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A neglected Common Slavic word family for ‘Nymphaeaceae’¹

According to the *The dictionary of Russian dialects* in the area of Ryazan occur a number of phytonyms containing the morpheme *mamól-* and exhibiting the botanical meaning ‘Nuphar lutea L.’ or rather ‘Nymphaea alba S. S.’² These forms are *mamólka -i* (SRNG XVII 351 s.v.: *Est’ mamolki, u nich cvetki*

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- 1 I am indebted to Piotr Mirocha, Rafał Szeptyński and Szymon Pogwizd for their invaluable logistic help. Unpublished sources of toponymic material referred to in the present paper have been kindly put at the disposal of the Kraków onomastic community by Małgorzata Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań).
 - 2 The exact gloss is given in the entry *mamónnik* (SRNG XVII 353 s.v.). However, *kuvšynka želtaja* is *Nuphar lutea*, which is at variance with the descriptions given by particular informants (cf. below).

As a rule, these two species are designed with the same words: “Die Art teilt fast alle N[ame]n mit der nah verwandten Weißen Seerose (*Nymphaea alba*, s.d.), oft wird sie lediglich durch den Zusatz “gelb” von diesen unterschieden” (Marzell III 338). The same holds in principle for the Slavic languages (cf. Annenkov 1878: 227–229; Šulek 1879: 536; Majewski 1894: 527, 528–529; Makowiecki 1936: 243–244; BotReč 219; Simonović 1959: 319–320).

v sredkach želtye, a po krajam belye, kak machoriki”³) and *mamólnik -a* (ib. s.v.: *Celuju papušu vam nesla: i mamol’nik, i semniki, i katki*). All these forms are given with the date 1960–1963 and localization “Rjaz **Rjaz**”. Along with them, more numerous forms based on the morpheme *mamón-* are reported: *mamónnik -a* ‘list’ja i cvety želtoj kuvšinki’ (ibid.: 352, s.v.: “*pojdem mamonnik rvat’*”), *mamónčik -a* (ib. s.v.: “*V ozerach mamončiki rastut želten’kie, belenkie, list’ja širokie, kto mamončik nazovet, kto mamonka*”).⁴ The term *mamónki* (sg. *mamónka*) is quoted there from two sources (ibid. sv.: “*mamonki, brednem lavim, èto zamesto durmana*”; after Grišina: “*slovo očen’ redko upotrebljajetsja v ed. č*”, from the area of Solotča near Ryazan). It should be noted that in the local dialects no distinction between the etymological vocalisms **a* and **o* in pretonic syllables has been kept, so that their *a* can represent **o* as well.

The supposition that *-n-* is secondary with regard to *-l-* is supported by comparative lexical evidence from outside Russian. In Byelorussian Polesye, similar terms have been fixed in the same botanical meaning [Bejlina (1968: 426): *momúl* ‘*Nymphaea candida* Presl.’, from the village of Lopatin on the Styr river; Špakoŭski (1977: 110): *momíl* ‘*bjaly harlačyk*’, i.e. ‘*Nymphaea alba*’ from the southern part of the Pinsk area; Turaŭ (III 89): *mómèl’* ~ *mómol* m. ‘id.’, from the village of Rubel’, cf. ÈSBM (VII 66) s.v. **Momel’*; Vjarènič (2009: 444): s.v. *muł-2: mum’ił, mom’ił, m’omuł* and *muł* (m.) ‘*vodnaja lilija, Nymphaca*’ (sic! – Z.B.), from Polesye]. The latter are particularly appreciable, as they contain no further morphological extensions, thus allowing us to reconstruct the proto-form as **momol’b* or rather **momolb* m. (**-o*-stem; the stress placement cannot be reliably reconstructed).⁵

In the fifth volume of his *Badania nazw topograficznych...* rev. S. Kozierowski published the microtoponym *Momólno*⁶ (name of a meadow in the village

3 This description unambiguously indicates that the informant was describing not ‘*Nuphar lutea*’, but ‘*Nymphaea alba*’.

4 This description suggests that the word was used either in both meanings or only for ‘*Nymphaea alba*’.

5 As for the vocalic features of the listed dialectal forms, the *u* encountered in them is probably due to unstressed or closed syllable position. **o* > *i* in (final) closed syllable is a typical Ukrainian development proper to many dialects of Byelorussian Polesye as well. The non-palatalizing vocalism *e* in Rubel’ (attested along with *o*) seems to testify to the mobility of this vowel (oblique cases in *moml-*), which can be easily explained within a dialect in which the etymological **b* and **o* have merged in *o* (**momol’*: **momol’* → **momol’*: **moml’* → **momel’*: **moml’*).

6 The original passage reads as follows: “*Mamólno (Momólno), łąka na Karminie pod Psarskiem Kośc. Czy *Namólno = *Namodlno?*”. While **Namólno* and **Namodlno* are

Karmin towards/near Psarskie in western Greater Poland), suggesting that the original form of it may have been **Namodlno* (1922: 11). This suggestion, unfortunately taken up by Borek (1968: 152), must be assessed as unfounded, since the original *Momólno*, as well, can be satisfactorily explained with recourse to Slavic lexical facts.⁷ In the unpublished volume of UN (Szamotuły district, p. 20) we find the later form of *Momólno*, namely the standardized *Umólna -ej* (meadows in Psarce⁸), but the corresponding “professorial” typescript (p. 21) has the dialectal form *umulna -uf*.⁹ As the latter is the plural form of a neuter, we have to conclude that the editor of the volume, probably the renowned Slavist and dialectologist Władysław Kuraskiewicz, unduly transformed

certainly the author’s reconstructions, the character of *Mamólno* given as entry head is not entirely clear. However, one is entitled to suppose that *a* is also a kind of reconstruction/standardization, like in pair *Nokto* : *Nakto* found in other places of Kozierowski’s monumental compendium. On the contrary, *Momólno* seems the real standardized form of the name as it came to Kozierowski’s attention. His informant was most probably rev. Dolatowski, the parson at Psarskie, who is mentioned as one of the informants in Kozierowski (1921: xxii). For a reconstruction of the dialectal form of the microtoponym cf. below.

As for the abbreviated “Kośc.,” this is probably Kozierowski’s mistake (repeated by Borek l.c.). He used this abbreviation for “Kościańskie” ‘the area around the town Kościan’ which has nothing to do with Karmin near Psarskie (there is, however, another Karmin in the Kościan area, which neighbours the village Parsk (!)).

- 7 No other †*Namodlno* appears to be known in the Polish toponymy. Such a name could have originated as the so-called directional (Polish *kierunkowy*) microtoponym (original non-inflected prepositional turn **Na Modlno* ‘towards Modlno’, then transformed into an inflected name). In such case, however, the vowel *a* of the prefix is expected to have been short, which precludes a reasonable explanation of the dialectal form *Umulna* (cf. below).
 - 8 The information that the object is situated also on the territory of Psarce allows for its precise localization. If Kozierowski’s “pod Psarskiem” is to be intended as ‘towards Psarskie’, *Momólno*/*Umulna* must be the swampy meadow situated immediately to the north-east of Karmin. As visible on the maps, the meadow is now covered with a net of melioration ditches, in the past it could well be a real swamp/bog or even a disappearing eutrophic or dystrophic lake. The same can be said about another potential candidate, namely the meliorated bog to the south-west of Karmin, with numerous peat pits visible on the maps.
- The explorer wrote the form down probably as it was used in Psarce, so it cannot be excluded that the form without *M-* existed as early as in the first decades of the 20th century being used mainly in that village.
- 9 *-uf* < *-ów* < **-ovъ*, the ending of the gen. pl. of the **-u-*stems, in many Polish dialects generalized in feminines and neuters as well.

This form was written down probably in the early sixties. The explorer who fixed it in Psarce is unknown to me, but he must have been a young linguist affiliated at the time at the Poznań University.

the dialectal plural form as fixed by the explorer into a singulative feminine adjective. He also evidently failed to see a connection between this name and *Momólno* as published by Kozierowski. It is quite possible that *Momólno* is the form of the standard Polish language that, used by local landlords and clergymen, shows the phonology of the 16th century and has resisted dialectal changes that eventually have led to **Umulno, Umulna*. As known, Mediaeval Polish had the quantitative opposition of vowels, which was eliminated in the early 16th century: high vowels simply lost quantity, while middle and low long vowels were narrowed. In many dialects the short (broad) *o* merged with narrowed (formerly long) *ó* in the position before the nasals *m, n*. In western Greater Poland this new vowel has been retained as *ũ*, has changed into *u* or has become post-labialized (*ũ^u, u^u*), cf. Tomaszewski (1934: 19–20); Dejna (1973: 185–188); Dejna (1981: map 53). It follows that the expected local reflex of the Old Polish (early 16th century) *Momólno* should be **Mumuln^uo* or **Mũmuln^uo*.¹⁰ The fact that Dolatowski, the probable informant of Kozierowski, did not hesitate to standardize both radical vowels as *o ~ ó* in spite of the ambiguousness of the dialectal *u* against the relationship between the system of the dialect and that of the standard language strongly suggests that he simply used the form that he considered as standard to the extent that it differed markedly from the variant used by local peasants. Of course, the loss of initial *M-* must be regarded as irregular and surprising (perhaps due to dissimilation?).

Thanks to Majewski (1891: 216, 1894: 527) and Karłowicz (Karł. III 108) we know that the term *mamałucha* ‘Nuphar lutea’¹¹ was known to Tomasz Cieszyński, the author of the 1880 book *Der polnische Apotheker*.¹² *Mamałucha*, when compared to the lexemes discussed above, looks like a borrowing from Byelorussian, with reflexes of the *akan’je* in both pretonic syllables. This intuition is, however, false, because the word was unambiguously qualified by Cieszyński as Silesian. Of course, its almost complete absence from other Silesian lexical sources indicates that it must have been a relic word with very

10 See Gruchmanowa 1970 for the peculiarities of the dialects of that area. Karmin and Psarce are situated between the dots 19 (Lubosz) and 25 (Lubosina). In both villages the short **o* gives *°o* or *°ó*, while **ó, *o(N)* and **u* give *ũ* or *u* (no strict distribution rules can be established).

11 *Mamałucha biata* is given there as a Silesian term for ‘Nymphaea alba’ (Majewski 1891: 216, 1894: 528).

12 The book, designed as a help for German speaking pharmacists who had to communicate with Polish speaking population of East Germany, contained dialectal and regional Polish medical terminology (a. o. names for healing plants) with corresponding Latin glosses. It proved very useful, as it had at least two editions (1880 and 1909).

Cf. the website http://olesnica.nienaltowski.net/Antoni_Cieszynski.htm (access August 2015).

limited spatial occurrence.¹³ Moreover, it is not entirely clear what the exact shape of the word – as it came to Cieszyński's attention – was and what bearing should it have for the reconstruction of the pre-Polish state of affairs.

Cieszyński was born in 1846 in Koźmin in southern Greater Poland. In the seventies he moved to Oleśnica in Lower Silesia where he kept a pharmacy until at least 1883. It is reasonable to suppose that Cieszyński learned *mamałucha* during his stay in Oleśnica, i.e. the word occurred in some neighbouring Silesian dialects of Polish. At the time the linguistic boundary in that part of Silesia ran about 15 km to the south and to the east of Oleśnica (see Bąk 1974: 18, map 3. and 24, map 4.¹⁴). The most representative specimen of the local variety of the Silesian dialect is that of Dziadowa Kłoda, where Polish survived up until after WW II. A detailed description is lacking, but some dialectal texts were recorded about 1946 (informants had been born in the seventies and eighties of the 19th century) and published by Bąk in 1974.¹⁵ The question arises if the dialectal source of the standardized *mamałucha* may have been other than **mamauxa*.

The dialect of Dziadowa Kłoda is a typical variety of Western Polish, which retained well ancient oppositions between older non-narrowed and narrowed vowels. The following nasals modified the articulations of **ā*, *o* and *e*, the two former phonemes having merged in this position (cf. *móm* 'I have' < **mām* as *uóny* < **onē* 'they'). The dialect has retained the inherited opposition between short (non-narrowed) *o* and long (narrowed) **ā* > *ā*, as the former was fronted and sometimes pre-labialized/diphthongized¹⁶ while the reflex of *ā* is as a rule *ou* in the published texts. However, the following *u* developed from the lateral dental *ł* usually blocked both the diphthongization of *o* and the

13 No related (micro)toponym can be found in the main compendium of Silesian toponymy (SNGŚ VII passim).

14 These maps and their descriptions have been evidently interchanged.

15 Bąk (1974: 209–211) – texts produced by Józef Kurzawa and Maria Wancek.

It should be noted that Dziadowa Kłoda is the dot 278 of the *Slavic linguistic atlas* (OLA). The phonological description of this dialect furnished by Topolińska (1982: 91–94) is based on the materials collected for the questionnaire of OLA as late as in 1971, and does not mention any more some archaic phonetic features that are still visible in the documented speech of older generations.

16 Such realizations are rare in the texts: *chuoregę* < *chorego*, *duchuewnego* < *duchownego* (Wancek), *padaę* < *padato* (Kurzawa). More examples are given in the chapter devoted to the fate of **o* in the Silesian dialects (Bąk 1974: 39): *koeza* < *koza*, *woesy* < *włosy*, *uoeknoe* < *okno*, *zielazoe* < *żelazo*, *noes* < *nos*, *bucióń* < *bocian*, *gōóńb* < *gołqb*, *kōę* < *koto*, *stōęek* < *stolek*. Hypercorrect forms like *woesy* or *modou* < *młodā* suggest that the pre-labialized realization tended to be replaced by the non-labialized one.

diphthongization (post-labialization) of *ā*. On the other hand, the following nasal blocked the diphthongization of *o* (making it coalesce with former **ō*, cf. above). In the dialectal texts, the long **ā* > *ā* is represented as *o* before *u* (cf. *miou* < **miāt* ‘he had’ and other preterital forms in *-āt*), which also occurs usually as the reflex of etymological **o*. Thus, there is some possibility that the word in question developed indeed from **momotucha* and was pronounced **mūmoŭucha*. Such a form may have been considered ambiguous phonetically by Cieszyński himself and have been standardized as *mamatucha*. On the other hand, it is not obvious that he should at any cost transpose the dialectal form into the literary language, given the peculiar purpose of the prepared book. One should rather conclude that **mamaŭuxa* or **mamoŭuxa* are more probable possibilities than **mūmoŭuxa*. The fact that another independent attestation, namely *mamałusza* ‘Nymphaea alba’ is known (Łopaciński 1899: 788, from the area of Racibórz¹⁷) points in the same direction.¹⁸

Curiously enough, historical reflexes of Slavic **momol-* seem to be first attested (and best preserved) in ... eastern dialects of Low German (!). Marzell’s dictionary (III 349) lists the following cognate terms for ‘Nymphaea alba’: *Mümmelken* (Mecklenburg; Stormarn district in southern Holstein), *Witte Mümmelken* (dictionaries of the 18th cent. from Mecklenburg), *Mürmelken* (1776), *Mummelke* (Western Pomerania, 19th cent.), *Mummelitzke* (Mittelmark), *Mummeliske* (Mittenwalde, Teltow district)¹⁹, *Mümmel* (Mecklenburg; Grand Duchy of Lübeck, Stormarn), *Mümmeln* (Hither Pomerania), *Weisse Mümmeln* (East Prussia, sources from the 17th–18th cent.), *Mümmeling* (Mecklenburg). For ‘Nuphar lutea’ (ibid. 340): *Mummel* (East Prussia, Samland; Prignitz), *Geele Mummeln* (East Prussia, 17th cent.), *Mümmel* (Grand Duchy of Lübeck, Stormarn), *Mümmelken* (Mecklenburg, the 17th–20th cent.), *Mümmelink* (Mecklenburg). Danish *mommelcke* fixed in 1596 is probably a loanword from Low German.²⁰ In spite of the position of the authors of this

17 Silesian dialects south to Racibórz completely identify *ā* with **o* (> *o*), so that their hypercorrection would be the all the more probable. But it is not very probable that two authors would independently standardize two dialectal forms in the same specific way.

18 *Mamatucha* ~ *mamałusza* is discussed neither by Spólnik (1990), which does not come as surprise, as they are attested after the 18th cent., nor by Waniakowa (2012).

19 Two latter terms seem to contain material continuation of a Slavic suffix *-icka* < **-ičьka*.

20 As for other meanings (Marzell V 379, 380), ‘Colchicum autumnalis’ (*Mummelschelle* in Alsace) is not related to these words (see Marzell I 1092). ‘Asplenium ruta-muralis’ (*Mummelkrütig*, Schmalkalden in Thüringen) is more or less unclear (Marzell I 489: “Mummelkraut ist sonst die Nymphaea, die aber höchstens insofern mit unserer Pfl[anze]. in Verbindung gebracht werden kann als sie auch eine “Haarwurz” war”). The authors opt for a connection with the verb *mummeln* ‘heimlich reden’.

dictionary, who consider these terms as genuine German creations,²¹ this peculiar geographical distribution leaves little doubt that their point of departure was constituted by a substratum borrowing from some mediaeval West Slavic dialect of that area. Let us note that the predicted Polabian reflex of **momolb* would be **mümol* (non-reduced second syllable) or **mümal* (reduced second syllable).

The above lexical facts shed a new light on the etymology of a set of forms lacking *-l*-extensions. The most representative variant is undoubtedly Ukrainian *mómýč*, given in a number of sources of dialectal botanical terminology summarized by Makowiecki (1936: 243–244), chiefly in the meaning 'Nymphaea' or 'Nymphaea alba'. This author quoted it from the book by Verchratskyj on the Batuky dialect and some other works by this author, from the Russian-Ukrainian dictionary by J. Tymčenko, from an ethnographic work by L. Hodoly, from taxonomic works by M. Melnyk dating from 1922. Makowiecki himself fixed this form down in some dialects of Podolia. It is noted also in the dictionary by Želechovskij (Želech. I 451). However, it is known from dialects of southern Byelorussia [Vjarènič (2009: 444): *m'omyč*, *m'omoč*: Polesye). Also *momeč* is known (ESUM l.c.). In the meaning 'Nuphar lutea' *momyč* (*žovtyj*) is given only in Verchratskyj's book on the Batuky (Makowiecki 1936: 243 s.v.). Along with *momyč* and its variants other forms lacking the initial *m*- are attested as well (*omyč*,²² *umyč*,²³ *vomyč*,²⁴ *łomyč*²⁵). One of them, the scarcely attested *omyč*,²⁶ was taken to be the starting point of the set by

On the contrary, *Lütt Mummelblätter* 'Ranunculus' appears related to 'Nuphar', the characteristic yellow globular flowers being the tertium comparationis (Marzell IV s.v.).

21 Cf. their comments on the origin of this group of words: "Wassermuhme, Mümmerle, Biber-Mummeli sind N[ame].n für weibliche Wassergeister (...). In Mecklenburg heißt es, man dürfe die auf dem Wasser schwimmende Mummelken (die Wasserblüme im allgemeinen) nicht pflücken; sie gehören der Wassermöhme, welche den Störer ihres Besitzes ins Wasser ziehe". There is every reason to think that this legend was based on the similarity of the word to German (or Slavic?) terms for 'mother'. In Bulgarian, the terms *vodena morska vila*, *vodena morska rusalka*, *rusalka* are attested precisely for 'Nymphaea alba' (BotReč 219).

22 From three sources (Verchratskyj, Volan, Želechovskij).

23 Quoted from various works by Verchrats'kyj, from the schoolbooks by Tančakovskij (Lviv, 1910) and that by Volan (Vienna, 1854) as well as from Melnyk's 1922 book. It can be found also in Želechovskij's dictionary (Želech. II 1010: *úmyč*).

24 Only in the book on the Batuky.

25 This peculiar form, found only in a 1908 book by Verchratskyj, is probably due to contamination with synonyms in *l-* (*latat-*, *lopat-* etc., for which see Makowiecki 1936: 243–244).

26 As far as I know, the *m*-less forms appear only in Galicia, while those in *m*- are attested in Galicia, in Podolia, in Bukovina as well as in Ukrainian-type Polesye dialects outside the

the authors of the major etymological dictionary of Ukrainian (ESUM IV 186–187, s.v. *omyč*). Although they ultimately qualified the word as unclear, they did consider the possibility of the roots **myk-* / **myč-* or **mok-* being contained in it, thus tacitly regarding its *o-* as a prefix.²⁷ No semantic analysis was offered to support the suggested etymology. As such an approach would imply that (*m*)*omyč*, though exhibiting essentially the same botanical meaning, is unrelated to **momol-*, it must be rejected as unrealistic. The word can be analyzed as *mom-yč(e)* and considered as a collective derivative in **-iče*. This suffix, best preserved in Slovene, has left numerous traces in other Slavic languages as well (cf. Sławski in SP I 102–103), for example, in the Polish toponymy (see Bańkowski 1972: 283–284). The correctness of this reconstruction appears to be corroborated with the relic form *movnyče* ‘Nuphar lutea’ (see Makowiecki 1936: 243; forms are given only from dialects of Bukovina from two independent sources), supposed to have retained the original neuter form of the nom. and acc. of the sg. As it is known, the Central European species of the Nymphaeaceae family form large plant communities, which makes possible that the original generic name can be easily replaced in everyday use by its collective derivative, which eventually becomes a new generic name of the plant, thus ousting completely the original non-derived form. Its almost complete masculinization in the Ukrainian linguistic area would have been facilitated by the loss of motivation, which also blurred its etymological morphological structure.

Now we are able to identify a possible trace of the original non-derived **mom-* ‘a species of Nymphaeaceae’ conserved in Polish toponymy. The *Państwowy rejestr nazw geograficznych* lists the microtoponym *Momie*, localized in the village Krakuszowice in the southern part of Lesser Poland. A glance on the map shows that *Momie* (dialectally probably **Mūrnie, -ã*) is a swampy meadow situated at the source of a small brook in the system of the Raba river (the name is not mentioned in UN II 42 and passim). Since the Nymphaeaceae do occur even at such swamp sites (they require only about centimetres of water to grow successfully), it is very attractive to explain the name as a trivial toponymic collective formation in **-bje*, very typical of Polish toponymy, derived directly from a **moma* or **móm* ‘Nuphar’ or ‘Nymphaea’.

Ukraine. This situation shows *omyč* ~ *umyč* to be a typical central innovation, originated probably through irregular dissimilative loss of the nasal onset, just like in *Momólno* discussed above.

27 “nejasne; može buty zistavlene z osnovamy [*mýkaty*] ‘vyryvaty’ i močýty [*móknuty*]”.

If so, a starting point for the etymology of this word family is constituted by the simple **mom-*. The etymology cannot, however, be established with full certainty,²⁸ so I will limit myself to a few remarks on this subject. **Mom-* is in its turn homonymous to a set of words of child language, attested in the Slavic languages in the basic meaning 'human youngster' ('girl', 'boy', sometimes 'virgin', often extended with diminutive suffixes like **-vka*, **-vkv*, cf. ÈSSJa XIX 287, s.v. **moma*; 288–289, s.v. **momvkv*). Now, names for 'Nymphaeaceae' are sometimes identical with names for young or small humans. A particularly cogent example is German *Wassermännchen* (Marzell III 349–350, with certain reservations); other cases of such a metaphor could be Danish *søfrue* or Upper Sorbian *knježička* 'virgin' (ibid. 349). The motivation is often sought in mythology (Marzell l.c.), but such an approach is unable to explain with a single denominator the recurrent identity of these generic names with names for 'puppet' (see Marzell III 340: 2.; 350: 2.). A tempting solution would be then a metaphor 'youngster' or 'puppet' → 'water lily' referring to the shape of undeveloped or closed²⁹ flowers of water lily, resembling the head of a human or of a primitive puppet emerging from water (puppets, as imitations of humans, are necessarily human-shaped). As it seems, these undeveloped globular flowers were sometimes compared to mushrooms, whence terms like Polish (literary and terminological) *grzybienie* (Majewski 1894: 257, 258) or Russian *gribovnica* 'Nuphar' (Annenkov 1878: 228). 'Nuphar' sometimes is also named after its fruits, which have a characteristic bottle-like shape.³⁰

Existence of any traces of this word family in South Slavic is still open to doubt. The principal repertories of the botanical terminology of these languages lack any related forms attested in the basic meaning 'a species of Nymphaeaceae' (cf. ftn. 2). There are, however, at least two words that do deserve attention in this respect. Perhaps the most interesting one is the dialectal Bulgarian (Tetevensko) *momiče* 'Bidens cernuus' (BotReč 115, 454).

28 The only attempt at etymological explanation that has come to my attention is that offered in ÈSBM VI l.c. The authors opined *momol-* to be a borrowing from Baltic, comparing it with Lithuanian *momuolys* 'crown, head top' (see Fraenkel LEW 463–464, s.v. *momuō* on this word family). Any possible arguments speak against this supposition. Leaving aside the semantic side, which is not even touched upon, it is obvious that the vowels of the Baltic word could be transposed as *o* only in case of a very late borrowing. In fact, the presence of **momolv* reflexes in both Russian and the westernmost dialects of West Slavic definitely rules out the possibility of a Baltic loanword.

29 As it is known, the Nymphaeaceae close for night.

30 Cf. Russian *kuvšinka* (: *kuvšin*), Ukrainian *zbanocky* 'Nuphar', English *brandy bottle*. Probably also denominations of 'Nymphaea' based on the names of the pops (*makovky*) are founded on the conceptualization of the fruit shape.

Nodding beggarticks are a plant with yellow flowers growing immediately on the banks of rivers and lakes. For these two reasons we should reckon with the possibility that its meaning has been shifted from ‘*Nuphar lutea*’. Nevertheless, habitus differences between these two species are very serious, so that the supposition of a common origin can by no means be regarded as assured. Another example is Serbian (Torlak?) *mamka* ‘*Ranunculus*’ (Simonović 1959: 391, from a work by S. Petrović, probably from the area of Niš). The meaning ‘*Ranunculus*’, as suggested by the reality (resemblance of yellow globular flowers) and by German *Mummel* (see above), can well be secondary with regard to ‘*Nuphar*’. However, the most serious obstacle is constituted here by the unexpected vocalism *a*.

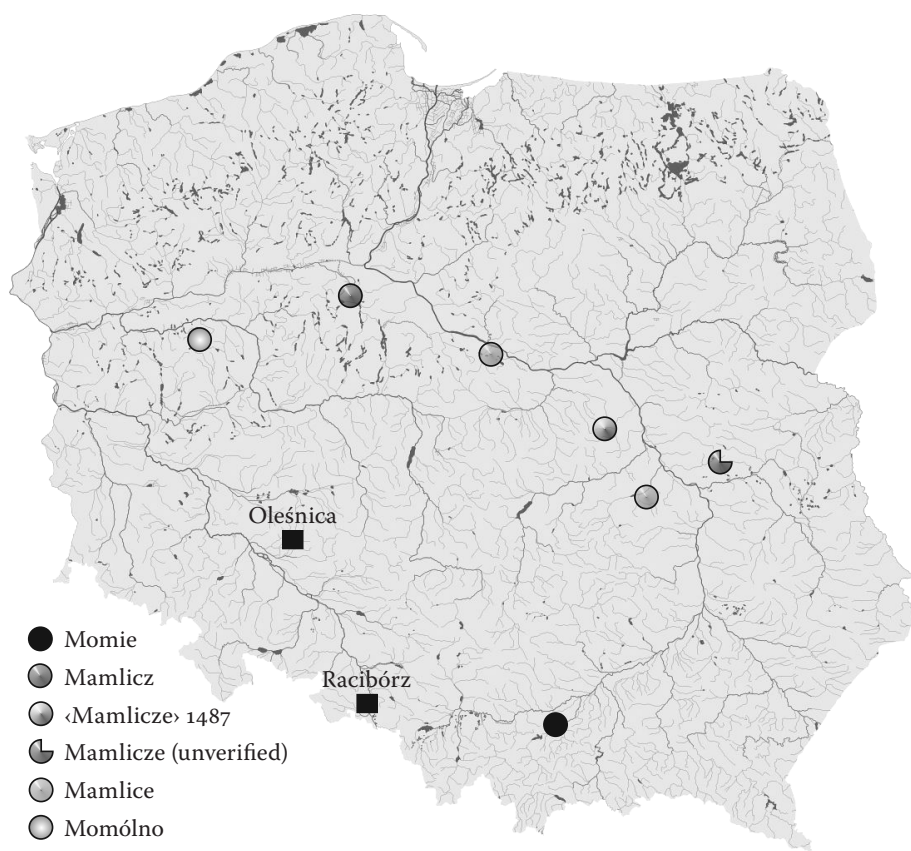
Ending on a somewhat speculative note, I would like to discuss, at some length, the Polish place names in *Maml-*. Only one of them, *Mamlicz*, shows up as an oikonym in a document of 1362, but with the ending *-e* (cf. NMPol VI 499, s.v. *Mamlicz*). The endingless form is attested as late as since the second part of the 19th century. The authors of the repertory³¹ reconstruct an original patronymical (plural) name **Mamlice* (the gen. **Mamlic*), tracing it back to an unattested person name **Mamla*. The hushing affricate *č* instead of the expected *c* is explained by them with German influence.³² Such a point of view is disproved by the circumstance that a reconstruction *Mamlicze, -a*, which agrees with the known historical attestations, permits to best explain the observed transformations: masculinization is due to the community of the major part of the case forms, while *č* can be now regarded as original. The same form can be reconstructed for a Mazovian forest name, written down as *⟨Mamlicze⟩* in a mediaeval document from the 15th cent. (Wolff, Rzetelska-Feleszko 1982: 98), as well as (?)³³ for the toponym *Mamlicz* in the Stężycza region. The collective suffix *-icze* (cf. above) can be recognized in all of them, which in its turn suggests that *Maml-* was the radical morpheme of a generic plant name (see Bańkowski 1984: 129–130). My perusal of the published and unpublished volumes of *Urzędowe nazwy...* has revealed two other similar names, namely *Mamlice* (the gen. *Mamlic*), a lake and meadow “with waters” near the villages Antoninów and Sędeń Mały in the Gostynin district (UN CXXV 12, 16; PRNG) and *Mamlice* (the gen. *Mamlic*),

31 Aleksandra Galasińska is given as the main author.

32 Oddly enough, the German form of the place name was *Mamlitz* [!], cf. Schrötter’s map of 1796–1802; SG VI 84, which could hardly be re-substituted as *Mamlicz*.

33 According to Bańkowski l.c. near Grabów Szlachecki; sources of this information are unknown to me. Such a toponym is lacking in UN as well as in PRNG, SG and NMPol.

a forest near the village Nowe Mąkosy in the Koziernice district (UN XXV 24; lacking in PRNG). Both are presented by the respective sources as pluralia, but this situation can be secondary. Since both are situated in the area where Old Polish *c* and *č* merged into *c*, *Mamlice*, if arisen phonetically from **Mamlicze*, could easily have been reinterpreted as plural patronymic structure, whence the new inflection the gen. *Mamlic*, the dat. *Mamlicom*, etc. The very circumstance that out of four/five names *Mamlic(z)e* known in Poland at least three are attested as anoikonyms speaks decidedly against their patronymic origin.



In his own treatment of these place names, Bańkowski (1984 l.c.) started from a reconstruction **Manl-*, based exclusively on the presumably oldest attestation of Mamlicz name from 1362 (<*Manlicze*>, as quoted after Koziernowski (1914: 162). Such a morpheme was derived by him from the word family of

**maniti* (cf. ÈSSJa XVII 195–204), with a tentative meaning ‘staggering plant’, perhaps ‘*Prunus padus*’. The author evidently fell prey to misunderstanding, as in the document in question the spelling <*Manlicze*> occurs along with <*Mamlicze*> (cf. KDW III 196 № 1466³⁴), the former being rather a scribal error, with no independent value for the restitution of the original phonological shape of the place name. Now, if the supposition of a dialectal Old Polish **mamał(ucha)* or **mamoł(ucha)* put forward above is correct, the question arises whether *maml-* (< **maml-*>), the **a* of which could not be reasonably explained away, is nothing but a further variant of this local term for Nymphaeaceae. The suffixes *-*ol-* and *-*ol-* were partially interchangeable in Common Slavic (cf. the pair **bqbol’b* : **bqbol’b* ‘pustula’ SP I 347, 348; on the suffixes cf. Sławski in SP I 109, 111–112), which makes such a supposition all the more probable. Nevertheless, I have to acknowledge that so far I have been unable to identify any Slavic plant name which could be traced back directly to a proto-form **mamł-* (~ **mamł-*).

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34 “...ambe partes Kosczola, Manlicze, Labissino, Mochle, Ostrow cum molendino...” and five lines below “...ambe partes Kossziola, Mamlicze, Lambissino et Mochle”.

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