Benoît SAGOT

INRIA

A new PIE root *h_1er '(to be) dark red, dusk red': drawing the line between inherited and borrowed words for 'red(ish)', 'pea', 'ore', 'dusk' and 'love' in daughter languages

PIE *h_1roud^h-o- [adj.] 'red' has long been reconstructed (Com. Germ. *rauda- 'red', Lith. raũdas 'reddish brown, bay, reddish', Lat. rūfus 'red, tawny, red-haired' < Com. It. PIt. *rouþo-, < Com. Celt. *roudo- 'red', etc.). This o-grade adjective belongs to a Caland-system based on a PIE root *h_1reud^h- (NIL:580; BOZZONE 2016) also involving a number of other formations (see for instance LIV²: 508 and NIL: 580ff).

Formally, the root *h_1reud^h- looks like a secondary root. The first step towards the identification of the underlying primary root is to recognise the final -d^h- as originating from a suffixal formation, itself based on a primary root *h_1er- 'to be/become (dark)red' via an acrostatic u-noun *h_1or-u-, h_1er-u 'redness', following a productive PIE word formation pattern for colour names. In the remainder of this abstract, we will therefore bring together a number of words:

- Based on this acrostatic neuter noun *$h_1ór$-u-, *$h_1ér$-u 'redness': Skt. áruṣ- [n.] 'wound' (< *$h_1ér$-u-s-), Skt. aruṣ-á- 'reddish, light red, glowing, with the colour of fire' (RV+), YAv. aruša- 'white', Com. Germ. *arwa- 'red', Skt. aruṇá [adj.] 'reddish' (RV+), ODu. arut [m.] 'ore' and OHG aruz, ariz [m.], aruzi, arizi [n.] 'id.';
- Based on a *-b^h- derivative seen in an n-stem noun *$h_1réb^h$-ōn, *h_1rb^h-nó- 'something red/brown (vel sim.)' formation: OE eorp, earp 'light brown, dusky', ON jarpi 'hazel grouse', OHG reba-huon 'partridge', ON rjúpa, Lith. jerbė and jeru(m)bė, Hom. Gr. ὀρφναῖος 'dark, murky (of the night)' and ὀρφνός [adj.], ὀρφν-° 'dark, dark red';
- Based on an h_2-formation resulting in a secondary verbal root *h_1erh_2- attested in two language families with a similar semantic shift: Skt. raj~rañj 'to colour, become red (e.g. out of excitation), to be excited' (AV+), rāga- [m] '(red) colour, passion, love', Gr. ἔραμαι 'to desire, to love' (hence also the Aeolic inverse derivative ἔρος).

Some of these words previously lacked a convincing etymology or were suspected to have a substratic, often non-Indo-European origin, including the Germanic word for 'ore' and the Germanic and Balto-Slavic words for 'partridge'. In this regard, we will conclude by focusing on words for 'vetch' and 'pea', which we also derive from the PIE root *h_1er- 'to be/become (dark)red'. We first analyse Lat. ervum [n.] 'vetch' as inherited, Com. Germ. *arwīt- [f.] 'pea' (OHG arawīz, araw(e)iz, MDu. erwete, ON ertr) as a Germanic-internal innovation based on inherited material. We then move to Gr. ὄροβος [m.] 'vetch' and Gr. ἐρέβινθος [m.] 'chick-pea'. We do invoke borrowing processes, yet from Anatolian languages (respectively from Late Luwian / pre-Lycian and from pre-Lydian) rather than from a hypothetical non-Indo-European substratum language.

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