

Theory
and Empiricism
in Slavonic
Diachronic
Linguistics

Edited by
Ilona Janyšková
& Helena Karlíková

Nakladatelství
Lidové noviny
Praha 2012

The present volume was prepared with the support of a grant from the Czech Science Foundation “Theory and Empiricism in Slavonic Diachronic Linguistics” (Nr. P406/10/1346).

Studia etymologica Brunensia 15
Eds. Ilona Janyšková & Helena Karlíková

Reviewed by Radoslav Večerka and Stefan Michael Newerkla

© Ilona Janyšková, Helena Karlíková

ISBN 978-80-7422-185-9

MAJA KALEZIĆ: S.-CR. ODOLJEN ‘VALERIANA CELTICA’ (AN ETYMOLOGICAL NOTE)

Abstract: The paper deals with the S.-Cr. phytonym *odoljen* being one of numerous botanical names that belong to the pre-Slavic phytonymic corpus, still without final etymological solution. The main research goals of this study are: a. “stocktaking” and identification of the plants named *odoljen*, b. analyzing the phytonym *odoljen* (by which we mean the morphological analysis and the analysis of semantic features of the name including also its morphological and semantic variants), c. identifying its cognates in other Slavic languages, d. reconstructing the onomasiological procedure of the name-giver, i.e. a denominative motive which the name was constructed out of, and, finally, e. establishing principles and ways of nominations within previously determined group of realia by comparison the structures of their names with those of equivalent designators we meet in other languages, primarily in Greek and Latin. Such directed phytonomastical research implies an interdisciplinary approach to the defined goals (the knowledge about botanical taxonomy, history of medicine, herbal tradition, etc.). **Keywords:** etymology, phytonomastics, semantics.

“The secret weapon of Pied Piper”¹

*Hamelin Town’s in Brunswick,
By famous Hanover city;
The river Weser, deep and wide,
Washes its wall on the southern side;
A pleasanter spot you never spied;
But, when begins my ditty,
Almost five hundred years ago,
To see the townsfolk suffer so
From vermin, was a pity.*

THE PIED PIPER OF HAMELIN, R. Browning

It has been said that *Valerian* is a plant that is steeped in history.² The introduction to *Valerian* begins with all the strange and mystical beliefs that surround it. The second chapter of its background covers the common names of *Valerian* that show its international character, with roots and connections throughout the world; then are in keeping those that concern its economic

1 Cf. Kemper 1999: 2.

2 In this paragraph which is meant to be humorous paraphrase on the opening lines of Dr. Houghton’s book on *Valerian*, written by the author of the famous Dweck data – A. C. Dweck (see Houghton 1997), we will use the term *Valerian* as a common name for any of various Eurasian valerianaceous plants of the genus *Valeriana*, esp. *V. officinalis* (see Dictionary.com, *valerian*, in *Collins English Dictionary – Complete & Unabridged 10th Edition*. Source location: HarperCollins Publishers. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/valerian>).

The paper emerged as a result of a researching work on the project: *Етимолошка истраживања српског језика и израда Етимолошког речника српског језика (178007)*, financed by Ministry of Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

interest: use in medicine, culinary, ornamental gardening, etc. Nowadays are especially numerous the suggestions on how to deal with its congeners in the phylogenetic reconstructions that may bring out useful facts for botany, pharmacognosy and herbal medicine in general. At very this moment, it seems that much more similar chapters have to be written in order to provide all authors researching Valerian in most different fields enough valid facts to give the final word on this “knotty knowledge” that has been carried out in the study of the history of this magnificent plant. The linguistic essay that follows is designed as a small contribution to “equipping” the background for such an aim.

Botanical data

The family Valerianaceae comprises ca. 400 species of which approximately 200 are included in the biggest genus of the order Dipsacales – Valeriana. The genus is widely distributed in the temperate parts of the world and the plant *Valeriana officinalis*, that is supposed to be *Phu* of Dioscorides and Galen, is the European species that is most reported on. *Valeriana officinalis* is an extremely polymorphic complex. The large diversity of ecological conditions in the vast area of distribution gives rise to strongly expressed polymorphism and the development of an unusually wide variety of forms with marked regional differentiation (Evstatiieva et al. 1993: 167).

The reason that we put in the title of this paper *Valeriana celtica* (a close relative of the plant *Valeriana officinalis*) as the only denotatum for the S.-Cr. phytonym *odoljen* finds no explanation in a strictly botanical context; the whole idea for such a formulation of the title resulted from a clear intention to point to one specific variety that according to recent phylogenies based on DNA sequencing does not group with its congeners (likewise *Valeriana longiflora* and *Valeriana hardwickii*) and thus makes the genus *Valeriana* paraphyletic in its current circumscription. It is branched somewhere between *Nardostachys* and *Valerianella* plus *Fedia* clades. It is further divided into three sub-species: *V. celtica* subsp. *pennina*, *V. celtica* subsp. *norica*, *V. celtica* subsp. *pancicii* (Hal. & Bald.) Weberl., only slightly different from the species plant (Hidalgo et al. 2010: 1–2; uBio). *Valeriana celtica* is a plant for which recent researches affirm that it is the most likely denotatum for the Latin phytonym *saliunca* (Stirling 1991–1992: 149) (?), which iconymic structure, we believe, could be a key for finding a new etymological solution for S.-Cr. *odoljen*.

Saliunca folio quidem subbreui et quod necti non possit, radici numerosae cohaeret, herba verius quam flos, densa veluti manu pressa breviterque caespes sui generis. Pannonia hanc gignit et Norici Alpiumque aprica, urbium Eporedia, tantae suauitatis, ut metallum esse coeperit.
Plin. HN 21, 20, 43³

The Classical Latin term *saliunca* (Plin. 21, 7, 20, 43; Verg. E. 5, 17; Scrib. Comp. 195; 258; Vulg. Isa. 55, 13.) is defined by Lewis–Short (s. v.) as ‘an odoriferous plant, the wild or Celtic nard’ and its dim. form *saliuncula* (Hier. in Isa. 15, 55) is defined as ‘an odoriferous plant’. Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis svv. quotes:

‘SALIUNCA, ἀγριόροδον, λευκόροδον, in Gloss. Lat. Græc. Ibidem: *Saliuncula*, ἀνεμώνη. Vide Calcacrepa, et Martinii Lexic. in his vocibus.’

‘CALCACREPA. Will. Brito in Vocab. MS :

Saljunca, est quædam herba spinosa, a salio, quod salire faciat calcantes, et propter hoc vulgariter *Calacrepa* dicitur, quod calcantes facit crepare.’⁴

Giving the information about the meaning of M.E. *Whin* (‘Ulex europæus; any of several similarly spiky plants’) MED cites: ‘Whynne: Saliunca, saliusus [?], ruscus, est herba spinosa. A Whyn buske: salivnca, saliuuncula, paliurus’⁵. Foerster–Koschwitz 1932: 42, s. v. *cachatrepa* mention the synonymic terms for this O.Fr. phytonym: *saliunca*, *ancusa*, *paliurus*. O.C.S. *δραχὴ* Miklosich 1862–1865: 206 defines as ‘saliunca’. Based on the presented data⁶ the only logical follow up is that the term *saliunca* originally had to be a designator for a plant species to which **spikiness** is attributed as one of dominant features.

Are there some other signa under which could have been formed the Latin names synonymous to *saliunca*

André 1956: 217, 279 points out the following names: *nardum celticum* (< O.Gr. *νάρδος Κελτική*, Well.De mat.med.: 1, 8), *n. silvestre* (= *Asarum*, see below), *phu* (see above), *spica Celtic*, *valeriana*. About Lat. *valeriana*, Marzell 1943–1979, 4: 990–991 writes: ‘... erscheint zum ersten Mal in der lateinischen Übersetzungen

3 See http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Pliny_the_Elder/21*.html.

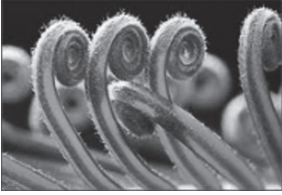
4 See <http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/CALCACREPA>.

5 See <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>.

6 Developing and changing of meanings of this term since its oldest use in the Classical Latin botanical terminology up to the emergence of modern scientific as well as popular European botanical nomenclatures should be a subject of a single phytonomic research. However, these selected data we considered representative enough for the conclusions we wanted to make.

des aus dem 10. Jh. stammenden Werkes „De diaetis“ des Isaac Judaeus, dann ihm 11. Jh. bei Constantinus Africanus ... Der mlat. N. ist, ..., nach der römischen Provinz Valeria in Pannonien, ... gebildet, über die der römische Geschichtsschreiber Ammianus Marcellinus im 4. Jh berichtet ...’, and adds that the relationship with Latin *valere* is ‘nur volksetymologisch’. As for *spica Celtica*, the syntagmatic unit *spica* is translated from O.Gr. *stachys* ‘ear of corn’ as in *nardostachys*, since *saliunca* was apparently held a nard type (see above and cf. Well.De mat.med.: 1.7–1.10). It is interesting that S.-Cr. *podzemljuha* – listed as an equivalent name for *spica celtica* in the famous Codex Rocabonella, was identified by de Toni as a fern type *Lycopodium clavatum* which grows in the Austrian Alps and whose rhizome had been usually selling instead of the rhizome of Alpine valerian on account of its easier availability. The names of these two plants often intersect in many European folk botanical nomenclatures, e.g. in Ger. *Hirschgeweih*⁷, O.H.G. *hirsezwewege* (Marzell 1943–1979, 4: 988–989). The same first (zoomorphic) element is repeated in the Ger. compound synonymic to *Hirschgeweih* ‘Alpine valerian’ – *herczeszunge* (Marzell 1943–1979, 4: 988), that occurs also as a designator for another fern type – *Scolopendria* (which is not surprising since the leaves of Valerian much resemble those of ferns)⁸, as well as in the name of a plant called by Pliny *vettonica* ‘herba Vettonum’ – *Stachys betonica*: *hirsswurz*⁹ (15th century). We consider these matters a “guideline” for finding the origin of the name *saliunca*. Besides them it should also be taken into account those names in the Slavic languages equivalent to *saliunca*, which are derived from the stem **kozьl-* (> **kozьlikъ*), and – perhaps above all, even though one may consider it of a minor importance – Dioscurides’s description of the plant *saliunca* (Well.De mat.med.: 1. 8) where he mentions the name for its “counterpart” – *tragos* (syn. *tragion*, *tragokeros*, *salia*, see Aufmesser 2000: 245) identified as *prickly scorpion’s-tail*¹⁰ *Scorpiurus sulcatus* (André 1956: 287). So, we have mentioned above few plants associated with the plant *saliunca* primarily due to linguistic data, and these are:

- 7 Cf. S.-Cr. *jelenske veze* *Lycopodium* sp., *vilin vinac* ‘id.’ (Симоновић 1959: 285–286), Eng. *Stag’s Horn*, *Goat’s Claw*, *Robin Hood’s Hatband* (Leyel 1946: 125), Czech *St. Jana pás* (Колосова 2009: 119).
- 8 Cf. S.-Cr. *jelenak*, *jelenski jezik* (Симоновић 1959: 426–427). According to Marzell 1943–1979, 3: 703–704 ‘Die N. der Glossen mögen teilweise auch für andere Pfl. gelten ... mit langen, spitzen, oder lantzechten bletteren ...’.
- 9 Cf. *aldrian* (15th century) ‘id.’ (< *Baldrian* *Valeriana officinalis*), S.-Cr. *srpac*, Lat. *diprion* (!) (< *prōnus*, a, um (archaic form of fem. *pronis*, Varr. ap. Non. 494 fin.), adj. ...turned forward, bent or inclined, leaning or hanging forward, stooping, bending down (class.; opp. *supinus*; cf. *cernuus* [!])’ (Marzell 1943–1979, 4: 463–464; Vajs 2003: 175; André 1956: 329; Lewis–Short, s. v).
- 10 See http://plants.usda.gov/java/stateSearch?searchTxt=*pi*&searchType=COMNAME&searchOrder=2.



1. Ferns¹¹:

a. *Lycopodium* sp.: ‘The stems of club moss plant bear forked branches and are usually faced down and covered up with leaves that resemble scales. The shape of the leaves of this plant vary from being lance-shaped to oblong or lean, getting thinner to linear in appear-

ance. The edges of the leaves are minutely jagged. The moss with the creeping stems (club mosses) is diminutive, creeping, and earthbound or land dwelling and grow on other adjacent plants for support. The sporophyte comprises true roots, a stem that grows above the ground and leaves resembling scales that are microphylls. These microphylls are small and arranged in a spiral manner on the stretched out stem.’¹²



b. *Scolopendria*: ‘The plants are unusual in being ferns with simple, undivided fronds. The leaves are 10–60 cm long and 3–6 cm broad, with sori arranged in rows perpendicular to the rachis. The plants grow on neutral and lime-rich substrates, including moist soil and damp crevices in old walls, most commonly in shaded situations but occasionally in full sun ... The tongue-shaped leaves have given rise to the common name Hart’s tongue fern. The sori pattern is reminiscent of a centipede’s legs ...’¹³

2. *Vettonica*: a plant with thin, sicle-like, semi-circular leaves (Vajs 2003: 176).

3. *Scorpiurus* sp.: ‘a genus that has simple leaves, with a petiole that gradually forms the leaf lamina, more or less lanceolate in form. This fruit of this species is densely covered with small needle-like emergences, and the whole structure forming a helix (!) in a one dimensional plane...’¹⁴



11 What is amazing about them is that their new leaves ‘expand by the unrolling of a tight spiral called a crozier or fiddlehead. This uncurling of the leaf is termed circinate vernation’ (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fern>).

12 See <http://www.herbs2000.com/homeopathy/lycopodium.htm>.

13 See http://www.reference.com/browse/scolopendrium?__utma=1.985158527.1269343810.1285840229.1285845275.15&__utmb=1.1.10.1312830890&__utmc=1&__utmz=1.1312829703.21.20.utmcsrc=google|utmccn=%28organic%29|utmcmd=organic|utmctr=dictionarz&__utmv=-&__utmk=168270497).

14 See <http://herbarivirtual.uib.es/eng-ub/especie/4474.html>).

Consequently here follows the first question: is it possible to pick up a common semantic element, i.e. a common semantic component from a semantic content of the lexemes, i.e. of the onyma for the cited referents? It seems that a schema presented below gives an affirmative answer:

Zoometaphoric element being first unit of the compound name	Variable	Semantic realization(s)	Semantic component(s)	Other metaphoric onyma
<i>Hirsch- Stag's Goat's</i>	<i>-geweih Horn Claw</i>	a natural projection or excrescence from an animal resembling or suggestive of a horn: the tough fibrous material consisting chiefly of keratin that covers or forms the horns of cattle and related animals, hooves , or other horny parts (as claws or nails)	arched, curly, sigmoid, twisted rounded	<i>srpac, dipronion,</i> <i>vilin vinac, Robin Hood's Hatband, St. Jana pás, arcantilla¹⁶</i>
<i>herczes- jelenski</i>	<i>-zunge jezik</i>	to form, or move, suggestive of a tongue resp. tail		
<i>murilega¹⁵ scorpion's</i>	<i>cauda tail</i>			

15 This name for *nardum celticum* is recorded in the medieval botanical nomenclatures (Marzell 1943–1979, 4: 986).

16 See the previous note.

And then follows the second question: could it be possible to find the same semantic element in the name *saliunca*? The hypothesis of the Ligurian ancestry of this Latin term which is assumed to mean ‘herba Saliorum’ (André 1956: 279) must be taken with caution, mainly because there is no evidence indicating a specific connection between the plant *Valeriana celtica* and Numa’s priests.¹⁷ An assumption that in this case we are rather dealing with the compositum with a unit *sali-* in its first part and the word that goes in the same line together with Latin *uncus* m./adj. ‘hook; curved’, *ungula* ‘nail; claw; hoof’ and Greek ὄγκος m. (also as adj.?) ‘curve, antler’ in its second part, would be more acceptable not only from the morphonological but also from the onomasiological point of view (within the exposed context). As for the element *sali-*, the census of opinion seems to favor its Greek origin (< σάλος) and (notwithstanding Alessio’s prae-Indo-European hypothesis (**salo-* ‘water’)) Indo-European origin of the Greek item (<**swel-*) (for in-depth discussion see Trumper 2004: 47–50). However, we should not even exclude the possibility to bring it in connection with Greek σαλία – the synonym for *tragos*. Oštir (1926–1927: 22 holds σαλία an Illyro-Thracian word. Detschew and Carnoy have different opinions. They relate the word to Greek κῆλον ‘flèche’ (Carnoy 1959: 234). Pokorny put it under the root **dhel-1*, **dholo-* ‘curve, hollow’. Finally, the idea that we are simply dealing here with a Greek dialect form equivalent to θαλία ~ θαλλός ‘young shoot, young branch, esp. of the ferns’ would be acceptable, too.

Let us look now whether the semantic content of the names for *saliunca* in other (related) languages, and here we mean in the first place the phytonyms we meet in Slavic folk botanical nomenclatures, might help us in resolving this phytonomastic puzzle.

S.-Cr. *odoljen* < pre-Slav. **obdolěntь*/obdolěny* < ?**

D. Miloradov in his treatise *Одолен или – одољен?* tried to enlighten linguistic history of the S.-Cr. phytonym as it is mainly passed through the relevant works of the Serbo-Croatian lexicography (Милорадов 2004: 475–478). In this light, and starting from the Skok’s assumption that S.-Cr. *odoljen* is derived from the verb *odoleti* (Skok 1971–1974, 2: 544, s. v. *odoljeti*), Miloradov tried to explain whether the relationship between these two phonetic variants of the name is the reflex of the relationship between ekavian and ijekavian dialect standard. His conclusion is that both characters can be considered ekavian standard. However, it is interesting what is written in the last footnote

17 There is no mention of this phytonym in CEL.

of the text: 'Ова констатација је одржива уколико је тачно да је фитоним поствербал. Ако посумњамо у етимологију одолен/одољен те се покаже да је овај фитоним настао као апелатив, простом суфиксацијом, уз мешање суфикса, отворила би се могућност за другачији поглед на овај проблем.' In the lines that follow we are just about to do that.

Attestations of the continuants of the pre-Slav. phytonym¹⁸

South-Slavic, Ukrainian, Slovakian and Czech reflexes of the pre-Slav. phytonym primarily occur as designators for the plant species *Valeriana officinalis*¹⁹:

Serbo-Croatian: *odòljen, oddòljan, odolijen, odolen, odolenak, odolin, dolen, doljen, dolin, doljika*;

- 18 We have to underline that we are not going to give information about areal distribution of the S.-Cr. phytonym and its numerous morphonological forms, since D. Miloradov has already done that in his aforementioned work. As for the Slavic equivalents, we shall do the same: information about their areal distribution will be lacked, as well as those considering sources from which the attestations have been excerpted, because full information about all these matters one can easily find gathered together in one place – in the work of H. Plevačová *K rodině psl. odolěň* (Plevačová 2000: 267–269).
- 19 'It is native to Europe and Asia. This tall perennial prefers moist woodlands. Its habitats also include marshy thickets, and borders of ditches and rivers' (Kemper 1999: 3; Buckland 1999). 'The roots tend to merge into a short, conical root-stock or erect rhizome, the development of which often proceeds for several years before a flowering stem is sent up, but slender horizontal branches which terminate in buds are given off earlier, and from these buds proceed aerial shoots or stolons, which produce fresh plants where they take root. Only one stem arises from the root, which attains a height of 3 or 4 feet. It is round, but grooved and hollow, more or less hairy, especially near the base. It terminates in two or more pairs of flowering stems, each pair being placed at right angles to those above and below it. The lower flowering stems lengthen so as to place their flowers nearly or often quite on a level with the flowers borne by the upper branches, forming a broad and flattened cluster at the summit, called a *cyne*. The leaves are arranged in pairs and are united at their bases. Each leaf is made up of a series of lance-shaped segments, more or less opposite to one another on each side of the leaf (pinnate). The leaflets vary very much in number, from six to ten pairs as a rule, and vary also in breadth, being broad when few in number and narrower when more numerous; they are usually 2 to 3 inches long. The margins are indented by a few coarsely-cut teeth. The upper surface is strongly veined, the under surface is paler and frequently more or less covered with short, soft hairs. The leaves on the stem are attached by short, broad sheaths, the radical leaves are larger and long-stemmed and the margins more toothed. The flowers are in bloom from June to September. They are small, tinged with pink and flesh colour, with a somewhat peculiar, but not exactly unpleasant smell. The corolla is tubular, and from the midst of its lobes rise the stamens, only three in number, though there are five lobes to the corolla. The limb of the calyx is remarkable for being at first inrolled and afterwards expanding in the form of a feathery pappus, which aids the dissemination of the fruit. The fruit is a capsule containing one oblong compressed seed. Apart from the flowers, the whole plant has a foetid smell, much accentuated when bruised' (Grieve 1931).

Bulgarian dial.: *delénka, deljánka, delénče, dilján, diljána, diljánka, divdeljánka, didiljánka, dizdiiljánka, duduljánka*;

Slovenian: *odolin*;

Ukrainian: *odolján, odolan, odežen, odylon zile, odejan, odem'an*;

Slovak-Czech: *odolen*;

Slovakian dial.: *odolien, adolien*;

Czech dial.: *odol'en*²⁰.

In the South-Slavic languages as well as in Russian dialects reflexes of the pre-Slav. phytonym also have a function of a hyperonym: in Serbo-Croatian such denotes e.g. the species *Tanacetum parthenium* and *Danna verticillata* (*doljan*), in Bulgarian – *Valerianella* (*dilianka*), in Slovenian – *Linaria* (*rumeni odolin*), *Antirrhinum* (*divji/veliki odolin*)²¹, in Russian dialects – *Nuphar*, *Nymphaea* (*adalén, adalén', adolen', odalen', adalín, odalín*), *Cypripedium calceolus* (*odalen*), *Cicuta virosa*, *Onobrychis sativa* (*odolen*), *Anemone pulsatilla* (*borovoj odolen*), *Oxytropis pilosa* (*gornyj odolen*), *Rumex aquaticus* (*vodjanoj odolen*), *Turritis glabra* (*adalím*), *Glechoma hederacea* (*adalen*), *Aspidium* (*odolen'*), *Euphorbia procera* (*odolej*). The same case is with the Russian dial. form with initial *v-*: *vodolén* denotes species *Valeriana officinalis* but its variants can denote some other species: *Aspidium*, *Asplenium* (*vodolen'*), *Datura* (*vodolján*)²², *Nuphar* (*vodolěj*), *Asarum europaeum* (*сухой водолень, водолей*).

Reconsidering pre-Slav. **obdolěny*/**obdolěny* < **obdolěti*

ESSJ 26: 160–161, s. v. **obdolěny*/**obdolěny* cites: 'Производное с суф. -нь/-нь от гл. **obdolěti* (см.). Иногда высказывается предположение о калькировании лат. *valeriana*, ср. *valere* 'быть сильным; быть здоровым' ...' and this is the mainly accepted opinion up today.²³ There were also some other suggestions as that of Oštir (according to Plevačová 2000: 269)²⁴. It seems that a major reason for doubting both solutions comes in the first place from the onomasiological side: it is obvious that we are dealing here with a well-known phenomenon in

20 'Tento rostlinný název je doložen především v jihoslovanských a východoslovanských jazycích. Ze západoslovanských jazyků je dosvědčen ve slovenštině, a to od 17. století ... V češtině jde o slovo až obrozenské ... Ve staré češtině a polštině se vyskytuje jen jako vlastní jméno osobní..., též v místních názvech...;' (Plevačová 2000: 267).

21 However, it seems that the identification of the referents should be revised (see Navratil 1896: 24).

22 Plevačová (2000: 268) made oversight. S.v. *Datura Stramonium* Анненков 1859: 53 put Russian *vodopján* not *vodolján* (!).

23 About Bulgarian *deljánka* see below.

24 ~ 'prait. **eudōn*- 'kozel'".

phytonymy called the unit transferring. This phenomenon may be caused by common or similar characteristics of the referent plant species, by the absence of specific, i.e. enough distinguishing characteristics of the referent plant species, or by – as Strömberg 1940: 15 said, ‘Verwechslung’. Plevačová 2000: 268 outlines four key elements or onomasiological moments that led to the unit transferring *Valeriana* sp. → sp. al.:

1. The smell or odor: *Valeriana* sp. → *Cicuta virosa*, *Cypripedium calceolus*, *Tanacetum parthenium*,
2. Magical properties: *Valeriana* sp. → *Aspidium*, *Asplenium*, *Antirrhinum*²⁵, *Euphorbia procera*,
3. Therapeutic properties useful in healing insomnia and nerves weakness: *Valeriana* sp. → *Datura*²⁶, *Anemone pulsatilla*, *Nuphar*, *Nymphaea*,
4. Occurrence of the same zoometaphoric element (**kozyl-*) in the name: *Valeriana* sp. → *Rumex aquaticus*, *Thalictrum*²⁷, *Glehoma hederacea*, *Oxytropis pilosa*.

It is not absolutely clear to which groups the plant species *Turritis glabra* and *Onobrychis sativa* belong. As for the unit transferring *Valeriana* sp. → *Danna verticilata*, Plevačová (2000: 268) holds it unclear. Apropos the first mentioned item, it should be noted that Valerian is an odorific oxymoron, since the gentle perfume of its flower is the antithesis of the fecal odor of its roots. In Serbo-Croatian as well as in other Slavic names for the species of this genus the concept of odor or smell is not reflected, if we exclude the names derived from the stem **kozyl-*²⁸, which can be interpreted differently (see below). These matters impose two conclusions: **aroma** must not be considered a dominant feature of Valerian and consequently it probably did not serve as an onomasiological moment for the unit transferring.

Guiraud 1967: 155–171 has given a structural description of that part of botanical taxonomy based on the special semic structure – zoomorphic elements. One of the most frequent processes of the plant nominating is precisely that in which some part of a plant is identified with an appropriate part of an animal. These nominational types are rather systematic. The principle of associating **expression** with **content** is constant: **expression** is always a part of the body of an animal, and **content** is certain plant species. In a structure like this the name of the animal’s body has a role of a **signifying morphemes**, while

25 See the footnote № 21.

26 See the footnote № 22.

27 Plevačová (2000: 267) holds *Thalictrum asiaticum denotatum* for S.-Cr. *odeljen*, *odolenak*, but Симоновић 1959: 465 holds this identification uncertain.

28 According to Machek 1954: 224 ‘Jméno kozlík ... vyjadřuje to, že kořen, ... , protivně páchně’.

the name of the animal is a **specific variable** and it is in opposition with the names of the other animals in the same class. The specific variable **goat** usually occurs with the following signifying morphemes: **tail** (to denote plants with a racemose inflorescence, but **cat** could also appear as a specific variable in a formation like this), **tongue** (to denote plants with oval, mostly smooth leaves, but **deer** could also appear as a specific variable in a formation like this), **horn** (to denote plants with a characteristic appearance of the fruit), **beard** (to denote plants with a characteristic appearance of the inflorescence) (Vajs 1979: 93–103, 2003: 224, 267; Marzell 1943–1979, 4: 805; Marin-Tatić 2004: 93). We have not found examples in which the specific variable **goat** regardless of a signifying morpheme is associated with an **aroma** of a plant.

About the names motivated by certain medical properties of plants, Vajs 2003: 404 writes: ‘Lekovitost se u nazivu razaznaje kroz obično izrečenu bolest ili određeni dio ljudskog tijela koji se njome leči, dakle izriče se namjena biljke. U takvim je denominacijama određenu ulogu odigrala i Paracelzusa doktrina iz 16. stoljeća po kojoj bi sama priroda preko sličnosti nekog dijela biljke s ljudskim organom ukazivala na njenu terapijsku ili neku drugu uporabu.’ The names of the plants to which are attributed some special healing or magical powers are often motivated by the names of saints. It should be noted here that usually one specific, mostly morphological characteristic of a plant associated with an object or even a shape to which some supernatural power is attributed often provides a basis for belief in healing or magical powers of the referred plant. It requires no additional comment that in this context the general accepted explanation of the origin of the name *odoljen* and of its function as a hyperonym cannot be accepted without hesitation. It is simply a wonder why not to give some other plant with similar healing or magical powers the same name ‘plant that resists’?²⁹ Considering the deep antiquity of the phytonym *odoljen* it seems more likely that the primary motivation has been forgotten in time, and that the name underwent various morphological transformations as a result of paradigmatic or folk-etymological adaptations, or as a result of the pressure that semantic contents produce on expressions and vice versa, etc. Only in this sense, one could absolutely accept the derivation of the name from the verb *odoleti* as well as the derivation of the Bulgarian form from **dělěna* (ЭССЯ 4: 232–233). In an attempt to “catch” the original onomasiological moment in which this term “emerged”, we will return to the semantic structure of the Latin *saliunca* and of its equivalents found in European folk botanical

29 About numerous plant species with the well-known magical powers see in: Dvoršak 2010: 16–21.

nomenclatures, i.e. to the basic semantism **arched, curly, sigmoid, twisted, rounded** conceptualized through various images of semantic contents of those names. Let us see first if it is justified by morphological characteristics of the identically named plants. We will start with the Russian variants with initial *v*- for we believe that they reveal from one side that the common Slavic phytonym and the Latin phytonym *saliunca* have similar iconymic structure and from the other side that they indicate the exact direction of the unit transferring: *Valeriana* sp. → sp. al. Thus we have:

1. (Supposed) Transfer: *Aspidium*, *Asplenium* → *Valeriana* ↓.
2. (Supposed) Transfer: *Valeriana* (*asarifolia*) → ← *Asarum europaeum* as a nard type (Well.De mat.med.: 1, 10) → *Nuphar*, *Nymphaea*.

It is obvious that we are dealing here with plants that prefer or grow in water. The morphological similarities between leaves of Valerian and those of ferns have already been discussed above. *Valeriana asarifolia*, *Asarum europaeum*, *Nuphar* and *Nymphaea* are the plant species that have almost identical heart-sickle leaf form. In these cases we can speak of the homonymic polysemy, and the isomorphism of certain parts of the referred plants caused that the referred plants share the same functions³⁰. It seems also quiet obvious that the basic semantism **arched, curly, sigmoid, twisted, rounded** could have been easily reflected in certain designators for the referred plants.

3. (Supposed) Transfer: *Valeriana* → (plants with pinnate leaves or in the form of a palm or (semi)circular or kidney-shaped) *Anemone* (cf. S.-Cr. *krstasti koritnjak*, Симоновић 1959: 35), *Glechoma hederacea* (cf. S.-Cr. *kotur, okrugljač*, Slovenian *koritinik*, Симоновић 1959: 215–216), *Oxytropis pilosa* (cf. Russian *остролодочник*, Симоновић 1959: 333, Czech *vlnica*, Machek 1954: 124), *Rumex aquaticus* (cf. S.-Cr. *уски лопух*, Симоновић 1959: 407–408 and Bulgarian names derived from the stem *lap-*, *lop-*, МББР s. v. *Rumex*), *Turritis glabra* (= *Brassica*). The unit transferring in the Serbo-Croatian: *Valeriana* ↙ *Danna*³¹ ↘ *Tanacetum*³² goes in the same line with the supposed transferring in Russian, and unlike in the previous two cases we are talking here about homonymic generalizing.³³

30 About ferns in Slav. folklore see in: Агапкина 1995: 629–631.

31 The specific name *verticillata* just as early cited phytonyms in parenthesis indicate per se ipsa that denoted plants possess features similar to those of Valerian.

32 The iconymic structure of the German designator for *Tanacetum* sp. – *Gasefauss* (Marzell 1943–1979, 4: 595) explicitly refers to a plant with pinnate leaves or in the form of a palm.

33 Here probably belong transfer Valerian sp. (S.-Cr. *odoljen*) → *Cicuta virosa* (Slovenien *lajnež, leneš, lejnež*, see ESISJ 2: 121), transfer Valerian sp. (*garden heliotrope*) → *Euphorbia* sp. (Sweden *solvåndstörel*, see Marzell 1943–1979, 2: 381) and Valerian sp. → *Onobrychis sativa* (S.-Cr. *grahorka*, see Симоновић 1959: 323). In the last two cases the motive for the associative connections was the time of flowering or the fruit appearance.

4. (Supposed) Transfer: Valeriana → *Cypripedium* sp. ('Verwechslung?').

If we assume that the names for the mentioned ferns were basic nodes for weaving extensive network of the unit transferring, than we can ask ourselves is there any other name common for ferns and Valerian of similar or even identical iconymic structure? According to Simonović's dictionary the most common names for the plants *Aspidium* sp. and *Asplenium* sp. are *paprat(ka)* and *navala* (Симоновић 1959: 56–57). S.-Cr. *paprat* belongs to the pre-Slavic funds of phytonym. It also has the function of a hyperonym but it does not denote Valerian and the referred semantism is not covered by its semantic structure. As for S.-Cr. *navala* Skok 1971–1974, 3: 562–563 holds it deverbativum just as one of those listed under the root **val-* (with *ō>a*) / **vъl* (> S.-Cr. *obao* 'rotundus'). 'Sa imenom biljke navala poklapa se năvalnic (Moldavija) ... scolopendrium officinale, koji se polaže pod prag od kuće ili u kupelj da navale prosoci ...' In connection with this root he also mentions adjectivum 'na -ěn (ili, bolje, part. pret. pas.) obljen' as well as the phytonym 'oblič »grašak«' being created 'od prefiksa na ob- ... i ništičnog prijevoja **vľъ-* od ie. korijena **vel-*' meaning 'hook up' (Skok 1971–1974, 2: 535, 299). If the assumption of Skok is true, the referred semantism can be easily recognized in the semantic structure of the phytonym *navala*. Then would it be adventurous to recognize the similar formal structure in the phytonym *odoljen*? However, we are of the opinion that within a context we have previously argued in detail, an attempt to analyze the name *odoljen* as a compound that hides in its second part the same element as the one being in *obljen* and in its first part the unit *vodo-* which alludes to the plant that likes or grow in water, deserves no less attention than that of the other explanations of the formal structure of the phytonym *odoljen*. We also believe that the primary form of the Slavic name, if reconstructed as **vodōvľěň*, would reveal also the complete iconymic structure of Latin *saliunca*.

References

- André 1956: André, J., *Lexique des termes de botanique en latin*, Paris.
- Aufmesser 2000: Aufmesser, M., *Etymologische und wortgeschichtliche Erläuterungen zu De materia medica des Pedanius Dioscurides Anazarbeus*, Hildesheim etc.
- Buckland 1999: Buckland, E. M., *Medical Attributes of Valeriana officinalis – Valerian*, Wilkes-Barre, PA.
- Carnoy 1959: Carnoy, A., *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms grecs de plantes*, Louvain.
- CEL: Blanc, A. – Brachet, J.-P. – Lamberterie, & Ch. de (eds.), *Chronique d'étymologie latine* 1–3. In: *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire anciennes*, Paris 2003–2005.
- Dvoršak 2010: Dvoršak A., Magične moči rastlin. In: *Prebujenje zavesti*, November 2010, Pred-dvor, 16–21.
- ESISJ: Bezljaj, F. – Snoj, M. – Furlan, M. – Klemenčič, S., *Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika*, 1–5, Ljubljana 1976–2007.

- Evstatieva et al. 1993: Evstatieva, L. N. – Handjieva, N. V. – Popov, S. S. – Pashankov, P. I., A biosystematic study of *Valeriana officinalis* (Valerianaceae) distributed in Bulgaria. *Plant Systematics and Evolution* 185, 3–4, 167–179.
- Foerster–Koschwitz 1932: Foerster, W. – Koschwitz, E., *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*, Leipzig⁷.
- Grieve 1931: Grieve M., *A Modern Herbal*. <http://botanical.com/botanical/mgmh/mgmh.html>.
- Guiraud 1967: Guiraud, P., *Structures étymologiques du lexique français*, Paris, 155–171.
- Hidalgo et al. 2010: Hidalgo, O. – Mathez, J. – Garcia, S. – Garnatje, T. – Pellicer, J. – Vallès, J., Genome Size Study in the Valerianaceae: First Results and New Hypotheses, *Journal of Botany*, 1–19.
- Houghton 1997: Houghton, P. J., *Valerian – the genus Valeriana. Medicinal and Aromatic Plants – Industrial profiles*. Harwood Academic Publishers [A.C. Dweck. Chapter 1. An introduction to Valerian *Valeriana officinalis* and related species. pp. 1–19].
- Kemper 1999: Kemper, K. J., Valerian [pdf], Page 25, *Longwood Herbal Task Force*: <http://www.mcp.edu/herbal/default.htm>, Revised December 15, 1999.
- Lewis–Short: Lewis and Short's *Latin-English Lexicon* (1879): <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/PERSEUS/Reference/lewisandshort.html>.
- Leyel 1946: Leyel, C. F., *Compassionate Herbs*, Faber And Faber Limited, Osmania University.
- Machek 1954: Machek, V., *Česká a slovenská jména rostlin*, Praha.
- Marin–Tatić 2004: Marin, P. – Tatić, B., *Etimološki rečnik naziva rodova i vrsta vaskularne flore Evrope*, Beograd.
- Marzell 1943–1979: Marzell, H., *Wörterbuch der deutschen Pflanzennamen*, 1–5, Leipzig – Stuttgart.
- Miklosich 1862–1865: Miklosich, F., *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, Vindobonae.
- Navratil 1896: Navratil, I., Slovenske narodne vraise in prazne vere. In: *Letopis Matice Slovenske*, Ljubljana, 1–46.
- Oštir 1926–1927: Oštir, K., K predslovanski etnologiji Zakarpatja (Κοσέντζης), *Etnolog*, Vsebina letnika 1., Ljubljana, 1–35.
- Plevačová 2000: Plevačová, K rodině psl. odolěň. In: Janyšková, I. – Karlíková, H. (eds.): *Studia etymologica Brunensia* 1, Praha, 267–269.
- Pokorny: Pokorny, J., *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1–2, Bern – München 1959–1969.
- Skok 1971–1974: Skok, P., *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, 1–4, Zagreb.
- Stirling 1991–1992: Stirling, J., Saliunca, *Orvostort Kozl* 37–38, 149–154.
- Strömberg 1940: Strömberg, R., *Griechische Pflanzennamen*, Göteborg.
- Trumper 2004: Trumper, J. B., Greek Naiads amongst the Brettii, Oscan Naiads in Greek colonies: Calabrian hydronymy, a long term perspective and intra-mediterranean comparisons. In: *Adrionian: Visions, Echoes, Maps & Routes*, Thessaloniki, 39–89.
- uBio: *Universal Biological Indexer and Organizer*. <http://www.ubio.org/>.
- Vajs 1979: Vajs, N., Zoomorfski elementi u nazivima biljaka. *Rasprave Zavoda za jezik* 4–5, Zagreb, 89–104.
- Vajs 2003: Vajs, N., *Hrvatska povijesna fitonimija*, Zagreb.
- Well.De mat.med.: *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei, De Materia Medica Libri Quinque*. Ed. Max Wellmann. 3 vols., Berlin 1906–1914; repr. Berlin 1958.
- Агапкина 1995: Агапкина, Т. А., Папоротник. In: *Славянские древности: этнолингвистический словарь в 5-ти томах*, том 3., под редакцией Н. И. Толстого, Москва, 629–631.
- Анненков 1859: Анненков, Н., *Ботанический словарь*, Москва.
- Колосова 2009: Колосова, В. Б., *Лексика и символика славянской народной ботаники*, Москва.
- МББР: *Материали за български ботаничен речник*. Събрани от Б. Давидов и А. Авашев. Допълнени и редактирани от Б. Ахтаров, София 1939.

Милорадов 2004: Милорадов, Д., Одолен или одољен? *Зборник Матице српске за филологију и лингвистику* 47, 1-2, Нови Сад, 475-478.

Симоновић 1959: Симоновић, Д., *Ботанички речник*, Београд.

ЭССЯ: *Этимологический словарь славянских языков*, 1-, под ред. О. Н. Трубачева, Москва 1974-.

S.-h. odoljen Valeriana celtica (etimološka beleška). S.-h. fitonim *odoljen* pripada opšte-slovenskom fondu fitonima i praslvenske je starine. Uopšteno je mišljenje da je ovo ime izvedeno od glagola *odoleti* bilo da se radi o kalku sa lat. *valere* koje je u lat. *Valeriana* ili je u pitanju nezavisno slovensko obrazovanje. Međutim, ikonimska struktura lat. ekvivalenta *saliunca* – ukoliko odbacimo nedovoljno potvrđenu Andreovu hipotezu o „travi Numinih igrača“ i pođemo od pretpostavke da se radi o složenici u čijem se prvom delu nalazi naj-verovatnije apelativ *salum* n. „široko, debelo more; morska pučina; more uopšte“ (up. lat. *Salipotens*), a u drugom reč koja ide u red zajedno sa lat. *uncus* m./adj., *ungula* „nokat; pandža; kopito“ i gr. *ὄγκος* „pregibak; kuka; parožak“, upućuje na mogućnost da se i u s.-h. *odoljen* može kriti ista ili slična konceptualizacija i organizacija sadržaja, naročito ako se imaju na umu ruska potvrda ovog imena sa inicijalnim *v-* *сухой водолень* *Asarum europaeum*, (pra) slovenski sinonimi izvedeni od osnove *kozьl-* (> **kozьlikъ*), te stvnem. nazivi *hirsezgewege*, *hertes svrich* „*saliunca*“. Razmišljanje u ovom pravcu opravdava i činjenica da se brojne slovenske ne samo morfološke varijante ovog fitonima nego i njihove semantičke realizacije ne mogu svesti na jednostavno izvođenje od glagola *odoleti*. Ovo kao i moguća druga tumačenja postanka srpsko-hrvatskog i latinskog fitonima, tj. pokušaj detaljne rekonstrukcije nominacijskog procesa koji je doveo do formiranja s.-h. imena *odoljen* kao i lat. imena *saliunca* glavna je tema ovog rada.

Maja Kalezić • maja.kalezic@isj.sanu.ac.rs

Institut za srpski jezik SANU

Knez-Mihailova 36/1, 11000 Beograd, Srbija