f. ‘a pomegranate tree and fruit’, Lidell–Scott 1996: 1385–1386); see also σίδαι ῥοιαί (Hsch., σ-590). The East Ionic term σίδη is reflected in the Modern Greek dialects of Pontus and Cappadocia (see
below, 2.5.1.). Athenaeus (Ath. XIV 64) says that the term σίδη denoting ‘pomegranate’ was unknown in Attica.

[C] Doric (Sicilian) σιδέα f. ‘a pomegranate tree’. The Doric form *σιδᾶ seems to be confirmed by loanwords attested in the South Italian dialects (see below, 2.5.2).

[D] dial. σιλβαί · ῥοιάι (Hsch., σ-634). Though the term σιλβά (or σιλβη) f. ‘pomegranate’ is not quoted in preserved texts of the Ancient Greek literature, strong reflexes of it are attested in some dialects of Modern Greek (see below, 2.5.3.). Also the derivative form σιλβία · σιδία (Hsch., σ-635) ‘pomegranate peels’ should be taken into account.

[E] Doric (Cyrenaean) σιβδᾶ f. ‘pomegranate’ (Call., Dian. 28; Fernández-Galiano 1980: 581); see also σιβδαι · ῥοιάι (Hsch., σ-567). Ionic (dial.) σιβδη is also attested.


[G] Greek dial. (perhaps Cretan?) ρίμβα f. ‘great pomegranate’. It appears exclusively in the Hesychian glossary: ρίμβαι · ῥοιάι μεγάλαι. ἄμεινον δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ξ ξιμβαί (Hsch., ρ-324). The change of ξ- to ρ- is suggested by some scholars for a Cretan dialect1. However, the evidence is far from being conclusive, as the only one example may be submitted, namely Cretan Greek ρυστόν · δόρυ. Κρῆτες (< Gk. Hom. χυστόν ‘spear, lance’, orig. ‘the polished shaft of a spear’, Brown (1985: 83).

[H] the term κυσήγη f. ‘pomegranate’ is attested in the Hesychian glossary with no ethnic designation, cf. κυσήγη · ῥοιά (Hsch., κ-4730). Its resemblance to the Albanian term shegë f. ‘pomegranate’ is so obvious that it cannot be treated as an incorrect gloss. It is unclear whether Hesychian κυσήγη was used by a Greek tribe or a non-Greek population. The most probable conclusion is that κυσήγη should be regarded as a straightforward ancestor of Alb. shegë.

Ancient Greek derivatives:

[a] σίδιον n. ‘pomegranate peel or grain’ (usually in pl. σίδια); σίδια · τὰ τῶν ῥοιῶν λέπυρα ‘peels of the pomegranate fruits’ (Hsch., σ-598); σιδίω · κόκκοι ῥοᾶς dat. sg. ‘grain of a pomegranate fruit’ (Hsch., σ-599).

1 Schmidt (1861: 429) adds in his comment on ρίμβαι: “Cf. ξιμβαί. Creticum est, vide ρυστόν”. Brown (1985: 83) rejects this interpretation on the basis of the following observations: firstly, “the Cretan ρυστόν is a derivative of ἔρωτον”; secondly, “the development ξ- → ρ- is scarcely credible on phonological grounds”; thirdly, “there is no other independent evidence of such a change”. Finally Brown (1985: 83) concludes that “there is nothing to connect either word with Crete”.
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[384x588]

[82x559]

[120x559]σίβδια

·

σίδια

(Hsch., σ-567);

[c] dial. σίλβια · σίδια (Hsch., σ-635);


[e] dial. στίδιον · κόκκος ροϊᾶς ‘grain of a pomegranate fruit’ (Hsch., σ-1855);


[g] σιδόεις, -εσσα adj. ‘of the pomegranate’.

Two Hesychian glosses [h] σίλβη · εἶδος πέμματος (ἐκ) κριθῆς, σησάμης καὶ μήκωνος ‘kind of cakes of barley, sesame and poppy’ (Hsch., σ-634) and [i] σιβληθρα · πόπανα τὰ περικεκνισμένα (Hsch., σ-569) should be separated from the Greek names for ‘pomegranate’. They have nothing to do with pomegranate fruits. According to NEUMANN (1961: 98), the two Hesychian glosses in question represent an Anatolian ingredient in the Ancient Greek vocabulary, cf. Hittite šiluḫa ‘kind of a cake’ with two scribal variants šiluwa and šiliuwa ‘id.’. BEEKES (2010: 1330) comments as follows: “If cognate, it is clearly a loanword or a Pre-Greek word. Yet the -β- of σίλβη is difficult to reconcile with the Hittite forms”. However, it is obvious that the Greek letter -β- renders the Anatolian phoneme *w [u].


To the best of our knowledge, some visible traces of the Ancient Greek terminology for ‘pomegranate’, discussed above, may be distinguished in the Modern Greek dialects.


4.2. There are numerous loanwords in the Italian dialects: Salentian sída, sita, seta; Tarentian seta; Old Baresse sede, seida; Barese seta, saita, seita f. ‘melagrana’, Brindisian setúddu ‘fiore di melagrano’, SICCA (1924: 197); ROHLS (1964: 454–455). All the Italian forms go back to Doric *σιδά f. ‘pomegranate’.

4.3. Pontic σιλβά ‘eine Pflanze mit roten Früchten an der Blättern’, Samian το σιλβί ‘Pappel’, Rhodian (PN) οι Σίρβες, Chian (PN) η Σίρβα, ANDRIOTIS (1974: 492, No. 5351). The Greek scholar derives these appellatives and place-names from Ancient Greek σιλβα f. ‘pomegranate’. 
5. Place and personal names.

The place names derived from the appellative σίδη f. ‘pomegranate’ are registered not only in the Continental Greece, but also in Asia Minor and islands. As early as in 1921 J. Huber listed a number of Pre-Greek toponyms derived from a substratal term for ‘pomegranate’:

„σίβδη, σίδη, granatum, quo in Asia Minore, Graecia, Africa nascitur. Ex hac arbore Σίβδα urbs Cariae, Σίδη urbs Pamphyliae et Laconiae, Σιδήνη urbs Troadae, Σιδήλη urbs Ioniae appellatae sunt”, HUBER (1921: 22).

The following toponyms are registered in the ancient sources²:

1) Side (Sida), a city and port in Laconia; combined with Etis and Aphrodias in one federation named Boias (Paus. III 22, 11).
2) Side, a place name in Lamia-Hypata (Phthia).
3) Side, a town in Pamphylia, on the coast between Melas and Eurymedon (Stad. 214, 215; St.Byz., s.v. Σιδη), founded by the Cumaeans (Scyl. 101; Str. XIV 668; Arr., An. I 26);
4) Side, a town on the coast of Pontus (Str. XII, 3, 16), also named P lemonion (today Fatsa in province Ordu);
5) Side (ἡ Σιδη), a town in Troad, connected with Achilles (Apollog., Epit. 3, 33).
6) Sidai (αἱ Σίδαι), a territory in the Southern Boeotia near Attica’s border (Ath. XIV 560), called after the pomegranates growing there in great abundance, BENSELER (1884: 1383); MALINOWSKI (2007: 283).
7) Sibda (ἡ Σιβδα), a town in Caria (St.Byz.). BENSELER (1884: 1379) gives correctly the meaning ‘Granaten’, referring to the Hesychian gloss: σίβδαι · ῥοιαί (Hsch., σ-567).
8) Sidade (ἡ Σιδάκη), a town in Lycia (St.Byz.). The relation to the ( Ionic Greek) lexeme σίδη f. ‘pomegranate’ is suggested by BENSELER (1884: 1383).
9) Sidele (ἡ Σιδήλη), a town in Ionia (Hecataeus of Miletus in St.Byz.).
10) Sidene (ἡ Σιδήνη), a town in Lycia (Xanthos in St.Byz.).
11) Sidene, a town in Troas upon the river Granikos (Str. XIII).
12) Sidene, a town in Pontus, probably identical with Side (4).
13) Sidenos (ὁ Σιδηνός), a river in Pontus near the town Side/Sidene.
14) Sidous (Σίδοῦς), a village between Korinthos and Megara (St.Byz.).
15) Sidous (Σίδους), a village in Ionia near Klazomenai (St.Byz.).
16) Sidous (Σίδους), a village in Ionia near Erythraea (St.Byz.).
17) Sidous (Σίδους), a place in Pamphylia (St.Byz.).

² This list was made on the basis of Benseler’s lexicon, BENSELER (1884: 1379–1383), and entries in WISSOWA (1923: 2208–2210), s.v. Side.
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18) Sidousa (Σίδουσα), a town in Ionia (Hecataeus of Miletus in St.Byz.), perhaps identical with Sidous 15. It cannot be excluded that the same botanic motivation (‘pomegranate tree’) appears in the following place names located in Asia Minor:

19) Sidyma (τὰ Σίδυμα), a town in Lycia (Alexander in St.Byz.).

20) Singua (ἡ Σίγγυα), a town in Pamphylia (St.Byz.). The name in question seems to refer to the Pamphylian town Side. Is it a native (Sidetic?) name of the town Side?

21) Sinda (ἡ Σίνδα), a town in Pisidia (Str. XII; XIII).

22) Sindia (ἡ Σινδία), a town in Lycia (Hecataeus in St.Byz.).

Albert Carnoy suggests an Anatolian origin of the Greek appellatives for ‘pomegranate’ on the basis of numerous place names located in Caria, Troad, Pontus, Ionia and Pamphylia. He says as follows:


It is worth emphasizing that the place-names Σιδοῦς (< PGk. *Σιδόϝεντ-) and Σίδουσα, earlier Σιδοῦσσα (< *Σιδόϝεσσα < PGk. *Σιδό-ϝεντια) located in Continental Greece seem to represent a purely Hellenic creation, so e.g. HEUBECK (1960: 6); CARNOY (1961: 193), containing a substrate element in the root. OTKYPIIKOV (1975: 272 = 2001: 159) emphasizes that the Ancient Greek place names on -εσσα were inseparably connected with the Pre-Greek substrate (“древнегреческие топонимы на -εσσα были неразрывно связаны с догреческим субстратом”). He demonstrates clearly that the Lydian town Σιδοῦσσα, whose name is motivated by the Greek appellative σίδη f. ‘pomegranate’, cannot be separated from other toponyms with the Pre-Greek suffixes -ηνά, -ηλα and -υμα, e.g. PN Σιδήνη (Lycia, Troas), Σιδήλη (Ionia) and Σίδομα (Lycia), OTKYPIIKOV (1975: 274–277 = 2001: 160–163; 2001a: 291).

It is obvious that the substrate place names denoting ‘pomegranate (tree and fruit)’ are distributed in Asia Minor, as well as in the Continental Greece.
6. A survey of opinions on the origin of Greek σίδη.

Wharton (1890: 113) connects Gk. σίδη (also σίβδα) f. ‘pomegranate, water-lily’ with NPers. sīb ‘apple’. It is unclear whether — according to Wharton — the Greek term is etymologically related to the Persian term or it is borrowed from the Persian language. It should be added that Justi (1880: 18) derives the Iranian terms (NPers. seb, sev ‘apple’, Kurd. sev, sīv ‘id.’) as borrowings from Hindi seb ‘apple’ (< Sanskrit sēvi- n. ‘fruit of Zizyphus jujuba, apple’).3

Prellwitz (1892: 284) believes that Gk. σίβδη, σίδη f. ‘pomegranate’ represents a Carian borrowing. He compares it with Alb. shegë f. ‘pomegranate’ and NPers. sēb, sēv ‘apfel’. The Carian origin of the Greek lexical bunch was also suggested by Hehn (1902: 244).

Meyer (1902: 24) claims the non-Greek origin of the σίδη/σίβδη lexical bunch (“Ohne Zweifel ungriechischer Ursprungs”).

In his work on the earliest inhabitants of Greece Huber (1921: 22) gives a short reference to the pomegranate trees (and fruits), whose names have been borrowed by the Greek newcomers from a non-Greek substrate. He indicates also a number of Pre-Greek place names derived from the term σίδη.

In his earlier works Carnoy (1955: 62; 1955a) explained σίδη as a Pelasgian word, deriving it from the Indo-European root *sweid- ‘to sweat’. Hester (1965: 364) believes that the Pelasgian origin appears to be doubtful for phonological reasons (“no change of *d > τ”). That is why Hester prefers an “Asianic” origin of σίδη.

In his etymological dictionary of the Greek plant names Carnoy (1959: 243) expresses a different hypothesis than an alleged Pelasgian etymology. According to his new opinion, the Greek term σίδη/σίβδη seems to represent a loanword taken from an oriental Indo-European source (cf. NPers. sēb). He tries to derive the attested Greek forms from the Indo-European archetype *seip-dhē, explaining that “[l]a finale dhē se trouve dans divers mots indo-européens. Quant à la racine seip, elle signifie : « découluer, suinter », ce qui convient bien à la grenade dont on suc le jus”, Carnoy

3 An opposite direction of borrowing is suggested by Turner (1966: 786), who derives Sanskrit sēvi-, sēva-, sēvita- n. ‘fruit of Zizyphus jujuba, apple’ (lex.) from an Iranian source. In his opinion, most Modern Indic terms (including Panjabi seb, Hindi seb m., Oriya seba, Gujarati seb, sep n. ‘apple’) should be treated as direct loanwords from Persian sēb ‘apple’. Only Panjabi se f. ‘apple’, dial. ‘fruit of Prosopis spicifera’ (also seū ber m. ‘a grafted Zizyphus jujuba’, seun f. ‘id.’), Oriya seu, seo ‘apple’, Nepali seu, syau ‘apple’ and Marathi śev f. ‘name of a fruit tree’, n. ‘its fruit’, may represent straightforward reflexes of Skt. sevi-, Turner (1966: 786).
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BRANDENSTEIN (1958: 86–87) analyses the place name Side in Pamphylia, as well as the related Greek appellatives for ‘pomegranate’. He concludes that all the forms attested in Ancient Greek can be derived from the non-Greek archetype *śintwa. NEUMANN (1962: 210–211) prefers to derive Gk. σίδη and σίβδη from the protoform *sibdā. They do not take into account a possible Pamphylian (Sidetic?) variant Σίγγα (= Gk. Ionic Σίδη).

DRESSLER (1965: 186) discusses the Pamphylian change of the intervocalic dental stop δ [d] to ρ [r], indicating that the Pamphylian place name Σίδη contained originally a consonantal cluster and not one intervocalic phoneme [d]. He hesitates, however, whether the Greek term σίβδη, σίδη f. ‘pomegranate’ derives from *sibd- (as suggested by NEUMANN 1962) or *śintw- (as BRANDENSTEIN (1958) claimed on the basis of the Aeolic gloss in the Hesychian lexicon: ξίμβαι · ῥοιαί. Αἰολεῖς).

FRISK (1962: 702–703) believes that the Greek word in question, as well as Alb. shegë ‘Granatapfel’, should be treated as a borrowing of unknown origin (“Unerklärtes Fremdwort”).

The substratal origin of the Greek term for ‘pomegranate’ is claimed by FURNÉE (1972: 286), who indicates a number of Pre-Greek features, attested in the preserved forms denoting ‘pomegranate’:

1. A nasalization (“Nasalierung”), e.g. ξίμβα, ξίμβρα versus σίβδα, σίδη.
3. A secondary dental stop (“der sekundäre Dental”), e.g. σίβδα, σίδη.
4. A development of δ into ρ (“der Lautwandel von δ […] zu ρ”), e.g. σίβδα versus ξίμβα, cf. also BEEKES (2010: XXVIII).
5. An epenthesis of λ (“die Variante […] mit epenthetischen λ”), e.g. σίλβα.

In his etymological dictionary of the Greek language CHANTRAINE (1974: 766) treats Aeolic ξίμβαι f. pl. ‘pomegranates’ as word of obscure origin, perhaps a loan word (“obscure, p.-ê. mot d’emprunt”). Having accepted Chantraine’s opinion, SZEMERÉNYI (1977: 5) indicates that the Aeolic appellative ξίμβα f. ‘pomegranate’ cannot be separated from the pair σίδη = σίβδη f. ‘id.’. He gives a reference to BRANDENSTEIN’S (1958: 86–87) and
Dressler’s (1965: 186) papers. After Szemerényi the same opinion is repeated by Papanastassiou (1994: 36), s.v. ξίμβαι.

Chantraine (1977: 1002) explains the σίδη family of words as a loanword (“Emprunt”), adding that the observed variation -βδ-, -δ-, -λβ- points clearly to a non-Greek source. He registers Ancient Greek lexical data, adding a valuable form, namely ψίδιον ‘pomegranate peel’ (Alexander Trallianus) = σίδιον n. ‘id.’, usually in pl. σίδια, σίβδια and σίλβια ‘pomegranate peels’. The initial alternation ψ- [ps-] vs. σ- [s-] seems to demonstrate a sixth (6) feature typical of Pre-Greek substrate. Also Otkupshchikov (1988: 127) emphasizes that the Carian place name Σίβδα (= ap. σίβδα ‘pomegranate’) contains the cluster -βδ-, which is foreign in the Greek language.

Under the heading σίδη Beekes (2010: 1329) mentions the related by-forms σίβδη and (Aeolian) ξίμβα, as well as to Alb. shegë f. ‘pomegranate’. After Brandenstein and Furnée he reconstructs the protoform *σιϝδ- for σίβδη and strongly argues that “the group is Pre-Greek”. On the other hand, Beekes treats the Hesychian gloss ρίμβαι · ρόιαι μεγάλαι. ἀμείνον δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ξ ξίμβα (Hsch., ρ-324) as “unclear”.

7. The analysis of a Pre-Greek family of words.

In his controversial book on the Pre-Greek substrate Furnée (1972) demonstrated numerous Pre-Greek features which appear in abundance in the analyzed family of the Greek words denoting ‘pomegranate’. His observations and conclusions were also supported by other researchers, including Chantraine, Otkupshchikov and Beekes (2010: XIII–XLII).

The analysis of the preserved evidence let us to reach the following conclusions:

1. The Modern Greek lexical evidence demonstrates clearly that most Ancient Greek forms can be hardly treated as fictitious.

2. The Albanian term for ‘pomegranate’, shegë, as well as the Hesychian gloss κυσήγη · ροιά (Hsch., κ-4730), cannot be separated from the attested Ancient Greek forms: (Ionic) σίδη, (Boetian) σίδα, (Cyrenaean Doric) σίβδα, (Aeolian) ξίμβα and numerous glosses registered in the Hesychian lexicon, e.g. σίλβαι · ροιαί (Hsch., σ-634). The Albanian form is considered to be a loanword like Greek σίδη, Boisacq (1950: 864).

3. The Albanian phoneme -g- and the Greek consonant -β- (preserved in most attested forms) seem to document a labiovelar voiced stop *gʷ. This labiovelar stop was accompanied (usually preceded⁴) by an undefined.

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⁴ The attested cluster -βδ- may represent the original consonantal group -δβ- (< *-dgʷ-).
substrate phoneme [C], which was identified by the Greeks as a dental [D], liquid [L] or nasal [N].

4. The Aeolian Greek forms denoting ‘great pomegranate’ seem to contain an augmentative prefix *kʷ(u)-, which appears to be recognized in the form κυσήγη and Alb. shegē f. ‘pomegranate’.

5. All these variants indicate that the discussed term for ‘pomegranate’ cannot be a purely Hellenic word. Modifications in the middle consonant may suggest that the prototype is a Pre-Greek appellative containing an original sound [C], which was difficult to identify to the Greeks. It was adapted as a voiced dental stop [D] or a liquid [L] or a nasal [N] in Ancient Greek.

6. All the attested Ancient and Modern Greek forms can be reconstructed as *siCgʷā f. ‘pomegranate’ or *kʷ(μ)-siCgʷā f. ‘great pomegranate’.

7. Different reflexes of [C] explain attested forms and derivatives, e.g.
   - C = dental *siDgʷā > *sibdā > sibdā > sidā → sibdion, sidion, psidion;
   - C = liquid *siLgʷā > silbā → silbion;
   - C = nasal *kʷu-siNgʷā > *kʷsimbā > ksmbā > rhimbā.

Our analysis of the attested Ancient and Modern Greek forms can be summarized as follows:

Table 1: Pomegranate in Greek

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Greek Variants</th>
<th>Greek Forms</th>
<th>Attestations in Greek dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>D</strong> = a dental consonant</td>
<td><em>sibdā</em>, secondarily <em>sidā</em> (PGk. <em>sidgʷā</em>)</td>
<td>Ionic and Attic σίδη f., dial. σίβδη ‘a pomegranate tree and fruit’, also ‘a water plant’; Doric (Cyrenaen) σιβδā f. ‘pomegranate’ (CALL., Dian. 28); Boeotian σιδᾶ f. ‘pomegranate’, also ‘a water plant, probably water-lilly, Nymphaea alba L.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>L</strong> = a labial consonant</td>
<td><em>silbā</em> (PGk. <em>silgʷā</em>)</td>
<td>Pamphylia (?) σύλβα f.; East Doric (?) σύλβā f.;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong> = a nasal consonant</td>
<td><em>(k)simbā</em> (PGk. <em>[kʷ]singʷā</em>)</td>
<td>Aeolic ξύμβα f. ‘a (great) pomegranate’ dial. (?) ρίμβα f. ‘id.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hesychian glosses (basic words)

| σίβδαι · ῥοιαί (Hsch., σ-567); σίδαι · ῥοιαί (Hsch., σ-590) | σύλβαι · ῥοιαί (Hsch., σ-634) | ξύμβαι · ροιαί. Αἰολεῖς (Hsch., ξ-68); ρίμβαι · ροιαί μεγάλαι. ἄμεινον δὲ δία τοῦ Ξ ξύμβαι (Hsch., ρ-324) |

A similar development is attested in Gk. τίπτε ‘what, why’ < *τίπτε < ie. *kʷid-pe, cf. Lat. quippe.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Greek Variants</th>
<th><em>siDg</em>&lt;sup&gt;ā&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th><em>siLg</em>&lt;sup&gt;ā&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th><em>siNg</em>&lt;sup&gt;ā&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hesychian glosses (derivatives)</td>
<td>σῑβδία · σῐδία (Hsch., σ-567) ‘pomegranate peels’, also σίδια τά τῶν ῥοϊῶν λέ-πυρα. σίδαι γάρ αἱ ῥοιαί. τίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων χλωρόν (Hsch., σ-598)</td>
<td>σῑβδία · σίδια (Hsch., σ-635) ‘pomegranate peels’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Greek forms</td>
<td>Pontic σίδη, Cappadocian σίτη (in Sinasos), το σίδι (in Pharasa); Kerkyrian το σίδι ‘Weide, Weidenbaum’</td>
<td>Pontic (in Chaldia) σιλβά ‘eine Pflanze mit roten Früchten an der Blättern’; Samian το σιλβί ‘Pappel’; Rhodian (PN) οί Σίρβες; Chian (PN) η Σίρβα</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign forms</td>
<td>LW in the Italian dialects: Salent. sīda, sīta, sēta; Tarentian sēta; Bar. sēta, saita, sētta f. ‘melagrana’, Brind. sētūdu ‘fiore di melagrano’ &lt; West Doric *siðō f. ‘pomegranate’</td>
<td>Bessan (?) κυσήγη · ροία (Hsch., κ-4730); Albanian shegë f. ‘pomegranate’ &lt; *siCgā Cf. also Pamphylia place name Σίγγυα (= Gk. Σίδη)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Bibliography:**


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