

Witczak, Krzysztof Tomasz; Zadka, Małgorzata

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KRZYSZTOF TOMASZ WITCZAK

(UNIVERSITY OF ŁÓDŹ)

MAŁGORZATA ZADKA

(UNIVERSITY OF WROCLAW)

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

The correspondences between Ionic σίδη or σιβδη, Aeolic ζίμβᾱ, Doric (Cyrenaean) σίβδᾱ f. 'pomegranate, Punica granatum L.', Boeotian σιδᾱ 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 synonymic 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 DI 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 Σίδαί, CHADWICK–BAUMBACH (1963: 244, 269), though RUIJGH (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); BARTONĚK (2003: 173, 356, 600). The synonymic term σιδᾶ 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 σιδᾶ for the pomegranates, see MALINOWSKI (2007: 282–283).

σιδας δ' ὅτι τὰς ροιάς καλοῦσι Βοιωτοὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδης ἐν τῇ ἔννεακαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Εὐρωπαϊκῶν οὕτως γράφει: ‘ἀμφισβητούντων Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς περὶ τῆς χώρας ἦν καλοῦσι Σίδας, Ἐπαμινόνδας δικαιολογούμενος ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς μεταλαβὼν κεκρυμμένην ρόαν καὶ δεῖξας ἤρετο τί καλοῦσι τοῦτο. τῶν δ' εἰπόντων “ρόαν” “ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, εἶπε, σιδαν” ὁ δὲ τόπος τοῦτ' ἔχει τὸ φυτὸν ἐν αὐτῷ πλεῖστον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴληφε προσηγορίαν: καὶ ἐνίκησεν. Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Αὐτὸν Τιμωρουμένῳ ροῖδια αὐτὰς ὠνόμασεν (...).

But Agatharchides, in the nineteenth book of his *History of Europe*, tells us that the Boeotians call pomegranates not ροιάι but σίδαί, 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 ροιά, ‘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 ροῖδια (...). 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 *σίδα*, Attic *σίδη*).

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

λέγεται δέ τι καὶ φυτὸν σίδη ὁμοίον ροιᾷ, γινόμενον ἐν τῇ περὶ Ὀρχομενὸν λίμνῃ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ὕδατι, οὗ τὰ μὲν φύλλα τὰ πρόβατα ἐσθίει, τὸν δὲ βλαστὸν αἱ ὕες, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος ἐν τετάρτῳ περὶ φυτῶν, γίνεσθαι λέγων κἀν τῷ Νείλῳ ὁμόνυμόν τι αὐτῇ ἄνευ ριζῶν.

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.

Translated into English by YONGE (1854: 1041).

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 *ρόα*. Also Hesychios of Alexandria registers a water plant in Egypt called *σίδη*, referring to Theophrastus as an authority (cf. *σίδη* · Θεόφραστος φυτὸν ἕτερον τῆς ροιᾶς φησιν εἶναι τὴν σίδην, φύεσθαι δὲ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ “*side* - Theophrastus says that a plant, different from the pomegranate, growing in the Nile”).

3. Ancient Greek lexical evidence.

[A] Boeotian *σίδα* 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’, LIDDELL–SCOTT 1996: 1385–1386); see also *σίδαι* · *ροιαί* (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. σίλβαι · ροιαί (Hsch., σ-634). Though the term σίλβᾶ (or σίλβη) 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 σίλβια · σίδια (Hsch., σ-635) ‘pomegranate peels’ should be taken into account.

[E] Doric (Cyrenaean) σιβδᾶ f. ‘pomegranate’ (Call., *Dian.* 28; FERNANDEZ-GALIANO 1980: 581); see also σιβδαί · ροιαί (Hsch., σ-567). Ionic (dial.) σιβδη is also attested.

[F] Aeolic ξίμβα f. ‘(great) pomegranate’, CHANTRAINE (1974: 766): “obscure, p.-ê. mot d’emprunt”. The Aeolic appellative is attested twice in the Hesychian glossary: ξίμβαι · ροιαί. Αιολεῖς (Hsch., ξ-68); ρίμβαι · ροιαί μεγάλοι. ἄμεινον δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ξ ξίμβαι (Hsch., ρ-324).

[G] Greek dial. (perhaps Cretan?) ρίμβα f. ‘great pomegranate’. It appears exclusively in the Hesychian glossary: ρίμβαι · ροιαί μεγάλοι. ἄμεινον δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ξ ξίμβαι (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 ῥυστόν · δόρυ. Κρήτες (‘spear, pike, the shaft of a spear’) < Gk. Hom. ζυστόν ‘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 · ροία (Hsch., κ-4730). Its resemblance to the Albanian term *shëgë* 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. *shëgë*.

Ancient Greek derivatives:

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

¹ SCHMIDT (1861: 429) adds in his comment on ρίμβαι: “Cf. ξίμβαι. *Creticum est, vide ῥυστόν*”. BROWN (1985: 83) rejects this interpretation on the basis of the following observations: firstly, “the Cretan ῥυστόν is a derivative of ἐρύω”; 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”.

- [b] dial. σίβδια · σίδια (Hsch., σ-567);
 [c] dial. σίλβια · σίδια (Hsch., σ-635);
 [d] dial. ψίδιον n. ‘pomegranate peel’, Alex. Trall.; CHANTRAINE (1977: 1002).
 [e] dial. στίδιον · κόκκος ροιᾶς ‘grain of a pomegranate fruit’ (Hsch., σ-1855);
 [f] σίδειος adj. ‘of the pomegranate’; LIDDELL– SCOTT (1996: 1386).
 [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] σίβληθρα · 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 [w].

4. Modern Greek evidence.

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.

4.1. Pontic σίδη, Cappadocian σίτη (in Sinasos), το σίδι (in Pharasa), Kerkyrian το σίδι ‘Weide, Weidenbaum’, ANDRIOTIS (1974: 492, No. 5347). The Pontic and Cappadocian appellatives seem to represent Ionic σίδη ‘pomegranate’.

4.2. There are numerous loanwords in the Italian dialects: Salentian *sída*, *síta*, *sèta*; Tarentian *sèta*; Old Barese *sede*, *seida*; Barese *sètə*, *saitə*, *sèitə* f. ‘melagrana’, Brindisian *setúddu* ‘fiore di melagrano’, SICCA (1924: 197); ROHLFS (1964: 454–455). All the Italian forms go back to Doric *σίδᾶ f. ‘pomegranate’.

4.3. Pontic σίλβᾶ ‘eine Pflanze mit roten Früchten an der Blättern’, Samian το σίλβι ‘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 σίλβα 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 Pamphyliæ 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 Aphrodisias 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. Σίδη), 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 Pol-emonion (today *Fatsa* in province Ordu);
- 5) **Side** (ή Σίδη), a town in Troad, connected with Achilles (Apollod., *Epit.* 3, 33).
- 6) **Sidai** (αι 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** (ή Σίβδα), a town in Caria (St.Byz.). BENSELER (1884: 1379) gives correctly the meaning ‘Granaten’, referring to the Hesychian gloss: σίβδαι · ῥοταί (Hsch., σ-567).
- 8) **Sidake** (ή 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** (ή Σιδήλη), a town in Ionia (Hecataeus of Miletus in St.Byz.).
- 10) **Sidene** (ή 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** (Σιδουός), a village between Korinthos and Megara (St.Byz.).
- 15) **Sidous** (Σιδουός), a village in Ionia near Klazomenai (St.Byz.).
- 16) **Sidous** (Σιδουός), a village in Ionia near Erythraea (St.Byz.).
- 17) **Sidous** (Σιδουός), 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**.

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:

“Le **grenadier** (σίδη, σίβδη) porte un nom d’origine anatolienne et, de fait, il apparaît dans un nom de ville carien: Σίδυμα et dans Σιδήνη en Troade, Σίδη en Pamphylie et Σιδηνός rivière du Pont, mais il existe aussi dans des collectives de la Grèce: Σιδοῦς, fortin sur l’île de Corinthe et endroit près de Clazomène, Σιδοῦσσα, fortin près d’Erythrée, Σιδήλη ville d’Ionie”, CARNOY (1959a: 226).

It is worth emphasizing that the place-names Σιδοῦς (< PGk. *Σιδό-φεντ-ς) and Σίδουσα, earlier Σιδοῦσσα (< *Σιδόφρессα < PGk. *Σιδό-φεντια) 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. ОТКУПЩИКОВ (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 -ηνᾶ, -ηλᾶ and -υμα, e.g. PN Σιδήνη (Lycia, Troas), Σιδήλη (Ionia) and Σίδυμα (Lycia), ОТКУПЩИКОВ (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*, *siv* ‘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 “Asiatic” 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 : « découler, suinter », ce qui convient bien à la grenade dont on suce 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).

(1959: 243). As regards the Aeolic form ξίμβρα, he explains it as a nasalized form: “C’est une variante nasalisée de *sibdē* empruntée à un autre idiome du proche orient”, CARNOY (1959: 273). In a different work the Belgian scholar suggests an Anatolian origin of the Greek appellatives for ‘pomegranate’ on the basis of numerous place names located in Caria, Troas, Pontus, Ionia and Pamphylia, CARNOY (1959a: 226).

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 **sintwa*. 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 Σίγγρα (= 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 **sintw-* (as BRANDENSTEIN (1958) claimed on the basis of the Aeolic gloss in the Hesychian lexicon: ξίμβραι · ροιαί. Αιολεῖς).

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. ξίμβρα, ξίμβρα versus σίβδα, σίδη.
- (2) An alternation between [ks] und [s] (“Wechsel zwischen ξ und σ”), e.g. ξίμβρα, ξίμβρα versus σίβδα, σίδη, cf. also BEEKES (2010: XXVI).
- (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 ξίμβρα, 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 ξίμβραι 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 ξίμβρα 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 ОТКУПЩИКОВ (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) ξίμβαι, as well as to Alb. *shegë* f. 'pomegranate'. After Brandenstein and Furnée he reconstructs the protoform *σιφδ- for σίβδη and strongly argues that "the group is Pre-Greek". On the other hand, Beekes treats the Hesychian gloss ῥίμβαι · ῥοιαὶ μεγάλαι. ἄμεινον δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ξ ξίμβαι (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 · ῥοιά (Hsch., κ-4730), cannot be separated from the attested Ancient Greek forms: (Ionic) σίδη, (Boetian) σιδᾶ, (Cyrenaean Doric) σίβδᾶ, (Aeolian) ξίμβαι and numerous glosses registered in the Hesychian lexicon, e.g. σίλβαι · ῥοιαὶ (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 *g^w. This labiovelar stop was accompanied (usually preceded⁴) by an undefined

⁴ The attested cluster -βδ- may represent the original consonantal group -δβ- (< *dg^w-).

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 **k^w(u)-*, which appears to be recognized in the form κυσήγη and Alb. *shegë* 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 **siCg^wā* f. ‘pomegranate’ or **k^w(u)-siCg^wā* f. ‘great pomegranate’.

7. Different reflexes of [C] explain attested forms and derivatives, e.g.

C = dental **siDg^wā* > **sidbā* > *sibdā* > *sidā* → **sibdion, sidion, psidion**;

C = liquid **siLg^wā* > *silbā* → **silbion**;

C = nasal **k^wu-siNg^wā* > **k^wsimbā* > **ksimbā > rhimbā**.

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

Table 1: Pomegranate in Greek

Pre-Greek Variants	<i>*siDg^wā</i> D = a dental consonant	<i>*siLg^wā</i> L = a labial consonant	<i>*siNg^wā</i> N = a nasal consonant
Greek Forms	<i>*sibdā</i> , secondarily <i>*sidā</i> (< <i>*sibdā</i> < PGk. <i>*sidg^wā</i>)	<i>*silbā</i> (< PGk. <i>*silg^wā</i>)	<i>*(k)simbā</i> (< PGk. <i>*[k^w]sing^wā</i>)
Attestations in Greek dialects	Ionic and Attic σίδη f., dial. σίδη ‘a pomegranate tree and fruit’, also ‘a water plant’; Doric (Cyrenaean) σίβδᾶ f. ‘pomegranate’ (CALL., <i>Dian.</i> 28); Boeotian σιδᾶ f. ‘pomegranate’, also ‘a water plant, probably water-lilly, <i>Nymphaea alba</i> L.’	Pamphylian (?) σίλβᾶ f. ; East Doric (?) σίλβᾶ f.;	Aeolic ξίμβᾶ f. ‘a (great) pomegranate’ dial. (?) ρίμβᾶ f. ‘id.’
Hesychian glosses (basic words)	σίβδαι · ροιαί (Hsch., σ-567); σίδαι · ροιαί (Hsch., σ-590)	σίλβαι · ροιαί (Hsch., σ-634)	ξίμβαι · ροιαί. Αιολεῖς (Hsch., ξ-68); ρίμβαι · ροιαί μεγάλοι. ἄμεινον δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ξ ξίμβαι (Hsch., ρ-324)

A similar development is attested in Gk. τίπτε ‘what, why’ < **τίπτε* < ie. **k^wid-pe*, cf. Lat. *quippe*.

Pre-Greek Variants	*siDg ^w ā D = a dental consonant	*siLg ^w ā L = a labial consonant	*siNg ^w ā N = a nasal consonant
Hesychian glosses (derivatives)	σίβδια · σίδια (Hsch., σ-567) ‘pomegranate peels’, also σίδια · τὰ τῶν ροιῶν λέπυρα. σίδια γὰρ αἱ ροιαί. τίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων γλωρῶν (Hsch., σ-598)	σίλβια · σίδια (Hsch., σ-635) ‘pomegranate peels’	
Modern Greek forms	Pontic σίδη, Cappadocian σίτη (in Sinasos), το σίδι (in Pharsa); Kerkyrian το σίδι ‘Weide, Weidenbaum’	Pontic (in Chaldia) σίλβᾶ ‘eine Pflanze mit roten Früchten an der Blättern’; Samian το σιλβί ‘Pap-pel’; Rhodian (PN) οἱ Σίρβε; Chian (PN) ἡ Σίρβα	
Foreign forms	LW in the Italian dialects: Salent. <i>sída, síta, sèta</i> ; Tarentian <i>sèta</i> ; Bar. <i>sètə, saítə, sèitə</i> f. ‘melagrana’, Brind. <i>setúddu</i> ‘fiore di melagrano’ < West Doric *síḏū f. ‘pomegranate’		Bessan (?) κωσήγη · ροιῶ (Hsch., κ-4730); Albanian <i>shegë</i> f. ‘pomegranate’ < *siCgā Cf. also Pamphylian place name Σίγγυα (= Gk. Σίδη)

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e-mail: ktw@uni.lodz.pl;
krzysztof.tomasz.witczak@gmail.com.;
malgorzata.zadka@gmail.com.