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drawing the line between inherited and borrowed words  
for ‘red(ish)’, ‘pea’, ‘ore’, ‘dusk’ and ‘love’ in daughter  
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**A new PIE root *\*h<sub>1</sub>er* ‘(to be) dark red, dusk red’:  
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PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>rouǵ<sup>h</sup>-o-* [adj.] ‘red’ has long been reconstructed (Com. Germ. *\*rauda-* ‘red’, Lith. *raũdas* ‘reddish brown, bay, reddish’, Lat. *rũfus* ‘red, tawny, red-haired’ < Com. It. Plt. *\*rouǵo-*, < Com. Celt. *\*roudo-* ‘red’, etc.). This *o*-grade adjective belongs to a Caland-system based on a PIE root *\*h<sub>1</sub>reud<sup>h</sup>-* (NIL:580; BOZZONE 2016) also involving a number of other formations (see for instance LIV<sup>2</sup>: 508 and NIL: 580ff).

Formally, the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>reud<sup>h</sup>-* looks like a secondary root. The first step towards the identification of the underlying primary root is to recognise the final *-d<sup>h</sup>-* as originating from a suffixal formation, itself based on a primary root *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-* ‘to be/become (dark)red’ via an acrostatic *u*-noun *\*h<sub>1</sub>or-u-*, *h<sub>1</sub>er-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<sub>1</sub>ór-u-*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>ér-u* ‘redness’: Skt. *áruṣ-* [n.] ‘wound’ (< *\*h<sub>1</sub>ér-u-s-*), Skt. *aruṣ-á-* ‘reddish, light red, glowing, with the colour of fire’ (RV+), YAv. *aruša-* ‘white’, Com. Germ. *\*arwa<sup>r</sup>* ‘red’, Skt. *aruṇá* [adj.] ‘reddish’ (RV+), ODu. *arut* [m.] ‘ore’ and OHG *aruz*, *ariz* [m.], *aruzi*, *arizi* [n.] ‘id.’;
- Based on a *\*-b<sup>h</sup>-* derivative seen in an *n*-stem noun *\*h<sub>1</sub>réb<sup>h</sup>-ōn*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>rb<sup>h</sup>-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. ὀρφνωῖος ‘dark, murky (of the night)’ and ὀρφνός [adj.], ὀρφν-<sup>ο</sup> ‘dark, dark red’;
- Based on an *h<sub>2</sub>*-formation resulting in a secondary verbal root *\*h<sub>1</sub>erh<sub>2</sub>-* attested in two language families with a similar semantic shift: Skt. *raj~rañj* ‘to colour, become red (e.g. out of excitement), 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<sub>1</sub>er-* ‘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-Lyidian) rather than from a hypothetical non-Indo-European substratum language.

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