

Unclassified Substrate Lexemes in Latin

It's not all Greek to me

Andrew Wigman | Sub-Indo-European Workshop

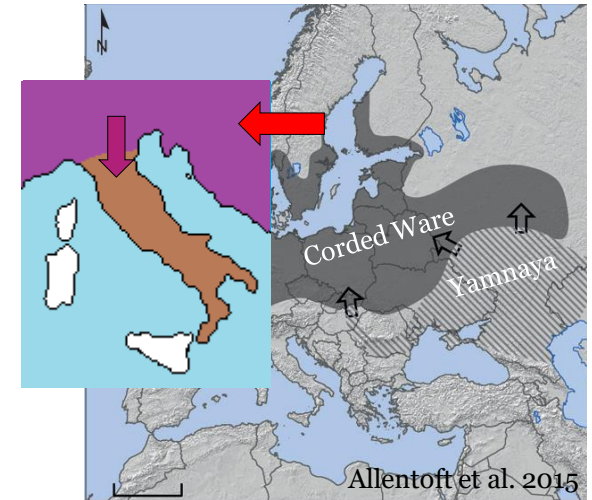
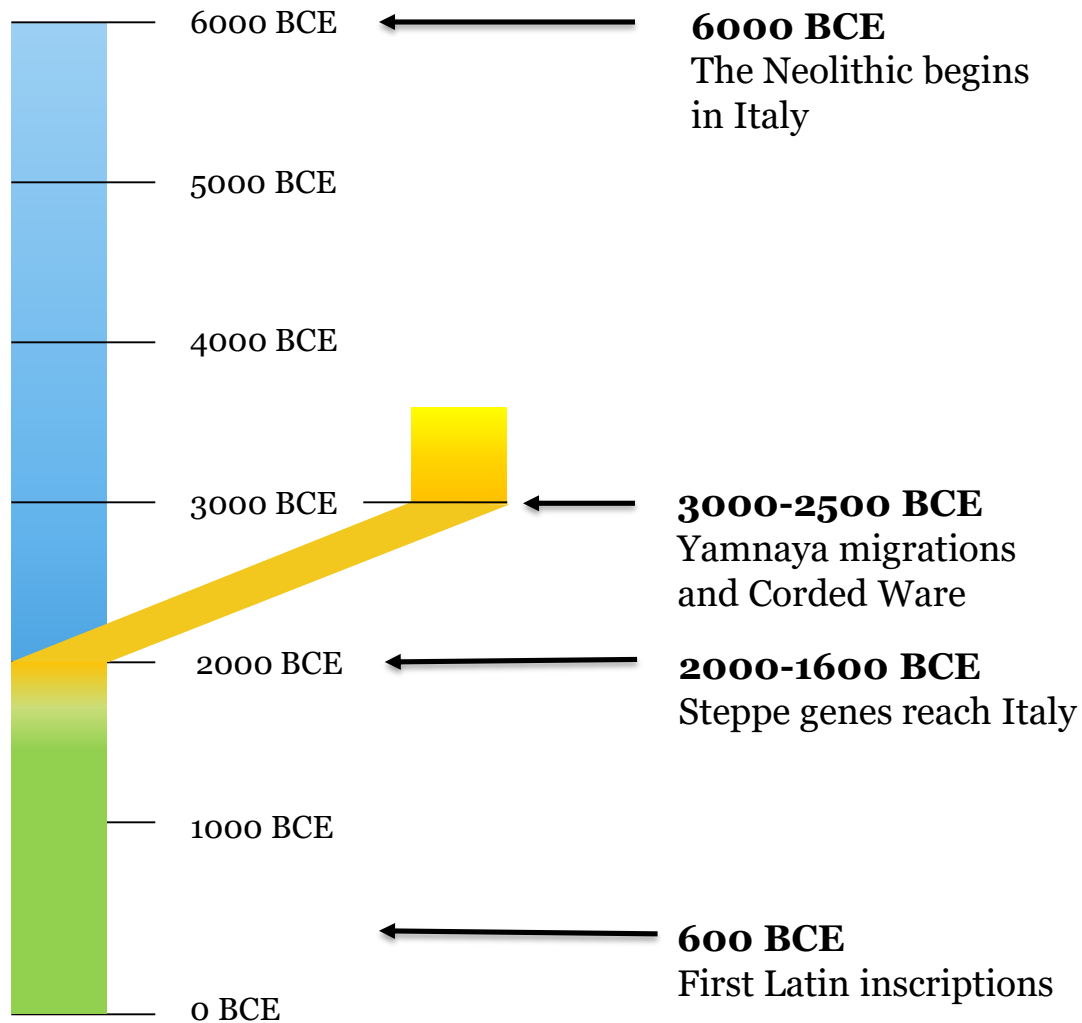
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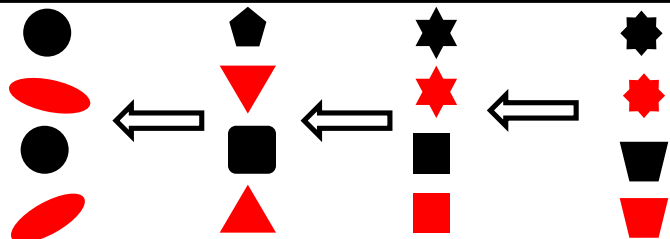
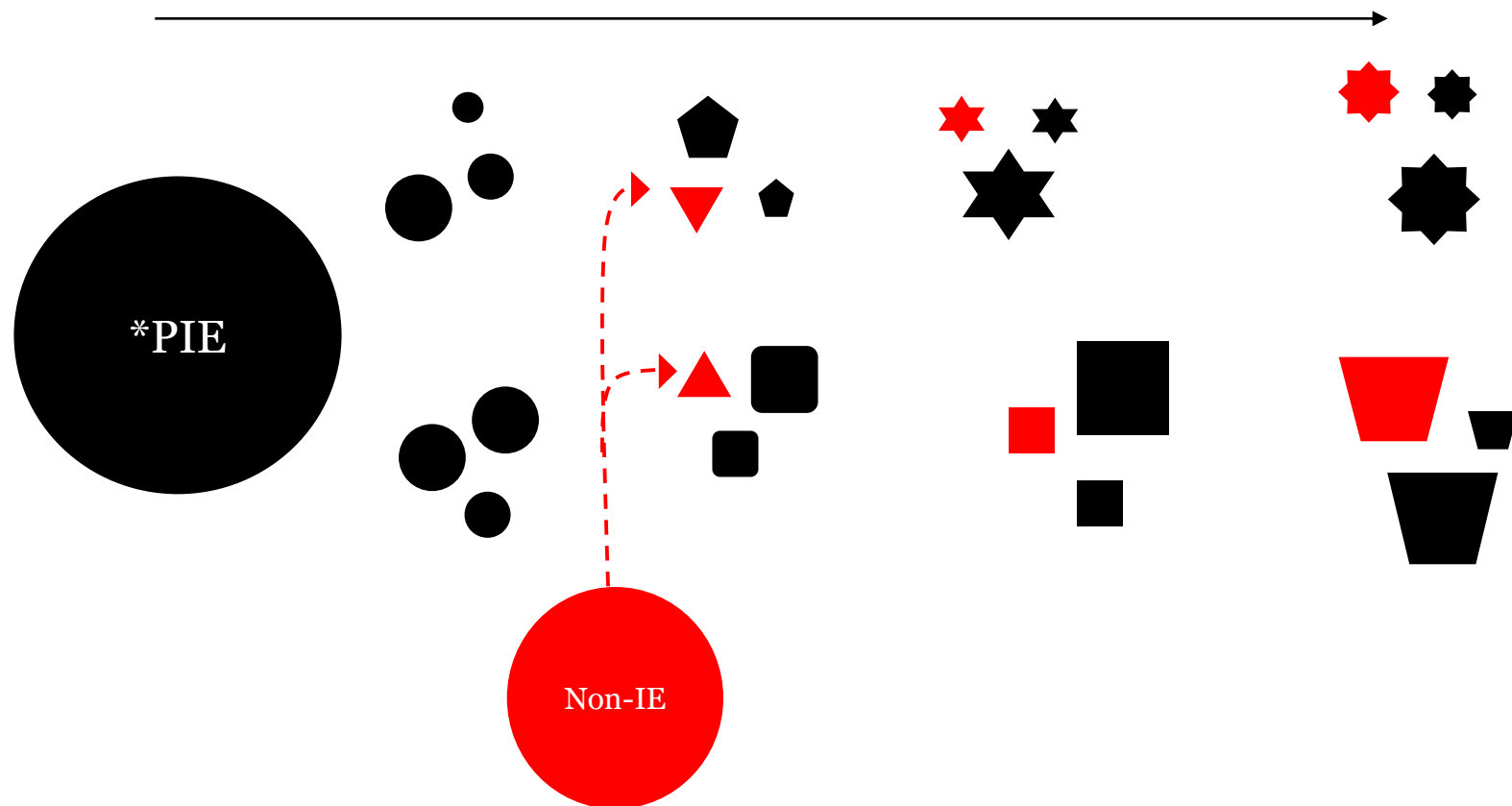
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Italy and the Substrate Question



Haak et al. 2015
Saupe et al. 2021
Allentoft et al. 2015

How to Catch non-Indo-European



Several daughter branches borrowed one word, but it was **composed of non-IE phonemes** and thus was nativized in disparate ways.

Different daughter languages borrowed different word forms that were cognate **in the substrate language(s)**.

The Process

Check the etymological dictionaries

Lat. *caupō* ‘innkeeper, huckster’

Borrowing from an **unknown source**; in view of the **Greek** form, probably from a **Mediterranean language**.

de Vaan 2008: 100

Mot populaire d'origine obscure, qui rappelle de loin le **gr. κάπηλος** « revendeur »; comme *lēnō*, sans doute emprunté à une **langue méditerranéenne**...

Ernout-Meillet: 107

unsicherer Herkunft. —

Die Bedd. stimmen ziemlich genau zu gr. κάπηλος m. „Kleinhändler, Höker auf dem Markt, bes. Weinschenk“ (καπηλείον „Kramladen, Weinschank“, κάπηλα· ἡ κρεώπωλις ἀγορὰ παρὰ Ταραντίνοις Hes. usw.), das seinerseits kaum aus dem Idg. zu erklären ist

so daß vl. mit Ernout *Él. dial. lat.* 143 unabhängige Entlehnungen **aus einer Mittelmeersprache** anzunehmen sind; fürs Lat. käme dabei **etrusk. Vermittlung** (BSL. 30, 111) in Frage, da hier eine Alternation *au* : *a* (Schulze EN. 576, Herbig Gl. 2, 86 f.) begegnet.

Walde-Hofmann I: 189

Examine the phonological arguments

- 1) Are there comparanda and are they really connected?
- 2) Is the source language is known?
- 3) Are there are positive criteria that allow a rejection of Indo-European origin?

Methodologically Excluded Situations

- Words isolated in Latin

sagitta ‘arrow, shaft’

- Forms are not irregular except for their distribution in a limited group of branches

**h₂merg-* : Lat. *mergae* ‘two-pronged pitchfork’
 Gk. ἀμείργω ‘to pluck (flowers), press (olives)’

- Irregular features that can actually be unusual but not impossible PIE alternations

**h₁rd-* : Lat. *ardea* ‘heron’
**h₁rōd-* : Gk. ἐρωδιός ‘heron’

Best Cases

alnus ‘alder tree’

avēna ‘oats’

baculum ‘stick, staff’

caper ‘goat’

catulus ‘young of an animal’

caupō ‘innkeeper’

columba ‘dove’

cūpa ‘cup’

cupressus ‘cypress’

ervum ‘bitter vetch’

faba ‘bean’

far ‘spelt, flour’

fascinum ‘evil spirit, spell’

fīcus ‘fig’

filix, felix ‘fern’

fracēs ‘smashed olives’

fulica ‘coot’

fungus ‘mushroom, sponge’

hasta ‘spear’

lēns ‘lentil’

lepus ‘hare’

līlium ‘lily’

merula ‘blackbird’

mūlus ‘mule’

plumbum ‘lead’

racēmus ‘bunch of grapes’

rāpum ‘turnip’

raudus ‘lump (of metal)’

sabulum ‘sand’

Irregular Features

Vocalic alternation

Lat. <i>caupō</i> ‘innkeeper, huckster’	PItal. * <i>k</i> au pōn-	* <i>kh</i> ₂ (<i>e</i>) u p-
Gk. κάπηλος ‘innkeeper, huckster’	PGk. * <i>k</i> a p-	* <i>kh</i> ₂ (<i>e</i>)p-

Lat. <i>ervum</i> ‘bitter vetch’	PItal. * <i>er</i> (V)wo-	* <i>h</i> ₁ er (H-/-V-)-uo-
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Greek ὄροβος ‘bitter vetch’	PGk. * <i>orobo-</i>	* <i>h</i> ₃ er <i>h</i> ₃ -bo-
Greek ἐρέβινθος ‘chickpea’	PGk. * <i>erebint</i> ^h o-	* <i>h</i> ₁ er <i>h</i> ₁ -bind ^h o-

Old Norse <i>ertr</i> ‘peas’	PGm. * <i>arwīt-</i>	* <i>h</i> ₃ er <i>u</i> -īd-
Old Saxon <i>erit</i> ‘pea’		
Dutch <i>erwt</i> ‘pea’		
German <i>Erbse</i> ‘pea’		

Arm. <i>arowoyt</i> ‘alfalfa’	PArm. * <i>a</i> ri/uw-	* <i>h</i> ₃ er Vb-
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Voicing Mismatches

Lat. <i>avēna</i> ‘oats’	PItal. <i>*awe(C)snā</i>	<i>*h₂eu-e(ǵ^(h)/k̃)-s-n-</i>
Russian <i>ovës</i> ‘oats’	PSlav. <i>*ovbsb</i>	<i>*h₂eu-ik̃^(s)-(s)-</i>
Lith. <i>avižà</i> ‘oats’	PBalt. <i>*(a)wiž-</i>	<i>*h₂eu-ig^(h)-(s)-</i>

Lat. <i>fulica</i> ‘coot’	PItal. * <i>fulikā-</i>	* <i>b^hul-Vk-</i>
OHG <i>belihha</i> ‘coot’	PGm. * <i>balikōn-</i>	* <i>b^ha/ol-ig-</i>
SGael. <i>bolachdan</i> ‘coot’	PCelt. * <i>bola/okk-</i>	* <i>b^ho/ul-a/okk-</i>

Lat. <i>caper</i> ‘goat’	PItal. * <i>kapro-</i>	/ * <i>kap-ro-</i>
ON <i>hafr</i> ‘goat’	PGm. * <i>hafra-</i>	* <i>kap-ro-</i>
Gk. κάπρος ‘boar’	PGk. * <i>kapro-</i>	* <i>kap-ro-</i>
OIr. <i>caera</i> ‘sheep’	PC * <i>kapero-</i>	* <i>kap-ero-</i>
OIr. <i>gabor</i> ‘goat’	PC * <i>gabro-</i>	* <i>gab/p-ro-</i>

Aspiration Alternations

Lat. <i>filix</i> ‘fern’	PItal. * <i>fele/ik-</i>	* <i>b^he/ilVk-</i>
Gk. βλῆχνον ‘male fern’	PGk. * <i>blēk^hno-</i>	* <i>blēg^h-n-</i>
Engl. <i>bracken</i>	PGm. * <i>brekna(n)-</i> * <i>b^hreg-n-</i>	

Lat. <i>fascinum</i> ‘evil spirit’	PItal. * <i>fask-</i>	* <i>b^hask-</i>
Gk. βάσκανος ‘sorcerer’	PGk. * <i>bask-</i>	* <i>bask-</i>

Lat. <i>lēns</i> ‘lentil’	PItal. * <i>lenti-</i>	* <i>lent-</i>
OCS <i>lęsta</i> ‘lentil’	PSl. * <i>lętja-</i>	* <i>lent-</i>
Gk. λάθυρος ‘pulse, chickling’	PGk. * <i>lat^huro-</i>	* <i>ln^dh-</i>
Sous Berber <i>tilintit</i> ‘lentil’	PBerb. * <i>līntī-</i>	

Gemination

Lat. <i>baculum</i> ‘stick, staff’	PItal. <i>*bakolo-</i>	<i>*bak-elo-/*bak-tlo-</i>
NPr. <i>bacèu</i> ‘washing staff’	PRom. <i>*baccillo-</i>	<i>*bakk-el-lo-</i>
Gk. βάκτρον ‘stick, cudgel’	PGk. <i>*baktro-</i>	<i>*bak-tro-</i>
Engl. <i>peg</i>	PGm. <i>*pagjo-</i>	<i>*bak-io-</i>
Old Ir. <i>bacc</i> ‘crook’	PC <i>*bakko-</i>	<i>*bak-ko- ?</i>

French *lievre* ‘hare’ < Lat. *leporem* (*lepus* ‘hare’)

French *lapereau* ‘bunny’ < **lapparo-*

Illegal Root Structure

Lat. <i>fīcus</i> ‘fig’	PItal. * <i>pīko-</i>	* <i>d^hīko-</i>
Gr. τῦκον, σῦκον ‘fig’	PGk. * <i>ty/wūko-</i>	* <i>tī/uūko-</i>
Arm. <i>t^cuz</i> ‘fig’	PArm. * <i>tuz-</i>	* <i>tu/ūǵ^h-</i>

Lat. <i>fracēs</i> ‘smashed olives’	PItal. * <i>prak-</i>	* <i>d^hrak-</i>
OCS <i>droždъje</i> ‘yeast’	PSlav. * <i>drazgija-</i>	* <i>d^hrasg^h-</i>
OP <i>dragios</i> ‘dregs’	PBalt. * <i>dragia?</i>	* <i>d^hrag^h-</i>
ON <i>dregg</i> ‘dregs, yeast’	PGm. * <i>dragjo-</i>	* <i>d^hrag^h-</i>
Alb. <i>dra</i> ‘dregs, sediment’	Palb. * <i>dras-</i>	* <i>d^(h)ras-</i>

Understanding “Alternations”

	* <i>Hr-</i>	* <i>ur-</i>	* <i>sr-</i>
Latin	✓	✓	✗ (> <i>fr-</i>)
Greek	✗ (> <i>V-</i>)	✓	✓
Germanic	✓	✗ (> <i>wr-</i>)	✗ (> <i>st-</i>)

A ‘turnip’ word:

Lat. *rāpum*

Gk. ῥάφη

Germ. **rōbjōn-*
etc.

In the end, to describe “aspiration” and “voicedness” alternations is to use IE terms to describe proto-forms that are *not* IE, and it may be mis-attributing features to the substrate language(s).



- Several daughter branches borrowed one word, but it was **composed of non-IE phonemes** and thus was nativized in disparate ways.

Other Alternations

Lat. <i>faba</i> ‘bean’	* <i>b^hab</i> (^h)-	* <i>b^h</i> ~ * <i>u</i>	* <i>b</i> ~ * <i>w</i>
ON <i>baun</i> ‘bean’	* <i>b^hau-n</i> -		

Lat. <i>līlium</i> ‘lily’	* <i>leili</i> -	* <i>l</i> ~ * <i>r</i>
Gk. λείριον ‘lily’	* <i>leiri</i> -	

Lat. <i>sabulum</i> ‘sand’	* <i>sab/b^hd^h-lo-</i>	* <i>b</i> ~ * <i>m</i>
Gk. ψάμμος ‘sand’	* <i>psab^h/m-mo-</i>	
Gk. ψάμαθος ‘sand’	* <i>psam-nd^ho-</i>	
MHG <i>samt</i> ‘sand’	* <i>samd^h-</i>	

a-Prefix in the Paradigm

(Schrijver 1997)

CvC

Proto-Italic **mesula* ‘blackbird’

Latin *raudus* ‘lump of ore’

Latin *rāpum* ‘turnip’

Latin *tilia* ‘linden tree’

Gk. πελέα ‘elm’

(**ptel-*)

a-CC

OHG *amsla* ‘blackbird’

Proto-Germ. **arud-* ‘ore’

Proto-Celt. **arbīno-* ‘turnip’

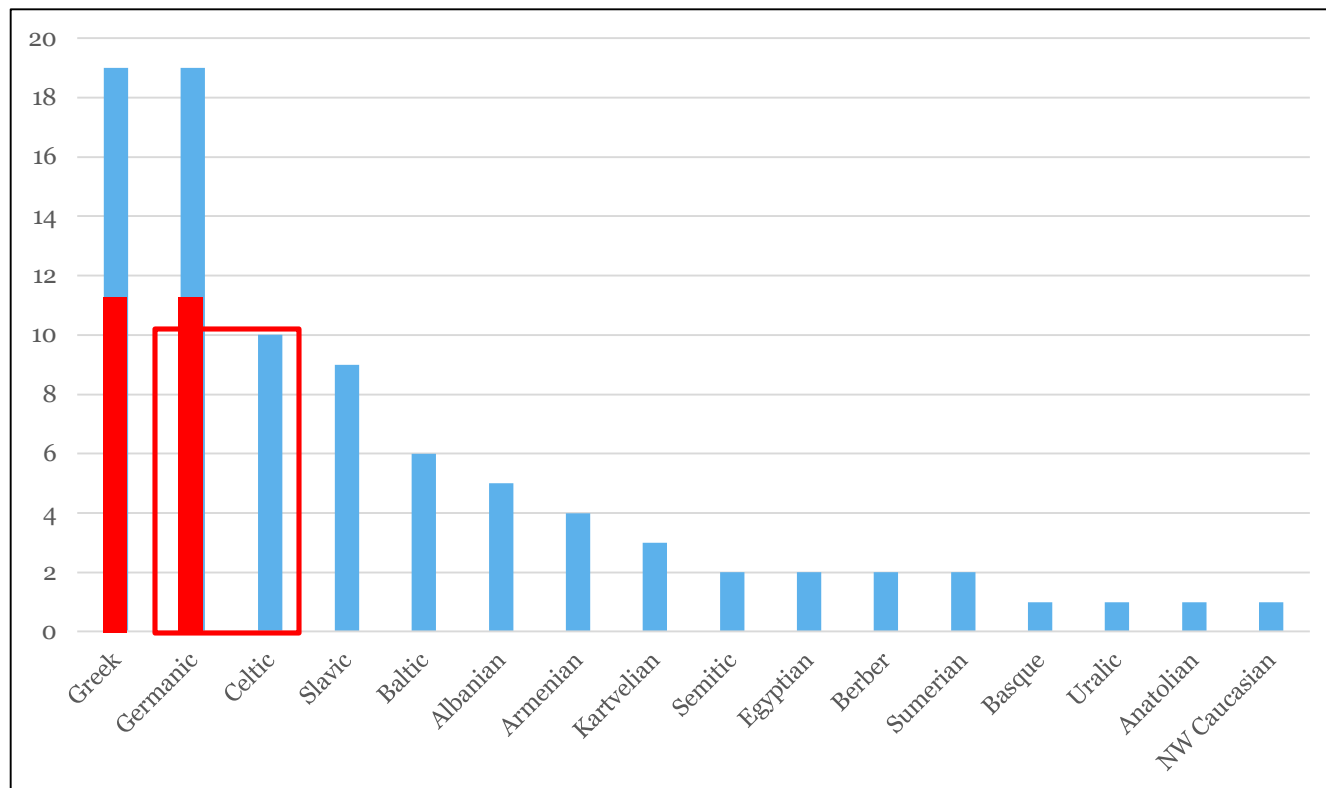
MBret. *ezlen* ‘aspen’

(**aptlV-*)

Relationships in the Data

Links

alnus 'alder tree'
avēna 'oats'
baculum 'stick'
caper 'goat'
catulus 'young of an animal'
caupō 'innkeeper'
columba 'dove'
cūpa 'cup'
cupressus 'cypress'
ervum 'bitter vetch'
faba 'bean'
far 'spelt, flour'
fascinum 'evil spirit, spell'
figus 'fig'
filix, felix 'fern'
fracēs 'smashed olives'
fulica 'coot'
fungus 'mushroom, sponge'
hasta 'spear'
lēns 'lentil'
lepus 'hare'
lilium 'lily'
merula 'blackbird'
mūlus 'mule'
plumbum 'lead'
racēmus 'bunch of grapes'
rāpum 'turnip'
raudus 'lump (of metal)'
sabulum 'sand'



19 words shared with Greek
 19 words shared with Germanic
 10 words shared with Celtic

} Only 11 with each other
 → All 10 with Germanic!

Links: Mediterranean Substrate?

Shared with Germanic and Greek

baculum 'stick, staff'

caper 'goat'

columba 'dove'

cūpa 'cup'

ervum 'legume'

faba 'bean'

filix, felix 'fern'

lēns 'lentil'

plumbum 'lead'

rāpum 'turnip'

sabulum 'sand'

Germanic

alnus 'alder'

catulus 'young animal'

far 'wheat'

fracēs 'olive pulp'

fulica 'coot'

hasta 'spear'

merula 'blackbird'

raudus 'ore'

Greek

★ *caupō* 'innkeeper'

cupressus 'cypress'

★ *fascinum* 'spell'

ficus 'fig'

fungus 'sponge'

līlium 'lily'

mūlus 'mule'

★ *racēmus* 'grapes'

Armenian matches

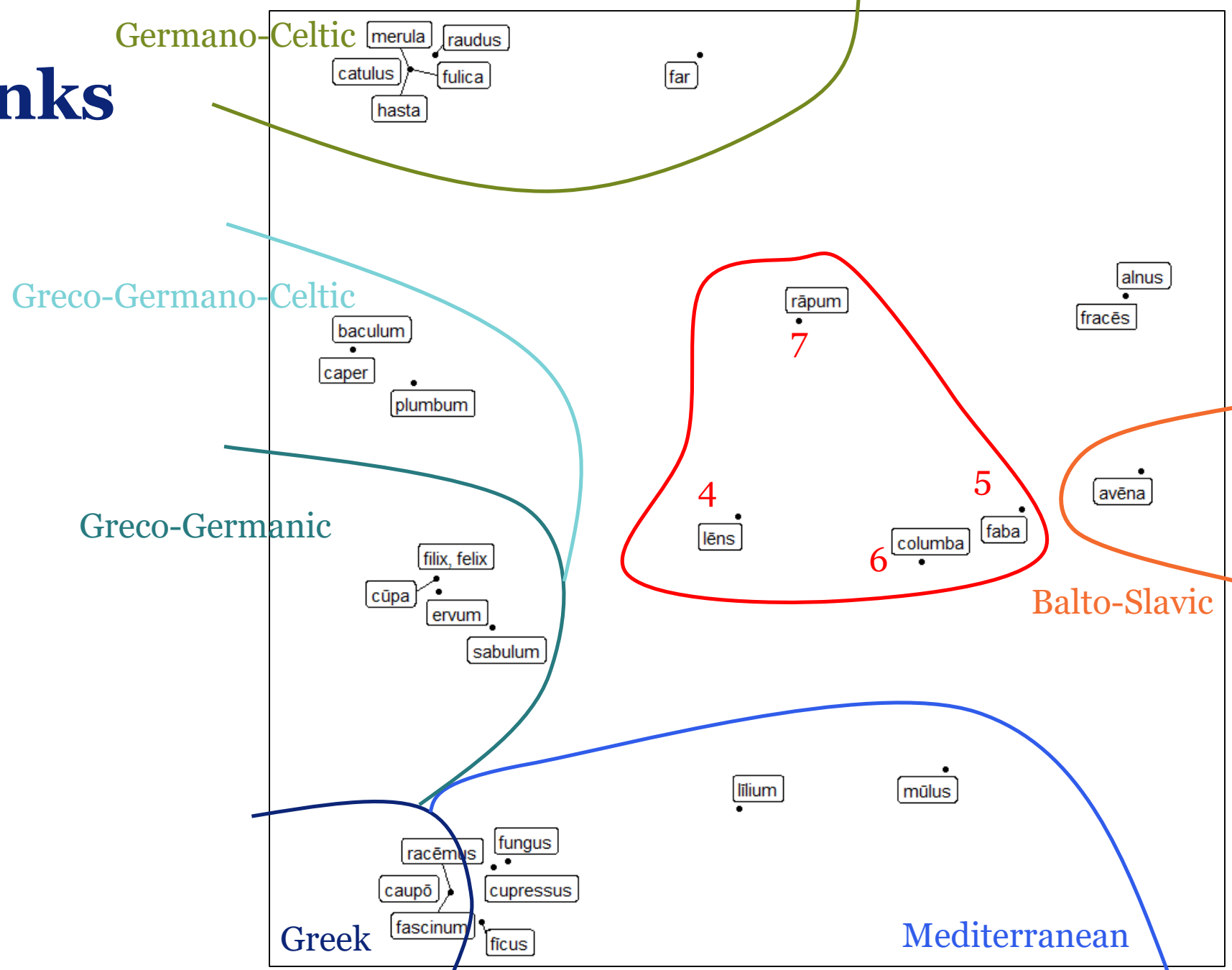
Semitic matches

Berber matches

Egyptian matches

All Mediterranean language matches are shared with Greek!
But several with Germanic also!

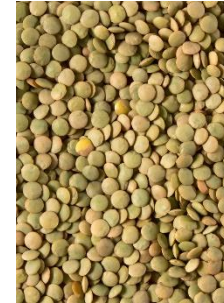
Links



Conclusions



rāpum
lēns
faba
columba



caper
baculum
plumbum

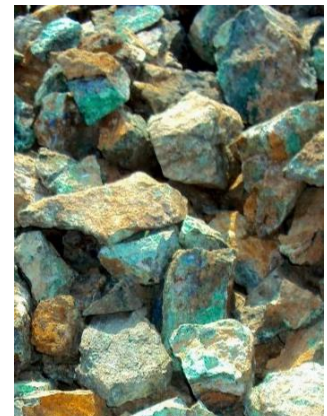
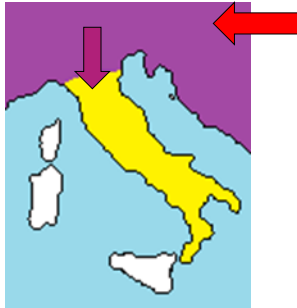


filix
ervum
cūpa
sabulum



Conclusions

catulus
far
fulica
hasta
merula
raudus

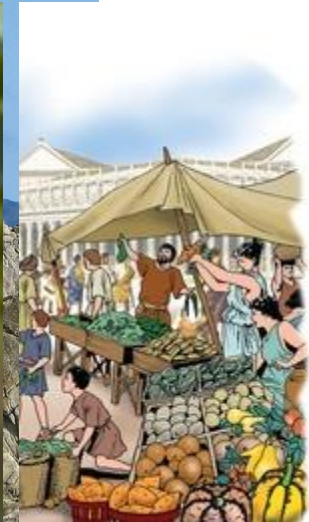


Conclusions

ficus
cupressus



līlium
racēmus
caupō
fascinum



Thank you!

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