

Blažek, Václav

Etymologizing 'unetymologizable' Greek dendronyms

Graeco-Latina Brunensia. 2014, vol. 19, iss. 1, pp. [41]-50

ISSN 1803-7402 (print); ISSN 2336-4424 (online)

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/130047>

Access Date: 29. 11. 2024

Version: 20220831

Terms of use: Digital Library of the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University provides access to digitized documents strictly for personal use, unless otherwise specified.

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK
(MASARYK UNIVERSITY, BRNO)

ETYMOLOGIZING ‘UNETYMOLOGIZABLE’ GREEK DENDRONYMS

This article offers for discussion new etymologies of four Greek tree-names usually classified as substratal or foreign. The aim of these new solutions is to determine donor-languages as old cultural languages from the Eastern Mediterranean, namely Semitic and Hurrian, but also North Caucasian.

Keywords: *Dendronym, Cultural Term, Semitic, Hurrian, North Caucasian*

In the Greek lexicon there are many words which are without convincing etymologies and among tree-names this is more than typical. In the most recent *opus magnum* devoted to Greek etymology, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* by Robert Beekes (2010), they are usually ascribed to an unspecified pre-Greek non-Indo-European substratum or their foreign origin is proposed, but without any attempt to determine a donor-language. In this contribution four tree-names are analysed, and their probable sources are identified and discussed.

1. ἀμυγδάλεα [Eup.], Cyrene ἀμυσγάλα, -υλα “almond-tree / *Prunus Amygdalus*” // ἀμυχθαλόεσσα [Il. xxiv 753] ±“rich in almonds”, but μυχθαλόεσσαν in scholias by Antimachus (*DELG* 76, 79: Terme étranger sans étymologie; FURNÉE (1972: 140, 320, 372); BEEKES (2010: 92): A typical substratal word; ROSÓŁ (2013: 160) rejects all Semitic etymologies including the present one -for this reason the additional arguments are offered).

Instead of an anonymous substratum it is possible to identify a Semitic source. In Semitic a designation of “almond(-tree)” is well-attested: **tīqd-* > Akkadian *šiqdu(m)*, *šūqdu*, *siqdu*, Neo-Assyrian *duqdu*; Ugaritic *tqd*;

Phoenician pl. *šqdm*, Hebrew **שָׁדֵד** *šāqēd* “almond”, cf. also *māšuqādīm* “shaped like almond blossom; Jewish Aramaic *šigdā*, Syriac *šagedtā*, pl. *šegdē*, Mandaic *šigda*; Geez *səgd* “almond tree, nut tree”, FRONZAROLI (1968: 291), #5.41; *HAL* 1638; *DUL* 927–28; *DNWS* 1186; KRAHMALKOV (2000: 479); LESLAU (1987: 491); LÖW (1881: 374). For Phoenician and Hebrew (and their common ancestor) it is possible to reconstruct *nomen loci* **mišqadat* > Hebrew **mišqadā* “place planted with almond-trees”, cf. Hebrew *miqšā*, pl. *miqšā’ōt* “field of cucumbers”, Jewish Aramaic *məqāšyā*, Arabic *maqta’at* “field of cucumbers” (*HAL* 629) vs. Punic **qš?* “cucumber”, reconstructed after the gloss of Dioscorides κισσου μεζρα = Apuleius *cissu mezra*, KRAHMALKOV (2000: 435). Postbiblical Hebrew *qiššūḏā*, pl. *qiššūḏīm* “musk melon”, Samaritanian *qāšuwwəm*, Akkadian *qiššū(m)*, pl. *qiššāte* “cucumber, melon, gourd”, Arabic *quttā’* & *qittā’*, Geez *qʷasāy* & *qʷasyā* id. LESLAU (1987: 447); *HAL* 1151; KLEIN (1987: 597); *CDA* 289. But these forms do not explain -λ- in all Greek variants. It is not necessary to suppose the *ad hoc* change **d* > *l*, but it is easier to assume a contamination with the Canaanite Semitic **dāqal*¹ (following the pattern *CáCaC-*, reconstructed by DOLGOPOLSKY (1999: 98)), continuing in Postbiblical Hebrew **דָּעָל** *déqel*, pl. **דָּעָלִים** *dəqālīm* “date-tree”, Official Aramaic pl. abs. *dqln* “palm tree, date palm”, Jewish Aramaic *dql* / *dyql?*, Syriac *deqlā*, Mandaic *dīqlā* / *ziqlā* “date-palm”, plus the gloss σοῦκλαι · φοινικοβάλανοι [Hesychius]; Arabic *daqal* id. is probably of Aramaic origin (*DRS* 303; *DNWS* 258); KLEIN (1987: 130), or better with the parallel formation **midqalat* > **midqalā* “place planted with date-palms”. With regard to these premises it is possible to conclude:

The form ἀμυγδᾰλέα may reflect a direct adaptation of hypothetical Phoenician-Hebrew **midqalā* “place planted with date-palms” with a later semantic shift and expectable assimilation **-dq-* > **-dg-* and metathesis **-dg-* > **-gd-*.

¹ This word was proposed as a Semitic source for Greek δάκτυλος “date, i.e. fruit of the φοῖνιξ” [Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 342a10; Artemidorus, *Onirocriticon* 5.89] – see MUSS-ARNOLT (1892: 107f); LEWY (1895: 20); ROSÓL (2013: 35–36). On the basis of evidence of the syllabic scripts of the Aegean region there is a tempting possibility to shift the knowledge of this term to the 2nd mill. BC. In the Linear script B the sign # 01 𐀀 “*da*” corresponds to Cypriote 𐀀 or 𐀁 “*ta*” and further to the Linear A sign 𐀀 or 𐀁, see GODART (1979: 39); BARTONĚK (2003: 47, 68). Unfortunately the signs are too stylized to recognize their primary model. BEST & WOUTHUIZEN (1989: 105–06) connected this sign with a more realistic sign from the inscribed altar-stone from Mallia, depicting probably a **palm branch**. Accepting this identification, the sign “*da*” was formed via acrophonic principle on the basis of Semitic **daqal-* “palm-tree”, see BLAŽEK (1998–99: 24).

Cyrene ἀμυσγέλα, -υλα is explainable through contamination of **mišqa-dā* “place planted with almond-trees” and **midqalā* “place planted with date-palms”, leading to a hypothetical hybrid **mišqalā*.

Chronologically the oldest form is preserved in Homeric ἀμυθαλόεσσα, where a donor-language of a Ugaritic type preserving the interdental realization of proto-Semitic **ṯ* (*θ*) should be identified. The hypothetical starting point is reconstructible as (para-) Ugaritic **mitqalat* and its-adoption may indeed be dated to the 2nd mill. BC.

It remains to explain the initial ᾱ- in all cited Greek forms with exception of μυθαλόεσσαν. In the case of the words of hypothetical Phoenician-Hebrew origin it is possible to think about the definite article **ha(n)*- common to all Canaanite languages, i.e. Phoenician (*h-mlkm* “the kings”, *ḥ-mmqm* “the place”, *amathēd* “the gift”), Hebrew (*ha- ššāmáyim* “the sky”), Moabite (*kl h- ḥm* “all the nation”), Ammonite (*h-krm* “the vineyard”) and Edomite (*h-mlk* “the king”). The article *in statu nascendi* probably appears in Ugaritic too: *tmḡyy hn ālpm ššwm hnd* “These two thousand horses must arrive here.” See KOGAN (2009: 260); *DUL* 343; KRAHMALKOV (2000: 154); SEGERT (1997: 178); STEINER (1997: 152–53). The corresponding article was also used in the North Arabian epigraphic languages as Thamudic B, Taymanitic, Safaitic *h*, Dadanitic *hn*, MACDONALD (2004: 517). In the case of the adj. ἀμυθαλόεσσα the initial ᾱ- could represent an adaptation of the Semitic preformative **ʔa-*, forming the elative of the Ugaritic and Arabic adjectives, e.g. Ugaritic *āliy* “very strong”: Akkadian *le’ū* “to prevail, *le’ū* “able”, *āgzr* “voracious”: Hebrew *√g-z-r* “to devour”, SEGERT (1984: 85, 178, 179); Arabic *ʔašarr* “worse”: *šarr* “bad”, besides the Hebrew adjectives as *ʔakzāb* “deceitful” or *ʔakzār* “cruel” with more general semantics, BROCKELMANN (1908: 372–73; *HAL* 45).

2. ἐρίνεός [*Il.*], Attic (Delos) ἐρίνεός [*Lync.*] “wild fig-tree / *Ficus Caprificus*”, Mycenaean NL *e-ri-no-wo*, gen. *e-ri-no-wo-to* [*PY*] /*Erīnwos*, -otos/ (*DELG* 371; FURNÉE (1972: 376); AURA JORRO (1985: 24); BEEKES (2010: The word is Pre-Greek)

The most probable source of the Greek protoform **erīnwo*- is Hurrian *er-imbī*- “cedar” (Laroche 1968, 459), which was also adapted in Hittite *irimpī*-, *erip(p)i*-, *irip(p)i*- “cedar(wood)”, KRONASSER (1966: 224–25); *HED* 1–2, 284–85; FRIEDRICH & KAMMENHUBER (1988: 92). The Hurrian word itself probably represents an adaptation of Akkadian *erēnu(m)*, *erinnu*, in Nuzi also *urīnu* “cedar-tree or forest” (*CDA* 77), extended by the Hurrian suffix *-pi*-, KRONASSER (1966: 244). Hebrew *ʔoren*, *ʔeren* “cedar, pine, laurel” is probably of Akkadian origin, ZIMMERN (1915: 53); *DRS* 33; *HAL* 90), while the Akkadian word itself is borrowed from Sumerian *eren* (*AHw.* 237).

Note: The semantic shift could be caused by the fact that the designation of “cedar” was already occupied by κέδρος [*Od.* v, 60] “cedar-tree”, cf. also κέδρον, τό (Attic according to Hesychius) = κεδρίς “juniper-berry” [*EM* 498.42; HSCH.], κεδρέλαιον “oil of cedar, extracted from cedar-resin” [*Aët.* 1.196], adj. κεδρίνος “of cedar” [*Jl.* 24.192], which already LEWY (1895: 34) connected with Akkadian *qatru* “smoky”. With respect to its derivative *qatrānu* “cedar resin” (*CDA* 286), borrowed in Syriac *qātrān*, Arabic *qatrān* / *qitrān* “pitch”, LESLAU (1987: 454), this solution can be rehabilitated in spite of skepticism of ROSÓL (2013: 178) who did not take in account such the form as Akkadian *qatrānu* “cedar resin”.

3. κερῦσός [Xenoph.] “bird-cherry / *Prunus avium*”, Mycenaean NM *ke-ra-so* [MY] /*Kerasō*/ (*DELG* 518; FURNÉE (1972: 346); BEEKES (2010: 677): Given its intervocalic -σ-, the form must be Anatolian or Pre-Greek).

A foreign origin is generally accepted. ROSÓL (2013: 179) correctly rejects the repeatedly cribbing comparison with the Akkadian ghost-word **karšu* “Süßkirche” (for the last time BEEKES 2010!). A hypothetical donor-language might be a mediator between Greek κερῦσός and Akkadian *kami/e/aššaru(m)* “pear-tree” (*AHw.* 432; *CAD* 8, 122); cf. further Syriac *kūmatrā*, Arabic *kumatrā* (< Aramaic), *kummatrā* id., LÖW (1881: 208); ZIMMERN (1915: 54); *DRS* 1236. The loss of -m- in the process of borrowing has an analogy in Greek σήσαμον, Doric σᾶσαμον, Mycenaean [MY] pl. *sa-sa-ma*, also the Linear B syllable sign *sa*, maybe also Linear A [HT 23.a.4-5] *sa-sa-me*, MASSON (1967: 57–58); AURA JORRO (1993: 284); BARTONĚK (2003: 123, 492); BEEKES (2010: 1325); ROSÓL (2013: 91–93), with regard to their Semitic source represented by Akkadian *šamaššammū*, *šamšamū* “sesame”, originally *šaman-šammi* “oily plant” (*CDA* 351); Ugaritic *ššmn* “sesame” (*DUL* 847–48); Phoenician *ššmn* “sesame”, KRAHMALKOV (2000: 483); *DNWS* 1197; Hebrew epigr. pl. *šmšmyn* (*DNWS* 1169), Postbiblical Hebrew *šumšōm* “sesame”, with the ‘Aramaic’ pl. *šumšamīn*, DALMAN (1922: 429); KLEIN (1987: 668); Official Aramaic *šmšm* (*DNWS* 1169), Jewish Aramaic *šumšamā* & *šūšamā*, Syriac *šmušma* & *šemša*, Mandaic *šušma* “sesame”, DALMAN (1922: 429); DROWER (1963: 458); ZIMMERN (1915: 56: < Akkadian), Arabic *sāsim* & *simsim*, pl. *simāsīm* “sesame; coriander seed”; cf. also Hurrian *šumišumi* id., LAROCHE (1968: 458), Hittite *šapšama-* “an oil-producing plant and/or its seeds” (*CHD* 207), Armenian *šowšmay* “sesame”, HÜBSCHMANN (1897: 314: < Aramaic *šūšamā*); Coptic Sahidic *səmsim*, Bohairic *sasimēn* and Beja *simsum* id., VYCIHL (1983: 189). In the case of “sesame” a donor-language should be characterized by the assimilation *-mš- > -š-, attested in Ugaritic, later Aramaic (Syriac) or Phoenician. In the case of κερῦσός “bird-cherry” the same change has to be expected, but only in a language, where Semitic **t* > *š* and it is Phoenician or early Aramaic, cf. BROCKELMANN 1908: 134). Besides the change *-mš- > -š- a metathesis **k-(m)š-r-* > **k-r-(m)š-r-* had

to be realized. In Semitic languages this phenomenon is relatively frequent (see BROCKELMANN 1908: 267–278): Hebrew *nāsak* “to bite”, Geez *nasa-ka* vs. Amhara *nakasa*, Syriac *nakaθ* or Arabic *dibs*, Syriac *deḥšā* vs. Akkadian *dišpu* “honey” etc.), fewer in Greek, LEJEUNE (1972: 138): δίφορος “charriot-board, on which two could stand; charriot; seat” vs. Syracusean [Sophron ap. EM] δρίφορος; 151: ἀριθμός [Od.] “number” vs. Ionic [Call. Cer. 86] ἀμιθρός). Finally, the third source of metathesis, a hypothetical language-mediator, could also be taken in account.

Note: Apparently it is a more wide-spread cultural term, designating various kinds of fruit also in the Caucasus:

Proto-North Caucasian **kurmāsV* / **kurmāzV* “a kind of fruit” > Proto-Nakh **kamiz*/**kamis* (/–*mus*) “grape” > Chechen *kems*, Ingush *koms*, Batsbi *kaniz* id.; Proto-Tsezian **kuš(š)VI-hi* (~ –*ū-*, –*i*) “peach” > Tsezi *kušuhi*, Ginukh *kušoḥi* (the word is a compound; for the second part cf. possibly Proto-Tsezian **hī* “pear”); Lak *kkurmuz* “quince” (Old Lak is probably the source of Avar dial., *germez* and Archi *gerbec* “quince”); Proto-Dargwa **kkimirsi* “quince” > Akusha *gimirhi*, Urakhi *gimirʔa*, Kaitag *ččimisi*, Kubachi *ččimite* id.; Proto-Lezghian **kumārš* / **kumārč* “quince” > Tabasaran *kumiš*, Agul *kuržam*, Tabasaran Dübek *kuččim*, Agul Burshak *kuršem*; Proto-West-Caucasian **mərəgʷəz*(~ *kkʷ*, *ž*) “a sort of plum or peach” > Abkhaz *a-mərəgʷəz* (Bzyb), attested only in compounds *a-mərəgʷəz-phʷa* “a sort of plum”, *a-mərəgʷəz-ɬama* “a sort of peach” (NCED 700).

4. ὄρχνη [Od. vii 115] “pear-tree”, [Od. vii 120] “pear”, ὄρχνη [Theoc.] “pear-tree / *Pirus communis*”, ὄρχνια ἄπιον [Hsch.], cf. κόρχναι · ὄρχναι [Hsch.], FURNÉE (1972: 131, 279); DELG 773; BEEKES (2010: 1045) agrees with Furnée that the word is Pre-Greek, apparently a wide-spread cultural term. Similar designations of sweet fruits appear in Semitic, here concretely of “fresh dates”: Akkadian *uḫinnum*, *uḫinnu(m)*, *uḫe(n)num* “fresh / unripened date(s)” > Jewish Aramaic *ḏāhēnā* “nicht voll gereifte Dattel” (> Arabic *ḏahān* “bunch of green dates”), Syriac *hēnā* “an unripe fruit, especially fig”, CAD U/W 44–47; CDA 419; DRS 15; DALMAN (1922: 8); ZIMMERN (1915: 54); LÖW (1881: 121), and in East Caucasian, here directly “pear”: Avar-Andi **hinV* “pear” > Avar *gēni*, Chadakolob *gēni*, Andi *hīhī*, Chamalal *hīhʷ*, Tindi *hīha*, Karata *hīhī*, Bagvalal *hīha*, Godoberi *hīhu*; Avar > Tsez, Ginukh, Bezhta *geni* “pear”; Proto-Tsezian **hī* “pear” > Bezhta *hī* (Xaidakov), Gunzib *hī* id.; Proto-Nakh: **bat-mava* > Chechen *batmava* “peach”, Ingush *batmava* “apricot”, all reconstructed as East Caucasian **γōnʷV* “pear” (NCED 475). Naturally, the language-donor could be some third language, where the designation of the corresponding fruit is not attested thanks to our limited knowledge, e.g. Hurrian or Hattic or a Pre-Greek language of the Linear Script A from Crete.

It remains to explain the prenasalization in Greek ὄρχνη, ὄρχνια, ὄρχναι. In the Greek loans of Semitic origin there is a tendency to dissimilate gemi-

nates of the type $C_1-C_2C_2-C_3 > C_1-nC_2-C_3$ or $C_1-mC_2-C_3$, if C_2 is a labial, e.g. Hebrew *lappid* “torch; lightning” vs. Greek λαμπάς, -άδος “torch” or Hebrew *qubbaṣat* “cup, beaker, goblet” vs. Greek κύμβή id. (Rosól 2013: 53, 57). Sometimes the gemination is not directly attested in forms which are at our disposal, e.g. Akkadian *mēdelu*² “bar, bolt (of a door)”, Syriac *madlā* “cross beams” (√*ḏ-d-l* “to close, lock” - see DRS 9) vs. Greek μάνδαλος “iron peg, bolt-pin”, see ROSÓL (2013: 68) with older literature, but may be hidden in the morphological structures, e.g. the gemination of the second radical in the verbal present stems and its derivatives in Akkadian³, on Semitic and wider Afroasiatic parallel formations see LIPÍŃSKI (1997: 382–87) or the internal nominal plural characterized by gemination of the second radical: Akkadian *zikru* “man” : pl. *zikkarū*, *ṣahru* / *ṣeḥru* “small” : pl. *ṣahḥarū* / *ṣeḥḥerūtu*, *ebru* “friend” : pl. *ebbarūtu*; Hebrew *ṣāqēb* “heel” : pl. *ṣiqqəb*, *miqdāš* “sanctuary” : *miqqədāš*, *qešet* “bow” : pl. *qaššəṯōt*; Arabic *bāhil* “free (man)”, pl. *buhhal* (LIPÍŃSKI 1997: 245–46). Maybe this mechanism for forming the plural is responsible for the prenasalization in Greek ὄγγυνη, etc.

Note: Unripe dates are usually green, like pears.

ABBREVIATIONS:

HSCH. Hesychius, HT Hagia Triada, MY Mycenae, NL *nomen loci*, NM *nomen mulieris*, PY Pylos.

Abbreviations of the Greek authors and their works follow HENRY G. LIDDELL, ROBERT SCOTT & HENRY S. JONES: *A Greek–English Lexicon*, Oxford: University Press 1996
<<http://www.tlg.uci.edu/ljsj/#eid=1&context=ljsj>>

The phytonyms recorded by Apuleius and Dioscorides are cited according to KRAHMALOV 2000.

Bibliography

AHw. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, I–III, von WOLFRAM VON SODEN. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 1965–81.

ARISTOTLE: *Meteorologica*, HENRYR. DESMOND. P. LEE, [ED.]. Cambridge (Mass.) London: Heinemann 1952.

ARTEMIDORI *Oneirocritica*, REISKE, JOHANN J., REIFF, JOHANN G. [EDS.]. Leibzig: Crusius 1805.

² Written in many variants: *me-e-di-lu*, *me-di-lum*, *me-di-lu*, *me-dil*, *mi-dī-lum*, *mi-dī-lu*, *mi-dil*, but also *min_i-dil* (CAD 10, 2–3). The geminate appears directly in some derivatives of the primary verb *edēlu* „to lock“, e.g. *eddēlu* „locks“, *iddil* „will lock“, *uddulu* „are closed“ (CAD 4, 25–26).

³ Cf. the primary verb *edēlu* “to lock”: *eddēlu* “locks”, *iddil* “will lock”, *uddulu* “are closed” (CAD 4, 25–26).

- AURA JORRO, FRANCISCO. 1985–93. *Diccionario micénico*, I–II. Madrid: Instituto de Filología/Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas.
- BARTONĚK, ANTONÍN. 2003. *Handbuch des mykenischen Griechisch*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- BEEKES, ROBERT. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, I–II. Leiden–Boston: Brill.
- BEST, JAN & WOUDHUIZEN, FRED. 1989. *Lost Languages from the Mediterranean*. Leiden: Brill.
- BLAŽEK, VÁCLAV. 1998–1999. “Two Greek words of foreign origin.” *Graeco–Latina Brunensia* N 3–4, 11–28.
- BLAŽEK, VÁCLAV. 2014. Phytonyms (Names of Trees). In *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, GEORGIOS K. GIANNAKIS [ED.]. Brill Online, Reference 08 March 2014.
<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-ancient-greek-language-and-linguistics/phytonyms-names-of-trees-EAGLL_SIM_0000051>
- BROCKELMANN, CARL. 1908. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I. Berlin: Reuther–Reichard.
- CAD *Assyrian Dictionary*, Vol. 4 (E). Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1958.
<http://www.aina.org/cad/cad_e.pdf>
- CAD *Assyrian Dictionary*, Vol. 8 (K). Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1971.
<http://www.aina.org/cad/cad_k.pdf>
- CAD *Assyrian Dictionary*, Vol. 10 (M₂). Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1977.
<http://www.aina.org/cad/cad_m2.pdf>
- CDA *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, JEREMY BLACK, ANDREW GEORGE, NICHOLAS POSTAGE [EDS.]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2000.
- CHANTRAINE, PIERRE. 1968–80. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- CHD *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, HANS, G. GÜTERBOCK, HARRY, A. HOFFNER & THEO P. J. VAN DEN HOUT [EDS.]. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 2002.
- DALMAN, GUSTAF H. 1922. *Aramäisch–Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch*₂. Frankfurt am Main: Kauffmann.
- DELG CHANTRAINE, PIERRE. 1968–80. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Paris: Klincksieck.
Deutsch–Hebräisches Wörterbuch – online <<http://www.milon.li/DeuHebr.htm>>
- DNWS *Dictionary of the North–West Semitic Inscriptions*. JEAN HOFTIJZER & KAREL JONGELING [EDS.]. Leiden–New York–Köln: Brill 1995.
- DOLGOPOLSKY, ARON. 1999. *From Proto-Semitic to Hebrew. Phonology*. Milano: Centro Studi Camito–Semitici.
- DRS *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques*. DAVID COHEN et al. [ED.]. 1970f. Paris: Mouton.
- DROWER, ETHEL, STEFANA. 1963. *A Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- DUL = *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. GREGORIO DEL OLMO LETE & JOAQUÍN SANMARTÍN [EDS.]. Translated by WILFRED G.E. WATSON. Leiden–Boston: Brill 2003.
- FRIEDRICH, JOHANNES & KAMMENHUBER, ANNELIS. 1988. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*₂, Band II (E). Heidelberg: Winter.
- FRONZAROLI, PELIO. 1968. “Studi sul lessico comune semitico V. La natura selvatica.”

- Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, rendiconti della Classe Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie VIII, vol. XXIII, fasc. 7–12, 267–303.
- FURNÉE, EDZARD, JOHAN. 1972. *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen: mit einem Appendix über den Vokalismus*. The Hague: Mouton.
- GODART, LOUIS. 1979. “Le linéaire A et son environnement.” *Studi micenei ed egeo-antologici* 20, 27–42.
- HAL = *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. LUDWIG KOEHLER & WALTER BAUMGARTNER [EDS.]. Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill.
- HED PUVHEL, JAAN. 1984. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Berlin–New York–Amsterdam: Mouton.
- HÜBSCHMANN, H. 1897. *Armenische Grammatik*, I. Theil: *Armenische Etymologie*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.
- KLEIN, ERNEST. 1987. *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*. New York – London: Macmillan.
- KOGAN, LEONID E. 2009. “Xanaanejskie jazyki.” In *Jazyki mira: Semitskie jazyki – Akkadskij jazyk. Severozapadnosemitskie jazyki*, ANNA, G. BELOVA, LEONID, E. KOGAN, SERGEI, V. LĚZOV, OL’GA. I. ROMANOVA, [EDS.]. Moskva: Academia, 239–278.
- KRAHMALKOV, CHARLES R. 2000. *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. Leuven: Peeters & Department Oosterse Studies.
- KRONASSER, HEINZ. 1966. *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache*, Band 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- LAROCHE, EMMANUEL. 1968. “Documents en langue hourrite provenant de Ras Shamra.” *Ugaritica* 5, 448–544.
- LAROCHE, EMMANUEL. 1980. *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*. Éditions Klincksieck.
- LEJEUNE, MICHEL. 1972. *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- LESLAU, WOLF. 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge^cez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- LEWY, HEINRICH. 1895. *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*. Berlin: Gaertner.
- LIPÍŃSKI, EDWARD. 1997. *Semitic languages outline of a comparative grammar*. Leuven: Peeters & Department oosterse studies.
- LÖW, IMMANUEL. 1881. *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*. Leipzig: Engelmann.
- MACDONALD, MICHAEL C., A. 2004. “Ancient North Arabian.” In *The Encyclopedia of the World’s Ancient Languages*, ROGER D. WOODARD [ED.]. Cambridge: University Press, 488–533.
- MASSON, ÉMILIA. 1967. *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- MUSS–ARNOLT, WILIAM. 1892. *On Semitic Words in Greek and Latin*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- NCED *A North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary*. S. L. NIKOLAYEV, S. A. STAROSTIN [EDS.]. Moscow: Asterisk.
- ROSÓL, RAFAL. 2013. *Frühe semitische Lehnwörter im Griechischen*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- STEINER, RICHARD C. 1997. Ancient Hebrew. In *The Semitic Languages*. ROBERT HETZRON [ED.]. London: Routledge, 145–173.
- SEGERT, STANISLAV. 1984. *A basic grammar of the Ugaritic language with selected texts and glossary*. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press.

- SEGERT, STANISLAV. 1997. "Phoenician and the Eastern Canaanite Languages." In *The Semitic Languages*. ROBERT HETZRON [ED.]. London: Routledge, 174–186.
- VYČICHL, WERNER. 1983. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*. Leuven: Peeters.
- ZIMMERN, HEINRICH. 1915. *Akkadische Fremdwörter als beweis babylonischen Kultureinfluss*. Leipzig: Hinrich.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This contribution originates with support of the Czech Science Foundation (GAČR), P406/12/0655. The author is very grateful to John Bengtson for correction of English and to Rafał Rosół, whose excellent monograph *Frühe semitische Lehnwörter im Griechischen* (2013) stimulated the author to give precision to arguments concretizing the sources of some Greek tree-names.

RESUMÉ

In the article four Greek dendronyms are etymologized. The following solutions are discussed:

1. ἄμυγδαλέα „almond-tree“ < Phoenician-Hebrew **midqalā* „place planted with date-palms“ with a later semantic shift; Cyrene ἄμυσγέλα, -υλα „almond-tree“ < Phoenician-Hebrew **mišqalā* „place planted with almond-trees“ with *-l-* after **midqalā*; ἀμυθαλόεσσα [Il.] „rich in almonds“ < (para-)Ugaritic **miṯqalat* with *-l-* after **midqalā*.
2. ἐρίνεός [Il.], Attic (Delos) ἐρίνεός „wild fig-tree“, Mycenaean [NL] *e-ri-no-wo*, gen. *e-ri-no-wo-to* [PY] /*Erīnwos,-otos*/ < Hurrian *erimbi-* „cedar“ < Akkadian *erēnu*, *erinnu* „cedar-tree or forest“ < Sumerian *eren*.
3. κερᾶσός [XENOPH.] „bird-cherry“, Mycenaean NM *ke-ra-so* [MY] /*Kerasō*/ < Semitic: Akkadian *kami/e/aššaru(m)* „pear-tree“ (the loss of *-m-* in *-mš-* and change **ṭ* > *š* are typical e.g. for Phoenician) or North Caucasian **ḱurmāšV* / **ḱurmāšV* „a kind of fruit“.
4. ὄγγη [Od.], ὄγγη [Theoc.] „pear-tree“, ὄγγη · ἄπιον [Hsch.], cf. κόγγηαι · ὄγγηαι [Hsch.] < Semitic: Akkadian *uḥinnum*, *uḥinnu(m)*, *uḥe(n)num* „fresh date(s)“, Jewish Aramaic *ʾāhēnā* „unripe dates“ or East Caucasian **γōnʷV* „pear“.

SHRNUTÍ

V článku jsou etymologizována čtyři řecká dendronyma. Jsou diskutována následující řešení:

1. ἄμυγδαλέα „mandloň“ < fénicko-hebrejské **midqalā* „místo osázené datlovými palmami“ s pozdějším sémantickým posunem; kyrenajské ἄμυσγέλα, -υλα „mandloň“ < fénicko-hebrejské **mišqalā* „místo osázené mandloněmi“ s *-l-* podle **midqalā*; ἀμυθαλόεσσα [Il.] „bohatý mandloněmi“ < (para-)ugaritské **miṯqalat* s *-l-* podle **midqalā*.
2. ἐρίνεός [Il.], attické (Delos) ἐρίνεός „divoký fíkovník“, mykénské místní jméno *e-ri-no-wo*, gen. *e-ri-no-wo-to* [PY] /*Erīnwos,-otos*/ < hurritské *erimbi-* „cedr“ < akkadské *erēnu*, *erinnu* „cedr či cedrový les“ < sumerské *eren*.

3. κερᾶσός [Xenoph.] „střemcha hroznovitá“, mykénské ženské jméno *ke-ra-so* [MY] / *Kerasō* / < semitské: akkadské *kami/e/aššaru(m)* „hrušeň“ (ztráta *-m-* v *-mš-* a změna **ṭ* > *š* jsou typické např. pro feničtinu) nebo severokavkazské **kurmäšV* / **kurmäžV* „druh ovoce“.

4. ὄγγυνη [Od.], ὄγγυνη [Theoc.] „hrušeň“, ὄγγυγια · ἄπιον [Hsch.], sr. κόγγυαι · ὄγγυαι [Hsch.] < semitské: akkadské *uḫuinnum*, *uḫinnu(m)*, *uḫe(n)num* „čerstvé datle“, judeo-araméjské *ʾāhēnā* „nezralé datle“ či východokavkazské **γōnʷV* „hruška“.

blazek@phil.muni.cz