

ALBANIAN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY

BY

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To my beloved Natasha

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CONTENTS

Preface	IX
Introduction	XV
List of references	XXIII
Abbreviations for languages and dialects	XLI
Dictionary	1
Indices	529

PREFACE

The present Dictionary results from twenty years of my work in the field of Albanian etymology. A considerable number of my etymological studies were published as a series of articles on *Balkan etymologies*. Since 1985, I have been accumulating material for a comprehensive etymological dictionary of the Albanian language corresponding to contemporary standards applied to the works of this genre.

The present Dictionary is based on works of my predecessors GUSTAV MEYER and EQREM ÇABEJ, authors of earlier Albanian etymological dictionaries (ÇABEJ's work, unfortunately, remained unfinished), as well as on studies of other outstanding scholars such as NORBERT JOKL, MAX VASMER, and ERIC HAMP. At the same time, dozens of words in my Dictionary have received new explanations suggested here for the first time or already mentioned in one of my *Balkan etymologies* or other publications.

The Dictionary is based on a certain view of the prehistory of Albanian. It is a purely etymological work; hence, its lack of interest in early Albanian texts (unless their data are, occasionally, of crucial etymological importance). As far as the inherited vocabulary is concerned, the Dictionary deals with three main stages in the development of the Albanian lexicon: Indo-European, Proto-Albanian and (contemporary) Albanian. While Indo-European in the framework of this book is treated as reconstructed for the latest period of its existence immediately preceding its disintegration and the appearance of the ancient Indo-European languages, particularly, as far as the phonetic history is concerned (where I follow mainly BRUGMANN's reconstruction with certain minor changes such as laryngeals), Proto-Albanian language and reconstruction are relatively new concepts developed in my earlier publications. They denote a stage of development between Indo-European and (contemporary) Albanian *immediately preceding* the intensive linguistic contacts with Latin, i.e. before the I - II centuries C.E. Thus, Proto-Albanian may be functionally compared to the notion of Late Proto-Slavic in modern Slavic linguistics. The following period from II century to VII century remains unnamed in the present work (I used a rather clumsy term, *Early Albanian*, in my Russian articles), but its main developments can be described in terms of the Proto-Albanian situation changed by Romance and Slavic lexical and phonetic influences.

As to (contemporary) Albanian, this period starts with the language attested in the earliest written documents of the Albanian culture.

Proto-Albanian, as demonstrated by its vocabulary and isoglosses linking it to other Indo-European languages, is connected with a certain type of material and spiritual culture and with a certain territory. There are serious reasons to believe that this territory did *not* coincide with the contemporary Albania, i.e. with the ancient Illyrian coast of the Adriatic (see WEIGAND *BA* III 277-286; GEORGIEV *Trakite* 212-215). On the contrary, numerous proofs (the absence of indigenous sea-faring terminology in Albanian borrowing corresponding words from Romance and Greek or using transparent metaphors; the existence of Albanian-Rumanian bilateral isoglosses; the lack of Proto-Albanian toponymy in Illyria and so on) seem to corroborate the original settling of Proto-Albanians in Dacia Ripensis and farther North, in the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains and the Beskidy/Bieszczady (believed by some to come from Proto-Albanian definite plural **beškai tai*, see *bjeshkë*). The Proto-Albanian migration to Illyria via the Eastern slopes of the Balkans must have taken place before (but not considerably earlier than) their contact with Romance speakers and the end of the Proto-Albanian period in the history of the Albanian language.

The Dictionary includes an *Introduction*, a short reference source where the reader will find basic information on the development of the phonetic system from Indo-European to Proto-Albanian to Albanian as well as the basic historical phonology of early loanwords in Albanian. A much more detailed description of Proto-Albanian will appear in my *Historical Grammar of Albanian* which I hope to publish soon. The Introduction also includes short notes on the Albanian phonetics and orthography. In the main body of the Dictionary, every item contains basic lexicological information (main word form, including the Geg variant after tilda if differing from Tosk, meaning, basic paradigmatic forms for nouns and verbs or characteristic of the part of speech and the like) and the suggested etymology with a reference (if this etymology has been given earlier). Other etymologies and references are adduced after the sign of ∅. In this section, some references are adduced with their etymological versions briefly summarized, while other sources are just mentioned, for the convenience of the reader. A blank reference normally means that the source may be helpful but does not contain an etymological explanation of its own. Occasionally, Geg forms having no Tosk parallels are adduced as separate etymological entries, marked as (G). The Dictionary also contains indices of forms.

The alphabetic order used in the Dictionary as far as Albanian forms are concerned corresponds to the accepted standard of the Albanian lexicography: *ë* follows *e*; *gj* and *nj* are separate letters following *g* and *n* correspondingly; the same is true of *ll* and *rr* appearing after *l* and *r* as separate symbols and of *sh*, *zh*, *xh* and *th* after *s*, *z*, *x* and *t*.

It should be kept in mind that in Albanian there still exist certain problems of agreeing on a standard orthography. My orthography simply follows the main lexicographic sources I used and may well be not quite consecutive in some cases. The dictionaries on which the choice of words for the present work (as well as the orthography and meanings) was based, were KRISTOFORIDHI, LEOTTI, DRIZARI, *Fjalor*, BUCHHOLZ-FIEDLER - UHLISCH and MANN *HAED*. Other lexicographic sources mentioned in the List of references were also used occasionally.

The Dictionary includes the following layers of the contemporary Albanian vocabulary:

- (1) Inherited words of Indo-European origin;
- (2) Words of expressive origin, onomatopoeias and the like;
- (3) Loanwords from ancient Greek, Latin (and Romance), Slavic and other languages.

The approximate limit *post quem non* chosen in this Dictionary is X-XII century. Therefore, I did not include here most of the Italian, Rumanian, modern Greek and Turkish loanwords as well as many local and dialectal loans from Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian. However, some difficult or interesting words of these groups were included, if they were of any specific etymological interest, particularly, if there was a discussion on their etymologies. The omitted lexical layers were successfully studied and described elsewhere (see HELBIG, BORETZKY, HARDY *Gk.* and other sources). In the case of Slavic loanwords, I was often unable to distinguish older borrowings from recent ones, and it seemed proper to keep Slavic material in case of any doubts.

Non-Latin scripts other than Greek have been transliterated. This applies in particular to Cyrillic for which a compromise system is used, preserving *ѣ* and *ѝ* as signs for vowels in Bulgarian, Church Slavonic and Old Russian but presenting *ѝ* as a palatalization sign (') elsewhere. As already mentioned above, Indo-European reconstructions reflect a pragmatic compromise, too, and may be generally described as modified Brugmannian. Laryngeals (wherever necessary) are represented by a generalized symbol **H* (also used in quotations of other scholars as a convenient label for various laryngeal phonemes). I did my best to

check and double-check cited forms and meanings using the basic and most authoritative reference sources. Thus, Greek words were normally controlled with LIDDELL-SCOTT, Sanskrit words - with MONIER-WILLIAMS, Old Irish - with *DIL* and so on.

Bibliographic references are abbreviated. References to books consist either of the author's name (DIEFENBACH, VASMER) or of the author's name and an italicized and abbreviated name of the book (JOKL *Stud.*, DESNICKAJA *Sravn.*). References to papers in journals and collections of articles consist of the author's name and an italicized and abbreviated name of the serial edition (PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen*, DURIDANOV *IIBE*). In the list of references, only books and serial editions are listed. Roman numerals after the reference indicate the volume, Arabic figures are page numbers. In rare cases when the serial edition has no numbered volumes, I adduce the year of publication instead. Occasional combinations of the Roman and Arabic numbers stand for the volume and the fascicle.

* * *

I owe a debt of gratitude to my late teacher of etymology Leonid A. Gindin (blessed be his memory) and my late teacher of Albanian Roza Koçi (blessed be her memory).

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In 1981-1990 I was greatly assisted by the librarians of the Institute for Slavic and Balkan Studies in Moscow. The whole work would not have been carried out without the everyday help and co-operation of the staff of the Greek and Slavonic Annexe of the Taylorian Library where I spent most of my time in Oxford in 1995-1996. In particular, I would like to thank David Howells and Richard Ramage. I am also grateful to the staff of the Slavic and East European Library of the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) and, in particular, to Helen Sullivan. Important material was collected in the National Library in Tirana and in the Celtic Library (Jesus College, Oxford), where I was admitted due to the courtesy of my respected friend D. Ellis Evans who was always generous in sharing his vast knowledge of Celtic with me. Invariable

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As mentioned above, a considerable part of this work was written during my stay in Wolfson College (Oxford) whose members and staff were of great help.

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INTRODUCTION

ALBANIAN PHONETICS AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Modern Albanian (spoken in Albania as well as in large Albanian colonies in Italy, Balkan countries, Northern America and the Ukraine) exists in two basic forms based on two main groups of dialects, Tosk (Southern Albania) and Geg (Northern Albania). These two dialectal groups differ in a number of phonetic features as well as in certain morphological phenomena (mainly, in the analytical forms of the verb such as infinitive, future, imperfect, conditional and plusquamperfect). The main phonetic differences are as follows (according to ÇABEJ *St. III* 96-98):

1. In Geg there exist nasal vowels corresponding to non-nasal vowels in Tosk, cf. Geg *pēsë* ~ Tosk *pesë*, Geg *lî* ~ Tosk *li*.
2. In Tosk there exists (stressed) *ë*, an equivalent of Rum *â*, *î*, Bulg *ъ*. This Tosk vowel corresponds to various nasal vowels in Geg.
3. There is an opposition of short : long vowels in Geg (historically explained by contractions and positional lengthenings). In Tosk there is no such opposition.
4. Old Albanian *uo* and Tosk *ua* correspond to Geg *ue*. In most of Geg dialects, *ue*, *ie*, *ye* yielded long vowels *u:*, *i:*, *y:*.
5. In several words, initial Tosk *va-* corresponds to initial Geg *vo-*.
6. In Tosk, voiced consonants are unvoiced in the auslaut. In Geg they are not.
7. Tosk dialects preserve groups *mb*, *ngj* and *nd* assimilated to *m*, *nj* and *n* in Geg.
8. Old Albanian groups *kl* and *gl* (preserved today in Chameria as well as in Dardha and Italy) changed to *q*, *gj* in most of Albanian dialects. However, in the North one finds *k*, *g*, in the Catholic part of Shkodra - *kj*, *gj*.
9. Intervocalic *-n-* is preserved in Geg but underwent the process of rhotacism in Tosk; hence, Tosk *verë* as an equivalent of Geg *venë*.

The contemporary literary standard is based on the Tosk variant. There also exists a parallel Geg literary norm. In order to read in Albanian, it is essential to make a few notes of the orthography (for details see BUCHHOLZ - FIEDLER *Alb. Gr.* 27-42):

c stands for [ts].

ç is a sign for [tʃ].

dh denotes an apicodental [ð].

ë stands for [ə] or zero if unstressed. When stressed, it denotes a central unrounded vowel [ɚ] similar to Bulg ɚ.

gj denotes a palatalized velar [gʲ].

j stands for [j].

l stands for "clear" European [l]. It can also denote a palatal [lʲ] being a separate phoneme in certain local dialects.

ll is a "dark" [l] similar to the non-palatalized [l] in Russian. It is opposed to *l* as an alveolar-dental to an alveolar.

nj denotes a palatalized [nʲ].

q stands for a palatalized velar [kʲ].

rr represents a long and/or intense [R].

sh is a palato-alveolar spirant [ʃ].

th denotes an apicodental [θ].

x stands for [dz].

xh is a sign for [dʒ].

y denotes a front rounded [y].

zh is a palato-alveolar spirant [ʒ].

Nasality of vowels in Geg is shown by the sign of circumflex \wedge : \hat{a} stands for a nasal [ã], \hat{e} is [ẽ] and so on.

ALBANIAN HISTORICAL PHONETICS

Vocalism

1. Short IE $*\bar{e}$ was preserved as $*e$ in Proto-Albanian but later, after or during the period of Albanian - Latin contacts, it yielded a diphthong $*ie$ while in certain positions it remained unchanged (a similar process took place in Rumanian). These positions have not been accurately defined. Short $*e$ remains unchanged before *n* and *nj* (*vend*, *ndenja*, *rend*), after $*l$ (*mbledh*, *lehtë*, *lend*), after clusters containing $*r$ (*kredh*, *shkrep*, *bredh*) but not after the initial $*r$ (*rjep*), after $*j$ (*ngjesh*). The diphthong $*ie$ was generally preserved as *ie* ~ *je* (*bie*, *pjek*, *djeg*, *diell*). In some cases, presumably, before a syllable containing PALb $*i$ and/or before some clusters, $*ie$ changed to *ia* ~ *ja* (*gjalmë*, *jam*, *mjalhtë*, *jashtë*). The initial element of the diphthong was lost again after *ç*, *gj*, *nj* (*çel*, *gjerb*, *njeri*, *qengj*). The earliest Latin loanwords in Albanian reflect Lat \bar{e} as *je* ~ *ja* (*pjesë*, *vjersh*, *mjek*).

2. Short IE $*o$ changed to PALb $*a$ > Alb *a* (*natë*, *gardh*, *gjak*, *mardh*). Lat \bar{o} is reflected as *u* (*krushk*, *kundër*, *shpuzë*) or *o* (*popull*, *portë*, *korb*) in loanwords. Short IE $*a$ coincided with $*o$ in PALb $*a$ > Alb *a* (*kap*, *dal*, *bathë*). Lat \bar{a} appears as *a* in Albanian loanwords (*faqe*, *larg*, *shtat*). In some cases, Alb *a*, \bar{e} < PALb $*a$ reflects the old IE $*\bar{a}$ (*dhënë* ~ *dhanë* < $*d\bar{a}nti-$, part. of *jap*, *mëllënjë* < $*mel\bar{a}nj\bar{a}$). However, in other words (probably, before the old stress) $*\bar{a}$ disappears (*baltë*).

3. Narrow short vowels $*i$ and $*u$ were preserved in Albanian (*gdhij*, *ligë*, *vidh*, *dru*, *gjumë*, *ujë*, *butë*). The same applies to Lat \bar{i} and \bar{u} (*këmishë*, *këshill*, *iriq*, *luftë*, *popull*, *shumë*). At the same time, in some words (belonging to a later chronological layer?) Lat \bar{i} appears as Alb *e* (*shenjë*, *meshë*, *kreshpë*).

4. Before nasal consonants, Proto-Albanian short vowels $*a$, $*e$, $*i$, $*u$ were nasalized and turned into $*\bar{a}$, $*\bar{e}$, $*\bar{i}$, $*\bar{u}$. Later they were preserved as such in Geg dialects (where they are marked as \hat{a} , \hat{e} , \hat{i} , \hat{u} if not followed by a nasal consonant). In Tosk, $*\bar{i}$ and $*\bar{u}$ lost their rhimesm while $*\bar{a}$ changed to \bar{e} and $*\bar{e}$ - to \bar{e} , *e*; hence such pairs as Tosk *kërp* ~ Geg *kanp*, Tosk *hënë* ~ Geg *hanë*.

5. Long IE $*\bar{e}$ changed to PALb $*\bar{a}$ and then to Alb *o* (*mos*, *plotë*, *kohë*, *ngroh*). In one case (*mish*) $*\bar{e}$ is reflected as Alb *i* (this development clearly preceding the application of the "ruki" rule). In Latin loanwords, Lat \bar{e} is usually rendered as Alb *e* (*regj*, *femër*, *prëndverë*). Occasionally, however, it yields Alb *i* (*bishë*, *ligj*, *kishë*). Long IE $*\bar{a}$ merged with $*\bar{e}$ in PALb $*\bar{a}$ > Alb *o* (*motër*, *kollë*, *kopshtë*). As to Lat \bar{a} , it is always preserved in Alb *a* (*blatë*, *shkallë*) while Gk $\bar{\alpha}$ appears as *o* in loanwords (*mokër*).

6. Long IE $*\bar{o}$ yielded PALb $*\bar{o}$ later reflected as Alb *e* (*tetë*, *pelë*, *blerë*). The same result is found in earlier Latin loanwords with \bar{o} (*pemë*, *tërmet*, *tmerr*). Later, Latin loanwords display *u* (*kanushë*, *shullë*) or even *o* (*orë*, *kore*) as a reflex of \bar{o} . While IE $*\bar{o}$ was palatalized to $*\bar{o}$, IE $*\bar{u}$ gave PALb $*\bar{u}$ usually appearing as *y* in the inlaut (*dyllë*, *gjysh*) and *i* in the auslaut (*mi*, *ti*, *thi*). Lat \bar{u} is normally rendered as *y* (*gjyq*, *shqyt*, *fytyrë*, *vërtyt*) but, occasionally, also as *u* (*rrushkull*).

7. Long IE $*\bar{i}$ was preserved as PALb $*\bar{i}$ > Alb *i* (*pi*, *di*, *pidh*). In isolated cases, however, Alb *y* reflects $*\bar{i}$ (*ay*). In Latin loanwords, Lat \bar{i} yields Alb *i* (*fill*, *linjë*).

8. In unknown conditions (probably, in the originally non-final syllable) before $*n$, $*m$, $*r$ long PALb $*\bar{a}$ and $*\bar{o}$ merged into $*\bar{o}$ that was later reflected by diphthongs: Tosk *ua*, Geg (old) *uo*, (new) *ue* (*muaj*, *krua*, *duar* - pl. of *dorë*). In some cases, these diphthongs were further

umlauticized into Tosk *ye*, Geg *y* (*dye* - pl. of *derë*, *lyej*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *ō* gives the same results (*kapua*, *ftua*, *shërbetuar*, *arsye*).

9. IE **ei* was preserved as PAIb **ei* but later coincided with **i* in Alb *i* (*dimër*, *mirë*). As to IE **ai* and **oi*, they yielded PAIb **ai* reflected as Alb *e* (*verë*, *be*, *degë*).

10. Indo-European diphthongs in *u* lost their second element in Albanian. Thus, IE **eu* preserved as PAIb **eu* appeared as Alb *e* (*desh* - aor. of *dua*, *det*, *nëntë*). IE **au* and **ou* merged into PAIb **au* further reflected as Alb *a* (*dashur* - part. of *dua*, *dash*, *agoj*, *thaj*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *au* is also rendered as *a* (*ar*, *gaz*, *lar*).

11. Syllabic liquids **r* and **l*, both long and short, changed to PAIb **ri*, **il* and, less often and in uncertain conditions, to **ru*, **ul*. Those clusters were either preserved as Alb *ri*, *il*, *ru*, *ul* or metathesized before vowels (*krimb*, *trim*, *grurë*, *kulpër*, *ujk*, *birë*). Syllabic nasals **ŋ* and **m̥* changed to PAIb **a* > Alb *a* (*shtatë*, *gjatë*, *mat*).

12. Under the influence of front vowels of the following syllable, Alb *a* of various origins was umlauticized and changed to *e*, as for example in plural of nouns or certain forms of verb (*eh*, *elb*, *end*, *gjem*, *ter*). Later this *e* was often generalized to the whole paradigm and, thus, appears in singular of nouns and present of verbs. A similar umlaut led to the transformation of *e* into *i*.

13. In Proto-Albanian, the vowels of the final syllable were preserved under the old stress but lost one mora when unstressed. Resulting new short vowels were reduced, mainly to *ë*. When a new system of stress came into being in Albanian, new unstressed vowels in all positions were reduced to *ë*, *u* or zero. If afterwards an inlaut consonant fell, the sequence of two vowels was contracted and colored according to the accented-vowel (*pyll*, *kij*).

14. In the vocalic anlaut, a prothetic *h*- may well appear (*armë* ~ *harmë*, *yll* ~ *hyll*). In early loanwords, the initial *o* was substituted by **ō* > Tosk *va*, Geg *vo* (*varfër*, *vadhë*, *vatër*).

Consonantism

15. Non-syllabic liquids were preserved as PAIb **r*, **l*. PAIb **r* is reflected as Alb *r* (*dru*, *tre*, *motër*) and occasionally as *rr* (*kërr*, *vjehërr*, *rrap*). For unknown reasons, the intervocalic *r* was altogether lost in *bie*. In Latin loanwords, initial *r* is usually rendered as *rr* (*rrallë*, *rregull*, *rrem*). In other positions it yields *r* (*prill*, *drejtë*, *kundër*). PAIb **l* tends to yield *l* in the anlaut (*lehtë*, *lendë*, *lidh*) but gives both *l* and *ll*

in other positions (*pelë*, *mjaltë*, *hell*, *mjegull*). In Latin loanwords, intervocalic *l* appears as Alb *ll* (*popull*, *ulli*, *mënjollë*). Otherwise it gives *l* (*larg*, *lëti*, *plagë*). Geminated Lat *ll* is reflected as *l* (*pulë*, *gjel*, *bulë*).

16. IE **m* remained unchanged in PAIb **m* > Alb *m* (*mjaltë*, *muaj*, *mjekër*). The same is true of Lat *m* in loanwords (*mik*, *mijë*, *mënd*). IE **n* yielded PAIb **n* that also remained unchanged in the anlaut and in various consonantal clusters (*ne*, *nëntë*, *natë*, *nuk*). Initial Lat *n* is rendered as Alb *n* (*natyre*, *nëmëroj*, *nyje*). In the intervocalic position PAIb **n* remained unchanged in Geg but yielded *r* in Tosk (*verë* ~ *venë*, *emër* ~ *emën*, *llërë* ~ *llanë*). Latin loanwords reflect the same process of Tosk rhotacism (*kërp* ~ *kanp*, *rërë* ~ *ranë*, *femër* ~ *femën*).

17. The reflex of IE **u* is PAIb **w* > Alb *v* (*ve*, *verë*, *vehte*). PAIb **w* was lost before rounded vowels (*derë*). In a few words, the development of **-iŵi-* to Alb *y* is attested (*grykë*, *hyll*, *qytet*). As to Lat *v*, it also yields *v* in Albanian (*vjershë*, *verdhë*, *gjuvengë*). As to IE **j*, it was preserved as PAIb **j*. In the initial position, **j* remained unchanged before back vowels (*ju*, *josh*) but yielded *gj* otherwise (*gjes*, *gjaj*, *gjem*). In the inlaut, PAIb **j* disappeared after front vowels (*di*, *hi*, *fle*, *bie*) but changed to **x* > *h* after other vowels (*bahe*, *shtrohë*, *ngroh*, *ftoh*). The shift to **x* covers the earliest Slavic loanwords (*llohë*, *krahe*, *krahinë*). In Latin loanwords, the anlaut *j* is reflected as *gj* (*gjuvengë*, *gjyq*, *gjymtyrë*) and later as *j* (*janar*).

18. Initial IE **s* > PAIb **s* yields Alb *gj*- (*gjashtë*, *gjalpë*, *gjallë*, *gjarpër*). In two cases where **s* > *th* (*thi*, *thaj*) the interdental results from the dissimilation of two sibilants. In the intervocalic position, **s* yields to **x* > *h* (*kohë*, Geg *nahe*, acc. of *ne*). However, after **i*, **u* PAIb **s* changed to **š* > *sh* (*breshër*, *push*, *gjysh*, *plish*, *kush*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *s* is always rendered as *sh* (*shekull*, *pëshoj*, *shelg*). The same is true of earlier borrowings from other languages (*shakë*).

19. IE **p* remains unchanged as PAIb **p* > Alb *p* (*pelë*, *pesë*, *pjek*). IE **bh* yields PAIb **b* > Alb *b* (*bie*, *bathë*, *dhëmb*, *baltë*). Labials in Latin loanwords are preserved as *p*, *b* (*popull*, *pjepër*, *bulë*, *bishë*).

20. IE **t* > PAIb **t* is reflected as Alb *t* (*tre*, *tetë*, *ti*, *trap*). The voiced IE **d* is unchanged (*darkë*, *ditë*, *dritë*). IE **dh* coincides with **d* in PAIb **d* > Alb *d* (*derë*, *djeg*, *dal*). Unless lost, PAIb **d* in the intervocalic position or before **r* changed to *dh* (*bredh*, *ledh*, *pjerdh*, *gardh*). In the anlaut, *dh* < PAIb **d* is explained either by apheresis (*dhunë*, *dhashë*) or by sandhi (*dhjetë*). In Latin loanwords, dentals yield *t* and *d* (*tmerr*, *troftë*, *dëm*, *drejtë*). Lat *d* changes to Alb *dh* in the same position as PAIb **d* (*shurdh*, *urdhër*).

21. So called “pure” velars were preserved as such in Albanian. IE **k* remained PALb **k* > Alb *k* (*krua*, *karpë*, *kedh*). As to **g* it appears as PALb **g* > Alb *g* (*agoj*, *ligë*, *gungë*). The same reflex continues IE **gh* > PALb **g* > Alb **g* (*shteg*, *gardh*, *mjegull*). Latin velars were not changed in Albanian borrowings: Lat *c* is rendered as Alb *k* (*këmishë*, *këngë*, *këshill*), Lat *g* - as Alb *g* (*gaz*, *grigj*, *plagë*). In contemporary Albanian initial *k* is sometimes voiced in Geg (*gëlbazë* ~ *këlbazë*, *gështenjë* ~ *kështenjë*).

22. Indo-European palatal stops were asibilated to affricates in Proto-Albanian. IE **k̑* changed to PALb **ts* > Alb *th* (*thom*, *thëri*, *thep*, *djathtë*) but occasionally PALb **ts* appears as *c*. Both IE **g̑* and **g̑h* yielded PALb **dz* > Alb *dh* (*lidh*, *vjedh*, *herdhe*, *madh*, *rrjedh*). However, in the anlaut only IE **g̑* gave the same reflex (*dhëmb*, *dhëndër*, *dhal-lë*) while IE **g̑h* reflected as PALb **d* > Alb *d* (*dorë*, *dimër*, *dyllë*) with some irregularities. In many words where palatals were neighbors of sonants the process of asibilation did not take place (*grurë*, *quaj*, *mjekër*). The development of IE **k̑* in *vjehërr* is explained by an assimilation **swetsurā* > **swesurā* > **swexurā*.

23. The history of labiovelars was particularly complicated in Albanian. At first, IE **kʷ*, **gʷ* and **gʷh* changed to biconsonantal clusters **kw* and **gw*. In front of non-palatal vowels, these clusters lost their labial element and merged with pure velars so that IE **kʷ* yielded Alb *k* (*pjek*, *katër*, *ndjek*), **gʷ* > Alb *g* (*gur*, *gak*, *gërshas*) and **gʷh* > Alb *g* (*djeg*, *garbe*). Before front vowels, the clusters **kw* and **gw* changed to **kʷ* and **gʷ* with a palatalized first element and (together with groups IE **k̑w*, **g̑w* > PALb **kʷ*, **gʷ*) yielded **tsw*, **dzw* > **tš*, **dž* > Alb *s*, *z* (*sjell*, *sy*, *pesë*, *zorrë*, *zë*, *zulë*, *zjarr*, *ndez*).

24. In Proto-Albanian, some of the intervocalic voiced dentals and velars were lost (*ve*, *le*, *nge*, *dra*). The conditions of this process are unknown but may be of accentual origin. At the same time, a similar change (including also *b*) occurred in numerous Latin loanwords (*mjek*, *përrallë*, *pre*, *tra*).

23. In the auslaut, most consonants were lost already during the Proto-Albanian period (probably, before the vowel shortening in the last syllable). The only definite exception is *r* (*motër*).

24. Before the old **j*, the following PALb **t*, **d* and **s* changed to **tš*, **dž* and **š* in a process that may be described as the *first palatalization* (*mas*, *nesër*, *tres*, *buzë*, *shosh*, *vesh*). Latin clusters *tj* and *dj* were also affected by this process (*pjesë*, *pus*, *rrezë*, *shpuzë*). Lat *sj* coincided with *s* in Alb *sh* (*këmishë*).

25. Before *j* (including the new *j* developed as the first part of the diphthong *ielje* < PALb **e*) as well as before *i*, PALb **k* and **g* yielded *q* and *gj* (*qoj*, *qerthull*, *gjemb*) and **l*, **n* changed to *j* ~ *l* and *nj* (*majë*, *bëj*, *njeri*). This process may be called the *second palatalization*. It is also attested in Latin loanwords (*qetë*, *qëndër*, *regj*, *ligj*, *gështenjë*).

26. The cluster **rj* changed to *rr* (*ëndërr*, *dërr*), also in early Slavic loanwords (*purërë*). However, there are difficult forms where **rj* is reflected as *j* (*mbaj*).

27. Proto-Albanian clusters **rw*, **wr* as well as **lw* changed to *rr* and *ll* (*arrë*, *rribë*, *gjallë*, *miell*). Later Latin loanwords follow this pattern (*rrylë*) but then, probably in words coming from Balkan Eastern Romance (proto-Rumanian) one also finds *-rb-* < Lat *-rv-* (*shërbej*). Also, as in proto-Rumanian, Latin groups *-br-* and *-bl-* change to *-ur-*, *-ul-*; then the labial forms a diphthong with the preceding vowel and (in Albanian) disappears (*farkë*, *shtallë*).

28. When combined with nasals, stops yield various results. Thus, **pn* changes to *m* (*gjumë*), **dm* to *m* (*bram*) while **gn* (with *g* of any origin) is reflected as *nj* (*njoh*, *enjë*). In Latin loanwords *gn* is also changed to *nj* (*shenjë*) but in some words (of Eastern Balkan origin?) it appears as *ng* (*peng*).

29. In Proto-Albanian **rn* and **ln* were preserved. These clusters lived long into the pre-historic Albanian period until they yielded *rr* and *ll* (*verr*, *barrë*, *pjell*, *shtjell*). The same reflexes are found in Latin loanwords (*ferr*, *furrë*, *kërrutë*). In loanwords one can also trace the old cluster *mn* reflected as *m* or, with a secondary final *-b*, *mb* (*dëm*, *shkëmb*, *shtëmbë*). Geminate *nn* in borrowings was preserved as *n* or *nd* (similar to *-m* > *-mb*) and, apparently, was not affected by the Tosk rhotacism (*gunë*, *pendë*). The cluster **nr* developed an epenthetic **d* and changed to **ndr* > *ndër* (*ëndërr*, *dhëndër*).

30. Before spirants and affricates of various origins, nasal sonorants disappeared (*pesë*, *mish*, *pëshoj*, *mëz*).

31. As noted above, auslaut *m* and *n* occasionally changed to *mb* and *nd* (*shkëmb*, *shtëmbë*, *pëllambë*, *pendë*). On the other hand, *mb*, *nd* and *ng* resulted from various clusters consisting of a nasal and a stop, both in Indo-European roots and in loanwords (*lëndë*, *pëndë*, *ndëj*, *nga*, *tembull*, *prind*, *këngë*). Some of these clusters tended to lose their second element (*anë*, *dhunë*).

32. In the anlaut, Alb **kl*, **gl* yielded *q*, *gj* in standard literary Albanian and some dialects (*qaj*, *qetë*, *qesh*, *gjatë*, *gjemb*) while other dialects have [tš], [dž] or [k̑], [g̑] or even depalatalized [k], [g]. The

same change was applied to loanwords (*gjëndër*) including those from Slavic (*gjobë*). In other positions **gl* changed to *gull* (*mjegull*). Proto-Albanian clusters **lk*, **lg* fluctuate between *lk*, *lg* (*shelg*, *balgë*) and *jk*, *lg* (*bujk*, *bajgë*).

33. Clusters **sw*, **sm* and **sn* lost their first element (*vjehërr*, *vjerr*, *mjekër*, *mug*, *thaj* < **sausnja*). Clusters **sr* and **sl* yielded *rr* and *ll* (*rrymë*, *korr*, *kollë*). Clusters **rs* and **ls* gave the same results (*djerr*, *kalli*) but the group **lst* changed to **st* > *sht* (*kashtë*).

34. PALb **sp* underwent a metathesis into **ps* and yielded *f* (*fâj*, *fal*, *farë*, *ferrë*, *fier*) while in loanwords *sp* is reflected as *shp* (*shpatull*, *shpuzë*). PALb **st* changed to *sht* both in Indo-European words and loanwords (*shteg*, *shtatë*, *shtyj*, *shtallue*, *shtat*). The voiced cluster *zd* was metathesized to **dz* and changed to *dh* (*pidh*) and, occasionally, to *th* (*drihtë*).

35. PALb **sk* < IE **sk*, **skʰ* changed to *shk* (*shkak*, *shkal*, *shkas*, *shkep*) and, before front vowels, to *shq* (*shqarr*, *shqerr*, *shqeyj*). In other cases, PALb **sk* (apparently, continuing also **skʰ*) underwent a metathesis into **ks* and yielded *h* (*halë*, *hap*, *harr*, *hedh*) thus coinciding with the original **ks* (*huaj*). No obvious distribution between *shk* and *h* as reflecting **sk* has been found. Moreover, in some words the initial **sk* (preceded by a prefix **eks*-?) yielded *ç* before a front vowel (*çaj*, *çalë*).

36. The rare but diagnostically important cluster **tt* gave PALb **tš* > **tš* > *s* (*pasur*, part. of *kam*). Other clusters consisting of two stops lost their first element (*dritë*, *natë*, *dhe*, *dje*). In Latin loanwords clusters of two stops were represented mainly by *ct* and *cs* = *x*. Their development was twofold. When borrowed from East Balkan Romance of the Rumanian type, *ct* coincided with *pt* in *ft* (*prift*, *qift*, *ftua*, *luftë*, *troftë*) and *cs* gave *fsh* (*kofshue*, *lafshë*). When borrowed from Dalmatian (i.e. Western) Romance, *ct* yielded *jt* (*drejtë*, *trajtë*, *pajtoj*) while *cs* developed to *sh* (*frashër*, *ushunjëz*).

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ABBREVIATIONS FOR LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

Akk - Akkadian	Iran - Iranian
Alb - Albanian	Langob - Langobardian (Lombard)
Arag - Aragon	Latv - Latvian
Arm - Armenian	LGerm - Low German
Arum - Arumanian	Lith - Lithuanian
Av - Avestan	Lomb - Lombard
Balk - Balkanic	Lyc - Lycian
Balt - Baltic	Lyd - Lydian
Bret - Breton	M - Middle (as a first component)
Bulg - Bulgarian	Maced - Macedonian
Calabr - Calabrian	MBret - Middle Breton
Catal - Catalan	MDu - Middle Dutch
Celt - Celtic	ME - Middle English
Chag - Chagatai	Messap - Messapic
Class. Pers - Classical Persian	MFr - Middle French
Copt - Coptic	MGk - Middle Greek
CS - Church Slavic	MHG - Middle High German
Cyren - Cyrenean	Mingr - Mingrelian
Dac - Dacian	MLat - Medieval Latin
Dalm - Dalmatian	MLG - Middle Low German
Dor - Doric	MPers - Middle Persian
E - English	MW - Middle Welsh
Eg - Egyptian	N - New (as a first component, = Modern)
Engad - Engadine	Neapol - Neapolitan
Epidaur - Epidaurian	NGk - Modern Greek
Etr - Etruscan	NItal - North Italian
Fr - French	Norw - Norwegian
Friul - Friulan	NPers - New Persian
Gaul - Gaulish	O - Old (as a first component)
Georg - Georgian	OBavar - Old Bavarian
Germ - German	OBret - Old Breton
Gk - Greek	OCorn - Old Cornish
Gmc - Germanic	OCS - Old Church Slavic
Goth - Gothic	OE - Old English
Hbr - Hebrew	OFr - Old French
Hisp-Celt - Hispano-Celtic	OFris - Old Frisian
Hitt - Hittite	OHG - Old High German
Hung - Hungarian	OIr - Old Irish
IE - Indo-European	OItal - Old Italian
Illyr - Illyrian	OLith - Old Lithuanian
Ir - Irish	ON - Old Norse

OPers - Old Persian	Sard - Sardinian
OPort - Old Portuguese	SCr - Serbo-Croatian
OPrus - Old Prussian	Sicil - Sicilian
ORuss - Old Russian	Skt - Sanskrit
OS - Old Saxon	Slav - Slavic
OSard - Old Sardinian	Sogd - Sogdian
Osc - Oscan	Sp - Spanish
Osset - Ossetic	Swed - Swedish
Pers - Persian	Thr - Thracian
Phryg - Phrygian	Tokh - Tokharian
Piem - Piemontan	Turk - Turkish
Pol - Polish	Ukr - Ukrainian
Port - Portuguese	Venet - Venetian
Prov - Provençal ²	W - Welsh
Rom - Romance	Yagn - Yagnob
Rum - Rumanian	Yazg - Yazgulam
Russ - Russian	

A

a part. 'whether', conj 'or'. The particle is etymologically identical with the conjunction (ÇABEJ *St.* I 27-28). From PAIb **a* connected with Gk ἤ 'indeed' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 322) or with the pronominal stem **e-/o*. ∅ BOPP 498 (to Skt *a-*, demonstrative particle); CAMARDA I 313-314 (to Gk ἤ, interjection); MEYER *Wb.* 1 (borrowing from Lat *an* 'whether' but the nasal could not be lost without any traces; conjunction *a* continues Lat *aut* 'or'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1057; JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 19; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 67 (follows PEDERSEN); FRISK I 619; HAMP *HSyn.* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 27-28 (from an exclamation), *Etim.* II 5-6 (follows MEYER); HULD 36 (accepts MEYER's view); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 69 (to Lat *an*, Gk ἄν, from PAIb **an* < IE **Hen*).

acar m, pl. *acare* 'steel'. From PAIb **atsara* 'sharp' with *c* preserving the old affricate. Further connected with OIr *aicher* 'sharp', Gk ἄκρον 'point, top', Lith *aštrūs* 'sharp', Slav **ostrъ* id. ∅ POKORNY I 21.

acar m 'frost, strong cold'. Historically identical with *acar* 'steel', with a semantic development 'strong cold' < 'sharp'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 20 (explains the derivative *acēroj* 'to fester [of a wound]' as a borrowing from Slav **čirъ*, **čirъjъ* 'wound, furuncle'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 28 (suggests a division *a-car* with prefix *a-* and the root identified with that of *cirris*), *Etim.* II 9 (to *ther*).

adhuroj aor. *adhurova* 'to adore'. Borrowed from (learned) Lat *adorāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 1). ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 11 (from Italian); LANDI *Lat.* 79.

afēr adv., prep. 'near'. From PAIb **apsera* representing a contamination of **aps*, a variant of IE **apo* reflected by Gk ἄψ 'backwards', and of **apero*, a derivative of **apo-*: Skt *āpara* 'posterior, later', Goth *afar* 'after' and the like. Thus, PAIb **apsera* reflects IE **apero* influenced by **aps* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 257). Possible but less probable is the borrowing of *afēr* from Germanic: Goth *afar*, OHG *avar* 'again' and the like. ∅ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *āpara-*); MIKLOSICH *Rom.*

Elemente 26 (from Lat *finis*); MEYER *Wb.* 3 (borrowed from Rom **affināre* ‘to approach’ ~ Lat *affinis* ‘near’ with Geg < Tosk); JOKL *Studien* 103-104 (preposition *a* followed by *-fēr* borrowed from Goth *fera* ‘side’); BARIĆ *Lingv. Studien* 87 (links *afēr* to Lat *spērō* ‘to sever, to separate, to remove’, Gk *σπείρω* ‘to gasp, to pant, to quiver’), *Hymje* 71; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 87-88; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 67; FRISK I 204; POKORNY I 53-54; MAYRHOFER I 38; ÇABEJ *St.* I 28-29 (privative *a-* < **n-* and *-fēr* compared with E *far*), *Etim.* II 11-12; HULD 36; DEMIRAJ *AE* 70-71.

afsh m, pl. *afshe* ‘heat, hot breath, smell’. From PALb **aweisa*, a suffixal derivative of IE **auēi-* ‘to blow’ structurally close to MW *awyd* ‘gust of wind’, OCorn *awit* ‘air’ < **auēido-* (OREL *Fort.* 78). Another derivative of the same root is PALb **aweita* > *aft* ‘blow of wind’ (DEMIRAJ *AE* 72). ◊ CAMARDA I 305, II 100, 150 (*aft* to Gk *ἄχνη* ‘chaff’); MEYER *Wb.* 3 (from Ital *afa* ‘heat coming from the ground’); JOKL *IF* XLIII 63 (to *ēnj*); POKORNY I 82; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 13 (to *avull*).

aftē adj. ‘capable, proper’. Borrowed from Lat *aptus* id. (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 13). ◊ MANN *Comp.* 29 (related to Lat *aptus*).

ag m, pl. *agje* ‘twilight, dusk’. From PALb **auga* etymologically related to Gk *αὐγή* ‘ray of light’ and further based on IE **aug-* ‘to increase’ (MEYER *Wb.* 4, *Alb. St.* III 37). The verb *agoj* ‘to dawn’ is derived from *ag*. ◊ CAMARDA I 94 (to Gk *ἠώς* ‘dawn’); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 60 (wavers between MEYER’s and CAMARDA’s etymologies); PERSSON *Beiträge* 369; GONDA *Anc.* 73-83; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; PISANI *Saggi* 99; CHANTRAINE 137; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 87 (to Basque *ego* ‘light’); TRUBAČEV *Ėtnogenez* 151 (identifies the first element of Ἀγέθουροι with *ag*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 30 (to Gk *ἄφρη* ‘darkness, night’), *Etim.* II 16-17; DEMIRAJ *AE* 72.

agjēroj ~ **agjēnoj** aor. *agjērova* ~ *agjēnova* ‘to fast’. Borrowed from Rom **adjūnāre* id., cf. Rum *ajuna* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 4). ◊ CAMARDA I 80 (to Lat *jejūnium* ‘fast’); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; PUȘCARIU *EWB* 5; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 18-19 (from *jejūnāre*).

ah m, pl. *ahe, aha* ‘beech-tree’. Goes back to PALb **aksa* identical with IE **osk-*: Gk *ὄξυα* ‘beech’, Arm *haci* ‘ash-tree’, ON *askr* id., Maced

ἄξος · ὕλη (MEYER *Wb.* 4; PEDERSEN *IF* V 44). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; BÜGA II 286; BARIĆ *Hymje* 24; AÇAREAN *HAB* III 65; PISANI *Saggi* 128; POKORNY I 782; FRISK II 400; CHANTRAINE 806; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132; HULD 36-37; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 19-20; DEMIRAJ *AE* 73.

ai, ay pron. ‘he’, f. **ajo** ‘she; that’. Masc. *ai* goes back to PALb **a-ei* consisting of a proclitic particle **a* and a demonstrative **ei*, identical with IE **ei-* in Skt *ayám* ‘he’, Lat *is* (*eis* in early inscriptions) and the like. The feminine form is from PALb **a-jā* continuing IE **iā* id., fem. sg. of the demonstrative **jo-* (BOPP 519; CAMARDA I 209; MEYER *Wb.* 5). ◊ MEYER *ZfromPh* XI 268-269 (*a-* from Lat *aque*); *Alb. St.* III 40, 63, 79, IV 24; JOKL *Studien* 4 (*a-* from Lat *ad*), *LKUBA* 271 (*a-* from IE **ad* or **δ*), *IF* XXXVI 98-100; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 248-252, *KZ* XXXIV 288, XXXVI 309 (derives *-jo* from IE **sā* treating *-j-* as a hiatus filler), *Pron.* 315 (*a-* from IE **au-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 68; POKORNY I 282-283; CAMAJ 103 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 31, *Etim.* II 22-23; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 81 (on neut. *ata* in comparison with Mes-sapic); DEMIRAJ *Gr.* 467-468 (interaction of IE **e-* and **so-*); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43; HULD 38 (repeats PEDERSEN’s version); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 224-225 (*-jo* < IE **ijā* or **ejā*), XXIII 174; DEMIRAJ *AE* 70, 73.

aj m ‘bite’. Borrowed from Lat *alium* (MEYER *Wb.* 6). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 23-24 (to *anëzë*).

ajkë f ‘cream, wool fat’. In dialects, a more phonetically archaic form *alkë* has been preserved. Goes back to PALb **alkā* related to Lith *álkti* ‘be hungry’, *álka* ‘hunger’, Slav **olkti* ‘be hungry’ (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 257). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 5 (from Lat *alica* ‘kind of grain, spelt’ with an obvious discrepancy of meaning); OŠTIR *Anthropos* VIII 165-167 (to Lat *sēbum* ‘lard’); FRAENKEL 8; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 57-58 (to *lule*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 31-32 (reconstructs **olka* and compares *ajkë* with Lat *alga* ‘sea-weed’), *Etim.* II 26-28 (to IE **ol-* ‘fat, dirt’); DEMIRAJ *AE* 74.

akull m, pl *akuj* ‘ice’. Loanword from Gmc **jakulaz* ‘icicle, glacier’, cf. ON *jökull* ‘icicle’, OE *gicel* id. (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 171). In Albanian, the source may be East Germanic (Balkan Gothic?). The loss of the anlaut **j-*, probably, shows that the loan penetrated into Proto-Albanian at a stage when there was no *j*-like sound there. ◊ CAMARDA

161 (suffix *-ull-*); MEYER *Alb. Studien* I 66, *Wb.* 7 (comparison with Gk ἀχλὺς ‘fog’, Lat *aquilō* ‘North wind’ and the like; these forms, however, reflect IE **aghlu-*, cf. FRISK I 55), *Alb. St.* III 5; JOKL *Studien* 112 (suffix *-ull*), *LKUBA* 268-269 (negative **n* added to *-kull* related to the semantically misinterpreted Slav **kaliti* ‘to make hot, to harden (of iron)’ and not ‘to be cold’); WALDE-HOFMANN I 60; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 68 (agrees with JOKL); CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* 40-41 (< *a-* + **kel-* ‘to strike’); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 53-54 (to *ehull*); HULD 38-39 (follows JOKL); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 355; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 31-32; DEMIRAJ *AE* 74.

amĕ f, pl. *ama* ‘source, river-bed’. A metaphoric use of *amĕ* ‘mother’ (VASMER *ZfslavPh* XVI 337; TAGLIAVINI *Mélanges Pedersen* 162-163), in fact, a calque of SCr *matica* ‘water-source’ or Bulg *matka* ‘water-bed’ (to **mati* ‘mother’). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 64; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90-91 (to Lat *amnis*); BARIĆ *A ArbSt* II 157; MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (follows JOKL); CHANTRAINE 70; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 39 (agrees with TAGLIAVINI); GAMKRELIDZE - IVANOV II 886 (to Gk ἀμάρη ‘pit, canal’); DEMIRAJ *AE* 75-76.

amĕ f, pl. *ama* ‘mother’. In Tosk where *amĕ* comes from Geg, there exists *ĕmĕ* as well. A widespread *Lallname* (MEYER *Wb.* 5). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111; SAINĒAN *ZfromPh* XXX 314 (borrowed from Lat *amma*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 170.

amĕz f ‘odour, aroma’. Derivative in *-ĕz* from (G) *amĕ* < PALb **admā* connected with Gk ὀδμή id., Lat *odor* id., Lith *úosti* ‘to smell’ (JOKL *Studien* 3; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Mélanges Pedersen* 162; FRISK II 352-353; FRAENKEL 1167-1168; WALDE-HOFMANN II 203; POKORNY I 772-773; CHANTRAINE 777; DURIDANOV *BE* XVI 66 (reconstructs **am-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 40-41 (derived from *amĕ* ‘mother’, cf. Fr *mère de vinaigre*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 76.

amull adj. ‘stagnant (of water)’. As to *amull* ‘very hot’, it is the same word (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 42) reflecting a specific way of iron tempering, first made hot and then cold by means of water or dirt. The same development is attested in Slav **kaliti* ‘to temper iron’ based on **kalz* ‘dirt’. Continues PALb **amulwa* with a prothetic *a-* etymologically related to Lith *mulvė* ‘silt, marsh’, *mūlti* ‘to get dirty’. ◊ CAMARDA I 61 (comparison with *avull*); MEYER *Wb.* 21 (follows CAMARDA and translates

amull as ‘burning’); WEIGAND 2 (*amull* ‘very hot’ borrowed from Turkish); JOKL *LKUBA* 270-272 (to *mbulim*); LA PIANA *Studi* 99 (to *avull*); FRAENKEL 471; NEVSKAJA *BGT* 53; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* IX 124; ÇABEJ *St.* I 34; MANN *Comp.* 20 (to Arm *amul* ‘barren’, OIr *ambal* ‘dark’); DEMIRAJ *AE* 75 (to *amĕ*).

an m ‘uterus’. A metaphoric transformation of *enĕ*, singularized plural of dialectal *an*, *anĕ* ‘vessel’. As to the latter, it is identical with *anĕ* ‘side’ (KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 223). ◊ CAMARDA II 31 (comparison of *enĕ* with Gk ἀγγεῖον ‘vessel’), 71 (to Gk ἔντεα ‘vessel’); MEYER *Wb.* 12 (identifies *enĕ* with *anĕ* ‘side’), *Alb. St.* IV 9; JOKL *Studien* 3 (compares *anĕ*, *enĕ* with Skt *ukhá-* ‘vessel, boiler’ and/or Goth *auhns* ‘oven’, reconstructing **aug'nā*); BARIĆ I *ARSt* 86 (to Lat *auxilla*); MAYRHOFER I 98; ÇABEJ *St.* I 34 (links *anĕ*, *enĕ* to Gk ἄγγος ‘vessel’); MANN *Comp.* 20 (*an* ‘caul’ related to Gk ἀμνῖον ‘vessel for sacrificial blood’); ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (close to JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 76-77.

andaj conj. ‘therefore’. A compound of *a* (as in *ai*) and *ndaj* (MEYER *Wb.* 11).

anĕ f, pl. *anĕ* ‘side’. From PALb **antā* related to Skt *ánta-* ‘end’, Goth *andeis* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 35, IV 56-57) with **-nt-* > *-n-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 11 (reconstructs **ausnā* related to IE **ōus-* ‘mouth’), *Alb. St.* III 12, 63, 90; JOKL *Studien* 12; FEIST *Goth.* 49; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (same as MEYER); MAYRHOFER I 90; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 211; POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 127 (to Georg *hana* ‘field’); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 47-49; JANSON *Unt.* 90-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 77-78 (supports ÇABEJ).

ang m ‘fear, nightmare’. From PALb **anga* corresponding to Skt *ámhas-* ‘fear’, Lat *angor* ‘unrest, fear’, OIr *cumcae* gl. ‘angor’ < Celt **kom-ong-ĭā* (OREL *Antič. balk.* 5 32; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/2 147) and further connected with IE **anghu-* ‘narrow’, **anghos* ‘narrowness, oppression’ (ÇABEJ *St.* I 36). ◊ JOKL *IF* XLIII 61 f. (links *ang*, *ankth* to Skt *ániti* ‘to breathe’ < IE **anā-*); OŠTIR *A ArbSt* I 104 (fantastic comparisons with Slav **mora* ‘(mythic incarnation of) fear’, Gk λάμια and the like); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; POKORNY I 42-43; HAMP *Ėriu* XXVIII 147-148, *LB* XXX 131-132; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350.

(G) **angĕrr** f, pl. *angrra* ‘skin; intestines’. From PALb **angarā* < IE

**anġhrā* related to Arm *anjn* 'soul, person', ON *angi* 'smell, odor'.
 ◇ JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 127-129 (zero-grade derivative of IE **g^her-* 'to eat, to swallow'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 86; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232 (follows JOKL); AČAREAN *HAB* I 202-203; POKORNY I 42; ÇABEJ *St.* I 35 (identifies *angërr* with the participle *hangër* 'eating'), *Etim.* II 50; LUKA *HD* XXIV 41-42; DEMIRAJ *AE* 78.

angullij aor. *angullita* 'to howl'. Deverbative of **angull* < PALb **ankula*, related to Gk ὀγκόματ 'to cry', Lat *uncō* 'to growl (of bears)'.
 ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to *ankth*); POKORNY I 322; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 51 (follows MEYER).

(G) **ankoj** aor. *ankova* 'to cry, to weep'. This verb also appears as *nëkoj*, *rëkoj* and *rënkoj*. A denominative verb that is probably based on PALb **anaka* borrowed from Gk ἀνάγκη 'grief, distress'.
 ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to *angullij* and Slav **ječati* 'to groan'); LUKA *HD* XXIV 44-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 78-79.

ankth m, pl. *ankthe* 'fear, nightmare, restlessness'. Derived from *ang*. If *-th* may be treated as a continuation of **-st-*, *ankth* goes back to PALb **angasta* and is identical with IE **anġhosto-* ~ **anġhosti-*: Lat *angustus* 'narrow', OHG *angust* 'fear' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; ÇABEJ *St.* I 36).
 ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 13, 304 (compares with *ankoj* and its variants); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 16-17 (to *emakth* id., *ëmë* 'mother'); JOKL *IF* XLIII 61-62 (to Lat *animus*, Skt *ániti*); OŠTIR *AArbSt* I 104 (to Basque *amets* 'dream'); POKORNY I 43; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 53-54; BEEKES *CIEL* 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 79.

apë m 'elder brother; dad'. A typical *Lallname*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 39 n.1 (from Hung *apa* 'father'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 56 (to *abej* 'term of respect to elder brother' borrowed from Turkish).

aq adj., adv. 'so, such'. Goes back to PALb **akja* opposed to *kaq* 'so' < PALb **kakja* in the same way as Slav **ako* 'as, if' is opposed to **kako* 'how' (MEYER *Wb.* 7). Hence, the analysis of these forms as compounds beginning with pronominal **a-* and **ka-* (as in *ai* vs. *ky*) and another stem or a suffix **-kja* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 36-37). ◇ PEDERSEN *Pron.* 315 (to Gk αὐ 'again'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJA* I 64-65; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 58-59; HAMP *Numerals* 836 (-*q* identical with OPrus *quai*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 80.

ar m 'gold'. Borrowed from Lat *aurum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 14). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1047, 1056; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 59-60; LANDI *Lat.* 72.

arbër ~ **arbën** m, pl. *arbër* ~ *arbën* 'Albanian (particularly, of Italy and Greece)'. A Proto-Albanian loanword with the assimilation of liquids, from Rom **albanus* rendering the West Balkan ethnonym attested as Illyr 'Ἄλβανοί (Ptol.). The form *arbëresh* ~ *arbënes* 'Italo- or Graeco-Albanian' reflects Rom **albanensis* (JOKL *Arch. Rom.* XXIV 137). ◇ CAMARDA I 30; MEYER *Wb.* 14; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 299 (to Gk ὀρφανός 'orphan'); ΦΟΥΡΙΚΙΣ 'Ἀθηνᾶ XLIII 3-7, XLVI 9-12 (to the name of the Alps and Illyr *Arbona*); SPITZER *MRW* I 334; TROMBETTI *AArbSt* III 1-6 (from proto-Indo-European); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 71-72 ('sicuramente indigeno'); MAYER *Illyrier* II 4 (to Gk ὀρφνός 'dark'); LANGE-KOWAL *ZfBalk* XVIII/2 134-136 (< **arb-* parallel to **alb-*); KACORI *EB* 1977/1 122-129; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 327; LUKA *KKF* 281-291; ÇABEJ *St.* I 37-38, V 62-67; *Etim.* II 61-68 (to Lat *arvum*); LUKA *HD* XXIV 47-51.

ardhi f 'vine, grapes'. The word is known in many phonetic variants: *hardhi*, *erdhi*, *rdhi*, *dhri*, *urdhi*, *orli*. It may go back to **ardhë* and, further, to PALb **ardz-* related to the aorist stem *erdha* (see *vij*), cf. CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 51; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 65-66. Semantically, 'vine' < 'climbing, going' as in Slav **loza* 'vine' ~ **loziti*, **lezti* 'to climb' (cf. BRÜCKNER *AfsiPh* XXXIX 4; VASMER II 512). An alternative etymology (MEYER *Wb.* 147) is based on the variant *rdhi* and connects it with IE **urēg-* 'to break, to cut'. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 161-162 (to Arm *ort* 'vine'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231, *KZ* XXXVI 341 (follows BUGGE); JOKL *Sprache* IX 152; PISANI *Saggi* 120; BARIÇ *Hymje* 43, 57 (compares *ardhi* with Basque *ardao* 'wine'); POKORNY I 1181-1182; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 87 (to Basque *ardao* 'wine'); WEITENBERG *KZ* LXXXIX 68-70; ÇABEJ *St.* I 38 (a phonetically difficult comparison with *urth*), *Etim.* II 69-70; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 355; DEMIRAJ *AE* 195-196.

arë f, pl. *ara* 'field'. From PALb **arā* etymologically connected with Latv *āra* id. (GÄTERS *KZ* LXXIII 108-109) and, probably, with Hitt *arġa-* 'border, area', Lyd *aara-* 'farmstead, land', Mess *aran* (HAMP *KZ* LXXV 237-238). ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk ἄρουρα 'tilled land'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3 (from Lat *ārea* 'ground, space, thresh-

ing-floor'); MEYER *Wb.* 14 (from Lat *ārea* or from *arvum* 'plowed land' but *-rv-* would be rendered as *-rr-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041, 1048 (from Lat *ārea*); FRAENKEL 518; ÇABEJ *St.* I 39 (follows GÄTERS), ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 71-72; HAARMAN 111 (from Lat *ārea*); POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 128 (to Georg *are* 'field'); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* 688-689 (to Gk ἀρόπος 'field, land'); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77, *RRL* XXI 51 (same as ÖLBERG, reconstructs *arē* < **ager* in view of the dialectal long *a*: in the anlaut); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; HULD 38; TISCHLER I/1 55-56; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44 (adds Arm *arawr* 'plow'); KARULIS *LEV* I 76; DEMIRAJ *AE* 80-81.

arēz ~ **anēz** f, pl. *arēza* ~ *anza* 'wasp'. Continues PAIb **aunā* derived from IE **au(ə)-*³² 'to weave' similarly to Lith *vapsà*, Slav **osa* and the like based on IE **uebh-* 'to weave'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 14 (borrowing from Turk *ari* 'bee' with a suffix *-ēz* - but how to explain the rhotacism in Tosk?), *Alb. St.* V 68; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 83-84 (reconstructs **aknā* compared with Lat *acūleus* 'sting'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 70; ÇABEJ *St.* 40-41 (agrees with BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 87-88 (from **ak-* 'sharp').

arēzē f, pl. *arēza* 'nape'. Note a more phonetically conservative variant *arrēzē*. Another derivative of the same stem is represented by *arrç* 'upper jugular vertebra'. Both words are based on *arrē* in its metaphoric sense of a round protuberance (CAMARDA I 181; MEYER *Wb.* 7). ∅ ÇABEJ *St.* I 41, *Etim.* II 90.

argēsh m 'crude raft supported by skin bladders, crude bridge of cross-bars, harrow'. From PAIb **argusa* related to Skt *argala-* 'bolt', OE *reced* 'building, house'. ∅ POKORNY I 65; ÇABEJ *St.* I 39 (comparison with IE **uerǵ-* 'to work, to do').

argjend ~ **argjand** m 'silver'. Borrowed from Lat *argentum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ∅ CAMARDA I 55 (unspecified comparison with Lat *argentum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; MANN *Language* XVII 22; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 75-76; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 79, 116.

ari m, pl. *arinj* 'bear'. From PAIb **arina* (JOKL *LKUBA* 310) derived from **ara* > OAlb *ar* (BOGDANI). The feminine forms are *arushē* and *arëshē*. A tabooistic transformation of IE **r̥kso-* ~ **r̥kto-* id.: Hitt *hartag-*

ga-, Skt *r̥kṣa-*, Gk ἄρκτος, Lat *ursus* and the like (CAMARDA I 86; MEYER *Wb.* 15, *Alb. St.* IV 20). The expected Alb **arth* must have been treated as a diminutive in *-th*, from where the existing form *ar* was later derived (DEMIRAJ *AE* 82). ∅ STIER *KZ* XI 146; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 232, 344; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 106, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89, *BB* XX 231; JOKL *LKUBA* 310; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 132-133; MANN *Language* XVII 16; POKORNY I 875; MAYRHOFER I 118; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140-141; WATKINS *IESt* II 504-539; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 66 (erroneously connects *ari* with Gk ἄρπυμᾶι 'to obtain, to get, to receive' and the like); HULD 38; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 77; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66.

ark m, pl. *arqe* 'bow'. Borrowed from Lat *arcus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; LANDI *Lat.* 79, 148-149.

arkē f, pl. *arka* 'chest, box, coffin'. Borrowed from Lat *arca* id. (CAMARDA I 186; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL *LKUBA* 126; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 72; HAARMANN 111; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 78-79; LANDI *Lat.* 175.

armē f, pl. *armē* 'weapon'. Borrowed from Lat *arma* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 81; LANDI *Lat.* 79.

armik ~ **anēmik** m, pl. *armiq* ~ *anēmiq* 'enemy'. Borrowed from Lat *inimicus* id. (CAMARDA I 38; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ∅ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25 (derived from *armē*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 131; JANSON *Unt.* 49; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 81.

arnoj aor. *arnova* 'to mend, to repair'. Note a more conservative form *arēnoj* as well as a back formation *arnē* 'patch'. The source is Lat *renovāre* 'to renew' (MEYER *Wb.* 16). ∅ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk ἀραρίσκω 'to produce, to make'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* I 40 (to *harr* 'to weed'), *Etim.* II 83-84; HAARMANN 145; MANN *Comp.* 34-35 (related to Ginc **armiz* 'arm').

arqitë f, pl. *arqita* 'rod (for basket weaving)'. Borrowed from Slav **orkyta* 'broom (plant), kind of willow' (cf. in particular SCr *rakita*, Bulg *rakita*) in its form preceding the metathesis in the **TorT-* group (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 85). ◇ SVANE 128.

arsye f, pl. *arsye* 'reason, understanding'. From Lat *ratiōnem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 14). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1051; JOKL *Stud.* 10; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 85-86; HAARMANN 145.

arrç m, pl. *arrça* 'cricket'. Derived from *ar* 'bear', cf. *ari*. For the semantic development cf. Russ *medvedka* 'cricket' based on *medved* 'bear'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 4^Ĥ (identifies *arrç* with *harç* 'uncastrated pig' and *arrç* 'thorny bush'), *Etim.* II 89.

arrç m, pl. *arrça* 'kind of thorny bush, Rhamnus'. Derived from *arrë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 41 (identifies *arrç* with *harç* 'uncastrated pig'), *Etim.* II 89.

arrë f, pl. *arra*, *arrë* 'walnut-tree, walnut'. The rare Geg variant *harrë* is secondary. From PALb **arwā*, a singularize pl. neut. etymologically identical with Gk ἄρῶα·τὰ Ἡρακλεωτικὰ κάρυα, Hes. (MEYER *Wb.* 17). Further links, including that with Gk κάρυον 'nut' (CAMARDA I 69), are dubious. ◇ JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 83 (reconstructs **ar-n-ā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 71; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 157; CHANTRAINE 118; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 87 (to Basque *hurr* 'small nut'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 89-90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 82.

arrij aor. *arriva*, *arrita*, *arrija* 'to come, to arrive'. Borrowed from Rom **arrivāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 17). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1040 (from Ital *arrivare*); HAMP *Laryngeals* 137 (to *ri*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 91.

as adv. 'neither, nor, not (even)'. Compound of *a* and *s* (CAMARDA I 312). ◇ BOPP 497 (treats *a-* as a privative particle); MEYER *Wb.* 17 (mistaken explanation of *a* < Lat *aut*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 322 (to Arm *oç*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 204 (follows PEDERSEN); BORGEAUD *RRL* XVIII 529 (to Gk οὔτε); ÇABEJ *St.* 42, *Etim.* II 92-93 (agrees with CAMARDA I 312).

ashkë f, pl. *ashka* 'wood splinter'. From PALb **a(k)škā*, a derivative of

IE **ak̑s-* 'axis': Skt *ákṣa-*, Gk ἄξων, Lat *axis* and the like (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Neapol *asca* for *aschia* 'splinter'); MEYER *Wb.* 17 (borrowed from Rom **ascla*); JOKL *LKUBA* 104-105 (supports MEYER); FRISK I 116; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix *-kë*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 100; LANDI *Lat.* 79, 110.

ashpër adj. 'hard, sharp, rough'. Borrowed from Lat *asper* 'rough, uneven' (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 19). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1042, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 100-101; LANDI *Lat.* 79, 136.

asht m, pl. *eshtra* ~ *eshëna* 'bone'. From PALb **ašti* or **ašta* further connected with IE **ost(i)-* 'bone': Hitt *ḫaštai*, Skt *ásthī*, Gk ὀστέον and the like (XYLANDER 298; BOPP 461; GILFERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 19). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 23, 62; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 85; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 86; POKORNY I 783; FRISK II 436-437; MAYRHOFER I 67; TISCHLER I/2 202-203; HAMP *Laryngeals* 133, *Ric. Ling.* VI 231; GINDIN *Onom.* 101; HULD 38-39; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 101; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (reconstructs **ostṇ*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 82-83.

ashtu adv. 'so, thus'. As opposed to *kēshtu* (CAMARDA I 102), *ashtu* consists of the pronominal particle *a* in the form of locative in *-sh* < **su* and of the adverb *tu* identical with Skt *tu* 'but' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 5-6). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 19 (compares *ashtu* with *tashti*), *Alb. St.* I 45, IV 50; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 199-200 (*-shtu* from IE **so-to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73-74; ÇABEJ *St.* I 42-43 (compares *tu* with *tuke*), *Etim.* II 101-103.

atë m, pl. *etër* ~ *atën*, *etën* 'father'. From PALb **ata* further connected with Hitt *atta-* id., Lat *atta* id., Slav **otъcъ* id. and similar *Lallwörter* (MEYER *Wb.* 20; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136). In Albanian, the replacement of the original **pāter-* with **ata* may be related to another shift affecting **māter* > *motër*. ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 99; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247; JOKL *LKUBA* 38-39; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111; ERNOUT-MILLET 54; POKORNY I 71; VASMER III 170; TISCHLER I/1 92-93; HULD 39; KLINGENSCHMITT *Lldg.* 102-103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 83.

atje adv. 'here'. Compound of *a-* (as in *ai*) and *-tje* (MEYER *Wb.* 20, *Alb.*

St. III 25), cf. *tutje*. ◇ PEDERSEN *Pzon.* 315 (-*tje* < -*teje*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 108.

aty adv. 'there'. A compound of *a* and *ty* < **tū* with a lengthening, etymologically close to -*tu* of *ashtu*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 20 (-*ty* connected with the pronominal stem **to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 109.

athët adj. 'harsh, sour, rancid'. From PALb **ats-eta* etymologically related to IE **ak-* 'sharp', with some derivatives developing the meaning 'sour' as Lat *acidus* (MEYER *Wb.* 2, *Alb. St.* III 13). ◇ CAMARDA I 161 (compares *athët* with *uthull*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 99; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 332; JOKL *Reallex. Vörgesch.* I 89, *LKUBA* 49; OREL *Ètnogenez* 110-114 (*athët* as a source of Slav **ocъtz* 'vinegar'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 109-110; MANN *Comp.* 12 (identical with Gk ἄκτις 'ray of light'); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 83-84.

avdos m 'chaffinch'. Identical with *avdos* 'ice-floe' (see *avër*), for the semantic development cf. *bors*. ◇ POKORNY I 86; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 110 (related to *bors*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 84-85 (compound of two elements: *av-* related to Lat *avis* 'bird' and *dosë*).

avër f, pl. *avra* 'ice-floe'. Cf. also *avdos* id. Probably, connected with IE **aŷer-*, **aŷed-* 'to make wet'. ◇ POKORNY I 78-79; ÇABEJ *St.* I 45 (to *varrë*), *Etim.* II 112-113 (*avdos* derived from *borë*); LUKA *HD XXIV* 60-61.

avull m, pl. *avuj* 'steam, vapor'. From PALb **abula* continuing an earlier **ṅbh(u)lo-* (HAMP *RRL XX* 499-500: reconstructs **ṅbhlo-* but erroneously compares it with Skt *abhrá-* 'cloud' with a definite *-*r-* > -*r-*). Thus, **abula* is close to OHG *nebul* 'fog', OS *nifol* < Gmc **nebulaz* < **nebhlo*. Etymologically, belongs to IE **nebh-* 'wet, water; fog, cloud'. As to -*v-*, it reflects the unfinished process of spirantization and loss of intervocalic voiced stops; the expected change of -*v-* to zero did not occur as it preceded a back rounded vowel. Rum *abur* 'fog' was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. ◇ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk ἀέλλα 'tempest'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69 (from Lat *vapor* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 21 (comparison with Skt *abhrá-* 'cloud'; ultimately, to **nebh-*), *Alb. St.* III 36, 81; JOHANSON *IF IV* 139; JOKL *LKUBA* 270-271 (particle *a-* and -*vull* connected with *valë*); WEIGAND *BA III* 210 (of Thra-

cian origin); HASDEU *EMR I* 106; PASCU *RE* 21 (reconstructs Rom **vapulus*); PUŞCARIU *EWR I*; BARIĆ *ARSt* 107-108, *Lingv. stud.* 39 (*avull* < **o-gʷ-* compared with Germ *Qualm* 'fumes, smoke'); LA PIANA *Studi* 99; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 14 (comparison with Messap *atabulus* 'sirocco'); PISANI *REIE IV* 17 (from Rom **nebla*, a variant of Lat *nebula* 'mist, fog'); ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija* 1964 175; PETROVICI *CL X* 357-358 (to Lat *Boreas* 'North wind'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR I* 271; ÇABEJ *St.* I 45-46 (follows JOKL); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80-81 (same as SCHMIDT), *ŽA XXIX* 90; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 144; HULD 39-40; MANN *Comp.* 46 (follows CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 116-117; DEMIRAJ *AE* 85 (to *aft* and *afsh*).

B

babë f 'old woman'. Borrowed from Slav **baba* 'woman' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 15). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111-112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 120; SVANE *İ89*.

bac m, pl. *baca* 'elder brother, uncle'. From PALb **batja*, a *Lallwort* similar and, perhaps, related to Slav **bat'a* ~ **batja* 'elder brother, father' (OREL *Subst.* 4). The Albanian word is the source of Rum *baci* 'chief shepherd, cheese-maker', Megleno-Rum *batš* id. from where Slavic and Hungarian words for 'shepherd' were borrowed (MEYER *Wb.* 29). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 15; BARIĆ *ARSt* 2-3 (from **bar-*, to *bari*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 112; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR I* 272; TRUBAČEV *Term. rodstva* 21, 195-196, *ÈSSJa I* 163-164; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 122-124; SVANE 188.

badër f, pl. *badra* 'narcissus, daffodil'. More phonetically advanced variants are *badhër* and, especially, *bathër* (HAHN). The word is identical with Skt *bhāstrā* 'bellows', further based on **bhes-* 'to blow'. Alb -*d(ë)r-* goes back to IE **-str-* as in *thadër* (OREL *Fort.* 78-79). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 22 (borrowed from Turk *badruk* 'basil'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 46-47 (with a metathesis, from *bardhë*), *Etim.* II 124-125; MURATI *Probleme* 63-66 (same as ÇABEJ).

bagëm m 'oil for anointment'. Borrowed from Gk βάπτισμα 'baptism' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350; ÇABEJ *St.* I 48, *Etim.* II 128). For the phonetic development of the inlaut cf. *pagëz*oj.

bagěti ~ **bakti** f, pl. 'domestic animal, (head of) cattle'. Based on an unattested adjective borrowed from Slav **bogatъ* 'rich' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165) or going back to the otherwise unregistered Slav **bogatъje* 'richness' (OREL *ZfSlav* XXX/6 912, *Ětimologija* 1983 137-138). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *paśu-* 'cattle'); MEYER *Wb.* 22 (compares with OFr *bague* 'bundle' and the like); JOKL *Studien* 5-6 (links *bagěti* with Skt *bhāga-* 'prosperity, happiness', Slav **szbožije* 'property, cattle'), *Slavia* XIII 310; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 77, *Stratificazione* 147; HOLUB-KOPEČNÝ 261 (to OHG *packe* 'pack' and the like); SKOK I 179; ÇABEJ *St.* I 48, *Ētim.* II 129-130.

bahe f, pl. *bahe* 'sling'. A singularized plural based on a more archaic form *bahē* < PALb **bajā* etymologically close to Slav **bojъ* 'fight'. Both forms are further related to IE **bhei-* 'to strike, to beat' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 22-23 (to ON *baugr* 'ring', IE **bheugh-* 'to bend'), *Alb. St.* III 35; ÇABEJ *St.* I 47 (compares with Gmc **bautan* 'to beat', Lat *fustis* 'knobbed stick, cudgel'), *Ētim.* II 126-127; POKORNY I 117-118.

bajgě f, pl. *bajga* 'dung'. A more archaic form is *balėg(ě)*, *balgě*. The word is also attested in a metathesized form *bagěl*. Goes back to PALb **balgā* probably related to Gk βόλβιτον 'cow dung' if the latter is based on **bolg**. (OŠTIR *AArbSt* II 370). It is the source of Rum *balegā* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 23, *IF* VI 116 (from NItal *bagola*, *bagula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 77 (from SCr *balega* id.); LA PIANA *Studi* I 77; CAPIDAN *DR* II 467-470 (borrowed from substratum); BARIĆ *IF* II 297-298 (reconstructs **bālno-gā*, cf. Slav **govъno* 'dung' < IE **gōu-* 'cattle'), *AArbSt* II 80-81, *Hymje* 22; IL'INSKIJ *JF* V 183-185 (*bajgě* borrowed from Slavic); HASDEU *EMR* III 124; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* X/2 68-72 (from NGk γ(κ)άβαλα < Lat *caballus* 'horse (dung)'); ROHR *ZfBalk* XVII/1 80; ÇABEJ *St.* I 49 (agrees with OŠTIR), *Ētim.* II 132-133; DEMIRAJ *AE* 86-87.

bajzě f, pl. *bajza* 'coot, kind of water-fowl'. The same word is attested as *balzě* and may be interpreted as a derivative of **bal-* 'white' (DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 256). ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 50, *Ētim.* II 134-135 (to Lat *fulica*).

bakull adj. 'robust, vigorous'. Derived from *bakě* 'belly', a variant of

bark (ÇABEJ *Ētim.* II 137). ◇ MANN *Comp.* 62 (to Gk φάκελος 'bunch').

baļ m, p. *bala* 'dog with a white spot on its forehead', adj. 'white-haired'. Also *balē* 'white spot'. From PALb **bala* etymologically close to Lith *bālas* 'white', Latv *bāls* 'pale', Gk φαλός·λευκός (Hes.) and the like. As to *balash*, *balosh* 'horse or ox with a white spot on its forehead', it was borrowed from Slav **bělašъ*, **bělošъ* 'white animal' (MEYER *Wb.* 25; OREL *Ětimologija* 1983 133-134) with *-ě- rendered as -a- under the influence of *bal*. ◇ MEYER *NGriech. St.* II 69 (treats *balash*, *balosh* as cognates of Lith *bālas* and the like); MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (to Bret *bal* id.), XXVIII 36; FRAENKEL 32; FRISK II 988-989; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 65; HAMP *Anc. IE* 112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 50-51, *Ētim.* II 138-140; KALUŽSKAJA *Slavjanovedenie* 1992/2 80-86; DEMIRAJ *AE* 87.

balçëm m 'balm'. Attested in a more archaic form *balshëm* in Old Albanian (BUZUKU). Borrowed from Lat *balsamum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5; MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 25; JOKL *LKUBA* 115 n.1). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 24-25 (together with *balsam* id. treated as a Turkish loanword); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 51, *Ētim.* II 143-144; LANDI *Lat.* 111.

balě f, pl. 'badger'. Related to *bal* taking into account the light-colored spots on the badger's snout.

baltě f, pl. *baltě* 'swamp, marsh, dirt, earth'. Goes back to PALb **baltā* (singularized pl. neut.) closely related to Slav **bolto* with which it continues IE **bholətōm* (MEYER *Wb.* 25). This form belongs to the paradigm of the adjective **bholətō-* 'white' represented in Lith *báltas* further derived from IE **bhelə-* 'shining, white'. Rum *baltă* 'swamp', NGk βάλτος id. seem to be borrowed from Albanian. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *pythvī* 'earth'); BRÜCH *Glotta* VII 83 f. (*baltě* as an autochthonous Illyrian word in Albanian); MEYER *BB* XIX 154; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 242 (from Lomb *palta*); TREIMER *ZfromPhil.* XXXVIII 392 (borrowed from Slav **bolto*); SKOK *AArbSt.* II 114, *Slavia* III 115 (accepts the Slavic origin of *baltě*); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 386; TROMBETTI *AArbSt.* III 21-22; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78, *Origini* 309; HASDEU *EMR* III 135; MANN *Language* XXVI 385 (from Slavic); PORZIG *Gliederung* 159, 175; FRAENKEL 32, *KZ* LIV

294-295; VASMER I 190; PISANI *Saggi* 123 (isogloss uniting Albanian with Balto-Slavic); POKORNY I 118-120; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272, *Ist. limb. rom.* II 97 (Slavic **bolto* in Balkan languages); HUBSCHMID *RRL* XXIV/4 343-352; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14, *Anc. IE* 109; TOPOROV *PJa* I 189 (reconstructs OPrus **balt-*); SOLTA *Balkanlinguistik* 47, 100; ÇABEJ *St.* I 51-52, *Etim.* II 144-147; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; MURATI *Probleme* 127; DEMIRAJ *AE* 87-88.

ballë m/n, pl. *ballë* 'forehead'. Singularized pl. neut. **balā* related to Skt *bhāla-* id., OPrus *ballo* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 24, *Alb. St.* III 33). ∅ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; JOKL *ZONF* X 194, *Sprache* IX 128; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78, *Stratificazione* 86; MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (reconstructs an *i*-stem); MAYRHOFER II 496-497; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77; POKORNY I 118-119; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; ÇABEJ *St.* I 53, *Etim.* II 148-150; HULD 40; DEMIRAJ *AE* 88-89.

ballungë f, pl. *ballunga* 'bump, swelling'. With a secondary assimilation of vowels, also *bullungë*. A derivative in *-ungë* based on *ballë*. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 53 (borrowed from Rom **bulluca* and related to *bulë* and/or to *mëllë*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to *bulë* < **bhulnā* in connection with Gk φύλλον 'leaf'); BARIĆ *AarbSt.* I 144-145 (follows MEYER's comparison with *mëllë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 82 (agrees with BARIĆ).

banë f, pl. *bana* 'dwelling'. From PALb **banti*, a *nti*-derivative of *běj* 'to make, to do' (for semantic parallels see ÇABEJ I 52). ∅ JOKL *Studien* 6-8 (from IE **bhouno-*, cf. Skt *bhavana-* 'dwelling, home' despite the irregularity of Tosk *-n-* < **-n-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; ÇABEJ I 51-52 (explains *banë* as a Geg participle of *běj* identical with Tosk *bërë* but *banë* is well attested in both dialects of Albanian), *Etim.* II 151-153; MAYRHOFER II 485-486; OREL *SBJa* *Leksikol.* 148 (explains *banë* as a phonetic variant of adv. *mbanë* 'near, nearby'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 89.

banjë f, pl. *banja* 'bath'. Borrowed from Slav **banja* id.: OCS *banja*, Bulg *ban'a*, SCr *banja* and the like (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 24; WEIGAND 4). ∅ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; (from Latin); HELBIG 90 (from Italian); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 155 (from Rom **banea* or Ital *bagno*).

bar m, pl. *barëra* ~ *barëna* 'grass'. From PALb **bara* etymologically

related to Lat *far* 'sort of grain, spelt' < **bhars-*, ON *barr* 'spelt' and the like (CAMARDA I 336; MEYER *Wb.* 26, *Alb. St.* III 71). ∅ POTT *KZ* VI 321 (to Lat *herba* id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 33 (to Gk φόρος 'agricultural) yield'); KRETSCHMER *Glotta* III 338-339, VI 96 (to Gk φάρμακον 'drug, healing remedy'); JOKL *Vox Rom.* VIII 192 (Alpine Romance parallels); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 30 (to NPers *bar* 'fruit'); MANN *Language* XVII 16; CHANTRAINE 1179; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 90 (close to KRETSCHMER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 54 (agrees with KRETSCHMER), *Etim.* II 156-158; DEMIRAJ *AE* 89-90 (from IE **bheu-* 'to grow').

bardhë adj. 'white'. From PALb **bardza* continuing **bhorəǵo-*, a derivative of IE **bherəǵ-* 'to shine; white', cf. Skt *bhrājate* '(he) shines, beams, glitters', Goth *bairhts* 'light, shining' and also the word for 'birch': Lith *bėržas*, Slav **berza* (MEYER *Wb.* 29, *Alb. St.* III 17, 33, 72). PALb **bardza* is particularly close to Skt *bhārga-* 'shining' with an irregular development of **-ǵ-*. The Albanian word is the source of Rum *barzā* 'stork'. ∅ HASDEU *EMR* III 216; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 79; LA PIANA *Studi* I 41; FRAENKEL 40-41; MAYRHOFER II 479-480, 529-530; POKORNY I 139-140; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 68-69; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 336; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272-273; ÖLBERG *Beitr. Idg.* 57; GREPPIN *JIES* V/2-3 203-207 (Dac **barđo-* 'stork' related to Arm *brdōr* 'lammergeyer'); HULD 40; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 161-164 (to Gk φορκόν·λευκόν); DEMIRAJ *AE* 90-91.

bares aor. *barita* 'to go for a walk, to stroll'. From PALb **bar-ōja* derived from **bar* 'shepherd' preserved in *bari* (WEIGAND *Balkan-Archiv* I 252-253). ∅ JOKL *Die Sprache* IX 144 (to *mbaj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 164 (denominative of *bar* 'grass').

bari m, pl. *barinj* 'shepherd'. Based on an unattested **bar* < PALb **bara* (the derivation is similar to that of *ari*, *njeri*, cf. DEMIRAJ *AE* 91) related to OHG *baro* '(free) man'. As to OAlb *bėruo* 'shepherd' (BUZUKU, BUDI), it is not connected with *bari* and should be rather analyzed as a loanword from Lat *bārōnem* 'simpleton'. ∅ CAMARDA I 341 (mistaken translation of *bari* as 'bestiame'; comparison with Gk βάρητοι·ἄρνες, Hes.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 69, *Wb.* 27, 33 (to *berr*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 156 (follows MEYER); WEIGAND *Balkan-Archiv* I 252-253 (compares *bari* with *bares* 'to go for a walk, to stroll'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 191 (to *bar*); HAMP

ZfceltPh XXXIX 212 (same as CIMOCHOWSKI); ÇABEJ *St.* I 55-56 (suggests an etymological link to *bie*, *mbar*), 64 (compares *bari* with *bëruo*), *Etim.* II 165-167; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92 (both *bari* and *bëruo* borrowed from Lat *barō*, *barōnis*).

bark m, pl. *barqe* 'belly, womb, abdomen'. From PALb **baruka* identical with βαρ(υ)κά· αἰδοῖον παρὰ Ταραντίνοις (DURANTE *Ric. Ling.* III 158; KRAHE *Spr. Illyr.* 41) and, further, continuing **bhor-uko-*, a derivative of IE **bher-* 'to carry' (MEYER *Wb.* 27). The loss of the inlaut *-u-* points to the stress on the first syllable in PALb **bāruka*, cf. *barukë* < **barūkā*. ◊ CAMARDA I 58 (correctly compares *bark* and *barrë*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327 (follows MEYER), *BB* XX 238, *Pron.* 344 (to Gk φάρυγξ); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVIII 231 (to Lat *farciō* 'to cram, to stuff'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 22; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 79, *Stratificazione* 86; MANN *Language* XVII 7 (comparison with W *brych* 'afterbirth', W *bru* 'belly'); FRISK I 221; CAMAJ 29, 114 (accepts MEYER's view); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; ÇABEJ *St.* I 56-57, *Etim.* II 167-169; HULD 41; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92.

barkë f, pl. *barka* 'boat'. Borrowed from Lat *barca* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1042); LANDI *Lat.* 93.

barmë f 'bast'. A parallel form is masculine *barm*. From PALb **bardzmā* ~ **bardzma* derived from **bardza* > *bardhë* 'white', with a typical semantic pattern for the nomination of bark and bast (ÇABEJ *St.* I 57, *Etim.* II 170), cf. Slav **lyko* 'bast' from IE **leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white'. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 19 (to Gk φορμός); TRUBAČEV *Rem. term.* 164-166; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172; DEMIRAJ *AE* 90.

barukë f 'fleece'. From PALb **barukā* derived from **barwa* > *berr* 'sheep, goat' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172-173). ◊ DEMIRAJ *AE* 92 (to *barrë*).

barrë f, pl. *barrë* 'load, burden'. From PALb **barā* further related to *bie* and *mbar* (BOPP 471; MEYER *Wb.* 28, *Alb. St.* III 73) and particularly close to Gk φορά 'load' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 174). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; BUGGE *KZ* XXXII 4; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78-79; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 121; BARIĆ *Lingv. stud.* 34 (stresses the similarity with Gk φέρνη 'dowry'); MANN *Language* XVII 19; FRISK II 1003-1005; POKORNY

I 128-132; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210 (from **bhornā*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 57; MANN *Comp.* 94 (from IE **bhormā*); HULD 41; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92-93 (agrees with ÇABEJ).

barrë f, pl. *barrë* 'fetus'. From PALb **barnā*, a singularized plural cognate with Gmc **barnan* 'child'. The word must be strictly differentiated from *barrë* 'load, burden'. ◊ ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija* 139; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 173-174.

bashkë f 'fleece'. From PALb **bar(u)škā* etymologically connected with *barukë* id. and derived from *berr* 'sheep, goat' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172-173). For a similar semantic development cf. Skt *ajina-* 'skin, hide' ~ *ajā-* 'goat'. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *bască* id. ◊ BARTHOLOMAE *IF* IX 252 (to Av *varasa-* 'hair'); MEYER *Wb.* 28 (from **vars-kë* connected with Cyren βασσάρα 'fox'); JOKL *LKUBA* 170; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3236; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273; RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 467 (to Germ *Bürste*); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 566; MANN *Language* XVII 13, *Comp.* 67 (identical with *bashkë* 'together'; was borrowed from Thracian or ancient Macedonian); VRACIU *LB* VIII 20 (from substratum); ÇABEJ I 58 (to Gk φάρσος 'piece, part' and its cognates), *Etim.* II 178-180; DEMIRAJ *AE* 93 (identical with *bashkë* 'together').

bashkë adv. 'together'. Goes back to PALb **bakskā* related to Lat *fascis* 'bundle', *fascia* 'band, bandage' (MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 80, *IF* VI 106). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *paścā-* 'back, posterior'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 95, *AArbSt* III 215 (follows MEYER); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 77; JOKL *LKUBA* 170 (to Skt *bādhatē*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 80 (agrees with JOKL); MANN *Language* XVII 13; WALDE-HOFMANN I 459-460; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282; ÇABEJ I 58-59 (follows MEYER), *Etim.* II 180-181; DEMIRAJ *AE* 93-94.

batis aor. *batisa* 'to press together'. Borrowed from Slav **batiti* 'to beat', presently preserved in South Slavic only as SCr *batiti* 'to rebound, to jump away'.

bathë f, pl. *bathë* 'broad bean'. Continues PALb **batsā* < IE **bhākā* also preserved in Gk φακή 'dish of lentils', φακός 'lentil' (MEYER *Wb.* 22, *Alb. St.* III 13, 33). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 80; MANN *Language* XXVI 380; PISANI *Saggi* 118; JUCQUOIS *Muséon LXXVIII* 445; POKORNY I 106; FRISK II 985; CHANTRAINE 1173, 1180;

CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 18; HULD 41-42 (finds a parallel in Burushaski *bu:kak* 'beans'); OREL *Ētimologija* 1985 181; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 184-185; DEMIRAJ *AE* 94.

be f, pl. *be* 'oath'. From PALb **baidā* connected with Slav **běda* 'disaster', Lat *foedus* 'league, treaty' and other nominal derivatives of IE **bheidh-* 'to persuade, to force' (MEYER *Wb.* 30, *Alb. St.* III 33). ◊ ERNOUT-MEILLET 233; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81-82; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* II 54-56; POKORNY I 117; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252-253; HULD 42; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 186-187 (to Gk *πίστις*, Lat *fidēs* 'belief'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 94-95.

begatë adj. 'rich'. Other variants are *bëgatë* and *bugatë*. Borrowed from Slav **bogatz* id., cf., in particular, South Slavic: OCS *bogatъ*, Bulg *bogat*, SCr *bogat* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 50). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 326; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 190-191; SVANE 267.

bejkë f 'white sheep'. Borrowed from Slav **bětka* 'white animal, white sheep' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 192).

bekoj aor. *bekova* 'to bless'. A more phonetically conservative variant is *bënkoy*. Borrowed from Lat *benedicere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6; MEYER *Wb.* 31). ◊ CAMARDA I 141 (to *be* and *besë*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81; KÖDDERITZSCH *Asp. Alb.* 121-130; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 193.

belbë adj. 'stammering, dumb'. Borrowed from Lat *balbus* 'stammering, stuttering' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 31). From *belbë* such synonymous forms as *belbër* and *belbët* were derived. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 194-195 (onomatopoeia).

belbiceë f, pl. *belbica* 'kind of trout'. Another variant is *belvice*. Borrowed from Bulg *belvica* id. (WEIGAND 6, JOKL *Slavia* XIII 311). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 32 (from Lat *barbus* 'barbel'); KRISTOFORIDHI 43; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 7; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 195, *St.* IV 97-98; SVANE 150.

belcë f 'wool cover'. Borrowed from Slav **bělica* 'white object' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 195).

beng m, pl. *bengje, bengë* 'oriole, finch'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of (West) Gmc **finkan* 'finch', cf. especially Bavarian *pienk* (MEYER *Wb.* 32). ◊ HAHN 13 (to *zbehem*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 198 (agrees with MEYER).

ber m 'bow, arrow, spear'. From PALb **bōra*, derivative of *bie* < **bera* 'to strike, to fall' (JOKL *LKUBA* 244). ◊ ÇABEJ I 61, *Etim.* II 199-200 (to Gk *φάρος* 'plow'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95 (to *bri*).

berk m 'bast'. From PALb **bardz(i)ka* derived from PALb **bardza* > *bardhë* 'white' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172). For the semantic evolution cf. *barmë*. ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix *-k*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 201 (from Slav **ob(ъ)вѣтка* > Russ *obertka*).

beronjë f, pl. *beronja* 'barren woman; holly; kind of serpent'. Another phonetic variant is *buronjë*. A derivative with a feminine suffix *-onjë* of an unattested **ber* < PALb **bara* 'naked, barren', borrowed from Gmc **bazaz*: OHG *bar* 'bare', ON *berr* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 33 (comparison with *berr* and Slav **baranъ* 'ram'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 174 (from Romance, cf. OFr *baraigne* 'barren'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 201-202; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95 (derived, as two separate words for 'barren woman' and 'holly', from *ber* and *berr*).

berr m, pl. *berra* 'sheep, goat'. From PALb **barwa* etymologically connected with ON *borgr* 'hog', OHG *barug, baruh* id., Slav **borvъ* 'boar' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173; MANN *Comp.* 95). Note a diminutive *berk* 'goat' only in *era berk* 'stench of a goat' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 201). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 208 (to Gk *βάρυχοι ἄρνες*, Hes.); MEYER *Wb.* 33 (an Alpine *Wanderwort*); JOKL *LKUBA* 242 (from an interjection used to address the sheep); HASDEU *EMR* III 637; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (to Engad *bar* and other Alpine words); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81, *Stratificazione* 132-133; HUBSCHMID *Vox Romanica* XIV 195; TRAUTMANN 27 (**bhoru-* as an areal word for 'sheep and goats'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3237; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273 (to Rum *bîr*, cry with which the shep-

herd calls the sheep); ÇABEJ *Glotta* XXXVI 50, *St.* I 61, *Etim.* II 202-204; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95-96.

besë f, pl. *besa* 'pledge, truce, trust'. From PALb **baitšā* traced back to IE **bhoidh-tā* (HAMP KZ LXXVII 252-253 follows STIER KZ VII 160 and CAMARDA I 43 in reconstructing **bhidh-tā* as an exact equivalent of Gk πιστός 'faithful, trustworthy') or **bhoidh-tjā* (PISANI *Saggi* 129) further connected with IE **bheidh-* 'to persuade, to force' and Alb *be*. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 33 (compares with Alb *bind* and reconstructs **bhendhtjā*), *Alb. St.* II 50, III 25, IV 97; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 308 (thinks of **bhendhtā*); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 201; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 163; JOKL *LKUĀ* 262 n. 2; SCHMIDT KZ LVII 26 (derivative of **bheidh-* in **-ātiā*); TREIMER KZ LXV 110; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81-82; PISANI *Saggi* 129; FRISK II 487-488; POKORNY I 117; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; ÇABEJ *St.* I 61-62, *Etim.* II 204-206; HULD 42; WATKINS *Dragon* 83; DEMIRAJ *AE* 96-97.

běj ~ bāj aor. *bëra ~ bana* 'to do, to make'. From PALb **banja* compared with Gk φαίνω 'to appear' (MEYER *Wb.* 23-24, *Alb. St.* III 33), a zero grade further connected with IE **bhā-*. For the semantic development cf. OIr *bann* 'deed' of the same root (BUGGE *BB* XVIII 162). ∅ CAMARDA I 48 (to IE **bhū-* 'to grow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84-85; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; HULD 43; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 207-208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 97-98.

bërçel m 'kind of wheat, Triticum monococcum'. Derived from an unattested **bërcē ~ *bricē* borrowed from Slav **bъrica* > Bulg *brica* 'kind of white wheat' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ∅ JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 62 (related to *bardhë*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 209-210 (from Maced *pčenica* 'wheat' < Slav **pъšenica*).

bërçik m *bërçikë* 'span (between thumb and index)'. Borrowed from Slav **bъrčikъ*, cf. Bulg *brčeka* 'fold, wrinkle'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 34 (to an unattested Bulg *prčža*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 7 (borrowed from SCR **brčik* related to Pol *bark* 'arm'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 210; SVANE 89.

bërkoq m 'little pig'. Another variant is *bërkuq*. Derived from *berk*, see *berr*. ∅ JOKL *IF* XLIV 56 (borrowed from Lat *porcus*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 211 (to *koqe*).

bërsi f, pl. *bërsi* 'husks of grapes, marc'. Borrowed from Rom **brūtea* reflecting Thracian βρούτεα. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 34 (from Lat *brīsa*); BRÜCH *IF* XL 241-244 (from "Illyrian", cf. Thr βρῦτον 'beer'); HAARMAN 113; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 212 (reconstructs **bris-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 98 (borrowed from Thracian).

(G) **bërshë** m 'juniper'. Continues **eburusa*, a form somehow connected with OIr *ibar* id., Gaulish *eburo-* (JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 235-237). ∅ BERTOLD *WuS* XI 155 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 212-213; DEMIRAJ *AE* 98-99 (critical of the Celtic parallels).

bërtas aor. *brita* 'to shout, to cry'. Borrowed from Slav **bъrtvati ~ *bъrtviti* 'to babble', cf. Bulg *brъtv'a*. ∅ CAMARDA I 68 (compares *bërtas* with Gk βρυχάομαι 'to bellow'); MEYER *Wb.* 470 (to *vërras*), *Alb. St.* III 38; MACHEK *LP* V 59-60 (follows CAMARDA); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 132; ÇABEJ *St.* I 63 (to Latv *brēkt* 'to cry', OIr *bressim* id.), *Etim.* II 213.

bërthamë f, pl. *bërthama* '(fruit) stone'. A compound consisting of *bërth* < *birth* (with a vocalic shift in the unstressed position) and *amë*; thus, *bërth-amë* is something like 'mother of the fruit'. Its synonym, *bërthokël* is to be analyzed as a formation with two suffixes *-ok-* and *-ël* of the same root. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 34 (from Rom **petramen* derived from *petra* 'stone'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 30 (divides *bërthamë* into *bër* and *tha(l)më*, the latter to be compared with *thelb*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 63-64 (a derivative of *bathë* > **barthë*), *Etim.* II 213-214; MURATI *Probleme* 66-67 (root *bër-*).

bërrakë f, pl. *bërraka* 'muddy pool, pond, swamp'. Derivative of *birë*. Note a similar change of *-r-* > *-rr-* in *bërryl*. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 33 (to Slav **bara* 'pool, rivulet'; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 84-87 (identifies the root of *bërrakë* with the ancient Balkan stem *bar-* in river-names); MLAĐENOV *IORJaS* XVII/4 228-230 (to Skt *barburá-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 64 (to βράχος·έλος, Hes.), *Etim.* II 215-217.

bërryl m, pl. *bërryla, bërryle* 'elbow, forearm'. Other variants reflect an original *-ll* in the auslaut. From PALb **bōrei ul(e)nā* 'turn of the bow' > 'elbow' (for the first element - ÇABEJ I 65, *Etim.* II 217-219). Thus, the structure of the word is close to that of Gmc **alinobogon* 'elbow': OHG *elinbogo*, ON *olnbogi* and the like (OREL *ZfBalk*

XXIII/1 67). The first component (in gen.-dat. sg.) is identical with *ber* 'bow'. The second appears, in different accentual conditions, as *llërë ~ llanë*. In hiatus, the resulting group **-ei u-* develops exactly as **-iwi-* > *-y-*, cf. *grykë*. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 49 (from Rom **brāchiūle*); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 159 (from Lat *brāchiullus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 5 (to *bri*, *brinjë*).

bic m, pl. *bica* 'piglet'. Onomatopoeia (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 222-223) similar to that in E *pig*. ∅ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 39 (from SCR *biče*), *Wb.* 38 (adduces, with doubt, Germ *Betze* 'young castrated boar'); DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13 (borrowed from SCR *bica* 'dwarf'); SVANE 138 (from Slavic).

bie aor. *pruva*, *prura ~ pruna* 'to bring'. From PALb **berja* continuing IE **bher-* 'to bring, to carry': Skt *bhārati*, Gk φέρω and the like (BOPP 471-472, 491; MEYER *Wb.* 35, *Alb. St.* III 33, 73). The aorist (in its more archaic form *pruva*) appears to go back to PALb **pruwa* < **p̥ruom*, a form based on IE **per-* 'to lead': Skt *pīparti* 'to bring over', Gk πείρω 'to penetrate' and the like (BOPP 481, MEYER *Wb.* 35). ∅ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II 475; BRUGMANN 117, 150; JOKL *Stud.* 82-83; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187, 230; PISANI *Saggi* 116; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 63, 71 (derives the participle *prura* from **p-run-a*); FRISK II 491-492, 1003-1004; CHANTRAINE 1191; POKORNY I 130-131; MAYRHOFER II 284, 473-476; HAMP *BSL* LXVI 222-223; HULD 43 (reconstructs **bherjō*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 225; DEMIRAJ *AE* 99-100, 334.

bie aor. *rashë* 'to fall, to hit, to strike, to beat'. From PALb **be(r)ja* derived from IE **bher-* 'to strike': Lat *feriō* id., OHG *berjan* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 35, *Alb. St.* III 33, 73). As to *rashë*, it goes back to PALb **rauša*, a sigmatic aorist of IE **reu-* 'to tear': Skt *rāvate* 'to smash', Lat *ruō* 'to tear, to dig out' and the like (JOKL *IF* XLIII 49-50). ∅ BOPP 471; CAMARDA I 240 (*rashë* related to Gk πάσσω 'to strike, to dash'); MEYER *BB* VIII 183, 189 (connected with IE **bhei-* 'to strike, to beat'), *Wb.* 35 (*rashë* compared with Slav **raziti* 'to strike'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 111; BARIĆ I 77 (*rashë* < **e-nāk-s-om* to Gk ἐνεγκεῖν 'to bring', Slav **nesti* 'to carry'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 103-105, *LKUBA* 166; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 240; LA PIANA *Varia* 20; WALDE-HOFMANN I 481-482; MAYRHOFER III 63; VASMER III 452; CAMAJ 29 (reconstructs **bhorejō*); HAMP *Anc. IE* 115, *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210-211; ÇABEJ *St.* II 69 (follows JOKL), *Etim.* II 224-225; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *FLH*

VIII/1-2 47 (follows MEYER *BB* VIII 183); HULD 43-44; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 97 (to ON *rasa* 'to overthrow'); DEMIRAJ *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 72, *AE* 100, 343-344.

bigë f, pl. 'forked stick, branch; double-crested mountain'. A metaphorical usage of the borrowed Lat *bīga* 'pair of animals; team for plowing'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 35 (compares *bigë* with Romance words for 'beam'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 141 (< **bhi-ghā* to Goth *bai* 'both', structurally similar to **d̥uoiġhā*); OREL *Antič. balk.* III 37-39 (from PALb **dweigā* related to Slav **dvigъ* 'branch'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 228.

bijë f, pl. *bija* 'daughter'. In South Tosk and Italo-Albanian there exists a more archaic form - *bilë*. From PALb **birilā* (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 109) derived from **bira* > *bir* (CAMARDA I 79). The phonetic development of **-rj-* > *-j-* (PEDERSEN XXXIII 541) is in this case confirmed by the paradigm *bir ~ pl. bij*. ∅ STIER *KZ* VI 148 (to Messap *bilia* 'daughter'); MEYER *Wb.* 37 (feminine of *bir*), *Alb. St.* III 33; JOKL *LKUBA* 194; ÖLBERG *Beitr. Idg.* 66; RIBEZZO *Riv. Alb.* I 136 (follows STIER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 83, *Stratificazione* 112-113; LXVII 213-217; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36; DE SIMONE *IF* LXIII 265 (against comparison with Messap *bilia*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78 (follows RIBEZZO), *BSL* LXVII 213-217 (together with Lat *filia* id. < **bhūiljā*); HULD 44 (supports HAMP); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 230-231; DEMIRAJ *AE* 101 -102.

bilonjë f 'twig, branch; pretty girl or young woman'. From PALb **būlanjā*, a derivative of unattested **būla* etymologically identical with Gk φύλον 'leaf'. ∅ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 233 (*bilonjë* compared with South Slavic reflexes of Slav **bylsje* 'grass'); OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173 (to *bijë*).

bimë f, pl. *bimë* 'plant'. From PALb **būmā*, a singularized pl. neut., related to *mbij* (MEYER *Wb.* 36) and particularly close to Gk φύμα 'plant' (MANN *Comp.* 123). ∅ MANN *Language* XXVI 387, XXVIII 37; CHANTRAINE 1235; ÇABEJ *St.* I 66 (adds *bim* 'piglet', *bimë* 'young sow' that are otherwise considered to be Romance loanwords), *Etim.* II 234.

bind aor. *binda* 'to convince, to persuade'. From PALb **binda*, a nasal present based on an unattested **beida* related to *be* (BOPP 514; CAMARDA I 59). ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 36 (to Goth *bindan* 'to tie' and its cognates), *Alb. St.* III 29, 33; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 163 (follows BOPP); JOKL

apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 495 (to Skt *bādhatē* 'to push, to press'); PISANI *Saggi* 129; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 253 (agrees with BOPP); ÇABEJ *St.* I 66-67, *Etim.* II 235-236 (from IE **bhedh-nō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 101.

bir m, pl. *bij* 'son'. From PALb **bira* compared with Goth *baur* 'son' < IE **bhero-* (PEDERSEN *BB* XIX 295; *KZ* XXXIII 541), with further link to IE **bher-* 'to give birth'. ◊ CAMARDA I 79 (to Gk *ύίός* 'son'); MEYER *Wb.* 37 (from IE **bhū-l-*, cf. Gk *φύλον* 'race, tribe'), *Alb. St.* III 33; SOLMSEN *KZ* XXXIV 4; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 220; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 109, *LKUBA* 194 (to Lat *filius* 'son'); RIBEZZO *Riv. Alb.* I 136 (*bir* as a secondary formation based on *bijë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 112-113; PISANI *Saggi* 226; BARIÇ *Hymje* 57; HAMP *BSL* LXVII 213-217 follows PEDERSEN); HULD 44-45; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 239-240; KLINGENSMITT *Lldg.* 103 (to *bij*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 102 (agrees with KLINGENSMITT).

birë f, pl. *bira* 'hole'. From PALb **birā*, a zero-grade derivative of IE **bher-*: Lat *forō* 'to bore, to pierce', OHG *borōn* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 37). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 541; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 94; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 83; ERNOUT-MEILLET 249; WALDE-HOFMANN I 481-482; HAMP *RRL* XXI 51 (from IE **bhid-rā*, *ZfceliPh* XXXIX 211 (from IE **bherHuā*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 241-242; DEMIRAJ *AE* 102-103 (to *brej*).

birko adv. 'good, fine, excellent'. Related to *birq* (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 37 (compares with *mirë*); BARIÇ *ARSt* 3 (compound of **bher-* as in *mbarë* and *ko-* < *kohë*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 242 (derived from *bir*).

birq m 'heap, heap of sand, sand-dune'. In Tosk also *berq*. Diminutive *birth* 'pimple' is derived from *birq*. A singularized plural of PALb **birka* formally identical with an isolated Slav **bъrkъ* 'moustache, hair, trunk'. Thus, the original meaning of the Albanian word could be 'upright, vertical (heap)'. ◊ CAMARDA 59 (identical with *pirg* 'tower' < NGk *πύργος* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 98 (follows CAMARDA); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 128-129; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173-174 (to IE **bher-* 'to bring', cf. Russ *borona* 'many, a great amount' going back to the same root according to VARBOT *Praslav.* 170-171); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 242.

bisedë f, pl. *biseda* 'talk, conversation, speech'. Borrowing from Slav **besëda* id., cf., in particular, South Slavic forms: OCS *besëda*, Bulg *beseda*, SCr *beseda* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 33). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 143, 192; MANN *Language* XXVIII 35; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 243; SVANE 1220, 230.

bisk m, pl. *bisq, bisqe* 'branch, twig'. Borrowed from a diminutive Slav **bičьkъ* derived from **bičь* 'whip' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). As to *bisk* 'rivulet', it may also belong here. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 37 (from NGk *βίτσα* 'switch, rod' borrowed from Bulg *vica* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 243-245 (borrowed from Slav **bičь* or derived from *mbij*); MANN *Comp.* 78 (to Lith *biskis, biškis* 'bit, fragment' - a German [East Prussian] loanword); PAGLIARO *Shëjzat* X 315-317; DEMIRAJ *AE* 101 (derived from *mbij*).

bistër adj. 'agile, nimble, sour'. Borrowed from Slav **bystrъ* 'agile, quick', cf. South Slavic forms: OCS *bystrъ*, Bulg *bistър*, SCr *bistar* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 246; SVANE 150.

bishë f, pl. *bisha* 'beast, wild animal'. Borrowed from Lat *bēstia* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 246-247; LANDI *Lat.* 119.

bisht m, pl. *bishta, bishtra ~ bishtna* 'tail'. From PALb **būšta*, derivative of IE **bhū-* 'to grow'. The metaphor views the tail as a bodily outgrowth. ◊ XYLANDER 287 (to Basque *bustan* id.); CAMARDA I 58 (to Gk *ὀπισθεν* 'back, behind'); MEYER *Wb.* 38; JOHANNSSON *IF* XIV 268 (from **bhid-to-* and, further, to Lat *findere* 'to cleave'); JOKL *LKUBA* 261 n. 2; OŠTIR *AArbSt.* I 127; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 109 (follows JOHANNSSON); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIX 429; TAGLIAVINI *RIEB* I 165 n. 1, *Dalmazia* 83-84 (against JOHANNSSON), *Stratificazione* 143; BARIÇ *Hymje* 57; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102; ÇABEJ *St.* I 67-68 (from **mb-ith-sht*, to *ith*), *Etim.* II 248-250; HULD 45 (disagrees with ÇABEJ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 103 (to *bij*).

bishtajë f, pl. *bishtaja* 'pod, hull, pea, green bean'. Borrowed from Rom **pistălia* > Rum *păstăie* 'pod, hull', cf. Lat *pistāre* 'to pound' (CANDREA - DENSUȘIANU I 204). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 68 (to *bishr*), *Etim.* II 250.

bjerr aor. *borra* 'to lose'. Numerous phonetic variants of the anlaut are attested in dialects: *djerr*, *dëbjerr*, *vđjerr*, *dzjerr*. They seem to go back to PALb **diš-bera* or **diš-berna* further related to *bie* 'to fall' (PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 325). ◇ MEYER Wb. 70 (to Gk δέρω 'to skin', Slav **dьrati* 'to tear' and the like), Alb. St. III 73; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 83; LA PIANA *Varia* 21 (related to *djerr*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Gk φθείρω 'to destroy' or Lat *feriō* 'to strike'); HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210 (to Lith *befti* 'to disperse'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 253-255; DEMIRAJ *AE* 104 (follows HAMP).

bjeshkë f, pl. *bjeshkë* 'mountain pasture'. Borrowed from Rom **pastica* based on Lat *pastus* 'pasture'. Note that this word belongs to a compact group of Latin loans with *p-* rendered as *b-*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 58 (identifies *bjeshkë* with *byshkë* and connects it with Romance words for 'splinter', cf. Ital *busca*); SKOK *ZfslavPhil* II 396-397 (from Lat *basilica* 'church' despite the differences in meaning); JOKL *LKUBA* 165-167 (from **bjershkë* as a derivative of *bie* 'to fall'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114; TRUBAČEV *Nazv.* 281 (against the connection with the name of the Beskidy); ÇABEJ *St.* I 68 (follows JOKL and derives the name of the Beskidy Mountains from *bjeshkë*), *Etim.* II 255-256; OREL *Antič. balk.* 5 32 (from **bheug-iskā*).

blanë f, pl. *blana* 'heart of tree; sapwood; scar, mark, pockmark'. Borrowed from Slav **bolna*, cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *blana* 'turf, piece of dried dung', SCr *blana* 'coopers instrument' (OREL *Ètimologija* 1983 134-135). Closer meanings have been preserved in East Slavic: Russ *bolona* 'young wood between the bark and the trunk; lump or scar on the bark'. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* II 175-177; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 257; SVANE 120.

blatë f, pl. *blatë* 'wafer'. Borrowed from Lat *oblāta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER Wb. 38). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1040, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMAN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 109, 158.

blegërij ~ **blegërrij** aor. *blegëriva* 'to bleat'. Onomatopoeia (MEYER Wb. 38-39, cf. Gk βληχάομαι id.). ◇ POKORNY I 102; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 258 (same as MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 104.

blehurë adj. 'pale'. From PALb **blaid-ura* related to Slav **blědъ* id., OE *blāt* id. (MEYER Wb. 38). ◇ POKORNY I 160; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* II 111-112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 105.

blej aor. *bleva* 'to buy'. Borrowed from Rom **ablevāre* 'to lift up, to relieve (from)' (MEYER Wb. 39). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 44 (divides *blej* into a prefix *b-* < *mb-* and a root identical with that of *laj* in its meaning 'to pay'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84; BORGEAUD *RRL* 4 (1973) 327-331; HAMP *St. albanica* X/2 83-85; ÇABEJ *St.* I 71 (to Lat *blēst* 'to see badly; to look' and its other Baltic cognates), *Etim.* II 259-260.

blertë adj. 'green'. There exists a derivationally more archaic variant Italo-Alb *blerë*. The word goes back to PALb **blōra* related to Lat *flōrus* 'shining, bright', OIr *blár* 'gray', W *blawr* id. < IE **bhlōros* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 260-261). ◇ MEYER Wb. 38 (compares with Slav **blědъ* 'pale'); WALDE-HOFMANN I 513-514; HULD 45 (from **bhlēudhro-*, to IE **bhlēyo-* 'light-colored'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 104-105.

bletë f, pl. *bletë* 'bee, swarm, hive'. Goes back to **mbletë* borrowed from Rom **melettum*, cf. *mellārium* 'beehive, apiary' (JOKL *LKUBA* 284-296). ◇ POTT KZ VI 321 (comparison with Gk μέλιττα 'bee'); CAMARDA I 44 (the same); MEYER *Alb. St.* II 79 (from Rom **albietus*, cf. Rum *albină* 'bee'), Wb. 39 (from Rom **apetta* ~ **abetta* 'bee'); SCHMIDT KZ L 235 (follows CAMARDA in deriving *bletë* from **melit*); SKOK *A ArbSt* I 225 (from Rom **albeāta*, Arch. Roman. VIII 148-150); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84 (agrees with JOKL); PISANI *Saggi* 120 (from Gk *μέλιττῶ); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (follows POTT); ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 38 (borrowed from Gk μέλισσεν 'beehive'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 69-70 (borrowed from Gk μέλιττα with a shift of accent), *Etim.* II 261-263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 105 (from PALb **m(e)litā*).

blëndës ~ **blandës** m, pl. *blëndësa* ~ *blandësa* 'paunch, stomach'. Another form is *blënxë* ~ *blanxë*. Variants of *plëndës* ~ *plandës*.

bli ~ **blï** m, pl. *blirë*, *blinj* 'linden'. From PALb **blina* further connected with Lith *blindis*, *blendis* 'Salix caprea' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 70-71, *Etim.* II 264) and derived from **bhlen-* 'to shine', semantically motivated by the color of the bast and bark typical of linden (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). ◇ MEYER Wb. 40 (treats *blï* as a loanword from Rom *(*li*)brinum); FRAENKEL 49.

bli ~ **blī** m, pl. *blij*, *blinj* 'sturgeon'. From PALb **blina* connected with Gk βλέννος id. (MEYER *Wb.* 40; ÇABEJ *St.* I 71). Further related to the same IE **bhlen-* 'to shine' as *bli* 'linden'; in this case, the motivation is based on the color of the fish (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). ◇ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* I 165-182 (further connections of *bli* with Gk φάλλη 'whale' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133; FRISK I 242-243; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk βλίνοσ); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 264-265 (identical with *bli* 'linden').

bligë f 'forked piece of wood'. From PALb **bligā*, a zero ablaut variant related to Gk φάλαγγ 'stem', ON *bialki* 'log'. ◇ LA PIANA *Prefisso* 14 (from **le-bigë*); POKORNY I 122; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 265 (identical with *bigë*).

blokër f 'rubbish, trash'. Continues PALb **blāukā* derived from IE **bhlēyos* 'blue, yellow', cf. Lat *flāvus* 'yellow' and the like. ◇ LA PIANA *Prefisso* 15 (prefixal form related to Lat *bāca*); POKORNY I 160; ÇABEJ *Etim.* 267 (to *bluaj*).

blorë f 'sling'. Continues PALb **blāgrā*, a form reflecting a long grade variant comparable with Lat *flagrum* 'whip', cf. further ON *blekkja* 'to beat, to strike'. ◇ LA PIANA *Prefisso* 15 (from **le-borë*); POKORNY I 154; ÇABEJ *Etim.* 268 (derivative of *bahe*).

blozë f, pl. *blozë*, *bloza* 'soot'. Derivative of *bluaj* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 40; JOKL *Studien* 8-9 (to Skt *malinā-* 'black', Gk μέλας id.); LA PIANA *Prefisso* 13-14 (from **le-bozë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 71, *Etim.* II 269-270 (agrees with CAMAJ); MANN *Comp.* 80 (to Lat *flamma* 'flame').

bluaj ~ **bluej** aor. *blova* 'to grind'. Borrowed from Lat *molere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 40). Among various derivatives note *bluashkë*, *blloshkë* 'splinter' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 71). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1054; JOKL *IF* XLIX 291; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 146; HAMP *IF* LXVII 147 (from IE **mel-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 270-271.

blude f, pl. *blude* 'wooden bowl'. Singularized plural of the form *bludë* attested in dialects. Borrowed from Slav **bl'udo* 'dish, plate', cf. South Slavic forms: OCS *bljudo*, Bulg *bl'udo*, SCr *bljudo* (MIKLOSICH

Slav. Elemente 16; MEYER *Wb.* 40). It is interesting that in South Slavic the word stands for a clay vessel rather than for a wooden one. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 271; SVANE 73.

bludë f '(film of) mould, scum on wine, skin on milk'. Borrowed from an unattested South Slavic continuant of Slav **blōda* reflected in Bulg dial. *blzda* 'unclean pimples' and Slovene *blōda* 'mistake'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 40 (from SCr *bluta* 'mould'); MEYER-LÜBKE *REW* 32 (from Rom **abluta* 'rinse water'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 72, *Etim.* II 271; SVANE 117; TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* II 125.

boj aor. *bova* 'to mate'. Usually, attested in passive as *bohet*. Metaphoric use of *boj* 'to drive' attested in North Geg. From PALb **bāgnja* related to Lith *bęgti* 'to run', Latv *bēgt* id., OPrus *begeyte* id., Slav **bęgti* id., Gk φέβομαι id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 119). For the semantic development in Albanian cf. Russ *gon* 'heat (of animals)' < *gnat* 'to drive'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 41-42 (to NGk *μαίνω*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 373-375 (to Germ *Bahn* 'road'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 174 (from Rom **disbinō*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 68-69 (from **bhōrejō*); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 103, 118 (related to *mbaj*, *bie*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23-24 (from **dēboj* further connected with Lith *výti* 'to drive (away)' and the like); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk *πτοέω* 'to frighten'); FRAENKEL 38; FRISK II 998-999; ÇABEJ *St.* I 73 (follows LA PIANA); DEMIRAJ *AE* 105-106.

bolbë f 'accident, disaster, sorrow'. Borrowed from the otherwise unattested Slav **bolьba*, derivative of **bolь* 'pain' (KRISTOFORIDHI 487; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 8 (against Slavic etymology); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 322 (from Rom **volva* or from IE **bhēl-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 73, IV 98, *Etim.* II 281-282 (to Lat *bullā*, OIr *bolach*).

bolle pl. 'testicles'. From PALb **bālnai* connected with IE **bhl̥ano-*: Gk φαλλός 'phallus', Lat *follicis* 'bellows', OIr *ball* 'limb, member' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67-68). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 41 (from Ital *bolla* 'lump, knob' or *balla* 'testicle'); ROHR *ZfBalk* XVII/1 80; FRISK II 987-988; WALDE-HOFMANN I 524-525; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 23; VENDRYES B-12; POKORNY I 120; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 282 ("elementary creation"); MANN *Comp.* 63-64 (to Skt *bhāla-* 'forehead').

bollë f, pl. *bolla* 'kind of harmless snake'. Borrowed from Rom **bola*,

cf. Lat *bolea* 'salamander' (JOKL *ZRomPh* XLI 228-230). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 41 (borrowed from Lat *bēlua* 'beast, monster'); SPITZER *MRIW* I 295 n. 1 (to Skt *bhāla* 'with shining skin'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 85, *Stratificazione* 133; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 283-285 (from IE **bhul-* 'to swell'); LANDI *Lat.* 126.

borĕ f, pl. *borĕ, borĕra ~ borna* 'snow'. Dialectal variants *dëbor, vdor, zborĕ, xborĕ* and the like reflect PALb **diš-bārā* with a borrowed suffix (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 193) or, rather, **iš-bārā* with a Proto-Albanian suffix. The semantic structure of the word is similar to Rum *zapadā* 'snow' < Slav **zapada* 'falling down (snow)' and, therefore, **-bārā* is linked to *bie* 'to fall' (ibid.; CIORANESCU *DER* II 910). In fact, *borĕ* may be a calque of the Slavic word (TRUBAČEV *Slav. jaz.* XI 19). Its verbal correlate is *zbjerr* 'to lose' < **-ber-na*. ◇ CAMARDA I 100 (to Gk βορέας 'North wind'); MEYER *Wb.* 42 (to Rum *bora* 'North wind' and - at the same time! - Slav **bur'a* 'storm'); THUMB *IF* XXVI 5 (from Gk βορέας 'North wind'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 85; HASDEU *EMR* I 106; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 24-25 (to *var*); KRAHE *IF* LVII 113-114 (to Maced *Bora*); CAMAJ 38; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210; ÇABEJ *St.* I 73-74 (follows JOKL), *Etim.* II 287-289; HULD 45-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 106-107.

borigĕ f, pl. *boriga* 'kind of pine; splinter'. Another variant is *borikĕ*. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *borika* 'fir-tree', SCr *borika* 'pine' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 42). ◇ JOKL *IF* XXXVII 94-95 (related to Gk φάρυγξ 'throat' and IE **bher-* 'to cut'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 206 (follows JOKL); GAMKRE-LIDZE-IVANOV II 707 (follow ÖLBERG); ÇABEJ *St.* I 74 (supports MEYER), *Etim.* II 289; SVANE 125; DEMIRAJ *AE* 107.

bors m, pl. *borsa* 'chaffinch, Fringilla'. Derived from *borĕ* as shown by names of chaffinch in other languages, cf. Fr *pinson de neige*, Germ *Schneefink* and the like (ÇABEJ *St.* I 75, *Etim.* II 290-291). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 482 (borrowed from Slav **skvorьць* 'starling').

bosht m, pl. *boshte, boshtinj* 'spindle, axis, axle'. From PALb **bāsta* close to Gmc **bōsta* > OHG *buost* 'rope made of bast'. Further related to Gmc **bastaz* 'bast' as well as Lat *fascis*, Alb *bashkĕ* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). The spindle is, thus, described as 'junc-

ture'. Note that *boshtĕr* 'Forsythia' is derived from *bosht* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 75). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 42 (derived from Ital *bosso* 'box-tree'); GUYON *St. Glott. Ital.* V 11 (borrowed from Slav **bodьсь* 'thorn, sharp stick'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 86; KLUGE 55; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija* 1964 166; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 102 (prefixal *b-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 292-293 (to *bie* 'to carry' or to Skt *bhṛ̥sti-*).

botĕ f, pl. *bota* 'earth; world'. From PALb **bwātā* based on IE **bheu-* ~ **bhū-* 'to be, to grow' (JOKL *Studien* 7). Among derivatives of *botĕ* note *botĕm* 'pale'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 43 (comparison with Lat *bētere, baetere* 'to go'); MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (to Skt *bhāta-* 'shining', cf. Rum *lume*), *Comp.* 67; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 294-296; DEMIRAJ *AE* 107.

bram m 'residue, scoria, rust, ear-wax'. From PALb **bradma* connected with Skt *bradhnā-* 'reddish, yellow', Slav **bronь* 'colored' < **brodnь* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 300; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). For the semantic development cf. OHG *rost* 'rust' based on IE **reudh-* 'red'. ◇ MAYRHOFER II 451; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 41-42; MANN *Comp.* 98 (to Lat *fragmen* 'scrap, fragment').

branĕ f, pl. *brana* 'harrow'. Continues a South Slavic reflex of Slav **borna* id.: Bulg *brana*, SCr *brana* (MEYER *Wb.* 44-45, mistakenly claims the Bulgarian form non-existent). The verb *branis* 'to harrow' is borrowed from Slav **borniti*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 15, 156; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 301; SVANE 31, 253.

bravĕ f 'herd'. Borrowed from Slav **borvь ~ *borva* 'cattle', cf. in particular Bulg *brava*, SCr pl. *bravi* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 45). ◇ SKOK I 203; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 301-302; SVANE 134.

bravĕ f, pl. *brava* 'door-lock'. A relatively late borrowing from SCr *brava* id. (SKOK I 203) which might be connected with Rom **barra* 'bar' (MEYER *Wb.* 45). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 150, 306; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 302; SVANE 83.

brazĕ f, pl. *braza* 'furrow'. Another (and more conservative) variant is *brazdĕ*. Borrowed from Slav **borzda* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *brazda*, SCr *brazda* (WEIGAND 9; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158, 322) ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 302.; SVANE 37.

brazim m 'hoar-frost'. Derivative based on *brazë* and semantically motivated by the form of hoar-frost looking like wrinkles or furrows. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 45 (from Venet *broša* id., Friul *brose* id.); HUBSCHMID *Vox Rom.* III 133 (from Venet *bro:zima* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 75 (derived from *mraz*), *Etim.* II 302; SVANE 173.

bređh m, pl. *bređha* 'fir-tree'. From PALb **brada* etymologically connected with Slav **bredъ* 'willow' and, further, with **brodъ* 'ford', Lith *brādas* id., all these forms based on IE **bhredh-*, cf. *bređh* 'to jump, to spring' (OREL *Ētimologija* 1985 29-30). For the semantic motivation, similar to that of Slav **bredъ* (a tree growing or "walking" along the rivers or hill-slopes), cf. VASMER I 210 and TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 11-12. Rum *brad* 'fir-tree' is a Proto-Albanian loanword reflecting the original root vowel of PALb **brada*. Note a derivative *breshtë* 'fir-tree forest'. ◊ CAMARDA II 62 (to Lat *bratus*); DIEFENBACH I 50 (to Latv *priēde* 'pine'); JOKL *IF* XXX 208-210 (from IE **bhrozdh-*); MEYER *Wb.* 45-46 (compares *bređh* with the IE **bherǵ-* 'birch'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231 (to ON *barr* 'pine needle'); FRAENKEL 58-59; CAMAJ 121, 123 (reconstructs suffix **-dh-*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3237; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273; PISANI *Saggi* 126 (reconstructs **bhreǵ-* and links *bređh* to the IE name of birch, following MEYER); HULD *KZ* XCIX 247 (borrowed from Gk βράθυ); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 13, 36-37; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 303-305 (follows CAMARDA); DEMIRAJ *AE* 107-108.

bređh aor. *brođha* 'to jump, to spring'. From PALb **brada* identical with Slav **bredq*, **brestī* 'to wade, to ford', Lith *brendū*, *brīsti* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 46, *Alb. St.* III 28, 35, 71). ◊ FRAENKEL 58; PISANI *Saggi* 125; HAMP *ZfBalk* XXV-43; ÇABEJ *St.* I 75-76 (to OE *bregdan* 'to stir'), *Etim.* II 305; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (prefix *b-*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 14-15; DEMIRAJ *AE* 108.

breg m, pl. *brigje*, *bregje* 'hill, bank'. Borrowed from Slav **bergъ* 'bank, coast, hill', cf. South Slavic forms: OCS *bręgъ*, Bulg *br'ag*, SCr *brijeg*, *breg* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 46). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 305-306; SVANE 161.

brej ~ **brëj** aor. *brejta* ~ *brëjta* 'to gnaw'. From PALb **brainja* further connected with IE **bhrei-* 'to cut': Skt *bhrīṇāti* '(he) injures', Lat *frīō* 'to rub', Slav **briti* 'to shave' and the like (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 306-307). For similar semantic development see

JËGERS *KZ* LXXX 109. ◊ MEYER *Alb.St.* V 70-71 (to Lat *frendō*); JOKL *Studien* 9; LA PIANA *Studi* I 73 (from **bhorejō*); MAYRHOFER II 532-533; WALDE-HOFMANN I 549; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* (reconstructs **bhř-n-H-elo-*); SVANE *GJA* II 39 (*brij* < *brej* influenced by aorist); DEMIRAJ *AE* 108-109.

brekë pl. 'pants'. Borrowed from Lat *brācae* 'trousers, breeches' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wb.* 46). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 307-308; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 38.

brenda adv. 'inside'. Together with other phonetic and morphological variants, *brënda* and *mbrënda* ~ *mbrenda*, continues a sequence of prepositions and adverbs PALb **(en) per enta* (CAMARDA I 318). For the last component cf. *nde*. The derivative *brëndës* 'intestines', is the source of the Balkan word for goat- and sheep-cheese prepared in sheep's stomach, cf. Rum *brînză*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33 (from Lat *intra*); MEYER *Wb.* 47-48; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from **en-pren-do*); PASCU *RE* 27 (Rum *brînză* related to *berr*); RUSSU *Etnogeneza* 270-273; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 308-310; HAARMANN 141 (from Lat *per intu*).

brengë f, pl. *brenga* 'grief, sorrow'. From PALb **brain(i)kă* connected with **brainja* > *brej* 'to gnaw'. For the semantic development cf. E *remorse* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68). Rum *brîncă* denoting a contagious disease was borrowed from the intermediate Albanian form **brenka* < **brain(i)kă* and, quite probably, preserves its earlier meaning; thus, 'illness' > 'grief' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 76, *Etim.* II 311-312). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 46; PHILIPPIDE *Viața romanească* XVII 39; DICULESCU *DR* IV 477 (to Rum *brîncă* < Gk βράγχοϛ); MANN *Comp.* 53-54 (to Goth *ana-praggan* 'to oppress').

breshër ~ **breshën** m 'hail'. Singularized plural of **brash* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 76-77, *Etim.* 312-314) going back to PALb **brauša* and, further, to IE **bhreus-* 'to break': OIr *brúu* id., MW *breu* 'fragile', OHG *brosma* 'crumb' (MEYER *Wb.* 47, *Alb. Studien* III 35, 61, 72). ◊ CAMARDA I 78 (to Gk βρέχω 'to wet'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 245-247; PEDERSEN *IF* V 38 (argues against the above etymology), *Kelt. Gr.* I 55; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 87; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 17; POKORNY I 171; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 53 (< *b-resħ-ën* 'falling'); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 217; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 69 (reconstructs **bhroisino-* and connects *breshër* ~ *breshën*

with *brej*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; JANSON *Unt.* 19-21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 109.

breshkĕ f, pl. *breshka* 'tortoise'. Another variant is *brečkĕ*. Together with Rum *broască* 'toad, frog' this word continues a Balkan Romance form **brotascus* or **brosacus*, eventually going back to Gk βρόθακος ~ βρόταχος 'frog', cf. *bretk* (CAMARDA I 104). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 47 (borrowed from Rom **brōsca* 'frog'); PUȘCARIU *EWB* 18; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (from MLat *bruscus*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (suffix *-kĕ*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 314-315.

breshtë adj. 'wild, rough, rugged, rude'. From PALb **braišta* or **brainšta* derived from *brej* < IE **bhrei-* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68-69). For the semantic development cf. Slav **grǫbъ* ~ **grubъ* 'rough, rude' and Gmc **grauta-* 'big, great' (OHG *grōz* and the like) in their connection to Slav **gruditi* 'to gnaw'. ◊ MANN *Comp.* 101 (to ON *brēsta* 'to burst').

bretk m, pl. *breṭq* 'frog'. Borrowed from Rom **brotacus* or directly from Gk βρόθακος ~ βρόταχος 'frog', a phonetic transformation of βάτραχος (CAMARDA I 104; MEYER *Wb.* 47). ◊ FRISK I 226-227; HAARMAN 113.

brez m, pl. *breza* 'belt'. Comparison with Rum *brīu* 'strap, belt' borrowed from Proto-Albanian (MEYER *Wb.* 46-47) leads to the reconstruction of PALb **breuna* from which *brez* was derived with suffix *-(ĕ)z*. As to PALb **breuna*, it may be identified with Lith *briaunà* 'edge'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 46-47 (to Goth *brunjo* 'breastplate' and the like); SKOK *Arch. Roman.* VIII 150; TREIMER *ZfomPhil* XXXVIII 391; SKOK *ZONF* I 89, *ArRom* VIII 150 (diminutive); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 87; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (to Gk βρόχος); PISANI *Saggi* 121; FRAENKEL 57; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 337; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 317-320 (derived from *mbrej* 'to put on yoke' < **m-ber-enj*).

bri ~ **brī** m, pl. *bri*, *brinj*, *brirĕ* ~ *brinĕ* 'horn'. From PALb **brina* related to Messap βρένδον · ἔλαφον; βρέντιον · ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἐλάφου (Hes., Et. Magn.), Swed *brind* 'deer', Latv *briēdis* 'elk', OPrus *braydis* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 48). ◊ STIER *KZ* VII 160 (to *breth* 'to jump'); PETERSSON apud DEMIRAJ *AE* 110 (semantic reconstruction: 'deer'); BERTOLD *IF*

LII 211; SKOK *ZONF* I 89 (singularized plural of **bhren-*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86; LOEWENTHAL *WuS* XI 60; CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 432; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 87-88 (reconstructs **bhrendh-no-*), *Stratificazione* 87; KRAHE *Spr. Vorz.* 104; MAYER *KZ* LXVI 75-76 (from **bhyno-*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 210; PISANI *Saggi* 124; FRISK I 265; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; SCHICK *AAT* LXXXVII 89-118; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 321-323; DEMIRAJ *AE* 110-111 (related to Skt *bhrū-* 'eyebrow').

brie f 'caries'. Singularized plural based on **breja* further connected with IE **bhrei-* 'to cut, to shave' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 323).

brimĕ f, pl. *brima* 'hole'. From PALb **brima*, an adjective in **-mo-* related to *birĕ* (MEYER *Wb.* 37, *Alb. St.* III 35). ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 15; CHANTRAINE 1179; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 324-325 (to *brej*).

brinjĕ f, pl. *brinjĕ* 'rib, side'. From PALb **brinjā* derived from *bri* (LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 284; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 5) with the semantic development 'horn' > 'side' similar to that of Slav **rogъ* 'horn' > 'corner'. The meaning 'rib' in *brinjĕ* was derived from 'side'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 48 (related to Skt *pārsū-* 'rib', Slav **pъrsi* 'breast' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 31-32; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 236-238 (to Goth *brunjo* 'armor'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87; ÇABEJ *St.* I 77-78 (related to Lith *briaunà* 'edge' and the like), *Etim.* II 325-327.

brisk m, pi *brisqe* 'razor, penknife'. Early loanword in a form of **britšika* from South Slav **bričьskъ*, diminutive of **bričь* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 17; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68). Another (and more rare) form *briskĕ* goes back to South Slav **bričьka* preserved in Bulg *brička* 'razor with a handle', SCr *brička* 'razor' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 88). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 22 (correctly compares with Slav **bričь*), *Wb.* 49, *Alb. St.* IV 90 (borrowing from Slav **brъsnqti* 'to shave', particularly, from Bulg *brъсна* id., *brъснаč* > *brъsnič* 'razor' - phonetically impossible); PISANI *Saggi* 126; ÇABEJ *St.* I 78 (prefers derivation from IE **bhrei-* 'to cut, to shave' with suffix *-sk-*), *Etim.* II 327-328; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 355-356.

britmĕ m 'autumn month'. Appearing with an ordinal number, stands for September, October or November. Analogical transformation of

brymēs id. (derivative of *brymē*) under the influence of *brej* (DEMIRAJ AE 111). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 50 (derived from *brej*).

brukĕ f 'tamarind'. From PALb **brukā* identical with Slav **bъrkъ* 'twig, stalk, sharp end'. ◇ HAMP *Anc. IE* 102; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 128-129; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 332 (borrowed from Gk μυρίκη via Dor *βρύκη).

brumĕ m, pl. *brumĕ* 'dough'. Derived from *mbruaĵ* ~ *mbrueĵ*, *mbryĵ* 'to knead' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 333-334). From PALb **bruma* related to Gmc **barma* 'yeast' (OE *beorma*) and Lat *fermentum* 'leaven, yeast' (MEYER *Wb.* 49). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 11, LKUBA 263; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; ERNOUT-MEILLET 230; PISANI *Saggi* 126; MANN *Language* XVII 15 (reconstructs **bhreumo-*); KLUGE 52; DEMIRAJ AE 111.

brushtull f, pl. *brushtulla* 'heather'. From PALb **brust-ula* related to Slav **brъstъ* 'sprout, bud' and OS *brustian* 'to shoot, to sprout'. ◇ VAN WIJK *IF* XXIV 235; PUDIĆ *IX ICL* 862-864 (from EGmc **brustilō*, cf. E *bristle*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 329 (to Dac *riborasta*, plant name); NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 197 (follows POGHIRC); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 58; GINDIN - KALUŽSKAJA - OREL *Blssl.* 249; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 335-336 (borrowed from Slav **bl'uščъ*).

bruz adj. 'blue, indigo'. From PALb **brudĵa* comparable with Slav **brudъ* 'dirt', **brudъnъ* 'dirty' < IE **bhrou-dh-*, cf. **bhrou-t-* in Thrac βροῦτος 'barley beer' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 175). ◇ DETSCHEW *Thr. Sprachreste* 93; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 336 (to *barrĕ*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* II 44.

brydh adj. 'weak, pliant, mild'. From PALb **brūdza* related to Lat *frūx* 'fruit', Goth *brukjan* 'to use' (where IE **g* should be reconstructed) The meaning in Albanian is based on the original notion of 'used, worn out'. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Slav **bъrзъ*), *Comp.* 54, 111 (to W *brydd* 'feeble, ailing'); POKORNY I 173; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 175 (to Slav **brydzъ* 'disgusting, sharp'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 337-338 (to *breth* 'to jump').

brymĕ f. 'frost'. Borrowed from Lat *brūma* 'cold, frost' (CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Wb.* 49). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53 (from Lat *pruīna* id.); CAMAJ 47 (to IE **bher-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; HULD 46; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 338; LANDI *Lat.* 68-69.

buall ~ **buell** m, pl. *buaj* ~ *buej* 'buffalo'. An early borrowing from Slav **byvolъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 243) with the diphthongization of the group **-yvo-* similar to that in *patkua*. The feminine form *buallicĕ* ~ *buelllicĕ* goes back to Slav **byvolica*. ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 150 (borrowed from Lat *būbalus* id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7 (from Lat *būbalus* or Gk βούβαλος); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 64, *Wb.* 50 (same etymology); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048 (agrees with MEYER); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535, 541; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; ÇABEJ *St.* I 79 (questions the phonetic validity of MEYER's etymology), *Etim.* II 339-340 (identical with Thracian βόλιθος 'bull'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 158-159; LANDI *Lat.* 107, 137.

buças aor. *buçita* 'to roar, to thunder'. Borrowed from Slav **bučati* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *buča*, SCr *bučati* (DESNIČKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 345 (from SCr *bučati*); SVANE 260.

buj ~ **būj** aor. *bujta* ~ *būjta* 'to accommodate (a guest); to stay overnight'. From PALb **bunĵa* related to Goth *bauan* 'to stay' and other derivatives of IE **bheu-* ~ **bhū-* 'to be, to grow' (CAMARDA I 59; MEYER *Wb.* 51, *Alb. St.* III 33). As to *bunĕ* 'alpine hut', it continues **buntā* derived from *buj*, cf. Lith *būtas* 'dwelling' and OIr *both* 'hut' derived from IE **bhū-*. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 163; MEYER *Alb. St.* V 71 (from IE **bheug(h)-* 'to bend'); FEIST *Goth.* 83-84; HASDEU *EMR* I 101; JOKL *Studien* 7-8, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; PISANI *Saggi* 117, 121; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 119 (*bunĕ* to Thrac -βουνον); ÇABEJ *St.* I 80-81 (reconstructs **budnja* and connects it with Slav **buditi* 'to wake up' and its cognates), *Etim.* II 351-353; DEMIRAJ AE 111-112.

bujk m, pl. *bujq* 'peasant'. Also attested as *bulk*. Borrowed from Lat *bubulcus* 'ploughman, herdsman' (CAMARDA I 180; MEYER *Wb.* 53). From this stem, *bulk*, *bulkth*, *burkth* 'cricket' is derived. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 55 (*burkth* to **murk-* 'black'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133; POGHIRC *LB* VI 99-100 (to *murk*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 30-31; HAARMAN 113; MANN *Comp.* 112 (*burkth* related to OE *beorcan* 'to bark'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 356; LANDI *Lat.* 89, 135-136.

bukĕ f, pl. *bukĕ* 'bread; meal, meal-time'. Borrowed from Lat *bucca* 'mouth' which in Balkan Romance means 'food' as in Rum *bucă*, cf.

also Rom **buccella* 'bread', Ital *buccella* 'mouthful' (CAMARDA I 132; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wb.* 51). This semantic shift is typical of all the Carpatho-Balkan area (HAMP *RRL* XXIV 315). ◇ XYLANDER 277 (to Phryg βέκος 'bread'); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 19; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 46, *Stratificazione* 133; OŠTIR *AArbSt* I 84; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90, *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMAN 113; HAMP *RomPh* XXXIV/4 434; HULD 46; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 357-358; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 317-323; LANDI *Lat.* 66, 134.

bukĕl f, pl. *bukla* 'weasel'. From PAIb **buklā* connected with *bukur* (MEYER *Wb.* 51-52). The variant *bungĕl* seems to be secondary (influenced by *bung*?). Taking into account the lust as a specific feature of weasel (cf. *bukur*), to be further connected with IE **bheu-* 'to swell', with its characteristic semantic development in Slavic (OCS *bui* μωρός, ἄφρων, Slav **bujъnъ* 'violent, wild, lusty, fertile'), and in particular with Germanic formations in **-k-*: OHG *buhil* 'hill' < **bhukl-*, ON *bóla* 'lump, knob' < **bhukl-ōn-* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 69-70). ◇ BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 79-80 (to Mİr *bocc*, Skt *bhugna-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133 (thinks of a Romance loanword); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPh* XXXIV 215 (to MFr *bacoule* id.); POKORNY I 98 f.; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119; MANN *Comp.* 124; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 358.

bukur adj. 'beautiful, fine, nice, pretty; good, noble; dim'. From PAIb **bukura* etymologically connected with *bukĕl*, cf. Slav **laska* 'weasel' ~ 'caress', Lith *lokšnūs* 'tender' (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 254; MEYER *Wb.* 51; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 69-70). The semantic *tertium comparationis* is the weasel's remarkable lust occasionally related to the notion of beauty and good (TRUBAČEV in VASMER II 462; TOPOROV *PJa* III 279-280; on OPrus *caune* 'marten'). From (Proto-)Albanian the word was borrowed to Rum *bucur* (MEYER *Wb.* 52). ◇ STIER *KZ* VII 160 (identical with Lat *pulcher*); СИНАС II 715 (borrowed from Turk *buhur* 'incense'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 79-80 (to Ir *boce* 'ark'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; HAAS *LB* I 35, 43, III 51 (to Gk βαυκρός); ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338 (explains both Albanian and Rumanian words from the Balkan substratum); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 360-362.

bulbĕr m 'street dust'. Borrowed from Lat *pulverem* 'dust'. Note the

irregular voiced anlaut. ◇ MEYER *Alb.St* V 71 (from Ital *polvere* id.); HELBIG 39; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 362.

bulĕ f, pl. *bula* 'bud'. Borrowed from Lat *bullā* 'bubble, boss, knob' (MEYER *Wb.* 53). ◇ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to Gk φύλλον 'leaf'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 145; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (follows SCHMIDT); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; MANN *Comp.* 122 (to MHG *bolle* 'bud'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 81 (accepts MEYER's etymology), *Etim.* II 362-363; LANDI *Lat.* 93.

bulĕ f 'soft flesh (on the rear side of the finger)'. Borrowed from MLat *bullā* 'seal' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 363). ◇ HELBIG 84 (from Ital *bolla*, Venet *bola* id.).

bullar m, pl. *bullarĕ* 'blindworm'. Together with its variant *bollar* this word is derived from *bollĕ* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90). It is the source of Rum *bălaur* 'dragon' from where other Balkan forms were borrowed. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 41; BARIĆ *ARSt* 3-5 (from **bala* 'water, marsh' and **var* 'snake'); PASCU *RE* 25 (reconstructs Rom **belluārius*); DURANTE *Ric. Ling.* 1950, 270-271; SKOK *ZfromPh* L 513-517; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272; OREL *Vestnik MGU. Filologija* 1981/2 72-76 (ancient Balkan ties of *bullar*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 366-367.

bullog m 'dragon's dwelling'. Transformed from **burllōg* under the influence of *bullar*. Borrowed from South Slav **bъrlogъ* < Slav **bъrlogъ* 'den, dwelling', cf. Bulg *bъrlog*, Slovene *brlog*. Alb *-ur-* < South Slav *-ъr-* indicates an early loanword. Another trace of Slav **bъrlogъ* is *bĕrllōk* 'den' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16 on *bĕrllōk*). ◇ OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 211; SVANE 43.

bullungĕ f, pl. *bullunga* 'lump, knob'. Formation in *-ungĕ* (JOKL *RIEt-Balk.* II 76) derived from **bull* < PAIb **bulna*, etymologically connected with IE **bhela-* 'to swell' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 53 (from Rom **bullūca*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (compares with Gk φύλλον 'leaf'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 144-145 (< *bu-* + *lungĕ*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 82 (connects *bullungĕ* with *ballĕ*), *Etim.* II 368-370 (to *mullā* ~ *mullĕ*).

bung m, pl. *bunga* 'kind of oak, Quercus sessiflora'. From PAIb

**bun(i)ka* derived from IE **bheu-* 'to grow' and closely related to Arm *bun* 'trunk' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 83, *Etim.* II 373-375). The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *bunget* 'thicket'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 54 (comparison with Slav **buky*, **bukъ* 'beech' which, however, is a Germanic loanword); BARIĆ I 103 f. (to Lith *bingùs* 'brave, courageous' or Gk *παχύς* 'thick'); JOKL *LKUBA* 177-179 (to Skt *bhunákti* 'to enjoy, to use, to consume' because of the edible nature of acorns!); LA PIANA *Studi* I 102-103 (to Gk *φάγος* and Phryg *Βαγαίος*); AČAREAN *HAB* I 483-484; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to OHG *bunga* 'lump'); POKORNY I 146-148; HAMP *LB XX* 117 (to the Indo-European name of 'beech' **bhāgnā*); FRIEDRICH *Trees* 108; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 118; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3238; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; HAMP *LB XX/1-2* 117 (from **bhāg-n-*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 70; DĚMIRAJ *AE* 112-113 (supports HAMP).

burdhë f 'kind of sack'. Attested in Albanian of Greece. From PAIb **burdā* < IE **bhṛdh-* further related to ON *borð* 'board, edge', OE *bord* id. ◊ POKORNY I 138; ÇABEJ *SCL X* 556 (to Germ *Bürde*); HAMP *RRL IV* 335 (reconstructs **bhorH-dā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 113.

burg m, pl. *burgje* 'prison, stable'. Borrowed from Gmc **burg-* 'borough, fenced area': Goth *baurgs*, OHG *burg* and the like (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◊ CAMARDA II 145 (to Gk *κύριος*); DIEFENBACH apud MEYER *Wb.* 54-55 (from MLat *burica*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7 (from Rom **burgus*); MEYER *Wb.* 54-55 (various preliminary guesses); ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 206; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 379-383 (follows CAMARDA).

burrë m, pl. *burra* 'man, husband'. Borrowed from OHG *gibūro* 'peasant, villager' with the simplification of the anlaut cluster **gb-* > *b-*. Cf. a similar source of Hung *pór* id. < OBavar **pour*. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *pūruṣa-* 'man'); MEYER *Wb.* 55 (etymologically identifies *burrë* with OHG *gibūro*, Germ *Bauer*), *Alb. St.* III 74; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 254 (from MLat *barro*); PISANI *Saggi* (follows MEYER); WIEDEMANN *BB XXVII* 219 (reconstructs **bhornō-* further connected with OHG *baro* 'free man'); JOKL *LKUBA* 230 (follows WIEDEMANN and reconstructs **bh*no-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 91 (agrees with JOKL), TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113; VASMER *ZfslavPh V* 368-369 (to Illyr *Boṽrou*); RIBEZZO *Riv. Alb.* II 135 note 1; PISANI *Saggi* 121; MANN *Language XVII* 13 (reconstructs **bhṛṇjo-*); GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 119 (to Thrac *βουρ*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 76, *ZfceltPh XXXIX*

209 (reconstructs **bhorH-n-* ~ **bhorHtr-*); CAMAJ 230; DURIDANOV *Trakite* 74 (same as GEORGIEV); ÇABEJ *St.* I 84-85 (accepts WIEDEMANN's etymology), *Etim.* II 389-391; KLUGE 57; HULD 46-47; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (from PAIb **burnas*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 113-114.

bush m 'boxwood'. Borrowed from Lat *buxus* id. (WEIGAND 10). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 56 (from SCr *bus* id.); HELBIG 43, 76 (from Ital *bosso*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 392 (follows WEIGAND 10).

bushtër f, pl. *bushtra* 'bitch', adj. 'raging, wild'. An early borrowing from Slav **bustrъ*, fem. **bustrā* 'quick' (TREIMER *AArbSt* I 27), cf. Russ *borzoi* 'borzoi' < 'fast'. ◊ CAMARDA I 162 (to Lat *bustum*); MEYER *Wb.* 56 (to ON *bikkja* id., E *bitch* or to Lat *bestia*); JOHANSSON *IF IV* 268 (to Lat *findō*); LA PIANA *Prefisso* 14-15 (to *bush* 'bogy, werewolf'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 394-395 (same as LA PIANA); MANN *Comp.* 127 (related to Slav **bustrъ*).

but m, pl. *bute* 'big barrel'. Borrowed from Lat *buttis* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6 (from Ital *botte*); HAARMAN 113; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 396; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85.

butë adj. 'soft, smooth'. From PAIb **buta* < IE **bhugh-to-* comparable with NĪr *bog* 'soft' < **bhughō-*, Arm *but* 'blunt' (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 341). The source of both forms is IE **bheugh-* 'to bend'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 57; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 159; JOKL *IF XLIV* 54; MLADENOV *IF XXXVIII* 169-171; POKORNY I 152-153; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII/1* 70 (to *bu*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 397-398; MANN *Comp.* 121; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 114; DEMIRAJ *AE* 114.

buzë f, pl. *buzë* 'lip, end, edge, bank, stitch, rock'. The word goes back to PAIb **budjā* identical with Lith *budė* 'tree-fungus, tinder, whetstone' (OREL *LB XXVII* 49 f.); semantically, cf. Slav **goba* 'lip, tree-fungus' (TOPOROV *Balkanica* 243 f.) and Rum *buză* (see below). Both the Lithuanian and the Albanian words are related to IE **bhudh-men* 'bottom' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 86, KALUŽSKAJA *SBJa Leksikol.* 152 f.); the development of meaning is paralleled in Alb *fund* 'bottom, end, edge'. Alb *buzë* is the source of Rum *buză* 'lip, edge, sharp edge, top of a rock', Arum *budză* 'lip, edge'. The latter forms were borrowed into Slavic: Bulg *buza* 'cheek', Maced *buza* 'lip', SCr *budza* 'mouth, lip', *buza*

cimak this word is related to *cimb* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 93, *Etim.* III 51-52). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 62-63.

cub adj. 'with a short tail, with a tail cut off'. An early borrowing from Slav **čubъ* 'tuft of hair' and also 'stump, a cut off piece'. ◇ MEYER 442 (to SCr *čupa* 'tuft of hair'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 58-59 (to *cup*).

cub m 'robber, brigand'. Borrowed from a Germanic source, cf. Goth *þiubs* 'thief', OHG *diob* (MANN *Language* XXVI 384). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 58 (to *cub* 'with a short tail').

cucë f, pl. *cuca* 'girl, maiden'. An onomatopoeic form with parallel formations in Slavic as well as in Hung *csucsá* 'loved one' (MEYER *Wb.* 443). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 93-94 (from **cull-cě* to *cull*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113; MANN *Language* XXVI 384-385 (to Goth *þiwi*); BRÎNCUŞ *SCL* 1 (1961) 25-28; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 59-60.

cull m, pl. *cullë* 'youth, boy'. A relatively recent loanword from Ital *ciullo* 'nincompoop' < *fnaciullo* (MEYER *Wb.* 449-450; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 315-316). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 95 (reconstructs the original meaning as 'skin'), *Etim.* III 63-65.

cup adj. 'odd (uneven)'. Continues PALb **tsupa* from IE **k̑(e)u-po-*, based on **k̑eu(ə)-* 'to swell', cf. in particular Skt *sūnyá-* 'empty'. As far as the suffix is concerned, cf. Skt *śó-pha-* 'swelling'. ◇ POKORNY I 592-593; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 67 (identical with *sup*).

curr aor. *curra* 'to prick up (ears)'. A phonetic and semantic variant of *thur*.

curr m, pl. *curra* 'high rock'. A nominal derivative of the verb *curr*. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 115-116 (borrowed from Hbr *šōr* 'rock'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 104 (reconstructs **k̑rno-*, to OIr *carn*), *AArbSt.* II 388; ÇABEJ *St.* I 96 (to Arm *sur* 'sword', Goth *hairus* id.), *Etim.* III 68-69.

cys aor. *cyta* 'to spur on, to tease'. A difficult word. Maybe, a secondary formation in *-s* based on *thyej*. ◇ JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 105-106, 149 (to *qoj* and, further, to Lat *ciēre* 'to move'); MANN *Language* XXVIII

31-32 (from **teudjō*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 96-97, II 327 (related to *nxis*), *Etim.* III 71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 116.

cyth aor. *cytha* 'to prick'. An onomatopoeia or an unusual derivative of *thyej*. Not at all clear.

Ç

çafkë f, pl. *çafka* 'heron'. Borrowed from Slav **čavъka* 'daw, magpie', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *čavka*, SCr *čavka* (MEYER *Wb.* 443). A homonymic *çafkë* 'glass, cup' is borrowed from Slav **čašьka* 'small bowl'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 97 (adducing dialectal *cap* id., reconstructs **capkë* > *çafkë*), *Etim.* III 75-76 (from *çap*); SVANE 145.

çaj aor. *çava* 'to split, to cleave, to smash, to batter, to chop up'. A parallel variant is NGeG *shaj*. From PALb **išenja*, formed on the basis of IE **sked-* 'to split': Skt *skhadate* id., Gk σκεδώννυμι id. and the like (JOKL *IF* XXX 196). Note *çazë* 'leaf' representing a derivative in *-zë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 444 (to Gk σχάζω 'to cut, to incise'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 97; PISANI *Saggi* 119; POKORNY I 918-919; MAYRHOFER III 507; FRISK II 721; CAMAJ *Alb. Woth.* 60; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 71; ÇABEJ *St.* I 98, *Etim.* III 77; HULD 47-48 (reconstructs **-a-* in the Proto-Albanian root); DEMIRAJ *AE* 116-117 (*çaj* < **dë-shaj*, related to Lat *sariō* 'to weed').

çajme f, pl. *çajme* 'red-backed shrike, heron'. Derived from Slav **čaja*, **čajьka* 'gull, lapwing', cf. South Slavic forms: Maced *čajka*, Slovene *čájka* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 77). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 443 (uncertain relation to Slav **čapja* 'heron').

çalë adj. 'lame'. From PALb **šišala* related to Gk σκολιός 'crooked', Lat *scelus* and their cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 443). ◇ JOKL *IF* XXX 194 (from IE **skel-no-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from IE **ek̑s-skolujios*); PISANI *Saggi* 128; FRISK II 723-724; CHANTRAINE 1013; POKORNY I 928; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 80 (to *shalë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 117-118 (reconstructs **dë-shalë*).

çam m, pl. *çamë*, *çamër* 'Chamerian, inhabitant of the western part of Epirus'. Borrowed from early dial. Slav **čamь* or **čama* rendering

an earlier **tjama*, the latter reflecting the Greek river-name Θύαμις of Epirus. ◇ LEAKE *Greece* 13 (establishes the connection between *çam* and Θύαμις); ÇABEJ *St.* I 98 (treats *çam* as a direct continuation of Θύαμις), *Etim.* III 82-83.

çandër f, pl. *çandra* 'prop, support'. From **štšentra* reflecting a singularized plural of the Indo-European neut. **skentrom* with *s*-mobile, close to IE **kentrom* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259); Gk κέντρον 'goad, spur', cf. also Latv *sīts* 'spear, lance' < Balt **šintas*. The anlaut *ç(a)*- excludes the possibility of a borrowing from Latin or a Romance language, cf. *qendër*. ◇ POKORNY I 567; FRISK I 820-821; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 71 (mistaken comparison with *çaj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 84 (variant of dialectal *qandër* < *qendër*).

çap aor. *çapa* 'to chew'. From PAIb **štšepa* connected with IE **skēp-* 'to cut, to split' (JOKL *IF* XXX 192-193). Note that *çapë* 'step', *çap* 'to step, to pace, to go' represent a metaphoric usage of *çapë* 'bite, piece', *çap* 'to chew'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 444 (connects *çapë* 'step' with Turk *çapmak* 'to run' as well as with Slav **stōpiti* 'to step'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (prefix **eks-* followed by *hap*); POKORNY I 930-932; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 84-85.

çapua ~ **çapue** m, pl. *çaponj* 'spur (of a rooster)'. Derivative of *çapë* 'step' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 89).

çarë f, pl. *çara* 'fissure, crack'. Borrowed from Slav **cara* 'line, rent, cleft', presently attested in South Slavic only in Slovene *cára* (OREL *Ētimologija* 1983 135-136). ◇ OREL *ZfSlav* XXX/6 914.

çars aor. *çarta* 'to destroy, to spoil'. From PAIb **štšertja* based on IE **sker-tj-*, cf. ON *skera* 'to cut', Lith *skirti* id. and the like (JOKL *IF* XXX 195-196, XXXVII, 100-101, *LKUBA* 156). ◇ FRAENKEL 803; POKORNY I 938-942; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 91-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 118 (originally, from **dē-shart-*).

ças m, pl. *çase* 'moment, time'. Another variant is *çast* (with *-t* generalized from locative as in *në çast*, cf. ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 93-94). Borrowed from Slav **časъ* 'time', cf., in particular, South Slavic forms: OCS *časъ*, Bulg *čas*, SCr *čas* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 445). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; SVANE 176.

çek aor. *çeka* 'to touch'. An onomatopoeia existing in many phonetic variants, cf. *cek* id., *cik* id. and *cok* id. (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 98).

çel aor. *çela* 'to open'. From PAIb **štšela* etymologically related to Hitt *iškallāi-* 'to tear up', ON *skilja* 'to split', Lith *skeliù, skélti* id. (JOKL *IF* XXX 194-195, *WuS* XII 70). ◇ PISANI *Saggi* 125; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from IE **eks-skeljō*); FRAENKEL 800; BORETZKY *ZfBalk* VIII/1-2 21-26 (on *çelës* 'key' < 'opener' as an Oriental semantic calque); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 100-101; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XLI 52 (< **dz-šel-* < IE **sel-* 'to put').

çelë f 'best part'. Borrowed from Slav **čelo* 'head', its South Slavic reflexes (Bulg *čelo* and SCr *čelo*) having a specific meaning of a 'front, visible place' and 'end, edge' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 98, *Etim.* III 101). ◇ SVANE 180.

çelitet refl. 'to recover, to get well'. Borrowed from Slav **cěliti* 'to heal', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *cěliti*, Bulg *cel'a*, SCr *cijeliti*.

çelnik m, pl. *çelnikë* 'senior shepherd'. Borrowed from Slav **čelъnikъ* 'leader, head', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *čelnik*, SCr *čeonik* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 179). As to *çeling* 'senior shepherd', it goes back to NGk τσέλυγκας id., ultimately, from the same Slavic source (ÇABEJ *St.* I 98). The variant *çelik* was influenced by an Albanian Turkism *çelik* 'steel'. ◇ SVANE 194; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 102.

çem aor. *çema* 'to bring to light, to disclose, to reveal, to broach'. From PAIb **štšepna* etymologically connected with *çap* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72). For the semantic development cf. ON *skilja* 'to separate, to divide' > 'to understand' (BUCK 1207). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 91 (divides *çem* into prefix *ç-* and *-em* < **apñjō* compared with Lat *apiō* 'to fasten, to attach'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 98-99, *Etim.* III 103.

çerdhe f, pl. *çerdhe* 'nest'. A singularised plural of the original **çerdhë*. An early borrowing from Slav **čerda* 'row, herd, flock' (Bulg *čreda*, SCr *čreda*) with a particularly interesting shift of meaning (MEYER *Wb.* 446). ◇ JOKL *AArbSt* I 38 (reconstructs **skerdh-* related to Lith *skeřdžius* 'shepherd' and its cognates); ÇABEJ *LP* VII 199, *St.* I 99, *Etim.* III 108-109.

çerr m, pl. *çerra* 'wren'. A substantivized use of a borrowed Slavic adjective *čьрънъ 'black' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 111 (onomatopoeia).

çetë f, pl. *çeta* 'clan, armed group'. Borrowed from Slav *četa id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *četa*, SCr *četa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 446-447). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 184; SVANE 202; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 112.

çetinë f, pl. *çetina* 'pine-tree'. Borrowed from Slav *četina 'bristle, needles', cf. in particular South Slavic: Bulg *četina*, SCr *četina* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 99). ◇ SVANE 125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 112.

çë pron. 'what'. With a full reduction of vowel, also is used in the form of ç'. From PAIb *tši continuing IE *k'id: Hitt *kuit*, Gk τί, Lat *quid* and the like (BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 206, II 399; HULD 47). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 218 (borrowed from Rum *ce* id.); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 328 (from *qish); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 388 (borrowed from SCr *ča* id.); MANN *Language* XXVIII 35; FRISK II 903-904; WALDE-HOFMANN II 404-405; ÇABEJ *St.* I 97 (identical with *që*), *Etim.* III 73-74.

çimkë f, pl. *çimka* 'bug'. Another variant is *qimkë*. Borrowed from Lat *cimicem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14). Another word for 'bug', *çimërr*, seems to be an expressive formation based on *çimkë*. ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 137; MEYER *Wb.* 227 (from SCr *kimak* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 119-120 (follows MIKLOSICH).

çjerr aor. *çorra* 'to tear up'. From PAIb *štšera etymologically related to OIr *scaraim* 'to separate', ON *skera* 'to cut', Lith *skiriù, skirti* 'to separate' and the like (CAMARDA I 69, 87; MEYER *Wb.* 410-411). ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from *eks-skerið); FRAENKEL 808; VENDRYES [S] 33-34; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 124.

çmoj aor. *çmova* 'to estimate'. Borrowed from Lat *aestimare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 448). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1052; MANN *Language* XXVIII 35 (related to Gk τμῶω); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 126-127.

çnderoj aor. *çnderova* 'to dishonor'. Borrowed from Lat *exhonorare* id.

çoj aor. *çova* 'to bring, to rise, to send'. Borrowed from Lat *excire, exciëre* 'to call out, to cause, to wake'. ◇ CAMARDA I 68 (to Gk κίω); MEYER *Wb.* 448 (from Lat *excitäre*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 341 (against MEYER, reconstructs *skë- in the anlaut); JOKL *Studien* 81 (accepts the view of CAMARDA), *Mélanges Pedersen* 145 (close to CAMARDA's view, from *ds-qoj); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 73 (to Goth *skewjan* 'to go'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98 (agrees with MEYER); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 8-10 (to Lat *sāgið* 'to feel'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from *eks-skerið); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 128-130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 119.

çotillë f, pl. *çotilla* 'stamp, kind of long blender'. A metathesized form of *toçillë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 102, *Etim.* III 134). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 73, *AArbSt* I 156-157 (compares with Lat *quatið* 'to wield, to beat'); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 145 n. 1 (to *çutër* 'stream, brook').

çubë f, pl. *çuba* 'bush, shrubbery'. Borrowed from Slav *čuba 'lock, forelock, curl' (SCr *čuba*) with a semantic innovation. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (related to Slav *čuba); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 135-136 (related to *kaçubë*).

çudis aor. *çudita* 'to astonish'. Borrowed from Slav *čuditi id. as well as Geg *çudë* 'wonder' - from Slav *čudo id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 449). As to *çudi* id., it is an Albanian derivative of *çudis*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191, 323; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* IV 127-129; SVANE 231; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 136-137.

çukë f, pl. *çuka* 'peak'. Borrowed from South Slav *čuka id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 449; MLADENOV *AfslPh* XXXIV 385 (borrowed from Bulgarian); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275 (comparison with Rum *ciucă*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 103, *Etim.* III 138-140; SVANE 161, 181.

çullë f 'sheep with little ears'. Borrowed from Slav *čulъ id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *čula*, SCr *čula*. ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 141-142 (Balkan parallels).

çun m, pl. *çuna* 'boy, youth'. Together with *çunë* 'penis', borrowed from

Ital *cionno* 'penis' (MEYER *Wb.* 449-450). ◇ CAMARDA II 67 (from Ital *ciullo* 'little'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 77 (from **qun* borrowed from Slav **čędo* 'child'); MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* VII 101 (*čuně* borrowed from NGk τσουννί 'branch, twig, penis'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 103-104 (related to *cung* 'stump'), *Etim.* III 142-143; SVANE 88.

D

dac m, pl. *daca* 'cat'. An onomatopoeic formation or a hypocoristic based on a personal name (MEYER *Wb.* 62). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134.

daj aor. *dava* 'to divide'. Often used with prefix *n-* as *ndaj* id. Goes back to PAIb **danja*, transformed from **daja* under the influence of other verbs in *-nja*. Further connected with Gk δαίωμα 'to divide', Skt *dáyate* id. (BOPP 483; CAMARDA I 144; MEYER *Wb.* 59, *Alb. St.* III 26). ◇ JOKL *Idg. Jb.* IX 58 (to Skt *dālayati* 'to split'), *Sprache* IX 128 (follows BOPP); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 471-472; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 54; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239 (verb in *-*njō*); FRISK I 341-342; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 117; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 150-151; DEMIRAJ *AE* 119-120.

dak m 'big ram'. From PAIb **dauka* further related to Lith *dvėkti* 'to breathe', *dvākas* 'breath' and other derivatives of **dheu-* on which *dash* is also based (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 153; related to *dash*).

dal aor. *dola* 'to go out'. From PAIb **dala* etymologically related to Gk θάλλω 'to bloom', i.e. 'to appear, to come out' (MEYER *Wb.* 60, *Alb. St.* III 29). ◇ PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 114-115, *Kelt. Gr.* II 648 (to OIr *dul* 'go'), *KZ* XXXIII 542; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 99; MANN *Language* XXVI 380, XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 121; POKORNY *Vox Rom.* X 241 (to Fr *daille* < Gaul **dal(l)jā*); FRISK I 649-650; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240, *St. IE* 43 (from **dalnō*); CAMAJ *Alt. Wortb.* 37; CHANTRAINE 421; HAMP *Sprache* XXX/2 156-157 (< IE **dhalnǝ*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXXII 76-77; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 172; ÇABEJ *St.* I 104 (reconstructs **dalnō* and compares *dal* with Lat *dolō* 'to cut'), *Etim.* III 153-154; CLACKSON *LR* 118; DEMIRAJ *AE* 120.

daltě f, pl. *dalta* 'chisel'. An early borrowing from Slav **dolbto* id., preserved in South Slavic as Bulg *dlato* and also borrowed as Rum *daltă*

(MEYER *Wb.* 60). ◇ SKOK *Slavia* III 115-116; BARIÇ *Hymje* 75; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 305-306; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 319; ÇABEJ *St.* 105 (treats *daltě* as a cognate of Slav **delbto* or of Skt *dālayati* 'to split'), *Etim.* III 154-156; SVANE 78; MURATI *Probleme* 129-130.

dallëndyshe f, pl. *dallëndyshe* 'swallow'. A relatively recent compound motivated by the swallow's forked or "double" tail - **dalluan dysh* 'appearing to be double', with **dalluan* > Tosk *dalluar*, Geg *dalluen* representing the participle of *dalloj* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72-73 with some differences). ◇ CAMARDA I 37 (to Gk τολαντεύω 'to swing, to rock, to shake'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *hirundō*); MEYER *Wb.* 59-60 (from Lat *hirundinem* 'swallow' + suffix *-yshě*, influenced by *dallëndis* 'to take heart, to be brave'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544 (to Gk χελιδών 'swallow'); BARIÇ *ARS* I 5 (contamination of Lat *hirundō* and **dallě*, to Germ *Schwalbe* 'swallow'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236-237 (to Germ *Schwalbe*); MAYER *KZ* LXVI 89-96 (comparison with Illyr *Taulantii*, Ταυλάντιοι, ἔθνος πρὸς Ἀδρία Ταυλαντίνων προσεχὲς τοῖς Χελιδονίοις, Hecat.); HASDEU *EMR* II 51; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134; HALIMI *GjA* (1972) 124 (from **da-ně-dyshe*); KNOBLOCH *AIAK* 335-337 (agrees with PEDERSEN); ÇABEJ *St.* I 105-106, *Etim.* III 157-159.

dallgë f, pl. *dallgë*, *dallga* 'wave'.

dalloj aor. *dallova* 'to discern, to recognize'. Continues PAIb **dalnānja* based on an adjective in *-*no-* - **dalna* related to Skt *dālayati* 'to split', Lat *dolō* 'to chip, to hew' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 12). ◇ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MAYRHOFER II 24; WALDE-HOFMANN I 364-366; XHUVANI *KLetr.* I/11 2 (to *daj*); ÇABEJ *St. Etim.* III 159-160; DEMIRAJ *AE* 121.

dangë f 'belly'. Another variant is *dëngë*. Goes back to PAIb **dangā* etymologically identical with Lith *dangù* 'table-cloth, cover', Latv *daņa* 'puddle, marshland', Slav **doga* 'arc' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). All these forms are deverbatives related to Lith *dengiù*, *dëngti* 'to cover'. Adjectival *dëng* 'full, stuffed up' continues PAIb **danga* and also belongs here. As to *deng* 'bundle, full sack', it is rather a borrowing from Turk *denk* 'bale' (MEYER *Wb.* 63) than a cognate of the above forms. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 61 (to Slovene *danka* 'rectum'); FRAENKEL 88-89; ÇABEJ *St.* I 106 (to *deng*), 121, *Etim.* III 162 (back formation

of Turk *dangalak* 'stupid' > Alb *dëngallak*); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* V 98-99.

dardhě f, pl. *dardha* 'pear, pear-tree'. From PALb **dardā*, a derivative of *derdh* 'to tip out, to pour' < PALb **derda* (OREL *Ětimologija* 1986-1987 220-221) with a semantic motivation established for Slav **gruša*, **kruša* 'pear, pear-tree' < **grušiti*, **krušiti* 'to crumble, to break', IE **peisom* 'pear' < **peis-* (TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VII 156). ◊ HAHN I 236 (connects *dardhě* with the name of Dardania); MEYER *Wb.* 61 (follows HAHN), *Gr. Gr.* 50; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164 (to Gk ἄχερδος, ἄχράς 'wild pear, wild pear-tree'); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 89-90 (to IE **gher(s)-* 'to stiffen'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 106; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (reconstructs **ngħrdis*, XXVIII 34 (from IE **ghard-*); PISANI *Saggi* 118; JUCQUOIS *Muséon* LXXVIII 440; FRISK I 199, 203; CAMAJ *Alb.Wortb.* 121 (to **der-* 'to split'); GINDIN *Onom.* 124; ÇABEJ *St.* I 107 (to OIr *draigen* 'wild pear'), *Etim.* III 165-167; HULD 48; DEMIRAJ *AE* 121-122.

darě ~ **daně** f, pl. *darě* ~ *daně* 'pincers, tongs'. From PALb **dana*, a participial form related to *daj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 107-108, *Etim.* III 1167-168). ◊ CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk δάκνω 'to bite'); MEYER *Wb.* 61 (considers the unchanged Tosk *-a-* to indicate a lost consonant before *-r-* ~ *-n-*); JOKL *Studien* 12-13 (develops CAMARDA's etymology based on IE **denk-*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239 (to OHG *zanga* id.); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; HAMP *LP* XXVIII 78 (same as CIMOCHOWSKI); JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 442; LEHMANN *GED* 338 (follows JOKL); ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to IE **dhau-*); JANSON *Unt.* 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 122.

darkě f, pl. *darka* 'supper'. From PALb **darkā*, originally a singularize.neut. pl. of IE **dorkom* reflected in Gk δόρπον id. (CAMARDA I 67; MEYER *Wb.* 61). On the other hand, the connection with *drekě* is doubtless. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 3, 26, 72, *Gr. Gr.* 245; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 189; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (reconstructs **drak-* in order to explain *drekě*); KRETSCHMER *Einleitung* 101 n. 3; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 99-100; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVI 384; PISANI *Saggi* 118; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; POKORNY *Vox Rom.* X 239 (to Illyr Δρακούινα < **darkuinā*); PISANI *Saggi* 118; HAMP *Anc. IE* 116 (adds Bret *dibri* 'to eat'); FRISK I 410-411; CHANTRAINE 294; ANTTILA *Schw.* 29, 100; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 563; ÇABEJ *St.* I 108, *Etim.* III 168-169; HULD 48-49; DEMIRAJ *AE* 122-123.

darově 'bride's gift'. Borrowed from Slav **darovъ* 'gratuitous'. The

corresponding verb *darovis* 'to make a present, to give money as a gift' seems to continue an unattested Slav **daroviti*, cf. the widespread **darovati* 'to make a present' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 61) while *dari* 'dowry' is based on **dar* borrowed from Slav **darъ* 'gift, present'. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183; SVANE 212, 231, 252; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 169.

dasmě pl. *dasma* 'wedding'. Another widespread and historically important variant is *darsmě*. Goes back to PALb **dartšimā*, originally, **wedding feast*, derived from *darkě* (ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ; ÇABEJ *St.* I 108-109, *Etim.* III 169-170). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 62 (to Rum *zestre* 'dowry'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232, *KZ* XXXVI 309 (reconstructs **dam-ēsě* to be compared with Gk γάμος 'marriage, wedding'); JOKL *LKUBA* 14; HULD 49; DEMIRAJ *AE* 123-124.

dash m, pl *desh* 'ram'. From PALb **dauša* reflecting IE **dhouso-* 'breath, breathing, animal' (MANN *Language* XXVI 387), cf. Gmc. **deuzan* 'wild animal' (Goth *dius*, ON *dýr*), Lith pl. *daūsos* 'paradise', Slav **duxъ* 'breath, spirit'. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *daş*. ◊ CAMARDA II 70 (to Gk δάσκιλλος 'kind of fish'); MEYER *Wb.* 62; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 6 (*dash* < **dalsh* connected with *dele*); JOKL *LKUBA* 240-241, 329 f. (compares *dash* < **dhuosi-* with Lat *bēstia* 'animal'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134-135; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91 (*dash* ~ Lat *dēnsus*, difficult both semantically and phonetically); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164 (links *dash* to *deshā*); IVANESCU *SAO* VIII 274-276; POKORNY I 270; FRAENKEL 115-116; FEIST *Goth.* 121-122; ZALIZN'AK *Etimologija* 139; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351, 356; ÇABEJ *St.* I 109-110, *Etim.* III 171-173 (to Goth *tagl* 'hair'); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* V 153-154; DEMIRAJ *AE* 124-125 (related to *dem*).

degě f, pl. *degě*, *dega* 'twig, branch'. From PALb **dwaigā* etymologically related to OHG *zwīg* id., Germ *Zweig* (MEYER *Wb.* 62, *Alb. St.* III 9, 26, 39). ◊ CAMARDA I 80 (to Gk τέκνον 'child, sprout'); BÜGA II 319; JOKL *Studien* 15; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; KLUGE 897; HAMP *Trends* LVII 906; HULD 145 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 179-180 (dubious Alpine-Romance parallels); DEMIRAJ *AE* 125-126.

deh aor. *deha* 'to inebriate'. From PALb **degška*. At the same time, con-

tinuants of **degnja* are attested in *dej* ~ *dēnj* id. Both **degska* and **degnja* are related to *djeg*. ◊ BOPP 539 (to IE **dhē(i)*- 'to suckle'); MEYER *Wb.* 62-63 (to Goth *dauns* 'vapor'), *Alb. St.* III 29, 90; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to *dyllē*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 6-7; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 110; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to IE **dhues*- 'to destroy'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 111 (compares *deh* with *dend*), *Etim.* III 182-183; DEMIRAJ *AE* 125-126.

dej adv. 'the day after tomorrow'. From PAIb **daja* continuing IE loc. dual **duoi-ous* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 127). For the development of IE **duo*- > PAIb **da*- see OREL *Antič. balk.* 3 37-39. ◊ CAMARDA I 310 (to Gk δήν); MEYER *Wb.* 62, *Alb. St.* III 39 (to IE **duoin*-/**duēin*-); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88; OSTIR *AarbSt.* II 307; FRAENKEL 108; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 73 (close to MEYER); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 183-184 (back formation based on *andej*).

(G) **dêjē** f 'place where the snow melts, low place'. Denominative forms: *dejet* ~ *dējet*. From PAIb **danjā* related to Skt *dhānvan*- 'dry land', OHG *tenni* 'threshing-floor' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 127). ◊ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to *deh*); SCHMIDT LVII 6-7 (to Skt *ādhanvānt* 'to burn out, to fade away'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to IE **dhues*-); POKORNY I 249; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 180-182 (to *ndej*).

dele f, pl *dele*, *dhen*, *dhën* 'sheep'. The Geg variant *delme* represents a formation in *-*mā* (and hardly has anything in common with the name of Dalmatia *pace* MEYER *Wb.* 63 and ÇABEJ *St.* I 111). The word is based on PAIb **dailā* 'sheep' < 'suckling' and related to various *l*-derivatives from IE **dhē(i)*- 'to suckle' (MEYER *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 29 operates with **dailjā* < IE **dhailjā* or **dhoiljā*), cf., in particular, Arm *dayl* 'colostrum' < IE **dhailo*-. Suppletive plural forms *dhen*, *dhën* should be treated separately as a Proto-Albanian (collective) derivative in *-*anti* based on *dhi* 'she-goat'. Thus, the source of *dhen*, *dhën* is to be reconstructed as **aiganti*-, with apheresis of the anlaut vowel (OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357). ◊ BRUGMANN 117; PETERSSON *LUÅ* XIX/6 12; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 6 (*dhën* compared with IE **dhē(i)*-); JOKL *LKUBA* 239 (mistakenly explains *-l* from *-*ln*-), 251-253 (compares *dhen*, *dhën* with Celt **damatos* 'sheep' > W *dafad*, Bret *dauat* or with *n*-derivatives of IE **dhē(i)*- 'to suckle', in particular, with Skt *dhenā* 'milk cow', cf. also OIr *dínu* 'lamb' and the like), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87 (traces of this root in Balkan place names); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101, *Stratificazione* 135; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 77-78; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 238; PORZIG

Gliederung 150; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240-241; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (*dhen* to Lat *gēns* 'kin, tribe'); POKORNY I 241-242; DURIDANOV *ŽA* XVIII 37 (*dhen* - to Thr Δαυδαλήται); ÇABEJ *St.* I 152 (comparison of *dhen*, *dhën* with Gk δημός 'fat'), *Etim.* III 184-186 (follows MEYER); HULD 143; KÖDDERITZSCH *LB* XXXI 108; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 52; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; DEMIRAJ *AE* 127-128; 157-158 (agrees with MANN).

deltině f 'clay'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **delbtina* further connected with **delbto* ~ **dolbto* 'chisel'. The semantic development seems possible but not quite obvious: 'clay' < *'pounded mass'? ◊ JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 24 (from **ndē-baltině*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 112 (compares *deltině* with *daltě*), *Etim.* III 187-188 (to *dyllē*).

dell m, pl. *dej* 'tendon'. From PAIb **daisla* probably related to Lith *gýsla* 'blood-vessel, tendon', Slav **žila* 'tendon' (MEYER *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 18) if the latter are treated separately from Skt *jiyā*- 'bow-string', Gk βίος 'bow' (BRUGMANN *Grundr.* I 345). ◊ CAMARDA I 71 (to Gk δέω 'to tie'); PEDERSEN *IF* V 68 (to Lat *filum* 'thread'), *KZ* XXXVI 326 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 13 (comparison with Gk δέω 'to bind'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87-88; FRAENKEL 150; FRISK I 237; MAYRHOFER I 448; VASMER II 57-58; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; ÇABEJ *St.* I 112-113 (connects *dell* with Slav **dotъ* 'valley' and Gk θόλος 'mud' - those two having nothing in common), *Etim.* III 189-190; DEMIRAJ *AE* 128 (against ÇABEJ).

dem m, pl. *dema* 'young bull'. From PAIb **dama* etymologically related to OIr *dam* 'ox' and, probably, to Gk δάμαλος 'calf' (CAMARDA I 73; MEYER *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 26, 64). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 164; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 92, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; FRISK I 345; ÇABEJ *St.* I 113, *Etim.* III 190-191; DEMIRAJ *AE* 128-129.

dend aor. *denda* 'to stuff'. An archaic non-assimilated variant is NGeg *tend*. From PAIb **tenda* related to Skt *tandate* 'to weaken', Lat *tendō* 'to stretch'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21 (based on Lat *dēnsus*); MEYER *Wb.* 65 (related to Lat *dēnsus*), *Alb. St.* V 72 (borrowed from Lat *tendere*); BARTHOLOMAE *IF* I 300 (to Lat *dēnsus* 'thick'); JOKL apud WALDEHOFMANN I 341 (to *gdhënd*); MANN *Language* XVII 19; CIMOCHOWSKI

LP II 239; POKORNY I 1065-1066; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 193-194 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 129 (to *ndej*).

denjë adj. 'worth'. Borrowed from Lat *dignus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 63 (borrowed from Ital *degno*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 195.

depërtoj aor. *depërtova* 'to penetrate'. Borrowed from Rom **dē-penetrāre* (MEYER *Wb.* 65). ◊ MANN *Hist. Gr.* 146 (borrowed from Lat *dēpartūre*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 195-196 (derived from *ndēpër* 'across').

derdh aor. *derqha* 'to pour out'. In Old Albanian the stem is not umlauticized: *dardh* (BUZUKU, BUDI). Continues Palb **darda* close to onomatopoeic Lith *dardėti* 'to rattle', Latv *dārdēt* 'to creak', W *go-dyrddu* 'to mumble, to grumble'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 64 (to Slav **dъrъzъ* 'daring'), Alb. *St.* III 13, 26; FRAENKEL 83; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 238 n. 2 (to Skt *sṛjāti* 'to sell off, to discharge'), *KZ* XXXVI 289, *Kelt. Gr.* I 494; JOKL *Studien* 13-14 (to Skt *dhārā* 'stream'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; LA PIANA *Studi* I 42-43 (to Skt *kṣarati* 'to flow'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 114-115 (to Gk θοπός 'sperm'), *Etim.* III 197-198.

derë f, pl. *dye* 'door'. From Palb **dwōrā*, a secondary *a*-stem based on IE **dh̥wer-* id.: Skt *dvār-*, Gk θύρα, Tokh B *twere* and the like (CAMARDA I 17; MEYER *BB* VIII 188, *Wb.* 63, Alb. *St.* III 29, 39, 71). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVI 132, *LKUBA* 240, 255; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (reconstructs **dh̥weres*); PISANI *Saggi* 103; FRISK I 695-696; MAYRHOFER II 83-84; POKORNY I 278; OREL *Antič. balk.* 3 37-39 (on the development of the anlaut); HAMP *LP* XX 9; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 104, 125; HULD 49; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 198-201; DEMIRAJ *AE* 129-130.

(T) **derë** adj. 'bitter; difficult'. From Palb **deuna* etymologically identical with OS *tiono* 'evil', OE *teona* 'wrong' (JOKL *Studien* 19-20 with further erroneous link to *dhunë*). ◊ HAHN 29 (connected with *dhunë*); MEYER *Wb.* 87 (accepts HAHN's etymology with some doubt); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 346; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* I 689; ÇABEJ *St.* I 115 (to the Indo-European word for 'tear': Gk δάκρυ), *Etim.* III 201; DEMIRAJ *AE* 130 (dialectal phonetic development of *hidhur*).

dergj aor. *dorgja* 'to lie down, to lay sick, to be ill'. A more frequent form of present is pass.-refl. *dergjem*. From Palb **dergja* further etymologically connected with Lith *dirginti* 'to move', *dirgti* 'to lose energy, to become weak', Slav **dъrgati* 'to pluck, to pull' and particularly with Gmc **targjan* 'to tear': MHG *zergen* 'to pluck, to pull' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 9). ◊ PEDERSEN *BB* XX 238 (to Lith *sergū* 'to be ill', OIR *serg* 'illness' supposing IE **sṛ-* > Alb *d-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 71; TRAUTMANN *BSWb.* 56; FRAENKEL 96; VASMER I 500-501; HAMP *IF* LXXIX 155 (follows PEDERSEN); ÇABEJ *St.* I 115-116 (to Lith *dārga* 'rainy weather', Slav **dorga* 'road'), *Etim.* III 201-203; HULD 49-50; LINDEMAN *IF* XCVIII 48-50; DEMIRAJ *AE* 131 (agrees with VASMER).

deri prep. 'to, up to, till'. From Palb **deur(e)i* having the same structure as Gk δεῦρο, δεῦρε, δευρί 'here' compared with Lith *aurė* id. and Av *avarə* id. and analyzed as **δε-αυρο* or **δε-υρο*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 299 (borrowed from South Slav **dori* 'to'); MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Lat *feri*); FRISK I 371-372; FRAENKEL 26; BARTHOLOMAE 175.

derr m, pl. *derra* 'pig'. From Palb **darja* connected with Gk χοῖρος id. < IE **g̑horjos* (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER *Wb.* 64). Note a derivative *derk* 'piglet' continuing Palb **darika*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 78 f. (reconstructs **ghōr-n-*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333 (to *dosë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135; LA PIANA *Studi* I 45-46 (to Skt *-dāri-* 'making burst'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; PISANI *Saggi* 116, 118; FRISK II 1107-1108; HULD 148 (from IE **sṃoinro-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 116 (explains *-rr-* by expressive gemination), *Etim.* III 205-206; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; *FLH* VIII/1-2 39 (on Palb **-rj-* > *-rr-*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220; DEMIRAJ *AE* 131-132.

det m, pl. *dete* 'sea'. From Palb **deubeta* 'depth' based on IE **dheub-* 'deep' (JOKL *Studien* 14-15). Intermediary stages of the phonetic development are preserved in the uncontracted Italo-Alb *dejt*, *dejēt* and in dialectal forms with a long vowel - *dēt*. Palb **deubeta* is particularly close to Gmc **deupibō* 'depth' > MDu *diepde*, MLG *dēpede*, E *depth*. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (connected with *dal* 'to go out'); MEYER *BB* VIII 187 (to Gk Θέτις, name of the sea-goddess), *Wb.* 64 (reconstructs *dejt* < **delt* to be compared with Gk θάλασσα), Alb. *St.* IV 54 (follows BUGGE); RIBEZZO *Riv. Indo-greco-italica* XVI 25 f. (reconstructs **dakti* compared with Epir *δάξα·θάλασσα* Hes.); TAGLIAVI-

NI *Dalmazia* 102; ÇABEJ *St.* I 118, *Etim.* III 209-210; POKORNY I 267-268; ONIONS 258; OREL *SBJa Lekiskol.* 148-149 (Baltic toponymic parallels: Lith *Duobýtė*, Latv *Daubīte*); HULD 50.

detyrë f, pl. *detyra* 'duty, debt'. Borrowing from Rom **debitūra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 66). The verb *detoj* ~ *detonj* reflects Rom **debitāre*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 118-119 (derived from *detorës* 'debtor'), *Etim.* III 210-211; LANDI *Lat.* 39, 41, 82-83.

dëboj aor. *dëbøva* 'to drive away'. Other variants are *zboj*, *xboj*, *cbøj*. Related to *boj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 119, *Etim.* III 212-214). ◊ BUGGE *BB XVIII* 174 (borrowed from Rom **disbināre*); MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 44 (agrees with BUGGE); JOKL *IF XXXVII* 119 (reconstructs **bhōrejō* connected with *bie*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23-24 (to IE **uei-*); MANN *Language XXVIII* 32 (to Gk πτοέω < **de-bhojējō*).

dëfrej aor. *dëfreva* 'to enjoy oneself'. Based on the recombination of its antonym, *shëfrej*, *shufrej* 'to suffer' < Lat *sufferāre* id., as a prefixal formation in *shë-* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 214-215). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 111 (from Rom **disfrenāre* or **dëfrenāre*); KRISTOFORIDHI 98 (to *fryj*).

dëftoj aor. *dëftova* 'to show, to point'. Borrowed from Rom **indictāre* (MEYER *Wb.* 64-65, *Alb. St.* IV 41). ◊ CAMARDA I 64 (derives *dëftoj* from IE **deik-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054 (borrowed from Rom **doctāre*); JOKL *RIEB* II 65-67 (analyzes the verb as **dë-fëtoj*, its root borrowed from MGK φωτίζω 'to shine, to illuminate'); BARIĆ *Hymje* 63 (follows MEYER); JOKL *RIEB* II 65-67 (based on **ftoj*, to *foti* 'oil lamp'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 122, 130; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 16-24; ÇABEJ *St.* I 120 (to **f-tonj* further related to Gk στέγω 'to cover', Lat *tegō* id.), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 215-217 (from Lat *digitāre*).

dëgjoj aor. *dëgjova* 'to hear'. Dialectal forms *ndëgjoj* and, particularly, *dëlgonj*, *dëlgonj* reflect the obvious Latin source - *intelligere* 'to perceive' (MEYER *Wb.* 66-67). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; BARIĆ *ARSt* 33-34 (related to Gk ἀκούω 'to hear', Goth *hausjan* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 217-218.

dëkoj aor. *dëkova* 'to hit, to strike'. Borrowed from Lat *indicere* in its specific meaning 'to impose, to inflict' > *'to inflict pain'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 65 (from Rom **dëcōleāre* based on *cōleus* 'bag, sack'); GAZULLI 19 (-*koj* to Gk χέω); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXV* 539-560 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 120-121 (connects *dëkoj* with *koj* and *mëkoj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 218-200 (from **dërkoj*, to *darkë*).

dëlir aor. *dëlira* 'to clean, to cleanse, to deliver'. The variant *dëliroj* is morphologically more regular. Continues Rom **deliberāre* and is connected with *lirë* (CAMARDA I 172; MEYER *Wb.* 247). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 538 (derived from *lirë*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 221 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

dëllinjë f, pl. *dëllinja* 'juniper'. A more archaic variant *dëllënjë* seems to reflect Palb **daislanjā* (for the derivational structure cf. *mëllënjë*) related to *dell* < **daislā* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). Semantically, the juniper is described as a wiry, sinewy plant, cf. Russ *možžev'nik* id. derived from Slav **mozgъ* 'brain, marrow', Lith *māzgas* 'knot'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 65 (from Rom **cedrulanea* or **cedrulina* derived from *cedrus* 'cedar, juniper'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 9-10 (to Lith *dūlis* 'fog', Skt *dhūli-* 'dust' and the like); JOKL *LKUBA* 191-193 (same as VASMER); JAGIĆ *AfslPh VIII* 654-655; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 241; FRAENKEL 426-427; VASMER II 637; ÇABEJ *St.* I 121 (related to *daltë* and *dalloj*), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 222; DEMIRAJ *AE* 132.

dëm ~ dam m, pl. *dëme ~ dame* 'damage'. Borrowed from Lat *damnum* 'hurt, harm, damage'. As to *dënoj* 'to condemn, to punish', it is an Italian loanword (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 60). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1047, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 121, *Etim.* III 222-224; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 94, 115.

dërgoj aor. *dërgova* 'to send'. Borrowed from Lat *dëlēgāre* id. with an irregular change of *liquida* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (to Gk τρέχω 'to run'); MEYER *Wb.* 65 (borrowing from Lat *dirigere* 'to arrange, to lay straight'); JOKL *IF L* 43; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 226 (follows MEYER).

dërmoj aor. *dërmova* 'to cut into pieces, to plummet down'. Borrowed from Lat **dërāmāre*, cf. Rum *dărîma* 'to tear off' (MEYER *Wb.* 65, *Alb.*

St. IV 56). Note a derivative *dërmë* 'steep slope'. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 42; ÇABEJ *St.* I 122 (reconstructs **dromoj* and connects it with *dromcë*), *Etim.* III 227-229.

dërrasë f, pl. *dërrasa* 'board, stone plate'. From PALb **deratjä* based on IĒ **der-* 'to tear, to split', see *djerr* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 158-161: to Slav **dъrati* 'to tear'). ◊ CAMARDA II 143 (to *dru*); MEYER *Wb.* 66 (from Ital *terrazza* 'terrace'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Gk *χάραξ*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 158-159; HELBIG 70; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 230-231 (derived from *rrasë* 'flat stone').

dëshiroj aor. *dëshirova* 'to wish'. Borrowed from Lat *dēsiderāre* 'to long for, to desire' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 65). As to the noun *dëshirë* 'desire', it seems to be a deverbative rather than a continuant of Lat *dēsiderium* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 123, *Etim.* III 233). ◊ CAMARDA I 176 (wavers between the correct etymology and the comparison with *dashur*, participle of *dua*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1048, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122.

dëshmoj aor. *dëshmova* 'to testify'. Borrowed from Rom **testimōniāre* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 64). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 124, *Etim.* III 233-234 (denominative); HAARMANN 153.

dëshpëroj aor. *dëshpërova* 'to make desperate'. Borrowed from Lat *dēspērāre* 'to despair' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 68 (from Ital *disperare* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 235.

dështoj aor. *dështova* 'to have a miscarriage'. Borrowed from Rom **dēpōsitāre* used as a replacement of *dēpōnere* in its meaning 'to give birth' (MEYER *Wb.* 66, *Alb. St.* V 72). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; SPITZER *MRIW* I 318-319 (connects *dështoj* with Ital *tosto* 'fast, quick'); BARIĆ *ARS* I 38 (derives the verb *dështoj* from a noun **dushytë* 'miscarriage' explained as IĒ **dus-sūto-* 'badly born'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 124 (a prefixal derivative of *shtoj*), *Etim.* III 235-236.

di aor *dita* 'to know'. From PALb **dija* connected with IĒ **dhei(ə)-* 'to see', cf. Skt *dhyāti, dhyāyati* 'to observe, to feel, to think', Av *dā(y)-* 'to see' (MEYER *Wb.* 66, *Alb. St.* III 29; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). Aorist *dita* and participle *ditur* ~ *ditun* are based on PALb **dita*, a formation in **-to-*, cf. Skt part. *dhyāta-* and *dhīta-*. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 22 (to

Skt *vid-* 'to know'); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 29; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 112, *Sprache* IX 128; TAGLIAVINI 104; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; POKORNY 243; MAYRHOFER II 45; HULD 152; ÇABEJ *St.* I 125 (reconstructs PALb **din-* < IĒ **ġenə-* 'to know'), *Etim.* III 237-238; DEMIRAJ *AE* 132-133 (*di* < **dhiH-m*).

diç pron. 'something'. As all other pronouns in *di-*, contains an element identical with the verb *di* as the first part of the compound (CAMARDA I 214; MEYER *Wb.* 66). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 316; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 105; ÇABEJ *St.* I 125.

diel f 'Sunday'. Derivative in **-jä* or in **-nā* based on *diell*, a calque of Lat *diēs solis* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 43). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 240-241.

diell m, pl. *diej* 'sun'. From PALb **delwa*, a tabooistic substitute of the original word for the sun based on a color adjective, cf. Skt *hāri-* 'pale, yellowish', Av *zairi-* id., Lat *helvus* 'yellowish', Lith *žėlvas* id. ◊ BOPP 513 n. 3 (to Skt *dīvā* 'by day'); CAMARDA I 123 (comparisons with Gk *ἥλιος* 'sun' and, on the other hand, with *διάλος* -φανερός, λαμπρός); MEYER *Wb.* 69 (links *diell* to *dal* or, alternatively, reconstructs **dheg^h-lo-*, cf. *djeg*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 238 (to IĒ **suel-* 'sun', cf. CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36 (follows MEYER in reconstructing **dheg^hhəlos*); MAYRHOFER III 581; WALDE-HOFMANN I 639; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (to Gk *σέλας* 'light, shine'); FRAENKEL 1297; ÇABEJ *St.* I 125-126 (to OIr *dellrad* 'shine', OE *deall* 'bold, splendid', Arm *delin* 'green'), *Etim.* III 241-242; HULD 50-51 (accepts PEDERSEN's etymology).

dihās aor. *dihata* 'to pant'. Borrowed from Slav **dyxati* 'to breathe', cf. in particular South Slavic forms: OCS *dyxati*, Bulg *dixam*, SCr *dihati* (MEYER *Wb.* 67). ◊ SVANE 256; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 242.

dikë f 'desire, lust'. Continues PALb **dikā*, a substantivized fem. adj. related to Lith *dýkas* 'idle, empty', Slav **dikъ* 'wild'. ◊ FRAENKEL 95; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 29-30; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 243 (borrowed from SCr *dika* 'pride').

diktoj aor. *diktova* 'to discover, to find out'. Borrowed from Rom **dēcāptāre*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 67 (from Lat *dētegere*); JOKL *RIEB* II 59-60

(from Rom **dis-captāre*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 243-244 (unclear).

dimër ~ **dimën** m, pl. *dimra* ~ *dimna* 'winter'. From PALb **deimena* related to IE **gheimen-* id.; Skt *heman* loc. 'in winter', Gk χεῖμα 'winter' and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.*; MEYER *Wb.* 67, *Alb. St.* III 18, 64). ◊ CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk ὄμβρος 'rain', Lat *imber* id.); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 130, *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333, *Kelt. Gr.* I 66; LA PIANA *Studi* I 52-53 (to *tym*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 229; ERNOUT-MEILLET 294; PORZIG *Gliederung* 190; PISANI *Saggi* 99; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (erroneous comparison with OE *tīma* 'time'); MAYRHOFER III 607; FRISK II 1079-1081; ANTTILA *Schw.* 35, 134; HAMP *IF* LXVI 52-55; HULD 51; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; JANSON *Unt.* 21-23; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 245; DEMIRAJ *AE* 133.

din (3 sg.) aor. *diu* 'to break (of the day)'. Also appears as refl. *dihet* id. From PALb **dine*, a denominative verb based on IE **dino-* ~ **deino-* 'day': Skt *dīna-* 'day', Slav **днь* id., Lith *dienà* id., Latv *diēna* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 68 (derivative of *ditë*); JOKL *Studien* 22 (a derivative in **dei-* with a verbal suffix *-*nja*); MAYRHOFER II 41; FRAENKEL 93; IVANOV *Slav.* 168; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 213.

dirë f, pl. *dira* 'trace'. Borrowed from South Slav **dira* ~ **dir'a* id.: Bulg *dir'a* > *dira*, SCr *dira* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 126). ◊ SVANE 141; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 248.

dishtë f, pl. *dishta* 'mill funnel'. Another variant is *dishkë*. Borrowed from Lat *discus* 'disk' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 249-250). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 123 (suffix *-shhtë*).

dishull m, pl. *dishuj* 'kind of aromatic shrub, *Pistacia lentiscus*'. Other variants (*dyshkull* and *dushkull* as well as *ndryshkull*) result from various types of folk etymology associating this plant with *dushk* and *ndryshk*. Borrowed from a deminutive Rom **disculus* according to the shape of leaves. ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 250 (derived from *dyllë*).

ditë f, pl. *dit*, *ditë* 'day'. From PALb **ditā* etymologically connected with Gmc **īdiz* 'time' (OHG *zīt*, OE *tīd*) and Skt *dīti* 'brightness, splendor' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 10-11, 40). ◊ BOPP 513; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *dīna-* 'day'); CAMARDA I 73 (to Lat *diēs* 'day'); MEYER *Wb.* 68 (from **din-të* related to Skt *dīna-* 'day', Slav **днь* id., Lith

dienà id.), *Alb. St.* III 26; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 230 (to *-di* in *perëndi*), *KZ* XXXIV 546 (follows MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 22; MLADENOV *Ist.* 216; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; ONIONS 923; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 190; MAYRHOFER II 44-45; ÇABEJ *St.* I 126-127, *Etim.* III 251-253; HULD 51-52.

djalë m, pl. *djem*, *djelm* 'boy, youth'. From PALb **dela* probably connected with Latv *dēls* 'son', Lat *filius* id. as a derivative of IE **dhēi-* 'to suck' (XYLANDER 317; ÇABEJ *St.* I 127-128). Note that the vocalism in Proto-Albanian is irregular so that a secondary transformation of the stem must be presumed. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 60 (derives *djalë* from *dal*), *Alb. St.* III 29; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XIV 310-311 (to *dal*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 115; OŠTIR *A ArbSt.* I 114 (to Gk τάλις 'maiden'); VASMER *ZfslavPh* III 269 (to Thr -τελις); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113-114; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; PISANI *Saggi* 121; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78; HULD 52; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 255-258; DEMIRAJ *AE* 134-135.

djall m, pl. *djaj* 'devil'. Borrowed from Lat *diabolus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 60, *Alb. St.* V 73). ◊ CAMARDA I 98 (connection with Gk διάβολος id.); THUMB *IF* XXVI 12-13 (from Gk διάβολος); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535; JOKL *LKUBA* 20 (from Greek); HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 258-259; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 137-138.

djathë m/n, pl. *djathëra* ~ *djathna* 'cheese'. A diminutive in *-thë* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 121) of **djadh* < PALb **dedi-*, the latter to be compared with Skt *dādhi* 'sour milk' and OPrus *dadān* 'milk', derivatives of **dhēi-* 'to suck' (JOKL *Studien* 15-16, *WuS* XII 70). For the irregular development of the root vowel cf. *djalë*. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 102, *Stratificazione* 147; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 316; PISANI *Saggi* 123; MAYRHOFER II 15; POKORNY I 241; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 54, 91, 97 (from IE **ghesito-*); HAMP *Word* IX 140, *KZ* LXXXIV 140-141; TOPOROV *PJa* I 284-286; HULD 52-53; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 259-260; DEMIRAJ *AE* 135-136.

djathtë adj. 'right'. Old Albanian texts preserve *djathë* 'right (side)' (BUZUKU), thus showing that *djathtë* is a relatively new formation in *-të* based on PALb **detsa* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 291; ÇABEJ *St.* I 128-129). The latter is etymologically connected with IE **deks-* 'right': Skt

dákšina-, Gk δεξιός, Lat *dexter* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 69). ∅ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 17, III 13, 26; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 291, *Kelt. Gr.* I 36; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MAYRHOFER II 10-11; WALDE-HOFMANN I 346-347; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; FRISK I 366-367; POKORNY I 190; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 445 (phonetically impossible **deksto-* with *-*kst-* reflected as Alb -*tht-*); HAMP *RESEE* XIX/1 141-145 (reconstructs **deksino-*); HULD 53; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 260-261 (to Lat *decus* 'beauty, decoration'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 137-138.

dje adv. 'yesterday'. From PALb **de* etymologically identical with Skt *hyás* id., Gk χθές id., Lat. *heri* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER *Wb.* 69, *Alb. St.* III 18, 63). ∅ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 37, 345; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89; JOKL *LKUBA* 26; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; ERNOUT-MEILLET 292; MAYRHOFER II 29; PISANI *Saggi* 101; FRISK II 1097-1098; HAMP *BSL* LXVI 222; HULD 53; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 261; PUHVEL *Festschr. Hoenigswald* 317; DEMIRAJ *AE* 138.

djeg aor. *dogja* 'to burn'. From PALb **dega* etymologically related to IE **dhegʰ-* 'to burn': Skt *dáhati*, Tokh AB *tsak-*, *tsäk-*, Lit *degù*, *dègti* and the like (BOPP 508; GIL'FERDING *Om.* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 69, *Alb. St.* III 9, 29). ∅ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 275; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 323-324, *Kelt. Gr.* I 108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; ERNOUT-MEILLET 250; MANN *Language* XXVI 382, XXVIII 36; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; PISANI *Saggi* 125; FRAENKEL 85-85; IVANOV *Slav.* 129; HULD 53-54, *KZ* CVII 166; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 101, 127; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 261-262; DEMIRAJ *AE* 138-139.

(G) **djemën** pl. 'demons, devils'. A lexicalized plural of *djall* similar to that of *djalë* ~ *djem* (SKOK *A ArbSt* I 220-221). ∅ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *daemōnem* 'demon'); MEYER *Wb.* 69 (same as MIKLOSICH - but the stress is placed differently); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1043; THUMB *IF* XXVI 13 (borrowed from Gk δαίμονες id. - but the development of -ατ- > -je- would be quite unique); JOKL *LKUBA* 18 (agrees with THUMB), *IF* XLIV 13 n. 1 (follows SKOK); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 10-11 (borrowed from OCS *demonъ* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (follows THUMB); ÇABEJ *St.* I 129 (repeats THUMB's etymology), *Etim.* III 262-264; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 83.

djep m, pl. *djepe*, *djepa* 'cradle'. Borrowed from Gk δέπας 'beaker, goblet' (CAMARDA II 191). For the semantic development cf. E *cradle* ~ OHG

kratto 'basket'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 69-70 (related to Slav **zъbъka* id.), *Alb. St.* III 18, 36; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 158-159, *Mélanges Pedersen* 155 (reconstructs **ghoubhā* thus slightly correcting MEYER); BARIÇ *Hymje* 77; ÇABEJ *St.* I 129-130 (from IE **dheubh-* ~ **dheup-*; Gk δέπας is explained as an ancient Albanian loanword), *Etim.* III 264-265.

djersë f, pl. *djersë* 'perspiration'. Another variant is *dirsë*. From PALb **widertjā* with the loss of the unstressed first syllable. Further related to Gk ἰδρώς id. < **syidrōt-s*, cf. also Latv *sviēdri* id., Lat *sūdor* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 288-290). ∅ CAMARDA I 48, 96 (to Gk ἔρση 'dew'); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 81 (to Gk δρόσος 'dew'), *Wb.* 70 (to Gk δάκνω 'to bite'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (to *zjarr*); JOKL *Studien* 92-93 (accepts PEDERSEN's etymology); FRISK I 710-711; CHANTRAINE 456; WALDE-HOFMANN II 623-624; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 265-266; HULD 148; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 139-140.

djerr aor. *dora* 'to destroy'. From PALb **dera* or **dernā* related to Skt *dṛṇāti* 'to burst, to tear', Gk δέρω 'to skin', Goth *gatairan* 'to tear' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 70, *Alb. St.* III 26). ∅ JOKL *Studien* 8; FRISK I 368-370; MAYRHOFER II 59; FEIST *Goth.* 203.

djerr m, pl. *djerre* 'fallow land'. From PALb **dersa* etymologically identical with Gk χέρος 'dry land' (CAMARDA I 96) < IE **ghersos*. ∅ RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 412 (same as CAMARDA); MEYER *Wb.* 70 (to *djerr* 'to destroy'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 325-326 (to *bie* 'to bear'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 21-23 (to *var*, *vjerr*); FRISK II 1089-1090; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 266-268 (to *bie* 'to fall').

dobët adj. 'weak'. Derived from *dobë* id. The latter is borrowed from Slav **dobъ* 'good, fine' unattested in South Slavic where a more usual **dobrъ* id. is widespread. Note *dobi* 'profit, use' related to *dobë*. ∅ PISANI *Saggi* 129 (to Lat *dēbilis*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 131 (based on *udob*), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 272-273; SVANE 273.

dobis aor. *dobita* 'to win'. Borrowed from Slav **dobyti* 'to acquire, to win' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 70). The Albanian verb is semantically closer to SCr *dobiti* than to Bulg *dobija*. ∅ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178; OREL *Ētimologija* 1983 136; SVANE 199-200; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 273.

dojkĕ f, pl. *dojka* ‘nurse’. Borrowed from Slav **dojka* id., cf. in particular South Slavic continuants: Bulg *dojka*, SCr *dojka* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 131, *Etim.* III 277). ◊ SVANE 190.

doke f ‘traditions’. Borrowed from Gk δοκή ‘opinion, view, meaning’. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 53-56 (related to *duket*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 131 (agrees with JOKL), *Etim.* III 277-278.

dokĕrr f, pl. *dokrra* ‘big bone, bone of arm or leg’. Derived from **dok* (for the formation pattern cf. *kokĕrr*), borrowed from Gk δοκός ‘rafter, beam’ (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk δόκωνα ‘a structure of two joined upright bars’); MEYER *Wb.* 70 (to Turk *dogru* ‘direct’); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 8 (from **dorkr-* composed of *dorĕ* and *krah*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119 (suffix -ĕrr); ÇABEJ *St.* I 132 (an expressive form compared with *dočkĕ* ‘little hand’ and the like).

dolinĕ f, pl. *dolina* ‘valley’. Borrowed from Slav **dolina* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *dolina*, SCr *dolina*. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 106 (borrowed from SCr *dolina*).

dorbĕri f ‘herd’. A secondary phonetic transformation of **dobĕri* derived from Slav **dobro* ‘property’ (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 12-13). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 71 (borrowed from Ital *turba* ‘crowd’); JOKL *Studien* 16-17, *IF* XXXVII 100 (a compound consisting of *dor-* < IE **ǵh₂uer-* ‘animal, beast’ and *-bĕri* compared with Lith *būr̃ys* ‘crowd’); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 215; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; ÇABEJ *St.* I 133 (derived from **torbar* based on *torbĕ* ‘shepherd’s bag; knapsack’), *Etim.* III 286-287.

dorĕ f, pl. *duar* ~ *duer* ‘hand’. A singularized neut. plural PALb **dārā* < IE **ǵhesr-* (PISANI *Saggi* 121; HAMP *Anc. IE Dial.* 115) related to Gk χεῖρ id., Hitt *keššar* id., Tokh A *tsar-* id., B *šar-* id., Arm *jern* id. (BOPP 492; MEYER *Wb.* 72, *Alb. St.* III 18, 71). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 92 (to Gk δῶρον ‘palm’); *Gr. Gr.* 81; JOKL *LKUBA* 90, *IF* XXXVI 132, XLIX 274; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101, *Stratificazione* 88; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; ERNOUT-MEILLET 295, 300; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (from **ǵh₂ard-s-*); FRISK II 1082-1083; CHANTRAINE 305; PORZIG *Gliederung* 187; PISANI *Saggi* 99, 121; POKORNY I 203; VAN WINDEKENS I 521; HAMP *Anc. IE* 115; HULD 54; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 288-291; SCHRUIVER *BC* 58; DEMIRAJ *AE* 140.

došĕ f, pl. *dosa* ‘pig, sow’. From PALb **dā(i)tjā*, a derivative of IE **dhē(i)-* ‘to suckle’ (ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ; ÇABEJ *St.* I 134-135). ◊ CAMARDA II 203 (to Gk θῶς ‘jackal’); JOKL *Studien* 17 (reconstructs IE **syātjā* further connected with **sū-* ‘pig’); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 6-7 (from **dĕrgiā* related to *derk* < **dergo-* as *darkĕ* to *dasmĕ*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 393 (to *derk*, *dirk*, from **dĕrk₂iā*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 13 (borrowed from Bulgaro-Turk *doys* ‘pig’); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 100 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 135; RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I 140, II 144 (from **ǵhĕtiā*, to Maced γοτάν·ῶν); HULD 148 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 293-296; DEMIRAJ *AE* 140-141.

dot part. of irreal. A lexicalized sequence of two particles, *do* and *tĕ* (LAMBERTZ *LP* VII 92). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 72 (borrowed from Lat *in tōtō*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 233-235, *KZ* XXXVII 236-238 (reconstructs acc. **dhĕtim* of a deverbative related to IE **dhē-* ‘to put’); MANN *Language* XXVI 381; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20 (from Lat *tōtum*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 135 (follows LAMBERTZ), *Etim.* III 296-297; MANN *Comp.* 129 (identical with Gk δῆτα); HAARMANN 154 (same as MIHĂESCU).

dra ~ **drā** f ‘oil-cake, melted butter’. Reflects PALb **dragā* (MEYER *Wb.* 72-73, *Alb. St.* III 29, 37, 72 with basic etymological parallels) with secondary nasalization in Geg and the loss of the consonant preserved in the variant with a long vowel *drā*. Close parallels are found in Germanic (ON pl. *dreggiar* ‘yeast’) and in Baltic: OPrus *dragios* ‘yeast’ (if not borrowed from Germanic), OLith *dragės* id. (if not from Old Prussian), Lett dial. *dradzī* ‘sediment in melted butter’. Cf. also Slav **droždzi* ‘yeast’ (but Bulg *drožde* ‘something easy to melt or break’!) and a corresponding verb **drozgati* ‘to press, to knead’. The word seems to represent a North European innovation in Indo-European. ◊ CAMARDA I 74 (to Gk τρῶξ ‘must’); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 69; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101; *Die Sprache* IX 149; PISANI *Saggi* 124; REICHELTE *KZ* XLVI 322; DURIDANOV *Thr.-Dak.* 94 (reconstructs Dac **draga*); HIRT *BGDS* XXIII 349 f. (Old Prussian < Germanic); TOPOROV *PJa* I 363 f.; BÜGA *RR* III 206 (on Lett *dradzī*); TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 322; ENDZELIN *KZ* XLIV 65; FRAENKEL 100; PISANI *Saggi* 124; ANTTILA *Schw.* 122; POKORNY I 251; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* V 128 f. (on the Slavic form as derived from **drozg-*); VASMER I 540 (Slav **drozga* < **drogska*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 140, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; DEMIRAJ *AE* 141.

dragĕ f, pl. *draga* ‘avalanche’. Borrowed from Slav **dorga* ‘ravine’ (ÇABEJ

St. I 136) unattested in the meaning 'avalanche'. ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIII 47-49 (reconstructs **dē-ra-gē* and connects it with *rashē*); SVANE 81, 161; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 299-300.

dragua ~ **dra(n)gue** m, pl. *dragonj* ~ *drangoj* 'dragon'. Another variant is (T) *drangua*. It represents a borrowing from Rom **drancōnem*, a modification of Lat *dracōnem* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046, 1050: also considers the possibility of borrowing from Italian). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 134 (borrowed from Gk δράκων id.); CAMARDA I 82 (to Gk δράκων id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 52, *Wb.* 73 (directly from *dracōnem* or from Ital *dragone*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 300-302 (from Latin).

drang m, pl. *drangje* 'barge-pole, punting-pole; young creature, cub'. From PALb **dranga* further to be compared with ON *drangr* 'stone pillar', *drengr* 'thick trunk', Lith *drąga* 'perch, pole', Slav **drǫgъ* ~ **drǫga* (MANN *Language* XXVI 386; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 73). ◇ TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 59; FRAENKEL 101; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 303 (from South Slavic reflexes of **drǫgъ*).

drap m, pl. *drapa* 'long pole'. From PALb **drapa* further related to Gk δρέπω 'to cut off'. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (to Gk τράπηξ 'pole'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 14 (to Pol *drab* 'long stick'); FRISK I 417; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 304.

drapër ~ **drapën** m, pl. *drapinj*, *dërpënj*, *drepër* ~ *drepën*, *drapërinj* 'sickle'. Borrowed from Gk Dor δράπανον id., cf. the attested form Gk δρέπανον (BUGGE *BB* XIX 167; THUMB *IF* XXVI 13). ◇ CAMARDA I 85 (treats *drapër* and Gk δρέπανον as cognates); MEYER *Wb.* 73 (from Gk δρέπανον), *Alb. St.* III 26, 72 (related to δρέπανον), *Gr. Gr.* 40; PERSSON *BB* XIX 167; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII; PEDERSEN *BB* XIX 167; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 107; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (related to δρέπανον); ÇABEJ *St.* I 136 (follows BUGGE and THUMB), *Etim.* III 304-305; HULD 54-55; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 39, *SPhAen* 39; JANSON *Unt.* 40-41; CLACKSON *LR* 112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 142.

dre ~ **drê** m, pl. *drerë* ~ *drenë* 'deer'. Continues PALb **drani-* identical with ἀρνίς [for δρ-]· ἔλαφος (LIDÉN *Studien* 67-68, 95-96). Further related to Skt *dhrāṇati* 'to sound', OHG *trëno* 'drone' (SPITZER *MRIWI* 319). For the semantics of this comparison cf. Slav **bykъ* 'bull'

(and also 'bug') ~ **bykati* 'to roar, to bellow'. ◇ STIER *KZ* VII 160 (to Messap βρέndon· ἔλαφον); SCHEFTELOWITZ *BB* XXVIII 297 (to Arm *erinj* 'heifer'); CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 432; VASMER *ZfslavPh* III 288 (to Thr Δρένις); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135-136; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 120 (to a Thracian name Δρένις); MAYRHOFER II 115-116; ÇABEJ *St.* I 136-137 (to OIr *darn* 'head', cf. Gk κάρα 'head' ~ κέρασ 'horn' ~ Lat *cervus* 'deer'), *Etim.* III 305-307; DEMIRAJ *AE* 142-143 (from **d-ran-* based on IE **uṛHn-*).

dredh aor. *drodha* 'to turn, to rotate'. From PALb **dredza* continuing IE **dreǵh-* closely related to Arm *dar̄nam* 'to turn', *darj* 'curve, turn' < IE **drǵh-* (LIDÉN *Arm. Studien* 101-102). Note a derivative of *dredh* - *dridh* 'to shake, to vibrate'. As to *dredhëz* 'strawberry', it is identical with *dredhëz* 'cord, string' derived from *dredh*. ◇ CAMARDA I 74 (to Gk τρέω 'to flee'); MEYER *Wb.* 74 (secondary connection between *dredhëz* and *dredh*), *Alb. St.* III 18, 29, 72, *IF* V 181 (related to Gk τρέχω 'to run, to hurry'); JOKL *Studien* 17-18 (to OHG *drāen* 'to turn' reconstructing **tre-dh-* for the Albanian verb), *IF* XXX 206-208; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 62 n. 1; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 108 (follows LIDÉN); AČAREAN *HAB* I 639; PISANI *Studi* 129 (*dredh-ëz* - to Lat *frāgum*); ANTILA *Schw.* 34; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 110; HAMP *Trends* LVII 906; ÇABEJ *St.* I 137-138 (accepts LIDÉN's etymology), 138-139 (connects *dredhëz* 'strawberry' with OIr *driss* 'thorn-bush, brier-bush', Gk δρίος 'bush'), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 308-310; CLACKSON *LR* 122-123; DEMIRAJ *AE* 143-144.

dregë f, pl. *drega* 'scab'. From PALb **dragā*, an *o*-vocalism deverbative connected with West Gmc **targjan* 'to pull, to stir' (Germ *zergen*), Slav **dsrgati* 'to pull, to tug', Lith *dirginti* 'to move, to irritate'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 74 (to *dredhëz* 'strawberry'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 107; KLUGE 882; FRAENKEL 96; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 221; ÇABEJ *St.* I 139 (comparisons with IE **der-* 'to tear' and Skt *da(r)dru-* 'leprosy, eruption', W *tarwyden* 'lichen, eczema' and the like).

drejtë adj. 'straight, right'. Borrowed from Lat *directum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 74, *Alb. St.* V 73). Note the development of the cluster *-ct-*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1054; JOKL *RIEB* II 59-60; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 24-31; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* I 139, ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 312-315; HAARMANN 122; HULD 55; LANDI *Lat.* 121.

dreke f, pl. *dreke* 'lunch, dinner, midday meal'. Connected with *darkë* and reflecting PALb **drikā* related to *darkë* (MEYER *Wb.* 61) and reflecting a zero-grade **dṛkʷā* close to Bret *dibri* 'lunch', OBret *diprim* 'to eat' (HAMP *Anc. IE Dial.* 116). However, the development of *-i- > -e- remains unclear. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 245; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (reconstructs **drōkʷ*); HIRT *Ablaut* 126; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix -*kë*); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 314; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 253; MANN *HAED* 61 (zero grade in the root); ANTILA *Schw.* 29, 100; ÇABEJ *St.* I 108, *Etim.* III 315-316; HULD 48-49; KÖDDERITZSH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 62-63; DEMIRAJ *AE* 144-145.

dremis aor. *dremita* 'to slumber'. Borrowed from South Slav **drēmīti* 'to doze, to slumber', cf. Maced *dremīti*, SCr *dramīti*. Cf. also a Slavic derivative in *drēmke* 'nap'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 65 (borrowed from Slav **drēmāti* id.); POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78 (from SCr *drijemati*); SVANE 253; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 484.

drenjë f, pl. *drenja* 'quail'. From PALb **dranjā*, derivative from *dre* ~ *drē* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 316). ◊ CAMARDA II 159 (to Gk τετράων); MEYER *Wb.* 74 (from Rom **tetraonem*, cf. Lat *tetraōnem* 'heath-cock'); SPITZER *MRIW* I 319-320 (to *dra*).

dreq m, pl. *dreqër* ~ *dreqën* 'devil'. Borrowed from the nom. sg. or pl. of Lat *dracō* 'dragon' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 73). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1043, 1051; JOKL *IF* XXX 291; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 246; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 107; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 140, *Etim.* III 316-317 (from Gk δράκων); LANDI *Lat.* 28, 112, 143-145.

drënjë f 'cornel-cherry', adj. 'healthy, sound'. From PALb **draunjā*, a derivative of IE **dreu-* 'tree'. For the evolution of meaning cf. Slav **sz-dorvъ* 'healthy' ~ **dervo* 'tree' and Lat *rōbustus* 'healthy' ~ *rōbur* 'oak'. ◊ MEILLET *Etudes* I 88; BENVENISTE *Word* X 259, *Inst.* I 108-110 (semantic analysis of **dreu-*); VASMER II 90; ÇABEJ *St.* I 140 (derivation based on Bulg or Maced *dren* 'cornel-cherry'), *Etim.* III 318.

drinjë f, pl. *drinja* 'brushwood'. From PALb **drūnjā* related to *dru* and the Indo-European word for 'tree'. ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101 n. 1 (from SCr *drijen* 'cornel-cherry'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 320-321 (from Slavic).

dritë f, pl. *drita* 'light, luster, pupil (of an eye)'. From **driktā* based on IE **derk-* 'to look' and, in particular, close to OE *torht* 'bright', OHG *zoraht* (MEYER *Wb.* 74, *Alb. St.* III 27, 43). ◊ BRUGMANN 131; JOKL *Studien* 53, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90, *Sprache* IX 120; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 42; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; PORZIG *Gliederung* 149; POKORNY I 213; CHANTRAINE 265; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 688; ÇABEJ *St.* I 140-141 (to Lith *žeriū*, *žerėti* 'to shine', Slav **zъrěti* 'to see' and the like), *Etim.* III 322-323; HULD 55; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 145.

drithë m/n, pl. *drithëra* ~ *drithna* 'grain'. From PALb **dritsā* etymologically connected with Lat *hordeum* 'barley', OHG *gersta* id. < IE **ǵh₂rzd-* (JOKL *IF* XXX 302). In Albanian, the development of the voiced Indo-European cluster seems to be surprising. ◊ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 351; SPITZER *MRIW* I 335 (from **ǵh₂rsyo-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 108; WALDE-HOFMANN I 656-657; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; ERNOUT-MEILLET 299; PISANI *Saggi* 118; PORZIG *Gliederung* 209; CHANTRAINE 583; POKORNY I 446; SGGJa I 88; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 123; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 685; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 277; ÇABEJ *BUSH* XV/3 57 (to IE **der-* 'to tear'), *Etim.* III 323-325; HULD 55-56; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 91; DEMIRAJ *AE* 145-146.

drizë f, pl. *driza* 'blackthorn, sloe'. From PALb **dridzjā* etymologically connected with IE **derǵh-* 'to hold, to be firm': Skt *dṛhyati* 'to be firm', Slav **dъržati* to hold' < **dъrżjati* and, in particular, **dъrza* > Russ *dereza* 'kind of thorny plant' (with a secondary *polnoglasie*), see KALUŽSKAJA *Antič. balk.* 3 27. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 75 (related to *dru*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101, *LKUBA* 248 (suffix -*zë*); MAYRHOFER II 61-62; VASMER I 502; MANN *Hist. gr.* 34 (to OIr *driss* 'blackthorn'); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* V 231; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 275; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk δρίος 'bush'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 325-326 (to *drithë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 146.

drobis aor. *drobita* 'to tire'. Borrowed from Slav **drobiti* 'to break, to crush' in an otherwise unattested meaning (DESNIČKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 326-327 (from Maced *drobi*); SVANE 232.

drokth m, pl. *droktha* 'broom'. A deminutive based on **drok* probably borrowed from Slav **drokъ* 'genista' which, however, is not attested in South Slavic.

dromcë f, pl. *dromca* 'crumb, bit'. Borrowed from Slav **drobnica* 'trifle, small object', cf. in particular South Slavic forms: Maced *drobnica* 'trifle', Bulg *drobnica* 'pear-tree with small fruit', SCr *drobnica* 'particle' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 82, *Wb.* 75). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 142 (connects *dromcë* with *drudhe* and IE **der-* 'to tear' or **dhreu-* 'to break'), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 329-331.

dru ~ **drû** m, pl. *druj*, *drurë* ~ *dru* 'tree; wood (f, pl. *dru*)'. From PAIb **druwa* etymologically compared with Slav **drъvo* 'wood', Skt *dru-* id., Av *dru-* id., Gk δρῦς 'tree, oak' (BOPP 541; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 76; MEYER *Wb.* 75). The nasalization in Geg is secondary (ÇABEJ *St.* I 142-143) and, probably, influenced by the plural forms. The word was borrowed to Rum *druete* 'thick and short tree'. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 27, 72, *Gr. Gr.* 232, 269; BRUGMANN - DELBRÜCK II/1 161 (borrowing from Slav **drъva*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIV 291, *Kelt. Gr.* I 144; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 100-102; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 109; MANN *Language* XVII 15 (from IE **d̥rno-*); MAYRHOFER II 36; FRISK I 421-422; PISANI *Saggi* 123; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 330; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276-277; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 275 (original *n*-stem), *LB* XXV 78 (collective **druuā*); ANTILA *Schw.* 16; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 141-142; HULD 56; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 332-334; DEMIRAJ *AE* 146-147.

druaj ~ **druej** aor. *druajta*, *drojta*, *drova* 'to be afraid'. From PAIb **drāunja* derived from *dre*, *droe* 'fear' < PAIb **drāwā*. The noun is related to Latv *druvas* 'fear' and, further, to Lith *draudžiu*, *draūsti* 'to forbid, to deter, to scare off'. ◊ CAMARDA I 73 (to Skt *trāsati* 'to be afraid', Gk τρέω 'to flee in fright'); MEYER *Wb.* 75 (etymologically connected with OHG *droa* 'threat' but its anlaut continues IE **t-*), *Alb. St.* III 24 (explains Alb *d-* from **en-t-*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 371 (to Gk τράσσω 'to stir, to frighten'); MANN *Language* XXVI 382 (to Lith *drovā* 'self-consciousness, awkwardness' which is, in fact, a Germanic loanword); FRAENKEL 102; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276 (to Rum *droaie* 'band, gang; a lot'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 143-144 (to E *dread*), *Etim.* III 334-337.

drudhe f, pl. *drudhe* 'crumb'. A singularized plural of **drudhë*. From PAIb **drudza* related to Lith *drūzgas* 'splinter, fragment', *drūžti* 'to become weak'. ◊ CAMARDA I 115 (to Gk θρόπτω 'to tear'); MEYER *Wb.* 370 (to *rrudhë* 'wrinkle'); FRAENKEL 107; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26 (derived from *-rrudh* related to *rrjedh*); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 176 (to OIr *druidim*

'to close'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 121 (suffix *-dhe*); ŠIROKOV *ZFL* XXIV/1 14 (to Lith *dirginti* 'to pull'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 144 (connects *drudhe* with *dromcë* and IE **dhreu-* 'to break'), *Etim.* III 231-233.

drugë f, pl. *druga* 'spindle, shuttle'. Borrowed from SCr *druga* id. < Slav **droga* (MEYER *Wb.* 75). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 171, 295; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 313-314 (from NGk τρούγα, δρούγα 'thread'); BARIÇ *Hymje* 74, 79; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 81; ÇABEJ *St.* I 144, *Etim.* III 337-338; SVANE 47, 81.

drushtë f, pl. *drushta* 'pole, mast'. From PAIb **drustā* further connected with *dru*.

druth m 'wrath'. A derivative in *-th* of *droe*, *dre* 'fear', cf. *druaj* ~ *druenj*.

(G) **drÿ** m 'kind of lock, bolt'. From PAIb **drūna* related to the Indo-European word for 'tree' and, probably, referring to the strength of the lock, cf. Gk δροῦν · ἰσχυρόν (BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165). The closest formal parallels of PAIb **drūna* are Skt *druṇa-* 'bow', Iran **drūna-* 'bow' in Pers *durūna* 'rainbow', Ossetic *ærdyn* (HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 276) and Slav **dryrŭ* 'stick, pole'. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (to OIr *dron* 'hard, strong'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 109 (suggests Skt *drōna-* 'wooden trough' as an exact parallel); MILLER *Oss.* 30; FRISK I 419; MAYRHOFER II 78; ÇABEJ *St.* I 145, *Etim.* III 339-341; TRUBAČEV *VJa* 1975/1 135, *ĖSSJa* V 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 148-149.

drydhët adj. 'easy to plane (of wood)'. Continues PAIb **drūdza* (with a secondary suffix *-ët*) close to Slav **dryzgati*, **druzgati* 'to squeeze, to crush'. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 133, 145.

dryshk m 'rust'. From PAIb **drūd(z)iska* derived from **drūdza* > *drydh(ët)*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 76 (explains the verb *ndryshk* 'to rust' from Rom **in-russicō* based on *russus* 'rusty'); HAARMANN 131; ÇABEJ *St.* I 372-373 (a prefixal derivative of IE **reudh-* 'red').

dua ~ **due** aor. *desha* 'to love'. From PAIb **dāusna* connected with IE **ǵeus-* 'to taste', cf. Skt *jōsati* 'to be fond of', Gk γεύομαι and the like (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 101-102, *LKUBA* 127). The diphthongization of the root vowel into *-ua-* may be explained by the original long diphthong in Proto-Albanian **dāusna* (JOKL). The aorist goes back to PAIb **deuša*.

◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *dēbeō* ‘must’); MEYER *Wb.* 76, *Alb. St.* III 17, 61, 90; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333, *Kelt. Gr.* I 80; PISANI *Saggi* 99, 101; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; LA PIANA *Studi* I 49-51 (to Gk δέομαι ‘to lack, to miss’); ERNOUT-MEILLET 286; MAYRHOFER I 441; FRISK I 302; POKORNY I 399-400; HULD 144; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 151, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 173-175; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (-sh- < *-s- in *desha* < IE **ǵeusm* according to the “ruki” rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 149.

duaj ~ **duej** pl. ‘sheaf’. Continues PALb **dōnja* related to Skt *dhānā* ‘grain, cereals’, *dhānyā-* ‘grain’, Lith *dūona* ‘bread’. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 78, *Alb. St.* III 26, 86 (to Gk δέω ‘to tie’); JOKL *Sprache* IX 117; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 238; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 223, 239; POKORNY I 242; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 37; OREL *Zfbalk* XXIII 145; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 341-342 (plural of *dorë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 149-150 (to Skt *dāman-* ‘band’).

dudë f, pl. *duda* ‘gum’. An onomatopoeic formation (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 342-343).

duke ~ **tue** part. before gerund While *duke* may go back to an earlier **ntuke*, its widespread variant *tuke* seems to be more conservative. In Old Albanian as well as in some dialects one also finds *tue* (BUZUKU) and *tu* (BOGDANI). All these particles reflect compounds of *tu* (for the etymology see *këtu*) and *ke* (identical with *ku*) or *e* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 120). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 146-147 (from *tuke* where *e* is a proclitic pronoun), *Etim.* III 349-352.

duket refl. ‘to appear, to be visible’. Borrowed from MGk or NGk δοκεῖ ‘to seem, to appear’. ◊ CAMARDA I 53 (to Gk δοκέω ‘to see, to observe’); MEYER *Wb.* 76-77 (follows CAMARDA and, alternatively, compares *duket* with Goth *þugkjan* ‘to think’); THUMB *IF* XXVI 2 (against comparisons with Gk δοκέω); JOKL *Studien* 18 (to Lith *žvākē* ‘light’, Lat *fax* ‘torch’ and the like), *LKUBA* 53-55; PISANI *Saggi* 118; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 352-354.

duq m, pl. *duqe* ‘bung; cock (of a gun)’. Borrowed from Lat *ducem* appearing in similar meanings in several Romance languages (ÇABEJ *St.* I 148). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 77 (from Lat *ductus* ‘connection’, *‘canal’); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 359; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 112.

duroj aor. *durova* ‘to be patient’. Borrowed from Lat *dūrāre* id. (GIL’FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 77). Note, however, that the reflex of Lat -ū- is irregular. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 148 (from Ital *durare*), *Etim.* III 361-362.

dushk m, pl. *dushqe* ‘oak’. Another variant of this word is *drushk*. It continues PALb **druška*, a derivative of *dru* (DIEFENBACH I 49; MEYER *Wb.* 77). ◊ CAMARDA I 50 (to Gk τόξον ‘bow’); JOKL *LKUBA* 166, *Vox Rom.* VIII 151-152 (from Alpine Illyrian substratum); SKOK *ZfromPh* XLVIII 411, *AGIt* XXIV 19 (from Rom **drusculum*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 254 (to Raeto-Rom *dāsa* ‘branch of a conifer’); PISANI *KZ* LXXI 62-63 (to Lat *dūmus* ‘smoke’ < **dus-mos* and OHG *zūsach* ‘bushes’); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 148-149 (follows MEYER), *Etim.* III 363-365; DEMIRAJ *AE* 148, 150-151.

dy num. ‘two’. From PALb **duwō*, fem. **duwai* with a contraction similar to that of *qytet* and *grykë*. Further parallels are reflexes of IE **d(u)μō(u)*, fem. **d(u)μoi* (BOPP 511; CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 27, III 26, IV 46). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 78 (thinks of IE **dū* and compares with Lith *dū*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282 (from IE **duōje*); SKOK *A ArbSt* II 307 (from **dui*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 35 (from **duyi* > **dui*); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 109; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; ÇABEJ *St.* I 149-150 (reconstructs **dui-*), *Etim.* III 366-369; HULD 56-57 (compares fem. *dy*: with Slav **dvъ*); HAMP *Numerals* 905-906; DEMIRAJ *AE* 151-152.

dyllë m/n ‘wax’. From PALb **dūla* related to Gk χυλός ‘juice’ (MEYER *Wb.* 78, *Alb. St.* III 18, 76 but reconstructing **ǵhū-dlo-*). Both forms, going back to IE **ǵheu-* ‘to pour’, appear to reflect **ǵhu-slo-* with a compensatory lengthening. ◊ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to IE **dheu-* ‘to flow’), *Sprache* IX 154; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 110 (follows MEYER); LA PIANA *Studi* I 54-55 (to Gk δαλός ‘burning wood’); PISANI *Saggi* 118 (reconstructs **ǵhūlo-*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; BARIÇ *Hymje* 36; FRISK 1123-1124; POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 132-133 (same as LA PIANA); ÇABEJ *St.* I 150-151 (compares *dyll* with IE **ǵhel-* ‘yellow’), *Etim.* III 371-373 (to Gk θύος ‘burning offering’); HULD 57, *KZ* XC 181; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 58 (identical with Slav part. **davilъ* ‘pressing, squeezing’); DEMIRAJ *AE* 152.

dynd aor. *dynda* ‘to shake’. An onomatopoeia. Note a deverbative *dyn-*

dallë 'flood, inundation'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 150 (a variant of *dend*), *Etim.* III 373-375.

dysh m, pl. *dysha* 'two, pair'. A derivative based on *dy* (MEYER *Wb.* 78) and reflecting PAIb **dwis* identical with Skt *dvīh* 'twice', Gk δίς id., Lat *bis* id. ◊ MAYRHOFER II 86; FRISK I 398-399; WALDE-HOFMANN I 107; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 376-377.

Dh

dhallë ~ **dhalltë** f 'buttermilk'. From PAIb **dzalā* related to Gk γάλα, gen. γάλακτος 'milk' (MEYER *Wb.* 83). Apparently, the Albanian form is the result of a deep morphological transformation as far as Gk γάλα continues *γάλακτ. Note that phonetically **dzalā* < **ǵlakt-* is similar to **ara* 'bear' < **ǵkto-* (cf. *ari*). Rum *zarǎ* is an Albanian loanword. ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; JOKL *LKUBA* 273 (follows MEYER), *Sprache* IX 153 (to *dele*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147-148; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (reconstructs **ǵalaktō-*); LA PIANA *Vocale* 33 (from **dlagos*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228; PISANI *Saggi* 118; FRISK I 283-284; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 354; ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; RUSSU *Etnogeneza* 419-421; REICHENKRON *Dakische* 170 (substratum word); HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 276-277 (reconstructs **ǵolH-*); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 686; HULD 57; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 41 (to *dele*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 153-154 (to Skt *jala-* 'water').

dhe m/f/n, pl. *dhera* ~ *dhena* 'earth, land'. From PAIb **dzō* reflecting IE **dhǵhōm* 'earth': Hitt *tekan*, Tokh A *tkam*, B *kem*, Skt *kṣam-*, Gk χθών (MEYER *Wb.* 83, *Alb. St.* III 18). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Gk γῆ 'earth', δῆ id.); CAMARDA I 46 (same as GIL'FERDING); MEYER *Wb.* 83 (does not exclude the connection with γῆ); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 135-136; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 170; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 237-238 (equal to Arm **ti* 'earth'); MANN *Language* XXVI 382-383 (follows CAMARDA); LA PIANA *Vocale* 32; PISANI *Saggi* 101; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228, *ABS* III 37-40; MAYRHOFER I 288-289; FRISK II 1098-1099; POKORNY I 414-415; HAMP *Minos* IX 199 (different anlauts of *dje* and *dhe* make the connection with **dhǵhōm* less probable), *FLH* IV 137, *KZ* CIII 289-292 (from IE **dheǵHo-*); VAN WINDEKENS I 506-507; SCHINDLER *Sprache* XIII 200; HULD 58

(*dhe* < **dhoiǵho-*, to Gk τοῖχος 'wall'); OREL *Balkanica* 110-112, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to the first component of Δη-μήτηρ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 155-156.

dhel aor. *dhela* 'to fondle, to caress, to flatter'. Metathesis of *ledhë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 151). Note that its derivatives *dhelatoj* id. and *dhelatar* 'only son' also have their counterparts in unmetathesized *ledhatoj* and *ledhatar*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 84 (treats *dhelatar* as a borrowing from Ital *diletto* 'delight, pleasure'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 114-115.

dhelpër ~ **dhelpeñ** f, pl. *dhelpra* ~ *dhelpra* 'fox'. From PAIb **dzelpinā* transformed by a taboo typical of words for 'fox' (MEILLET *BSL* XXVIII 45) from **welpinā*, a derivative connected with Lith *vilpišys* 'wild cat' (STIER *KZ* XI 143-144; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 15) and, further, with other irregular forms: Lat *volpēs* 'fox', Gk ἄλωπιξ id. and the like. The development of **welpinā* to **dzelpinā* could be influenced by *dhel* or by *dhe*. ◊ CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk ἄλωπά, ἄλωπιξ 'fox'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (from Lat *volpēs* or a modification of CAMARDA's etymology); MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 16 (against BUGGE); JOKL *LKUBA* 297-299 (to IE **ǵhel-* 'yellow'); BARIĆ *AarbSt.* I 214; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 229; FRAENKEL 1254; WALDE-HOFMANN II 830; FRISK I 83; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119 (suffix -p-); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 268; DEMIRAJ *AE* 156 (to Gk γαλέη 'weasel').

dhemb aor. *dhemba* 'to ache'. In Tosk also *dhëmb*. From PAIb **dzemba* etymologically identical with Skt *jāmbhate* 'to snap at', Lith *žembiù*, *žembti* 'to cut' and Slav **zēbq*, **zēbti* 'to freeze, to feel cold' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334). ◊ BOPP 460 (to Skt *dam-* 'to tame'); MEYER *Wb.* 84-85 (to Lat *gemō* 'to sigh, to groan'), *Alb. St.* III 16, 64; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 173-174; FRAENKEL 1289; POKORNY I 369; MAYRHOFER I 419; VASMER II 111; DEMIRAJ *AE* 156-157.

dhemje f, pl. *dhemje* 'caterpillar'. Another variant is *vemje*. Derivative of *dhe* (MEYER *Wb.* 84; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 136) that may be reconstructed as PAIb **dzōmjā*. ◊ LIDÉN *AfsIPh* XXVIII 33; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89; JOKL *LKUBA* 200; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228-229, IV 189-191 (to δμελέας, δμεβλεῖς·βδέλλα, Hes.); XHUVANI *BUSht* XII 97-99 (analogical influence of *dhjes* and *dhemb* in the secondary form in *dh-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 276-277 (to *ve* 'egg'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 157.

dheulë f, pl. *dheula* 'ant'. A recent derivative in *-lë* based on *dheu*, the definite form of *dhe* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 153).

dhez aor. *dheza* 'to set on fire, to burn'. From PALb **dagja* with a sandhial change of the initial **d-*, cf. *ndez* id. Further connected with *djeg*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 84 (separates *dhez* from *djeg*); JOKL *LKUBA* 333; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 235; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38.

dhëmb ~ dhamb m, pl. *dhëmbë ~ dhambë* 'tooth'. From PALb **dzamba*, a dialectal Indo-European word for 'tooth' shared by Albanian together with Tokh A *kam* 'tooth', B *keme* id., Latv *zùobs* id., Slav **zobъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 83, *Alb. St.* III 16, 35, 64). The original meaning seems to be preserved in Gk γόμφοϛ 'peg', Skt *jám̐bha-* 'bit, peg'. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *dánta-* 'tooth'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 264; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168, *Stratificazione* 88; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVIII 33; PORZIG *Gliederung* 185; PISANI *Saggi* 100, 128; FRISK I 319-321; FRAENKEL 1288-1289; MAYRHOFER I 419; VAN WINDEKENS I 186; HULD 58; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 225; DEMIRAJ *AE* 158.

dhëndër ~ dhandër m, pl. *dhëndurë ~ dhandurë* 'bridegroom, son-in-law'. In the auslaut *-rr* is also possible. From PALb **dzanra* with a secondary epenthesis in **-nr-* > *-nd(ë)r-*, cf. *ëndërr*. The plural form in *-ur-* is not clear. The word is etymologically identical with Skt *jāŕ-* 'suitor', Gk γαμβρός 'son-in-law', Lat *gener* id. (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 247; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 33). PALb **-an-* seems to continue IE **-ema-* or a similar cluster. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *gener*); MEYER *Wb.* 85 (to Lith *žénas* 'son-in-law', Slav **zētъ* id.), *Alb. St.* III 16, 24, *Gr. Gr.* 250; JOKL *LKUBA* 46-48 (to Skt *jāmātar-* 'son-in-law', Av *zāmātar-* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 114 (combines MEYER's and JOKL's views); ERNOUT-MEILLET 270; LA PIANA *Studi* I 42 (reconstructs **genros*); PISANI *Saggi* 130 (*dhëndër* as a contamination of Skt *jāmātar-* and Lat *gener* 'son-in-law'); FRISK I 287; CHANTRAINE 209; MAYRHOFER I 431; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228 (from **ġenātēr*); FRAENKEL *ZfslavPh* XXIII 348 (*-ërr* < **-urr* influenced by *vjehërr*); FRISK I 287; ANTTILA *Schw.* 132-133 (from **ġentH-tr-*); HULD 58-59 (reconstructs IE **ġomH-ter-*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 159-160.

dhi f, pl *dhi* 'she-goat'. From PALb **aidzijā* corresponding to Gk αἴξ id. (CAMARDA 75 who also adduces Lacon δίζα· αἴξ and Arm *ayc* id.). The Albanian word may be an ancient adjective, cf. Gk αἴγε(ι)οϛ 'of a goat'. ◊ POTT *KZ* IV 70; MEYER *Wb.* 85 (compares with Skt *ajá-* 'goat', Lith *ožỹs* id. or with OHG *ziga*, Lacon δίζα· αἴξ), *Alb. St.* III 28, 37; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 320, 335; JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 241, *Sprache* IX 149; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; AČAREAN *HAB* I 169-170; BONFANTE *REIE* II 61-63; PORZIG *Gliederung* 181; PISANI *Saggi* 122 (to OHG *ziga*); BARIÇ *Hymje* 77; JOKL *Symb. gramm.* I 241; FRISK I 41-42; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140; HULD 59 (supports PISANI); KARULIS *LEVI* 56 (to Lith *óda* 'skin', Latv *áda* id.), 94 (to Lith *ožỹs* 'goat', Latv *ázis* id.); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 47, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 38; DEMIRAJ *AE* 160.

dhjamë f, pl. *dhjamëra ~ dhjamna* '(animal) fat, lard, suet, tallow'. The dialectal variant *vjam, vjamë* is secondary. From PALb **dzal-mā*, related to *dhallë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 86 (to Gk δημός 'fat' but how to explain the initial **d-*?), *Alb. St.* III 28; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 15 (treats *vjam* as the original form); JOKL *Sprache* IX 153; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; CHANTRAINE 274; POKORNY I 175; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (follows MEYER but does not explain the short **ě* vs. Gk *-η-*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 126, 178; FRISK I 381; CHANTRAINE 274; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 55; HULD 59-60; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 47 (borrowed from Late Gk ζέμα 'decoction, cooking'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 74 (derivative of *ve* as Slav **sadlo* 'fat' goes back to **saditi* 'to put, to place'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 161.

dhjes aor. *dhjeva* 'to defecate'. From PALb **dzetša* or **dzetja* related to Skt *hadati* id., Gk χέζω id. (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER *Wb.* 86, *Alb. St.* III 18, 27). As far as neither **-tš-* nor **-tj-* could correspond to IE **-d-*, the resulting form in Albanian may be explained either by a taboo transformation or as a reflex of a verbal form based on a participle **ġhed-to-*; the latter would regularly yield **dzetša*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 274; JOKL *Studien* 61; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335, *Kelt. Gr.* I 160; LA PIANA *Studi* I 55-56 (to Gk δεῖσα 'dirt'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 172; PISANI *Saggi* 117; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 237; FRISK I 1078-1079; CHANTRAINE 1250; MAYRHOFER III 573; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 109; ÇABEJ *St.* I 153-154 (to ON *dríta* 'to defecate', E *dirt*, Slav **driskati ~ *dristati* 'to defecate'); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *foria* 'diarrhea'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 161-162 (reconstructs **ġh(e)détjo-*).

dhjetë num. 'ten'. A relatively recent derivative in *-të* based on **dhjeth* < **detsa* etymologically connected with IE **dek̑m* 'ten': Skt *dāśa*, Gk δέκα, Lat *decem* and the like (BOPP 459-460; GIL'FERDING *Om.* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 86). The irregular initial *dh-* < **d-* is explained by sandhi in the numerals from 11 to 19 where **-d-* is preceded by vowels (MEYER-LÜBKE *Idg. Anz.* II 184). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 14, 28 (from **dek̑nti* - phonetically impossible as the syllabic **-ŋ-* must be vocalized); BLANKENSTEIN *IF* XXI 110-111; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 46, KZ XXXVI 284-285; JOKL *Balkangerm.* 131; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 172; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; PISANI *Saggi* 106; SZEMERÉNYI *Numerals* 70-71, 112-114; MAYRHOFER II 26; FRISK I 359-360; WALDE-HOFMANN I 327-329; HULD 60; KÖDDERITZSCH *St. albanica* XX/2 123-124; HAMP *Trends* LVII 901-902, 916-917, *Numerals* 916-918; DEMIRAJ *AE* 162-163.

dhunë f, pl. *dhunë* 'labor pains, shame, disgrace'. From PAIb **edunti* or **adunti*, further compared with Gk ὀδύνη 'labor pains', Arm *erkn* id. (OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 51-52, *AArmL* VIII 17-19). These forms may be derived from **ed-* 'to eat' (FRISK II 351). ◊ CAMARDA I 160 (to Gk δένυος 'reproach, insult'); MEYER *Wb.* 87 (compares with *derë*, *dherë* 'bitter'); JOKL *Studien* 19-20 (reconstructs **dus-n-ā* and links it to Skt *duṣ-* 'evil, bad, difficult', *dunōti*, (he) burns', Gk δαίω 'to light up, to kindle'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251-252; LA PIANA *Studi* I 63 f. (follows CAMARDA); AČAREAN *HAB* II 64; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (to Gk αἰσχύνη, reconstructs **ghunā*); MAYRHOFER II 49-50; POKORNY I 180; ÇABEJ *BShkSh* II/4 34 (to Lat *fuscus* 'dark brown', *St.* I 154-155; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 112 (to Germ *dunkel* 'dark'); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; JANSON *Unt.* 91-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 163-164 (follows OREL).

dhuroj aor. *dhurova* ~ *dhunova* 'to make a present'. Borrowed from Lat *dōnāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 87). In Geg the form **dhunoj* was replaced by Tosk *dhuroj*. The intervocalic Geg *-n-* is, however, preserved in derivatives, such as *dhurëti* ~ *dhunëti* 'present, donation'. Occasionally, the forms with the "correct" *d-* have been attested in dialects. Forms with initial *dh-* may reflect **addōnāre*. ◊ CAMARDA I 43 (to Gk δωρέομαι 'to make a present'); JOKL *LKUBA* 300; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 155-156; JANSON *Unt.* 49-50.

E

e conj. 'and, also'. From PAIb **ō(d)* (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 145-146) going back to IE **ēd* ~ **ōd*, abl. sg. of the pronominal stem **e-/o-*, cf. Skt *āi* 'then, and', Av *āi*, *āai* id., Lith *ō* 'and, but' (if not borrowed from Slavic, SADNIK - AITZETMÜLLER *Vgl. Wb.* I 1-2), Slav **a* and, but'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 93 (from Lat *et* 'and' with an inexplicably preserved *-t*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Grundr. rom. Phil.* I 1057 (questions the Latin origin of *e*); PUŞCARIU *Etym. Wb.* I 565 (< Lat *et*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 514; MAYRHOFER I 72; ÇABEJ *St.* I 156; MANN *Language* XXVI 380; HAMP *Bono homine donum* 127-131 (*e* < **joi*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; HULD 60-61.

ec(i) aor. *eca* 'to go, to run'. Another variant is *ecëj*. From **etës* < PAIb **aitatja* based on a derivative in **-to-* of IE **ei-* 'to go' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◊ CAMARDA I 95 (to Gk εἶμι 'to go'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (from Rom **itiō* replacing *itō* 'to go'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 18 (to *erdha*); JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 158 (related to *hedh*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 157-158 (reconstructs **itiō* as a source).

edh m, pl. *edha* 'he-goat'. From PAIb **aidza* connected with Gk αἴξ 'goat', Arm *ayc* id. (TREIMER *ZfRomPh* XXXVIII 408; MANN XXVI 381), cf. *dhi*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 98 (borrowed from Lat *haedus* 'kid'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; AČAREAN *HAB* I 169-170; JAHUKIAN *OAI* 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 201; FRISK I 41-42; CLACKSON *LR* 90; ÇABEJ I 158 (to Skt *ajā-* 'goat', Lith *ožys* id.); HULD 61.

edhe conj. 'and, also'. A sequence of enclitics *e* and *dhe*, with *-dh-* < **-d-* in the intervocalic position. The first element *e* is identical with *e* 'and, also'. As for *dhe*, it reflects PAIb **dō* < IE **dō* (in the intervocalic position) as preserved in Slav **da* 'and, so that'. Note Slovene *ada* < Slav **a da*, a full correspondence of *edhe*. The variant *dhe* is secondary (ÇABEJ *St.* I 151). The Geg form *ende* may be explained as a different compound including *en-* < IE **ani* (cf. POKORNY I 39) and *de* < PAIb **dō*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 83 (derives *dhe* from Turk *de* 'and'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 158; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146 (mistakenly derives *edhe* from IE **ōge* and compares it with Lith *ōgi* where there are no traces of a palatal); BENVENISTE *St. Balt.* III 121 f. (pronominal sources of **dō*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78, *Bono homine donum* 127-131 (*dhe* < **ghō*

related to Lat *hōc*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; HULD 60-61 (*dhe* < **ghoi* compared with Lat *huic*).

egër adj. 'wild'. Borrowed from Gk ἄγριος id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 15). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25 (from Lat *agrestis*); CAMARDA I 28, 36 (comparison with Gk ἄγριος); MEYER *Wb.* 94 (borrowed from Lat *acer* 'sharp, violent'), *Alb. St.* IV 10; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248; LA PIANA *Studi* I 66 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 15 (reconstructs **n-g^hori* 'living in the mountains'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111-112 (agrees with VASMER); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 687 (from Indo-European); ÇABEJ I 159.

egjëll adv. 'on an empty stomach'. A compound of a privative particle *e-* < PAIb **a-* < IE **n-* and *gjell*; thus, *egjëll* means 'without food' (PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45). See also *esëll*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 94 (connected with *esëll*); ÇABEJ I 159 (to *agull* 'dawn', derivative of *agoj*).

egjër f 'Lolium temulentum'. Borrowed from Lat *ebria* f. 'drunk', probably, influenced at some stage by *egër*. For the semantic development cf. the French name of the same plant *ivraie* < Lat *ebriāca* (MEYER *Wb.* 94). ◇ JOKL *WuS* XII 78-79 (privative *e-* followed by *gjër* 'soup' which is compared with Lith *sóra* 'millet'; thus, the resulting meaning is 'not millet' > 'wild grass'); ÇABEJ I 159-160 (identifies *egjër* with *egër* or, alternatively, follows JOKL but compares *-gjër* with *grurë*).

eh aor. *eha* 'to sharpen'. From PAIb **ak̄ska* derived from IE **ak̄-* 'sharp': (MEYER *Wb.* 352). ◇ POKORNY I 18-22; FRISK I 52; WALDE-HOFMANN I 8.

ehull m, pl. *ehuj* 'icicle'. Derivative of *eh* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 191-192). However, cf. a similarly looking *akull*. ◇ ÇABEJ I 160 (compound consisting of the prefix *e-* and *hell*); MANN *Comp.* 13 (related to Gk ἄκυλος 'edible acorn').

elb m, pl. *elbëra* ~ *elbëna* 'barley'. From PAIb **albi* identical with Gk ἄλφι 'kind of grain' (CAMARDA I 60; MEYER *Wb.* 94, *Alb. St.* III 36). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 16 (looks for Iranian and Altaic parallels to the Greek - Albanian isogloss); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 92, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 235 (to Turk *arpa*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112; MANN

Language XXVI 380, XXVIII 36; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK I 81; CHANTRAINE 67; POKORNY I 29; BERNARD *LB* IX/2 86; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132; HULD 61; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 164-165.

emër ~ **emën** m, pl. *emra* ~ *emna* 'name'. From PAIb **enmen-* or **inmen-*, etymologically close to OIr *ainm* id., Slav **jъmę* id., OPrus *emnes* id. and, further, to other continuations of IE *(*o*)*noHm̄* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 41; MEYER *Wb.* 94). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 114; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 46; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112 (reconstructs **enmen*); FRAENKEL *TŽ* III 484 (on the first syllable in Baltic); MANN *Language* XVII 21; PISANI *Saggi* 132; POKORNY I 321; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 5; VENDRYES [A] 36-37; CHANTRAINE 804; SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 244-245; ANTTILA *Schw.* 126; VAILLANT *Gr. comp.* I 96; HULD 61-62; ÖLBERG *Unt.* 79; HAMP *AION-L* II 185-190, *Laryngeals* 138; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 68; BEEKES *Sprache* XXXIII 5, *Lar.* 102; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 272; JANSON *Unt.* 23-26; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VIII 227-228; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 165.

emtë f, pl. *emta* 'aunt'. Borrowed from Lat *amita* 'paternal aunt' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 94). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MANN *Language* XVII 23; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 129.

end m 'pollen'. From PAIb **anda* etymologically connected with Skt *ándhas-* 'herb', Gk ἄνθος 'flower' (CAMARDA I 55; MEYER *BB* VIII 184). Note a denominative verb *end* 'to blossom' < PAIb **anda*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 94 (to *ěj*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 30 (to OHG *anado* 'wrath'); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (to Gk ἄττοιμαι, XXVI 380; FRISK I 108-109; CHANTRAINE 136; MAYRHOFER I 36; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; HAMP *Laryngeals* 141 (to Arm *and* 'field'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; ÇABEJ I 160-161 (borrowed from or related to Gk ἄνθος); DEMIRAJ *AE* 166.

end aor. *enda* 'to weave'. From PAIb **enda*, a secondary formation based on an unattested noun **anda* 'weaving tool' related to Lith *iñdas* 'vessel', Latv *endas* 'part of sledge', Slav **qda* 'fishing rod' - all of these reflecting **en-dhē-* 'instrument, something applied' with various vocaliza-

tions of the prefix. \diamond MEYER *Wb.* 95 (related to *vej*), *Alb. St.* III 24 (to Gk ἄπτομαι); MANN *Language* XVII 21; FRAENKEL 92; VASMER IV 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 166-167.

end aor. *enda* 'to lay eggs (of flies)'. Etymologically identical with *end* 'to blossom'.

endem refl. 'to roam'. Metaphorically used *end* 'to weave'. \diamond ÇABEJ *St.* II 161 (to Illyr ἄνδινοϛ·περίπατοϛ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 167 (to Dor ἐνθεῖν 'to come' but it is a dialectal form of *ἐλθεῖν).

enë f, pl. *enë* 'vessel'. Singularized plural of *anë* id., see *an*.

eng m 'deaf and dumb'. From PALb **anga* etymologically related to Lith *angùs* 'sluggish, lazy, idle', *éngti* 'to strangle', Latv *igt* 'to wear off, to languish'. \diamond FRAENKEL 10; MANN *Comp.* 25 (to Goth *aggwus* 'narrow' and the like).

engjëll m, pl. *engjëj* 'angel'. Borrowed from Lat *angelus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 95). \diamond CAMARDA I 13 (to Gk ἄγγελος id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 117.

enjë f 'juniper, yew'. Another variant is *venjë* displaying a phonetically secondary initial *v*-. From PALb **aignjā* related to the Indo-European, and in particular Germanic, word for 'oak': ON *eik*, OHG *eih* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). \diamond ÇABEJ II 281 (to Lat *acus* 'needle', Lith *aštrùs* 'sharp').

enjë ~ **ëjë** f, pl. *enja* ~ *ëja* 'dairy goat'. From PALb **agnjā* connected with Gk ἄμνός 'lamb', Lat *agnus* id. (ÇABEJ I 162). \diamond JOKL *LKUBA* 237-238 (to Gk οὐθήαρ 'udder' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; FRISK I 93-94; POKORNY I 9; WALDE-HOFMANN I 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; JANSON *Unt.* 79-81.

enjte f, pl. *enjte* 'Thursday'. A morphologically more conservative form is outdated *enjtë*, an adjective in *-të*. As other Albanian words of weekdays rendering Latin names, this word seems to translate Lat *Iovis diem*. If so, *enj-* must be an early Albanian equivalent of Jupiter. It continues PALb **agni-*, presumably, reflecting the archaic Indo-European

word for 'fire' (TREIMER *AArbSt* I 32). For the phonetic development cf. *enjë*. \diamond MEYER *Wb.* 95 ("dunkel"); OŠTIR *AArbSt* II 31 or 282 (to Etr *ais* 'god!'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112-113; MJEDE apud ÇABEJ I 162 (from Gk ἔνη 'the day after tomorrow').

epem refl. 'to bow down, to bend'. Related to *ap* ~ *jap*, cf. Germ *nachgeben* 'to give way, to stretch' (ÇABEJ I 162-163). The variant *hepem* has a secondary *h*-. \diamond RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 417-418 (to Gk σκαμβός 'curved, crooked').

epër adj. 'upper'. From PALb **eupera*, a secondary analogical ablaut variant of IE **uperos* id.: Skt *úpara-* 'lower', Av *upara-* 'upper', Gk ὑπερος id. (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 17-18). \diamond MEYER *Wb.* 96 (derivative of IE **epi*), *Alb. St.* III 86; FRISK II 966-967; CHANTRAINE 357; MAYRHOFER I 105; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136 (to Goth *iup*); ÇABEJ I 163 (prefix *e-* followed by *për*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 167-168.

erë f, pl. *erëra* ~ *erëna* 'wind'. From Rom **er(a)* based on Lat *āēr* 'air' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 96: reconstruction of Rom **aira*). The feminine form in Albanian may go back to an original pl. neut., the gender of *erë* being motivated by its meaning. \diamond MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113 (from Lat *aer*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* I 165; HULD 62.

ergjënd ~ **argjand** m 'silver'. Borrowed from Lat *argentum* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). \diamond MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044.

ergjëz m, pl. *ergjëz*, *ergjëzë* 'young louse'. Another variant is *ergjiz*. A derivative in *-ëz* based on *arg* id. attested in Italo-Albanian < PALb **arga* related to Arm *orjil* 'louse' and its more problematic cognates Skt *likṣā* 'nit', Lith *érkė* 'tick' (MEYER *Wb.* 15; BUGGE *Beiträge* 17). \diamond PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 99, 329; HERMANN *KZ* XLI 48; PISANI *Saggi* 120; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; POKORNY I 335; ANTTILA *Schw.* 106; MAYRHOFER III 100; FRAENKEL 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 165-166 (to IE **ak-* 'sharp'); KORTLANDT *KZ* XCIV 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 81.

err m 'darkness'. From PALb **ausra* related, with a frequent change of meaning from 'morning dawn' to 'evening dawn', to Lith *aušrà* 'dawn', Gk ἔως id. and the like. The verb *err* 'to keep smb. till late in the night'

is a denominative. \diamond MEYER *Wb.* 96-97; *Alb. St.* IV; *JOKL Studien* 21 (to Gk ἔρεβος 'darkness of the underworld'); FRISK I 605-606; FRAENKEL 27; *ÇABEJ St.* I 166-167 (analyzes *err* as consisting of the prefix *e-* and a root identical with *re* 'cloud').

esëll adv. 'on an empty stomach'. Another variant is *esull*. A compound consisting of a privative *e-* < PAIb **a-* < IE **ǵ-* and the root identical with *sillë* (PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45). \diamond CAMARDA I 131 (to Gk ἐσθλός 'courageous, brave'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (comparison with *egjëll*); *ÇABEJ St.* I 167 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

esh m, pl. *eshë* 'hedgehog'. A back-formation or a phonetic mutation of the attested and, obviously, more conservative variant *eshk*. The latter reflects PAIb **etska* < **edz-k-a* etymologically related to Gk ἐχῖνος id., OHG *igil* id., Lith *ežys* id., Slav **ežь* id. \diamond STIER *KZ* XI 141 (borrowed from Slavic); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 97 (follows STIER); TRAUTMANN *BSWb* 73; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 199; FRAENKEL 118; KLUGE 324; FRISK I 601; *ÇABEJ St.* VII 266; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 37; SVANE 142.

eshke f, pl. *eshke* 'kidney'. Singularized plural of an earlier form **eshkë* continuing **aiškā*. The latter continues IE **oid-skā* to be compared with Slav **jьsto* id. and ON *eista* 'testicle' < **oidsto-*, derived from IE **oid-* 'to swell' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXII 273). For the semantic development cf. Slav **рѣтjька* 'kidney' from IE **peu-t-* 'to swell'. As to Alb *veshke*, it is a contamination of *eshke* and *veshje* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 74). \diamond MEYER *Wb.* 97 (to *eshkë*); SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 f. (to Lat *inguen* 'groin'); *ÇABEJ St.* II 283-284; POKORNY I 774; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VIII 242-243.

eshkë f 'fungus'. Borrowed from Lat *esca* 'food, bait' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 97). \diamond MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044; HAARMANN 123; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 74.

eshtë f, pl. *eshta* 'fiber, muscle fiber'. Etymologically identical with *ashtë* as a variant of its singularized plural. \diamond *ÇABEJ St.* VII 192.

et m 'thirst'. From PAIb **alk-ti-* closely related to Lith *alkti* 'to be hungry', Slav **olkati* id., OHG *ilgi* 'hunger'. \diamond CAMARDA I 15 (to Gk αἶθος 'fire'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (to IE **eus-ti-* or to Gk αἰτέω 'to demand, to beg'); TAGLIA-

VINI *Dalmazia* 114; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 161-163 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); FRAENKEL 8; *ΦΑCMEP* II 452; *ÇABEJ St.* I 167-168 (accepts MEYER's view).

ethe pl. 'fever'. Singularized plural of **eth*, a derivative in *-th* based on PAIb **aida*. The latter is etymologically close to Skt *edhas-* 'fire-wood, fuel', Gk αἶθος 'fire' and the like (CAMARDA I 77; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 162-163). \diamond MEYER *Wb.* 93 (to IE **eus-* 'to burn'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 112 (related to *athët*); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Lat *aestas*); FRISK I 37; MAYRHOFER I 128; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (borrowing from Gk αἶθος 'burning'); *ÇABEJ St.* I 168-169 (follows BARIĆ); FRISK I 37-38; HULD 62; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 168-169.

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ëj ~ âj aor. *ëjta ~ âjta* 'to blow, to swell'. From PAIb **anj* related to Skt *ániti* 'to breathe', Goth *us-anan* 'to blow out' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 5, *Alb. St.* IV 67). \diamond CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk οἰδέω, οἰδάω 'to swell', 111 (to Gk ἄω 'to blow'); *JOKL Studien* 37; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210 (follows MEYER); POKORNY I 39; MAYRHOFER I 33; FEIST *Goth.* 538; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131; *ÇABEJ St.* I 171 (follows CAMARDA I 57); ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 128; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 256-257; HULD 63; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44 (repeats *ÇABEJ*'s etymology); DEMIRAJ *AE* 171-172.

ëmbël ~ ambël adj. 'sweet'. From PAIb **amla* identical with Skt *amlá-* 'sour' (TOMASCHEK *ZÖG* 1875, 529). \diamond MEYER *Wb.* 10 (agrees with TOMASCHEK); *JOKL Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 69; MAYRHOFER I 46; MANN *Language* XVII 19 (reconstructs **am̥los*); *ÇABEJ St.* I 170 (to *mjalë*), VII 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 169-170 (against TOMASCHEK on semantic grounds; reconstructs **Hen-m(e)lit-*).

ëndë ~ andë f 'appetite, desire, wish'. From PAIb **antā* derived from **anja* > *ëj* (MEYER *Wb.* 5-6) and specifically close to Gk ἄνται ἄνεμοι, ἄντάς πνοάς, Hes. (DEMIRAJ *AE* 170). \diamond BARIĆ *ARSt* I 19 (reconstructs **handë* < **khonti* with further fantastic comparisons); *ÇABEJ St.* I 170-171 (follows MEYER but, at the same time compares *ëndë* with Hitt *anza-* 'desire'); MANN *Comp.* 21-22 (comparisons with non-existent Tokharian and Irish forms).

(T) **ēndē** f. 'fine flour'. From PALb **anta* derived from **anja* > *ēj* and, thus, historically identical with *ēndē* 'desire'. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 22; ÇABEJ *St.* I 171 (to *end*).

ēndërr ~ **andërr** f, pl. *ēndrra* ~ *andrra* 'dream, sleep'. Continues PALb **anrjā* with an epenthetic *-d-*. Identical with the Indo-European word for sleep **oner-* (Gk ὄναρ) ~ **onerjo-* (Gk ὄνειρον, ὄνειρος, Arm *anurj*), cf. CAMARDA I 38; MEYER *Wb.* 11, *Alb. St.* III 66. Note that the Albanian feminine noun corresponds to the original Indo-European neuter and may go back to a singularized plural form. For the development of the cluster **-nr-* cf. *dhëndër*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 101; BARIĆ *ARSt* 1-2 (to Gk ἔδραρον, aor. 'to sleep', Lat *dormiō* 'to sleep'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 133, *LKUBA* 6; MANN *Language* XVII 19; PISANI *Saggi* 121; PORZIG *Gliederung* 179; FRISK II 393; CHANTRAINE 802; POKORNY I 779; ANTTILA *Schw.* 127; HAMP *AION-L* II/2 187; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208, 230, *Etim.* IV apud DEMIRAJ (to *nder*); HULD 63; CLACKSON *LR* 236; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39 (on PALb **-rj-* > *-rr*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 171 (to Skt *nidrā* 'sleepiness, drowsiness', formally possible).

F

faj m, pl. *faje* 'guilt, sin'. Borrowed from Rom **fallia*, derivative of Lat *fallere* 'to deceive, to trick' (MEYER *Wb.* 98, *Alb. St.* IV 16). ◊ TREIMER *KZ* LXV 96 (from IE **spel-* 'to break'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 172; LANDI *Lat.* 126.

(G) **fâj** aor. *fana* 'to fill, to cram, to surfeit'. From PALb **spanja* related to Gmc **spannjan* 'to tighten' with a secondary expressive gemination (ON *spenna* and the like). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* I 22-23 (to Skt *pūrṇa-* 'full' and the like, with *f-* < **ph-*); KLUGE 720; ÇABEJ *St.* I 172 (to dialectal *fëngem* 'to eat much').

fajkë f, pl. *fajka* 'side (of a ship)'. Borrowed from the Dalmatian reflex of Lat *faciēs* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 172 - 173). Note a derivative in *fajkoj* 'to polish'. ◊ CAMARDA II 70 (treats *fajkoj* as a variant of *fërkoj*); MEYER *Wb.* 103 (follows CAMARDA); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 550.

fajkua ~ **fajkue** m, pl. *fajkonj* 'falcon'. Borrowed from Lat *falcōnem* id. (CAMARDA II 70; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 98). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 136; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 137, *LKUBA* 306; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 173; LANDI *Lat.* 143, 145.

fal aor. *fala* 'to give, to present, to offer', refl. 'to set (of the sun)'. From PALb **spala* etymologically connected with Gk σφάλω 'to overthrow' (CAMARDA I 79). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 98 (borrowed from Slav **xvaliti* 'to praise'), *Alb. St.* IV 61; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192 (follows MEYER); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt* 24, *Hymje* 35 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); FRISK II 827-828; ÇABEJ *St.* I 173-174 (follows CAMARDA).

famë f 'good reputation, rumor'. Borrowed from Lat *fāma* 'rumor, fame'.

famull m, pl. *famuj* 'godchild'. Borrowed from Lat *famulus* 'servant, attendant', otherwise lost by Romance languages (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 99). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 174; LANDI *Lat.* 137.

faqe f, pl. *faqe* 'face, cheek'. As many other feminines of this morphological type, *faqe* seems to continue an earlier **faq*. Borrowed from Lat *faciēs* 'face' (RASK apud HULD 63; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; CAMARDA I 338; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 98). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 124-125; HULD 63; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85, 149-150.

farë f, pl. *farë, fara* 'seed, semen, kin'. From PALb **sparā* < IE **sporā* closely connected with Gk fem. σπορά 'seed' and further related to **sper-* 'to spill, to sow': Gk σπείρω id., σπέρμα 'semen, seed' (BARIĆ *ARSt* 24; MANN *Language* XVII 17, MANN XXVI 386-387; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 147.) As to *faroj, faros* 'to destroy, to exterminate', it is a denominative based on *farë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 175). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 100 (Germanic loanword, cf. Langob *fara* 'descendants, family, kin'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 24 (*faroj* from IE **spher-* 'to kick with a foot'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 114 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 295; POKORNY I 993; FRISK II 762-763; HULD 62-63; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352.

farkĕ f, pl. *farka* 'smithy'. Borrowed from Lat *fabrica* 'workshop' (MEYER *Wb.* 99). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 124; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; LANDI *Lat.* 94, 111, 118.

fashqe f, pl. *fashqe* 'diaper'. A singularized plural of **fashqĕ* also attested as *fashĕ* 'diaper, stripe'. Borrowed from Lat *fascia* 'band, bandage' (MEYER *Wb.* 100). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 125; LANDI *Lat.* 120.

fat m, pl. *fate* 'fate; bridegroom, husband, friend'. Borrowed from Lat *fatum*. Undoubtedly, *fat* 'fate' is identical with *fat* 'fate' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 100) - a widely attested metaphor, cf. Alb *shortĕ* 'fate; spouse, wife' < Lat *sorte(m)* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 176-177). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; JOKL *Studien* 107, *LKUBA* 15 (*fat* 'bridegroom' borrowed from Goth **fadi-* 'master, lord'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 24-25, *Hymje* 71 (arbitrary comparison with Skt *sphāyate* '(he) grows fat, increases'); PUDIĆ *IX Ling. Cong.* 862; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; LANDI *Lat.* 109.

fe f, pl. *fe* 'belief, religion'. Borrowed from Lat *fidem* 'faith' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26) as the long [ē] in *fē* reflects a contraction of the intermediate **feĕ* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 177). The verb *fejoj* 'to betroth' is a late derivative of *fe* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 178). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 101 (from Ital *fe* id.), 106-107 (*fejoj* borrowed from Ital *fidare* 'to entrust'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045 (from Italian); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 133.

feje pl. 'nostrils'. A plural form of *fyell*, normally appearing in a phrase *fejet e hundĕs* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224, 235).

felĕ f, pl. *fela* 'honeycomb'. Borrowed from Rom **favalìa*, cf. Ital *fiale* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 101). The homonymous *felĕ* 'piece, slice' is, in fact, a phonetic variant of *thelĕ*. ◊ TREIMER *KZ LXV* 98 (from IE **spel-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

femc m 'sting (of insects)'. A phonetic variant of *thimth*, *thimc* (JOKL *IJ XXIV* VII 217). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 76 (to *themboj* 'to bore'); TREIMER *KZ LVI* 98 (connects *femc* with Lat *spīna* 'thorn'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 8144; ÇABEJ *St.* I 178 (to *feme* 'awl').

femĕr ~ femĕn f, pl. *femra ~ femna* 'woman'. Borrowed from Lat *fĕmina* id. (CAMARDA I 122; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 101). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 115; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 126; JANSON *Unt.* 50.

fend aor. *fenda* 'to fart'. From PAIb **spenda* related to Skt *spandate* 'to shiver', Gk *σφαδάζω* 'to shiver, to tremble'. ◊ FRISK II 825; POKORNY I 989.

ferr m 'hell'. Borrowed from Lat *infernum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 101). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 248; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 131.

ferrĕ f, pl. *ferra* 'thorn, thorny bush'. From PAIb **spernā* derived from IE **sper-* 'spear, stick': Lat *sparus* 'short spear', Gmc **speru-* 'spear' > ON *spjor* (cf. OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 147). Note a derivative *ferrĕl* 'stalk, stem' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 179). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 101 (to *ther* 'to cut'), 102 (*ferrĕl* borrowed from Lat *ferula* 'fennel-giant'); JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218 (follows MEYER); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 99 (to W *ffern* 'talus, malleolus', Lat *spernō* 'to sever, to separate'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 37; WALDE - HOFMANN II 568; POKORNY I 990-991; ZALIZN'AK *Ētimologija* 1964 225.

fĕlligĕ f 'ignominy, shame'. A variant of this word seems to be *fĕllegĕ* 'sloppy work'. The verb *fĕlliq* 'to make dirty' also belongs here as a denominative. The form *fĕlligĕ* is an irregular transformation of *fĕdigĕ* 'tiredness, strain, work' borrowed from Ital (Venetian) *fadiga* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 102 (*fĕdigĕ* < Venetian *fadiga*; *fĕlliq* < Lat *fornicem* 'brothel'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 539; ÇABEJ *St.* I 180 (to *thellĕ*).

fĕmijĕ m/f, pl. *fĕmijĕ* 'child, family, spouse'. Borrowed from Lat *familia* 'family' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24-25; MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1047 (from Ital *famiglia* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; HAARMANN 125; HULD 64; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 108, 126.

fĕndyell m, pl. *fĕndyej* 'awl'. A derivative of *fund*. ◊ CAMARDA I 201 (to Gk *σφόνδυλος* 'cervical vertebra'); MEYER *Wb.* 103 (to Lat *findere* 'to cleave, to split'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 180 (related to *femc*).

fĕng ~ fang m, pl. *fĕngje ~ fangje* 'virgin land, land difficult to cultivate, lawn, meadow'. Borrowed from Ital *fango* 'mud' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25). ◇ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 120-121 (from Goth *waggs* 'paradise' < *'meadow'); PUDIĆ *IX Ling. Cong.* 862 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *St. I* 180-181 (agrees with MIKLOSICH).

fĕrgoj aor. *fĕrgova* 'to roast, to fry'. Borrowed from Lat *frĕgere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1055; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 260; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 16; HAARMANN 127.

fĕrkoj aor. *fĕrkova* 'to rub'. Borrowed from Lat *fricāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 260; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 198; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 16; HAARMANN 127; HULD 64.

fĕrroj aor. *fĕrrova* 'to grind roughly'. Clearly connected with *fĕrratĕ* 'gruel' (borrowed from Rom **farināta*) and seems to continue Rom **farināre* related to Lat *farīna* 'ground corn, flour'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St. I* 182 (related to *ther*).

fic aor. *fica* 'to make soft'. Derived from an unattested **fij* < PAIb **spija* related to Skt *sphāyate* 'to become fat', Slav **spĕti* 'to ripen'. ◇ POKORNY I 983; VASMER III 734.

fier m 'fern'. From PAIb **spera* or **sperna* that may be somehow connected with other Indo-European words for 'fern' (presumably based on the word for 'wing'), e.g. Gmc **farnaz*: OHG *far(a)n*. In any case, in the name of fern various irregular changes of taboo origin cannot be excluded. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 25 (to Slav **paporotĕ* id.); MANN *Language XXVIII* 40 (to Gk *πτέρις* id.); FRISK II 611; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22 (from Latin), 3-4 350 (from Gk *πτέρις*); ÇABEJ *St. VII* 250; HAARMANN 126 (from Rom **filiĕaria*).

(G) **fijan** m, pl. *fijanĕ* 'child to be baptized'. A Geg church form of Rom **filiānus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 536; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St. I* 183; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 126, 133.

fik m, pl. *fiq* 'fig'. Borrowed from Lat *ficus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 113, 140.

fik aor. *fika* 'to extinguish (of fire); to bring misfortune, to ruin, to destroy'. From PAIb **speika* related to Lith *peikti* 'to despise, to scold', *pŷkti* 'to be angry', Latv *peikt* 'to be spoil'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26 (from Ital *ficcare*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 100-101 (to Lat *spīca* 'point, top'); FRAENKEL 525; ÇABEJ *St. I* 183-184 (to Swedish *spink* 'lean man', Norw *spiken* 'dry').

fill m, pl. *fij, fiĕ* 'thread'. Borrowed from Lat *filum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). The verb *filloj* 'to begin' is derived from *fill* as it is clear from *zĕ fill* 'to begin' (CAMARDA I 76). Note that the morpheme *-fish* in *dyfish* 'twice', *trifish* 'thrice', appearing as *-fijesh* in Old Albanian (BUDI, BOGDANI) goes back to abl. pl. of *fill* (KRISTOFORIDHI 427). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1050, 1053; MANN *Language XXVIII* 39 (to Gk *πίλος*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 16; HAARMANN 126; ŠIROKOV *ZFL XXIV/1* 14 (to OHG *spīl* 'spear tip'); ÇABEJ *St. I* 186 (accepts KRISTOFORIDHI's explanation of *-fish*), IV 95-96; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

fink m, pl. *finkĕ* 'finch'. Recent borrowing from Germ *Fink* id. As to *sfinĕs* id., it comes from NGk *πίγγος* id. ◇ ÇABEJ *St. I* 185 (onomatopoeia or a cognate of Gmc **finkan* ~ **finkjan* 'finch').

finjĕ f, pl. *finja* 'soapwater, soap suds'. Historically identical with *thinjĕ* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 233). ◇ BUGGE *BB XVIII* 166 (identical with *hie*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 101 (to OHG *spiz* 'spit'); ÇABEJ *St. I* 185-186 (to SCr *sinjav* 'grey').

fishkem ~ fyshkem refl. 'to wither, to fade'. Based on the adjective *fishkĕt* 'withering, dry'. Goes back to PAIb **spūška* etymologically related to Lith *pūškas, pūškas* 'blister, fin, pimple', Latv *pūsks* 'tuft'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 468 (together with its variant *veshkem ~ vyshkem*, to Lat *vĕscus* 'small, weak, feeble'); JOKL *IF XLIV* 35-38; FRAENKEL 680; ÇABEJ *St. I* 186 (related to *fyell*).

fishkĕlloj aor. *fishkĕllova* 'to whistle'. Belongs to a group of phonetic

variants such as *vëshlloj*, *fëshëlloj*, *frushkullij* and the like. All these forms continue Rom **fistuläre* or **fiscläre* (MEYER *Wb.* 112). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 186 (onomatopoeia).

fishnjar m, pl. *fishnjarë* 'harpoon'. A more conservative variant is *fishnjar*, itself derived from *fishnje* id. The latter, or more exactly an earlier and unattested **fishnjë*, was borrowed from Rom **fusicinia*, derivative of Lat *fuscina* 'trident' (MEYER *Wb.* 106, *Alb. St.* IV 60). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 127; ÇABEJ *St.* I 201 (on Old Albanian *fishqinë* id.).

fishnjar m, pl. *fishnjarë* 'marten'. Historically identical with *fishnjar* 'harpoon'.

fjalë f, pl. *fjalë* 'word, speech, tale'. From PALb **spelā* etymologically connected with Goth *spill* 'story, fable', ON *spjall* 'story, speech', OE *spell* id., OHG *spel*, *spell* id. and Arm *arāspel* 'fable' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146-148; HULD 64-65). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 106 (borrowing from Lat *fābella* 'fable, short story, tale'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 103 (from **spelgā*, to Lat *flagrō* 'to flame, to blaze'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 190; AÇAREAN *HAB* I 253-254; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 272; HAARMANN 84-85; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (on Alb *f* < IE **sp*-); POKORNY I 985; HAARMANN 124; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 107.

flak aor. *flaka* 'to throw, to fling'. From PALb **awa-laka*, derived with a prefix **awa-* from IE **lēk-* ~ **lək-* 'to bend, to jump': MHG *lecken* 'to throw back, to spring', Lith *lekiù*, *lėkti* 'to fly', Latv *lēt* 'to spring, to jump' and the like (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 107 (to Lat *flaccus* 'flabby', Ital *fiaccare* 'to weaken'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 251 (to Gk *σφάλλω* 'to overthrow'); FRAENKEL 353-354; ÇABEJ *St.* I 186-187 (from *flakë*; semantically, cf. Ital dial. *lampare* 'to throw on the ground, to drop' ~ *lampo* 'lightning' but the direction of derivation is opposite there).

flakë f, pl. *flakëra* ~ *flakëna* 'flame'. A back formation based on an unattested **flakull*. The latter is a borrowing from dialectal Rom **flacula* reflected in Ital *fiaccola* id., Rum *flacără* id. and replacing *facula* 'little torch'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 107 (borrowed from Rom **flaca* metathesized from **facla* < Lat *facula*); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 53; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 231

(to MHG *vlackern*, Germ *flackern* 'to tremble, of flame'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 187 (onomatopoeia).

flamë f 'cold (illness), epilepsy, cholera (of animals)'. Borrowed from Lat nom. sg. *flāmen* 'blowing, blast' used metaphorically as Russ *povetrie* 'infection'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27 (from Lat *flamma*); MEYER *Wb.* 107 (from Ital *flemma* 'phlegm'); LA PIANA *Vocale* 50 (related to *flakë*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 101 (to Germ *flink* 'nimble, quick'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 187-188; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 135.

flas aor. *folā* 'to speak'. The present *flas* is obviously a recent formation based on the lost **fal*, and the verb belonged to a group with the quantitative ablaut in aorist (MEYER *Wb.* 106). Continues PALb **psala*, further related to *fjalë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 106 (from Lat *fābulō* 'to speak', cf. in particular Dalm *faular*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 100; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 124; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146.

flashkët adj. 'sluggish, lame'. Phonetic development of **plashkët* continuing PALb **plakška* identical with Lith *plókščias* 'flat', Slav **ploskъ* id. and, in particular, Slav **ploхъ* 'flat, bad, evil, poor'. ◊ BRÜCKNER 419; POKORNY I 831-832.

flatër f, pl. *flatra* 'wing'. A singularized plural of *fletë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 188 ("elementary formation" cognate with *fletë*).

fle ~ **flë** aor. *fletë*, *fjeta* 'to sleep'. From PALb **awa-leja* etymologically connected with Slav **lějo*, **lējati* 'to doze, to slumber' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). ◊ CAMARDA I 108-109 (to Gk *φλάω* 'to crush'); MEYER *Wb.* 107-108 (borrowing from Lat *flō* 'to blow', with insurmountable difficulties in semantics), *Alb. St.* IV 67; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544 f. (to Gk *κλίνω* 'to lean, to bend' with Alb *f* < *th* < **k-*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 21-22 (to **fell* 'to blow'); SCHMIDT *KZ* XLVII 1 f. (from IE **bhlend-*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 103 (reconstructs IE **sphlend-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116-117; GOR' AČEVA *Ėtimologija* 1981 76; ÇABEJ *St.* I 188-189 (to Slav **lěнь* 'laziness', Lith *lėnas* 'quiet').

flegë f, pl. *flegë* 'splinter'. From PALb **awa-lagā*, a prefixal derivative of IE **legh-* 'to lie' in *o*-grade, cf. Gk *λόχος* 'ambush'. Derived from *flegë* (as its singularized plural?) is *flegër*, *fregull* 'nostril, door-leaf', probably, reflecting a secondary influence of *fletë* on its semantics.

◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 149 (to *flugĕ*); FRISK II 111-112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 188 (“elementary formation” cognate with *fletĕ* and *flugĕ*), OREL FORT. 79

fletĕ f, pl. *fletĕ* ‘wing, leaf’. From PALb **awa-lekta*, a prefixal derivative of IE **lek-* ‘to fly’: Lith *lekūi, lĕkti*, Latv *lĕkt*, OHG *lecken* ‘to jump, to kick’. ◊ CAMARDA II 192 (to *flutur*); MEYER *Wb.* 108 (borrowed from Ital *foglietta* ‘little barrel’); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 117; SKOK *AarbSt* I 226 (borrowed from Lat fem. *foliāta* ‘leaved, leafy’ - but the cluster *-li-* [lj] would yield Alb *-j-*); LA PIANA *Studi* I 104 (to OHG *blat* ‘leaf’ and the like); FRAENKEL 353-354; ÇABEJ *St.* I 189-190 (“elementary formation”).

fli ~ **fli** f, pl. *fli* ~ *fli* ‘sacrifice’. Identical with *fĕli, fĕrli* ‘kind of pastry’ (originally baked to celebrate baptism) and borrowed from Rom **firigilĭnum* (MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 121, *IF XLIV* 30-32 (borrowed from MGk εὐλογία ‘wafer, communion bread’ - but how to account for the Geg nasal?); ÇABEJ *St.* I 179 (agrees with JOKL).

flojere f, pl. *flojere* ‘flute’. Known to all languages of the Carpathian and Balkan areas, this is a relatively late borrowing from Rum *fluier* id. continuing Lat adj. *flātūralis* ‘blowing’, cf. *flātūra* ‘blowing’. ◊ CAMARDA I 161 (comparison with Lat *flāre* ‘to blow’); MIKLOSICH *Wander.* 23 (to *fryj*); MEYER *Wb.* 108 (borrowed from Rom **flatuāria*; on the other hand, connected with *fyell*); GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* III 587-589 (borrowed from Gk *φλοιάρτιον based on φλοιός ‘bark’); SKOK *Glasnik SND* II 302 (borrowed from Rum *fluier* < Rom **vivulellus*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; ÇABEJ *St.* I 190-191 (to Geg *fluier* ‘drawer’); DEMIRAJ *AE* 172 (against ÇABEJ).

flok m, pl. *flokĕ* ‘hair’. Borrowed from Lat *flocus* ‘lock, flock’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 108-109). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116-117, *Stratificazione* 84; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 139.

flori ~ **florĭ** m, pl. *florinj* ‘gold; (pl.) golden coins’. Borrowed from MLat *florĭnus* ‘gold piece’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 109). ◊ HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* I 191-192.

floskĕ f ‘layer (of snow)’. Borrowed from Slav **ploska* unknown in

this meaning in South Slavic languages. Cf., however, Bulg fem. sg. *ploska* ‘flat’ and SCr *ploska* ‘flat vessel’.

flug m ‘swing, zest, zeal’. Continues PALb **awa-luga* that may be connected with IE **leug-* ‘to break’ (see *flugĕ*) or with **leugh-* ‘to lie’: Goth *liugan*, Slav **lŭgati*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 109 (borrowed from NGk φλόγος ‘flame’); VASMER II 469; POKORNY I 686-687; FEIST *Goth.* 334; ÇABEJ *St.* I 192 (“elementary formation”).

flugĕ f, pl. *fluga* ‘shingle’. From PALb **awa-luga*, a prefixal derivative of IE **leuĝ-*, cf. Skt *rujāti* ‘to break’, Lat *lūgeō* ‘to mourn, to deplore’ ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 146-150 (to *lugĕ*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 102 (to MHG *splizen* ‘to split’); MAYRHOFER III 64-65; WALDE-HOFMANN I 830-831; POKORNY I 686; ÇABEJ *St.* I 192 (“elementary formation”); DEMIRAJ *AE* 172-173.

flutur f, pl. *flutura* ‘butterfly’. A back formation based on *fluturoj* ‘to fly’. The latter is borrowed from Rom **fluctulāre*, a modification of Lat *fluctuāre* ‘to move in waves, to move to and fro’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 109). ◊ CAMARDA II 192 (related to *fletĕ*); MEIER *Etym.* 92; CANDREA-HECHT *Romania XXXI* 310-311; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 33-39 (opposes the Latin etymology); IONESCU *LR* 6 (1984) 476-479.

flladis aor. *flladita* ‘to cool’. Borrowed from Slav **xolditi* id., cf., in particular, SCr *hladiti* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 306). ◊ SVANE 175, 232.

forbĕl f, pl. *forbla* ‘peelings, sweepings (of nuts), empty nut-shell’. Other variants are *formĕl* and *forlĕ*. Borrowed from Lat *formella* ‘small form’ (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◊ CAMARDA II 64 (compares *formĕl* with Gk φορμός ‘basket’); MEYER *Wb.* 110 (derives *forbĕl* from **vorbĕl* < Rom **orbulus* and *formĕl* from Ital *forfore* ‘scabs’); ÇABEJ *St.* I 192-193 (“of unclear origin”).

fortĕ adj. ‘strong’. Borrowed from Lat *fortis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; CAMARDA I 167). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 110 (from Ital *forte* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 117; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281.

foshŇĚ f, pl. *foshnja* 'infant'. The Geg form is *foshi*. Both forms reflect an unattested **fosh* that may result (irregularly as far as the anlaut is concerned) from **fiošh*, the latter being a borrowing from Lat *fētōsus*, to *fētus* 'offspring'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 100 (related to *flashqe*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 23-24 (to Skt *phanas-* 'foam'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

fqinjĚ m/f, pl. *fqinjĚ* 'neighbor'. Borrowed from Rom **vīcīnius* based on Lat *vīcīnus* id. (CAMARDA I 92; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 107). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157.

fqollĚ f, pl. *fqolla* 'flax ready for spinning; first combings of flax'. Another variant of this word is *fjollĚ*. Borrowed from MGk φακιόλης 'handkerchief, napkin' (MEYER *Wb.* 107). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 106 (separates *fjollĚ* as a continuation of Rom **fileōlum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 193.

fraġ m, pl. *fraġra* ~ *fraġna* 'biting cold, frost'. Singularized form of the original **frak* continuing PALb **awa-raka*, a prefixal formation etymologically related to Lith *rakù*, *ràkti* 'to peck open, to lance', Latv *rakt* 'to dig'. ◊ JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 248 (reconstructs **vĕ-rak-ĵo-* related to OĪr *diorain* 'to sprinkle'); SGGJa I 55; FRAENKEL 694; ÇABEJ *St.* I 193-194 (considers dialectal *thrak* in *mot thrak* 'cold period' to be the older form and uses it to reconstruct **ther-ak*, further to *ther*).

frashĕr ~ **frashĕn** m, pl. *frashĕra* ~ *frashna* 'ash-tree'. Borrowed from Lat *fraxinus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 111). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 127; JANSON *Unt.* 51; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 124.

frashuall ~ **frashuell** m 'haricot'. Borrowed from Lat *phaseolus* 'kind of bean' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 175) with a secondary epenthetic -r- (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045). In Tosk the NGk φασοόλι id. was adapted as *fasul*. ◊ HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 78, 85, 93.

fre ~ **frĚ** m, pl. *frerĚ* ~ *frena*, *frenj* 'bridle; grape-stalk; comb'. Borrowed from Lat *frĕnum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 111). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16;

HAARMANN 127; ÇABEJ *St.* I 194; JANSON *Unt.* 51; LANDI *Lat.* 55.

(G) **fruer** m 'February'. Borrowed from Lat *februārius* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 109). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 194-195; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 75-76, 127, 157.

frushkull m, pl. *frushkuj* 'whip'. A transformation of the original **fushtull* borrowed from Rom **fustulum*, cf. Lat *fustis* 'knobbed stick, cudgel, club'. The variant *fshikull* is explained by the influence of *fshikĕ*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 112 (identifies this word with *frushkull* 'whistle'); TREIMER *KZ* LVI 104 (connects *frushkull* with Ital *frusta* 'whip'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 195 (onomatopoeia), 199.

frushkuill f, pl. *frushkulla* 'whistle'. Another variant is *frushull*. A radical phonetic transformation of the original Lat *fistula* 'pipe, tube' (MEYER *Wb.* 112). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 195 (onomatopoeia).

fruth ~ **frŭth** m 'measles'. Deminutive or collective in -th based on PALb **spruga* related to Skt *sphŭrjati* 'to thunder, to rumble', Gk σφαραγέομαι 'to burst with a noise', Lith *sprŏgstu*, *sprŏgti* 'to break, to crack up' (MANN *Language* XVII 13). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (related to *hurdhe*), Alb. *St.* III 32; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 29; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 242; FRAENKEL 882-883; FRISK II 828; MAYRHOFER III 545-546; TICHY *Onom.* 177-181; ÇABEJ *St.* I 195 (*f-ruth* related to IE **reudh-* 'red').

fryj ~ **frĵj** aor. *fryva*, *fryjta* ~ *fryna* 'to blow'. Continues PALb **sprŭgnja* etymologically connected with Lith *sprŭgstu*, *sprŭgti* 'to escape, to get out', Slav **prĵati* 'to jump, to spring'. The noun *frymĕ* 'breath' is derived from *fryj*. ◊ CAMARDA I 112 (to Gk πνέω 'to blow'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 26 (reconstructs **sphrŭgniĵo*, to Gk σφαραγέομαι 'to burst with a noise'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94; MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Gk σπάρω), XXVIII 37; FRAENKEL 883; ÇABEJ *St.* I 195-196; VASMER III 390-391; HULD 65.

fryt m, pl. *fryte* 'fruit'. Borrowed from Lat *fructus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 112) through the intermediary stage of early Alb **frŭjt*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 39-41; LANDI *Lat.* 121, 148.

(G) **fshāj** aor. *fshana* ‘to sigh’. Other (secondary) variants are *mshāj* and *shāj*. Goes back to PALb **pušanja* related to Lith *pūškinti* ‘to puff’, *puškėnti* ‘to splash’, Slav **pyxati* ‘to blow, to puff’ and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 356 (to *psherētij*); XHUVANI *BIShk* III/4 95-97 (to *shēmoj*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 321-322 (analyzes *-shāj* as a prefixal form of **ana-* ‘to breathe, to blow’); FRAENKEL 680; VASMER III 421; HAMP *LP* XXVIII 78 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI but thinks *sh-* < **ups-*, compares *fshāj* with OIr *osnad* ‘sigh’ < IE **hupstxanH-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 196 (from *ofshe* ‘ouch!’).

fshat m, pl. *fshatra* ~ *fshatna* ‘village’. Borrowed from Lat *fossātum* ‘ditch’, *‘surrounded by a ditch’ > ‘camp’ continued in Rum *ṣat* ‘village’, cf. also NGk φουσσᾶτον ‘army’ (LACEA *Dacoromania* I 253-255; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 17). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 112-113 (from Rom **massātum* based on late Lat *massa* ‘country estate’); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1041, 1049; GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* II 642 (reconstructs Rom **fixātum*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 76-77, *Hymje* 66 (derives *fshat* from IE **ambhised-*, cf. Slav. **besěda* ‘conversation, feast’ < *‘sitting around’); TREIMER *Slavia* III 456 (to Gk ἄσις ‘mud’?!); JOKL *LKUBA* 141, 317-318 (agrees with MEYER); SKOK *AArbSt.* II 112, *ZfromPhil* L 518-519, LIV 496 (supports LACEA’s etymology); BALOTA *RHSEU* XIV 243-246 (derives *fshat* from IE **ambhi-sek-ti-* ‘tilled around’); SANDFELD 71 n. 1.; BOJAN *CL* XV/1 73-79; ROSETTI *RRL* 1 (1972) 91, *Etudes* 217; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 30; HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* I 196-198 (links *f-shat* to *shatoj*); LANDI *Lat.* 40-42, 128, 140.

fshēh ~ **mshef** aor. *fsheha* ~ *mshefa* ‘to hide’. In Geg, there exist also variants *mçef*, *çef*. This prefixal verb continues PALb **skepska* etymologically connected with Gk σκέπω ‘to cover, to shield, to screen’ (JOKL *IF* XXX 192-195). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 250; FRISK II 724; ÇABEJ *St.* I 198 (follows JOKL).

fshij ~ **mëshij** aor. *fshiva* ~ *mëshiva* ‘to brush, to sweep’. A prefixal verb derived of the root attested in *shij*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 114 (to OHG *bes(a)mo* ‘broom’); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 78; MANN *Language* XXVI 388 (to Gk ξύω); PISANI *Saggi* 124 (to Slav **mětq* ‘to sweep’); DEMIRAJ *AE* 173.

fshikĕ f, pl. *fshika* ‘blister, bubble, bladder, bruise’. Another variant is *pshikĕ*. Borrowed from Lat *vēsīca* ‘bladder’ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21). ◊ HAARMANN 156-157.

ftek aor. *fteka* ‘to think over, to consider’. A pretixal formation derived from *teket*.

ftikem refl. ‘to dry up’. Variant of *fik*, *fikem* (KRISTOFORIDHI 109).

ftilloj aor. *ftillova* ‘to make clear, to explain, to set in order’. Borrowed from Lat *ventilāre* in its metaphoric meanings: ‘to set in motion, to bring forward’. ◊ JOKL *IF* XLIII 63-64 (to *shtjell*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 199 (metathesis of *ftilloj* id. related to *fill*).

ftoh ~ **ftof** aor. *fioha* ~ *ftofa* ‘to cool, to make cold’. The verb goes back to PALb **awa-tāja* (with privative/negative **awa-*). As to **tāja*, it is identical with Slav **tajō*, **tajati* ‘to melt’, Osset *tajyn* id. and other reflexes of IE **tā-*. Note that Osset *dajyn* ‘to wet’ < Iran **ava-tā-* forms a full correspondence of *ftoh*. Adjective *ftohēt* ‘cold’ and noun *ftohtë* ‘cold, frost’ are late derivatives (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45-46). ◊ CAMARDA I 63 (to Gk πτόσσω ‘to shrink (from)’); MEYER *Wb.* 113 (secondary verbal stem based on *ftoftĕ* < **vĕ-top-tĕ*, to IE **tep-* ‘to warm’: Skt *tāpati* ‘to make warm, to heat’, Lat *tepeō* ‘be warm’ and the like); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 325 (inchoative **-sk-* > *-h-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 92; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 103, *LKUBA* 126 (*f-* < **au-* in *ftoh*), *Mélanges Pedersen* 143; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 79; VASMER IV 30-31; POKORNY I 1053-1054; HULD 65; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358-359; ABAEV III 223; DEMIRAJ *AE* 173-174 (against OREL; suggests a metathesis of **tpo-* > **pto-* > **fto-*).

ftoj aor. *ftova* ‘to invite’. Borrowed from Lat *invitāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 113). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131.

ftua ~ **ftue** m, pl. *ftonj* ‘quince’. Borrowed from Rom **cotōneum* id., namely, ‘Cydonian apple’ (CAMARDA II 63; MEYER *Wb.* 113). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from *cydōnium*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046, 1050, 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 42-45; LANDI *Lat.* 120-121.

ftujĕ f, pl. *ftuja* ‘one year old she-goat’. Other variants are *ftulĕ*, *vĕtulĕ*. Borrowed from Rom **vitulea*, cf. Lat *vitulus* ‘calf, foal’ (MEYER *Wb.* 113). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; WEIGAND 21 (derived from *vjet*); GRAUR *SCL* VII/3-4 276-277 (borrowed from Rum *vātui* ‘one year old male kid’ which continues the substratum word **wet-* ‘year’); ÇABEJ *St.* I 199 (follows MEYER); HAARMANN 158.

fund m, pl. *funde* ‘bottom, end’. Borrowed from Lat *fundus* ‘bottom’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; LANDI *Lat.* 116, 139.

fuqi f, pl. *fuqi* ‘power, strength, force’. If the intermediary form was **fujqi*, it could be a borrowing based on Rom **fulcius*, the latter derived from *fulcīre* ‘to prop up, to support, to make strong’ (MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 25 (to Latv *spēks* ‘strength’).

furfurit aor. *furfurita* ‘to sparkle, to shine’. A descriptive stem.

furkë f, pl. *furka* ‘distaff, fork’. Borrowed from Lat *furca* ‘fork’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28-29; MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120, *Origini* 190, 239; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; ROHLFS *Spr.* 117; HAARMANN 127.

furr m, pl. *furre* ‘oven’. Another variant is *furrë*. Borrowed from Lat *furnus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; LANDI *Lat.* 114.

furrik m, pl. *furriqë, furriqe* ‘chicken-coop, fowl-pen, roost, nesting-box’. Another variant of singular is *furriq*. The modern form *furrik* is a back formation based on the original *furriq* borrowed from Lat *fornicem* ‘arch, vault’. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 115 (uncertain comparison with *furr*); JOKL *AArbSt* I 39-41 (to *farë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 201; LANDI *Lat.* 112-114, 158.

fus aor. *futa* ‘to put in, to thrust in, to insert; to plant’. From PALb **sputja*, a form with *s* mobile etymologically related to Lat *putō* ‘to trim, to prune’, Tokh A, B *putk-* ‘to divide’. ◊ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk φύομαι ‘to grow’); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 107 (to Lith *spāudyti* ‘to smooth with, to mash’); WALDE-HOFMANN II 393-394; VAN WINDEKENS I 397.

fushë f, pl. *fusha* ‘plain, open field, meadow’. Borrowed from Lat *fossa* ‘ditch, trench, gutter’, also ‘furrow’, and originally describing an irrigated plot of land. Note that *fushatë* ‘campaign’ was formed already in Albanian, probably, as a calque of Ital *campagna* ‘country, campaign’. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 115 (borrowed from Lat *fūsum* ‘pouring, poured’); BARIĆ

ARSt. I 23 (reconstructs **p[thujām!]*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120-121; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238, 277.

fyej aor. *feva* ‘to offend, to insult, to make a mistake’. Identical with *fëjej* ‘to make a mistake’ derived from *faj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 201).

fyell ~ **fyll** m, pl. *fyej, fej, fyje* ‘flute’. Goes back to PALb **spāli-* etymologically related to Gk σπήλαιον ‘cave, cavern’ < **hollow*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 108 (to *flojere*), *Alb. St.* V 76; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 21-22 (to Gk φυσάω ‘to blow’, Lat *pustula* ‘bubble, blister’); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 103 (to Lith *plūšė* ‘rush, reed’); SKOK *Glasnik SND* II 297-299 (borrowed from Rom **vivula* ‘viola’); FRISK II 765-766; ÇABEJ *St.* I 201-202 (from IE **spel-* ‘to split’).

fyl adj. ‘hollow’. Akin to *fyell* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 202-203). Note *fyčkë* ‘hollow, stupid’ and *fyrbë* ‘hollow’ < **fylbë* derived from *fyl*. It is possible that *fyshtë* ‘thoroughly baked (of bread)’ and *fyshtër* ‘Forsythia’ also belong here (ibid.).

fyt m ‘throat, gullet’. From PALb **spūta* etymologically related to Lat *spuō* ‘to spit’, *spūtum* ‘spittle’, Gk πτύω ‘to spit’ and the like (BARIĆ *ARSt* I 25). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 115 (borrowed from Lat *fūtis* ‘vessel, pitcher’); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 112 (to Skt *sphāvayati* ‘to fatten, to strengthen’ and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 121, *Stratificazione* 88; FRISK II 617-618; WALDE-HOFMANN II 580-581; POKORNY I 999-1000; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 258.

fytyrë f, pl. *fytyra* ‘face’. Borrowed from Lat *factūra* ‘formation, creature’ (MEYER *Wb.* 116). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 305 (from Lat *faciēs* ‘face’); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 144; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1055 (from Ital *fattura* ‘magic’); TAGLIAVINI *St. albanesi* III - IV 222, *Dalmazia* 116 (follows MEYER-LÜBKE); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 45-49; ÇABEJ *St.* I 203 (agrees with MEYER); LANDI *Lat.* 68, 121.

G

gabonjë f, pl. *gabonja* ‘eagle’. A suffixal formation in *-onjë* based on **gabë*, related to *shkabë* id. The latter consists of the prefix *sh-* and

the same stem (JOKL *LKUBA* 244, 304). The source is PAIb **gabā* that seems to go back to a cultural *Wanderwort* also attested in Lat *capys*, *capus* 'bird of prey' (ibid.). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140.

gacě f, pl. *gaca* 'heat, hot ashes'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **garьca*, diminutive of **garь* 'ash, fire'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 21 (from IE **g^hor-ti-ā*, to **g^her-* 'to be hot'), ZONF X 186; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 48; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; DEMIRAJ *AE* 174-175 (borrowed from Turk *garra* 'shining' or *kor*).

gagaç m, pl. *gagaçë* 'stammerer'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **gagačь* derived from **gagati* 'to cackle, to shout', cf. in particular South Slavic reflexes: Maced *gaga*, SCr *gagati*.

gajgě f, pl. *gajga* 'kind of nut'. Borrowed from a diminutive Slav **galьka* derived from **gal'a* 'lump, pebble'.

gajushě f, pl. *gajusha* 'bush, shrubbery'. Derivative of **gaj* borrowed from Slav **gajь* 'grove, bush', cf. South Slavic reflexes: SCr *gaj*, Slovene *gaj* (POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78).

gak m, pl. *geqe* 'boar'. From PAIb **gauka*, a derivative of IE **g^hou-* 'dung, excrements', similar to Maced γοτάν (leg. γοῦταν)· ὄν (Hes.) ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 117-118 (comparisons with Fr *coche* and Germ *Hacksch* 'breeding boar'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 328 (secondary form of plural as demonstrated by the lack of palatalization in *g-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136-137; POKORNY I 484; ÇABEJ *St.* I 203-204 (related to *hakoç*).

galamsh m, pl. *galamsha* 'lame person'. A prefixal derivative of *lěmsh* (MEYER *Wb.* 119, 243). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 80-81 (from **g^hou-* + *lam-sh*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 107 (prefix *ga-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 204.

galě f, pl. *gala* 'jackdaw; black sheep'. Borrowed from Slav **gal'a* 'black animal, jackdaw' (MEYER *Wb.* 118). While the meaning 'black sheep' is attested in SCr *galja*, the meaning 'jackdaw' is known only in East Slavic: ORuss and Russ *gal'a*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; SVANE 146.

galině f 'lump of earth'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav **golina*

'empty place, hill without grass', with the unstressed *-o- rendered as -a-.

gamis aor. *gamita* 'to bark'. Borrowed from Slav **gamiti* 'to shout, to be noisy' unattested in South Slavic.

gamule f, pl. *gamule* 'heap'. A singularized plural of *gamulē* id. going back to PAIb **gamula* and etymologically identical with Lith *gāmulas* 'bale, lump', Slav **gomola* id. The metathetized form *magulē* was borrowed to Rum *māgurā*. ◇ CIHAC I 152 (Rum *māgurā* from Lat *macula* = *maculum* 'bag'); MEYER *Wb.* 118-119 (to Slav **mogyla* 'tomb, hill'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 18-19 (to Slav **mogo* 'I can'); SCHWARZ *AfslPh* XLI 139 (borrowed from early Proto-Slavic **magūla*); VALEK *ČMMZ* 14 (to Pre-Rom *ma-* and Slav **gora* 'mountain'); ŠAHMATOV *AfslPh* XXXIII 91 (to Celt **mogo-* 'great'); CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 467 (to Av *maya-* 'hole, pit'); GEORGIEV *Festschr. Rosetti* 287-290; FRAENKEL 132; POP *RP* 234-257; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ZALIZN'AK *VSlJa* 40; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 18-19; OREL *OLA* 1981 301-306 (a suffixal derivative of IE **dhǵhōm* 'earth').

gand m 'accident, vice, defect'. From PAIb **ganda* further connected with Lith *gañdas* 'rumor', *gañdinti* 'to frighten', Latv *gañdēt* 'to spoil'. ◇ HELBIG 61, 121 (connected with *gēnjej* 'to deceive', of Italian origin); FRAENKEL 138-139; ÇABEJ *St.* I 204 (identical with *ganě*, participle of *gas*, cf. *ngas*); AJETI *ZfBalkV/2* 142-143 (*gandoj* from SCr *ganuti*).

gangull adv. 'whole; poached (of egg)'. Goes back to PAIb **gangula*, a suffixal derivative of **ganga* connected with Lith *gānga* 'movement', *gāngytis* 'to move'. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 382 (to Gk γογγύλος); FRAENKEL 134.

garbe f, pl. *garbe* 'flower-pot'. A singularized plural of the original *garbē* going back to PAIb **gar(ibā)*. As the Slavic word for 'pot' **gьrнъ* derived from the name of 'oven' **gьrнъ* and further from IE **g^her-* 'to burn', the Albanian lexeme is derived from the same Indo-European root. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 210-211, *Rem. term.* 190-201.

garbě f, pl. *garba* 'notch, nick'. Goes back to PAIb **garbā* etymologically related to OIr *gerbach* 'wrinkled', ON *korþna* 'to get wrinkled',

OPrus **garbis* 'mountain', Slav **gъrbъ* 'hump' and the like (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◇ TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 78; FRAENKEL 135; SLAWSKI *SEP* I 256.

gardh m, pl. *gardhe, gjerdhe* 'fence'. Continues PALb **garda* related to Goth *gards* 'house', Lith *gārdas* 'fence', Slav **gordъ* 'town, fence' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 119-120, *Alb. St.* III 9, 72). Geg *gardhën* 'croze' is derived from *gardh*. Rum *gard* is an early Albanian loanword. ◇ WEIGAND *BA* IV 26-27 (borrowed from Slav **gordъ*); SKOK *Slavia* III 115 (follows WEIGAND); FEIST *Goth.* 197-198; SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 147, 319 (a Slavic loanword); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 297-301 (corroborates MEYER's view); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 122, *Origini* 308; MANN *Language* XVII 19, *Language* XXVIII 35; PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRAENKEL 135; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 246; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 37-38; ÇABEJ *St.* I 205; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; MURATI *Probleme* 130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 175.

garë f, pl. *gara* 'competition, race'. Continues PALb **garā* probably connected with Gk χαίρω 'to rejoice' and its derivatives, cf. in particular Gk χαρμη 'joy of battle; battle, fight'. Together with χαίρω, *garë* belongs to IE **gher-* 'to wish, to feel inclination'. ◇ POKORNY I 440-441; FRISK II 1062-1064.

gargull adv. 'full'. From PALb **garg-ula* related to Lith *gārgalas, gargōlas* 'thickening, knotted thread, thread' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◇ FRAENKEL 134.

gargull m, pl. *gārguj* 'starling'. A more rare variant is *garbull*. The source of this loanword is Rom **galbulus* 'blackbird' (MEYER *Wb.* 119). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26 (from Lat *galgulus*); HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 206.

garris aor. *garrita* 'to neigh'. Borrowed from an expressive verb, Slav **gavъriti* ~ **gavъrati* 'to tease, to spoil', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gavr'a*, SCr *gavrati*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 119 (borrowed from Lat *garrīre* 'to chatter'); HAARMANN 128; TZITZILIS *LB* XXX/2 102; ÇABEJ *St.* I 206 (onomatopoeia); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 112-113.

gashtellë f, pl. *gashtellë* 'knee-cap'. A suffixal derivative of *gashtë* id.

that may be identified with *gashtë* 'whetstone'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244 (to *shjtjell*).

gashtë f, pl. *gashta* 'whetstone'. From PALb **galstā*, a suffixal derivative related to Lith *gālas* 'end', Latv *gals* id. A similar motivation in a word for 'whetstone' may be traced in Lith *budė* 'fungus; whetstone'. On the other hand, it is extremely tempting to compare *gashtë* with Lith *galąsti* 'to sharpen', *galąstuvus* 'whetstone', Latv *galuōda* 'whetstone' but this is only possible if these verbs are analyzed as **gal-and-*, i.e. not according to the accepted view according to which **gland-* is reconstructed. ◇ BÜGA I 324; FRAENKEL 130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 244.

gatë f, pl. *gata* 'heron'. From PALb **gatā* continuing **ghytā*, a derivational variant of IE **ghan-s-* 'goose', cf. Gmc **ganta* < IE **ghand-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 121 (borrowed from Rom **ganta* 'stork, wild goose' > Fr *jante*, Prov *gania* with serious phonetic and dialectal complications); PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 412-413; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (from Rom **catta*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195; HAARMANN 116.

gatuaj ~ **gatiej** aor. *gatova* 'make ready, prepare'. Note that *gat* 'ready', *gati* id. are secondary formations based on the verb which is an early Slavic loanword, from **gotovati*, **gotoviti* 'make ready, prepare'. As in *patkua* < **rodъkova*, -ua- < *-*du-* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; JOKL *IF* XLIX 277) renders Slav *-*ova-* with a bilabial *v* [ɸ] (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 70). Rum *gata* 'ready' was borrowed from Albanian. ◇ CAMARDA I 130 (to Gk ἀγαθός 'good, fine'); MEYER *Wb.* 121 (treats *gat* and Slav **gotovъ* 'ready' as cognates), *Alb. St.* III 7, 23; JOKL *IF* XLIX 290, L 36; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 122; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; HAMP *RRL* XVIII/4 333-345; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 70-72; OREL *SBJa* *Leksikol.* 152.

gath m, pl. *gathë* 'catkin'. A diminutive in -*th* of an unattested **gat* borrowed from Rom **gat(t)us* 'cat' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). For the meaning cf. Germ *Kätzchen* and E *catkin*.

gavër f, pl. *gavra* 'hole'. From PALb **ga-wara*, a prefixal derivative related to *varr* (MEYER *Wb.* 37). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

gaz m, pl. *gaze* 'joy, laughter'. From Lat *gaudium* 'joy' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 120). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 122; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 267; HAARMANN 128; HULD 65-66; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 125.

gdhe ~ **gdhë** m, pl. *gdhenj* 'gnarl, knot'. Another variant in Tosk is *gdhë*. From PAIb **ga-daina*, a prefixal formation based on an adjective in *-no- that belongs to the same root as Skt *dáyate* 'to divide', Gk δαίωμα id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 471 (links *gdhe* to *gdhend* and, further, to *vgje*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 207 (connects *gdhe* with *gdhend*); ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to OHG *tanna* 'fir-tree'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 175.

gdhend aor. *gdhenda* 'to plane'. In Old Albanian there is a parallel form *dhend* (BOGDANI). A denominative verb derived from *gdhe* with a suffix -d- < *-t-. Thus, one might reconstruct PAIb **ga-den-ta* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 471 (compares *gdhend* with *vgje*); JOKL *Studien* 21-22 (to ON *detta* 'to hit, to strike'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 106; FRISK I 341-342; MAYRHOFER II 20-21; POKORNY I 175-176; ÇABEJ *St.* I 207 (follows JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 175-176.

gdhij ~ **gdhij** aor. *gdhiva* ~ *gdhina* 'to stay awake at night'. Also used impersonally as *u gdhi* 'the day began'. Goes back to a prefixal **ga-deinja* related to *din* (JOKL *Studien* 22). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 546; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242 (from **ditnja*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 176.

gegë m, pl. *gegë* 'Geg, North Albanian'. An onomatopoeia of babbling, indistinct speech as contrasted to *shqipe*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 249.

gem m 'branch'. Together with *gemb* id., a phonetic variant of *gjemb* (JOKL *Studien* 26-28). The adjective *gemtë* 'crooked' is derived from *gem*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 122 (from Ital *gambo* 'stem, stalk'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 207 (agrees with JOKL).

ger m, pl. *gera* 'squirrel'. From PAIb **gaura* related to Lith *gaūras* 'hair, down, tuft of hair', Latv *gauri* 'pubic hair', Mlr *gúaire* 'hair' and describing the squirrel as 'furry'. ◊ FRAENKEL 140; POKORNY I 397-398.

gëlbazë f, pl. *gëlbaza* 'liver illness of sheep caused by worms'. Another variant is *këlbazë*. Borrowed from Slav **kъlbasa* 'stuffed gut, sausage', a derivative of **kъlbъ* 'stomach (of animals)' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). The irregular change of Slav *-s- > Alb -z- is explained

by the analogical influence of suffixal forms in -az(ë). Rum *gâlbează, câlbează* is borrowed from Albanian. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 222 (to *qelb*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* VIII 155 (to *kalb*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224, 233.

gëloj aor. *gëlova* 'to burst out; to be gathered, to be accumulated, to blaze (of fire)'. A denominative continuing PAIb **gal-anja* related to OHG *quellan* 'to well up, to pour out, to stream from', Skt *gálati* 'to drip, to drop, to ooze'. ◊ KLUGE 574; MAYRHOFER I 329; POKORNY I 471-472.

gëlltis aor. *gëlltita* 'to swallow'. Borrowed from Slav **gьltati* ~ **gьltiti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gьltam* 'to swallow', SCr *gutati* 'to swallow', *gutiti* 'to squeeze', Slovene *goltiti* 'to swallow' (SVANE 254).

gëras aor. *gërita* 'to creak'. An onomatopoeia of uncertain origin.

gërbë f, pl. *gërba* 'hump'. Borrowed from Slav **gьrba* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 123), cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gьrba*, SCr *grba*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188, 195; SVANE 184.

gërbulë f 'mange, scab, lepra'. From PAIb **garb-uli-*. Derived from *garbë* 'notch, nick' and thus formally identical with Lith *garbūlis* 'hair-lock'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (to *gërvish*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 95 (derivative of *kalb*); FRAENKEL 154; ÇABEJ *St.* I 208 (agrees with LA PIANA).

gërç m 'convulsion, cramp'. Borrowed from Slav **gьrčъ* id., a variant of **kьrčъ*, cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *grъč*, SCr *grč* (MEYER *Wb.* 125). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; SVANE 184, 232.

gërçak m 'jug, pitcher'. Another variant is *kërçak*. Borrowed from Slav **kьrčagъ* 'clay vessel, pitcher', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *krъčagъ*, Bulg *kьrčag*, SCr *krčag* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 190). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78; SVANE 74.

gërdallë f 'old horse'. Derivative based on Slav **gьrdъ* 'ugly, bad; proud', cf. *gërditet*.

gērditet refl. 'to feel sickened, to be sick'. Borrowed from Slav **gъrditi* 'to be proud', in some languages also - 'to feel bad, to be sick' as in SCr *grđiti*, Slovene *grđeti se* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 123). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191, 289; SVANE 182, 232.

gērdhatë f, pl. *gērdhata* 'barren, rugged mountain chain'. As well as *gerdhele* 'boulder, clod' and *gerdhet* 'cellar', a derivative of *gardh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 208 (divides *gerdhet* into a prefix *ge(r)-* and a root *dhe* 'earth').

gērdhij aor. *gērdhiva* 'to scratch'. Continues PALb **grad-inja*, a denominative verb with **grad-* < **ghrŋdh-* related to OE *grindan* 'to grind', Lith *gréndžiu*, *grėsti* 'to scrape, to scratch'. ◇ FRAENKEL 167; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 137-138.

gērfej m 'cave with two entrances'. Apparently, this dialectal word from Mirdita was misinterpreted as far as its meaning is concerned. Perhaps, the original meaning was 'study, office room'. Its source is, clearly, MGk γροφείον 'record-office, registry'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 208 (prefix *gēr-* followed by *-fej*, plural of *fyell*).

gērgalle f, pl. *gērgalle* 'rocky area'. A singularized plural of **gērgallë* further related to *gargull* and continuing PALb **garg-alā*.

gērgas aor. *gērgita* 'to irritate, to incite'. Borrowed from SCr *grgati* 'to tinket, to putter, to pick (teeth or nose)'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 123 (onomatopoeia); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 125; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

(G) **gērhanë** f, pl. *gērhanë* 'card, hackle'. Another form is *kērhanë*. Singularized plural of *krehër* ~ *krahen* 'comb' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 208). Note the voicing of the initial *k-* as in many other examples.

gērhas aor. *gērhitā* 'to snore'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrxati* 'to cough, to expectorate', represented in South Slavic by SCr *krhati* (MEYER *Wb.* 123-124, *Alb. St.* IV 103). ◇ LA PIANA *Studi* I 70 (reconstructs **gri-khak-īō*), *St. Varia* 32-33 (from **gher-ghark-īō*, to Skt *gharghara-* 'thundering, ringing'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 208-209 (onomatopoeia or a cognate of *grahmë*); SVANE 261.

gērċ m, pl. *gērċe* 'Greek'. A parallel form of singular is *gērċ*. Borrowed from Slav **grьkъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *grьk*, SCr *grk* (MEYER

Wb. 124). The feminine form *gērċinjë* goes back to Slav **grьkyni* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20). Cf. also *grek*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; ÇABEJ *St.* I 213.

gērlac m 'windpipe'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **gъrdlačъ* or directly derived from Slav **gъrdlo* 'throat' (MEYER *Wb.* 124).

gērlas aor. *gērlata* 'to bend'. Of obscure origin.

gērlicë f 'turtle dove'. Borrowed from Slav **gъrdlica* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gъrlica*, SCr *grlica* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 125).

gērmadhë f, pl. *gērmadha* 'ruin'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav **gromada* 'heap, mass', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gramada*, *grъmada*, SCr *gramada* (MEYER *Wb.* 124). ◇ MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 52.

gērmis aor. *gērmita* 'to pick, to gnaw'. A denominative based on *grimë*.

gērmoj aor. *gērmova* 'to dig'. A denominative verb derived from *gērmë* 'letter' in its otherwise unattested meaning 'line, scratch' so that the original meaning of *gērmoj* would be 'to scratch lines'. If so, *gērmë* must be considered a borrowing from ancient Greek rather than a loan from NGk γράμμα the only meaning of which is 'letter' and which is reflected in Albanian as *gramë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (to *gērvish*), 128 (*gērmë* < NGk γράμμα); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254-255.

gērmoq adv. 'crooked'. An expressive derivative of *gērmoj*.

gērshas aor. *grisha* 'to invite'. A variant of *grish*, aor. *grisha* id. Originally, from PALb **grisa*, a zero grade of IE **gʰer-*: Skt *gr̥ṣāti* 'to call, to invoke', Lith *giriù*, *girti* 'to praise' (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 133). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 124 (to Lith *garšas* 'sound'), *Alb. St.* III 7, 72; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44; FRAENKEL 154; MAYRHOFER I 343; POKORNY I 478; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 224; HAMP apud SCHRIJVER *BC* 143 (to Celt **bardos* 'bard' < **barsdo-* < **gʰs-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 180.

gērshet m, pl. *gērsheta* 'plait'. A parallel form is *kērshet*. The source of this word is Gk κορσωτός 'tasseled (hair)', cf. also κορσωτήρ 'barber'.

◊ MEYER *Wb.* 124 (to Ital *grisola* 'wicker-work'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 209-210 (divides the word into *gë(r)-* and *-shet*, the latter to be compared with *shatë*).

gërshërë ~ **gërshanë** f, pl. *gërshërë* ~ *gërshanë* 'scissors'. Borrowed from Rom **carsānia*, an irregular phonetic transformation of **caesānia*, cf. Ital *cesoie* id. < Rom **carsōria*. ◊ CAMARDA I 66 (to IE **kers-* 'to cut'); MEYER *Wb.* 124 (reconstructs Rom **carpsōria* as a source); JOKL *LKUBA* 155-157 (to IE **sker-* 'to cut'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

gërthapë pl. 'garden scissors; claw, nipper (of a scorpion)'. Another variant is *gëthapë*. Together with the umlauticized form *gëthep* 'hook', continues PAIb **ga-tsap-* related to *thep*.

gërthas aor. *gërthita* 'to cry, to shout'. A variant of *kërcas*, with the dialectal substitution *-th-* > *-c-* and the voicing of the anlaut. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

gërthël f, pl. *gërthëla* 'crab, crayfish'. From PAIb **karts-ila* with a secondary voicing of the anlaut. Related to Skt *karka-* 'crab', Gk *καρκίνος* 'crab, crayfish', Lat *cancer* id. ◊ MAYRHOFER I 169; FRISK I 789-780; WALDE-HOFMANN I 151; POKORNY I 531.

gërvish aor. *gërvisha* 'to scratch'. Another variant is *gërvisht*. As other derivatives in *-ish(t)*, this is a secondary formation based on **gërvij*. The source of the latter remains unclear. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (from Slav **grebq* 'to rake up').

gërresë f, pl. *gërresa* 'scraper'. From PAIb **garatjā*, a suffixal derivative of an unattested *o*-grade noun **gara* based on *grij* (MEYER *Wb.* 130). Borrowed to Rum *gresie*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 9-10 (suffix *-esë*), 23-24 (related to OHG *krazzōn* 'to scratch'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3342; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278.

gërric aor. *gërrica* 'to scratch with nails'. A denominative verb connected with *gërresë*.

gërryej ~ **gërryj** aor. *gërreva* 'to scrape, to scour'. A denominative verb connected with *gërresë*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 23-24 (from **grēd-*, cf. OHG *krazzōn* 'to scratch'); MANN *Language* XVII 15, XXVIII 35 (to Gk

χαίνω); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to various forms in *gërr-ikër-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 177-178 (prefix *gë-*).

gështallë f 'splint, piece of wood'. A parallel form is *kështallë*. Goes back to PAIb **ka-stalnā*, a prefixal derivative related to *shtjell* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 210-211).

gështenjë f, pl. *gështenja* 'chestnut'. Together with a parallel form *kështenjë*, borrowed from Lat *castanea* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12; MEYER *Wb.* 191). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279; HAARMANN I 15; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 81, 97.

gëzof m, pl. *gëzofë* 'fur, pelt'. Borrowed from Gk *γάυσαπος* 'frieze' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29), the latter itself being an Oriental loanword (from Akk *guzippu* ~ *kuzippu*). The phonetic details of the Albanian word, however, remain irregular: the place of the stress, the voiced *-z-*, the vowel of the second syllable and the auslaut *-f* do not correspond exactly to the Greek form. They could be better explained by a Greek dialectal or Macedonian *γασσάφος*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 125; JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 585 (borrowed from an ancient Balkan language to Albanian and Greek), JOKL *Beiträge* (< **g'ðu-di-āpos* 'bovine'); FRISK I 202.

gëzhojë f, pl. *gëzhoja* 'nut shell'. A singularized plural of *gëzhollë* which is a metathetic form of *zhgoll* ~ *zhguall*. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *guall* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 211). ◊ HELBIG 78 (borrowed from Ital *guscio* 'nut shell').

gica pl. 'first teeth of an infant'. A word of the expressive vocabulary. Cf. also *gic* 'darling'.

gilcë f, pl. *gilca* 'sinew'. Other variants are *gilzë* ~ *kilzë* 'groin, hollow of knee or elbow'. The word is derived from an unattested **kilë* going back to PAIb **kālā* and identical with Lith *kāla* 'thickening, swelling', Slav **kyla* id. ◊ FRAENKEL 306; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIII 262-263.

gisht m, pl. *gishta*, *gishtëra* ~ *gishtna*, *gishtërinj* 'finger, thumb'. The Greek-Albanian and South Tosk form *glisht* leads to the reconstruction of PAIb **glista*. Related to Lith *gėlti* 'to prick, to sting', *gālas* 'end, tip' and

the like (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIX 393; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 125). \diamond BOPP 498 (to Skt *aṅguṣṭhā* 'thumb'); MEYER *Wb.* 141 (follows BOPP); BRUGMANN *IF* XI 285-286 n. 1 (to Gk βλιμάζω 'to feel hens to see if they are fat'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167 (to Skt *aṅgūli* 'finger, thumb'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (to Slav **gъrstь* 'handful'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 79 (to Arm *čiwł* 'twig, finger'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123, *Stratificazione* 88-89; PISANI *Saggi* 132; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147, *Ètimologija* 1986-1987 222-224 (reconstructs **glista* but connects it with *ngijs*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; DEMIRAJ *AE* 178-179 (to *W bys*, OCorn *bis, bes* 'finger').

glasĚ f, pl. *glasq* 'bird's droppings'. Borrowed from Rom **galliātia*, a derivative of Lat *gallus* 'rooster', cf. Rum *gāinaq* 'fowl's droppings' < **gallinātia* (MEYER *Wb.* 122). \diamond PUŞCARIU *EWB* 60; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16 (from Lat *gallinācea*); LANDI *Lat.* 137-138.

gledhĚ f, pl. *gledha* 'caress'. From PAIb **gladā*, a substantivized adjective related to Lat *glaber* 'smooth', OHG *glat* 'shining, even, smooth', Lith *glodūs* 'smooth', Slav **gladъкъ* id., **gladiti* 'to caress'. \diamond FRAENKEL 158; WALDE-HOFMANN I 603; POKORNY I 432; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 114-116.

glepĚ f, pl. *glepa* 'matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes)'. Also attested as *gĚlepĚ*. From PAIb **ka-laipā*, derived from IE **leip-* 'to smear with fat' (JOKL *LKUBA* 314). For the development of the prefix **ka-* see *gloq*. \diamond MEYER *Wb.* 125 (thinks of OHG *chlĕbĕn* 'to glue'), *Alb. St.* III 31; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to MHG *klepe*); POKORNY I 670-671; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* -101 (adduces a dubious variant *gĚlapĚ*); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 214 (against CAMAJ); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to *lyej*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 176-177 (to Gk λοπός 'shell, scale').

glinĚ f 'clay'. Borrowed from Slav **glina* 'clay', cf. in particular South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *glina*, SCr *glina* (JOKL *Studien* 109). \diamond SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 308; SVANE 169.

gliqe pl. 'knee tendons'. A suffixal derivative going back to **gĚliqe* and further connected with *gilcĚ*. \diamond MEYER *Wb.* 126 (borrowed from Slav **kl'uka* 'stick, cane').

glistĚr f, pl. *glistra* 'rainworm'. Derived from **glistĚ* borrowed from

Slav **glista* 'worm', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *glista*, SCr *glista* (SVANE 157).

gloq m, pl. *gloq* 'matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes), testis'. Note a dialectal form *gĚluq*. Goes back to PAIb **ka-lāukja*, a formation with a prefix **ka-* occasionally voiced in Albanian. The stem reflects a lengthening of IE **leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white' and is also found in *loqe* (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427). \diamond POKORNY I 687-690.

gllanik m, pl. *gllanikĚ* 'hearth stone'. Borrowed from Slav **golvĕnikъ* derived from **golvn'a* 'charred log, charcoal', cf. Bulg *glavn'a*, SCr *glavnja* (JOKL *Studien* 108, *LKUBA* 315). \diamond VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 19-20 (from Bulg *klanik* 'space between the fireplace and the wall'); BARIĆ *AARBSt* I 216 (agrees with JOKL); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149, 307; KRISTOFORI 64; ÇABEJ *St.* I 211-212 (supports VASMER); SVANE 56.

gllavinĚ f, pl. *gllavina* 'wheel hub'. Borrowed from Slav **golvina* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *glavina*, SCr *glavina* (DESNIČKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). \diamond SVANE 35.

gobellĚ f, pl. *gobella* 'deep place (in water)'. Together with *gobetĚ* 'hollow', derived from **gobĚ* continuing PAIb **gāubā*, further etymologically connected with Lith *gaūbti* 'to cover, to wrap', Slav **gъbnqti* 'to bend'. \diamond FRAENKEL 140; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 188-189.

gocĚ f, pl. *goca* 'girl'. Derived from *gop*.

gocĚ f, pl. *goca* 'oyster'. Other variants are *guacĚ*, *guaskĚ*, *guazĚ* describing any shell. A derivative of *guall* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 212).

godas aor. *godita* 'to strike, to beat'. Borrowed from Slav **goditi* used in a meaning unattested in South Slavic (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 126). \diamond SVANE 229, 232.

godinĚ f, pl. *godina* 'building'. An Albanian derivative of *godis*.

godis aor. *godita* 'to build'. Historically identical with *godas*, this verb has a meaning developed in Albanian from a different usage of *godis*

'to fit, to adjust' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123). ◇ MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; REITER *ZfBalk* VII/1-2 125-129.

gogěl f, pl. *gogla* 'ball, acorn'. A descriptive stem. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 78 (to *gogě*, an expressive word denoting 'Vlach'); JOKL *Studien* 24-25 (to OHG *chliuwa* 'ball', Lat *galla* 'gall-nut' and the like); DEMIRAJ *AE* 179 (reduplicated stem related to Arm *kaĭn* 'acorn', Gk βάλανος id.).

gogěsij aor. *gogěsiva*, *gogěsita* 'to yawn'. An expressive formation (MEYER *Wb.* 126). ◇ DEMIRAJ *AE* 179 (to Gk χάσκω 'to yawn').

gojě f, pl. *gojě* 'mouth'. As immediately clear from the variant *golě* preserving *-l-*, this element of the basic vocabulary is an Italian loanword from *gola* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 126). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *gula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123.

golle f, pl. *golle* 'hole'. A singularized plural based on **goll* borrowed from Gk γωλεός 'cave, cavern'.

gomě f, pl. *goma* 'resin'. Borrowed from Rom **gumma*, a variant of Lat *gummi*.

gomilě f, pl. *gomila* 'heap of stones, stone hill'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *gomila* id., SCr *gomila* id., metathesis of Slav **mogyla* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19).

gop m 'vagiĭa, vulva'. From PAIb **gāupā* related to Gk γύπη 'cave', ON *kōfi* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 21). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89; FRISK I 335; POKORNY I 395-396.

gorricě f, pl. *gorrica* 'wild pear'. Borrowed from Slav **gorĭnica*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gornica* (MEYER *Wb.* 127). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164, 309; SVANE 125.

gosě f, pl. *gosa* 'water-hole'. Continues PAIb **gātjā* formally close to Slav **gaty/*gatъ* 'dam, pool' and Skt *gātū-* 'passage, way'. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 108-109.

gostis aor. *gostita* 'to receive guests'. Borrowed from Slav **gostiti* id.:

Bulg *gost'a*, SCr *gostiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 127). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183, 191; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 212, 233.

gozhdě f, pl. *gozhdě*, *gozhda* 'nail'. Borrowed from Slav **gvozdъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gvozd*, dialectal *gozd*, SCr *gvozd* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 12; SVANE 30, 88, 229.

gozhup m, pl. *gozhupa* 'lambskin waistcoat'. Borrowed from Bulg dial. *kožuf*, *kužuf* 'leather-coat, fur-coat', Maced *kožuv* id. continuing Slav **kožuxъ*.

grabě f, pl. *graba* 'erosion, hollowing out'. From PAIb **grabā* etymologically related to OHG *grab* 'grave', Slav **grobъ* id. and other derivatives of IE **ghrebh-* 'to dig' (MANN *Language* XXVI 380). ◇ POKORNY I 455-456; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 133-134.

grabis aor. *grabita* 'to steal, to rob'. Borrowed from Slav **grabiti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *grab'a*, SCr *grabiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◇ BOPP *Gr. comp.* I 66 (related to Slav **grabiti*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 295; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178, 191; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; SVANE 233.

gradě f, pl. *grada* 'nest'. Borrowed from Slav **gordъ* 'fence, wall, town', cf. Bulg *grad*, SCr *grad*. Note the change of gender in Albanian.

gradině f, pl. *gradina* 'garden'. Borrowed from Slav **gordina*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gradina*, SCr *gradina*. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151; SVANE 58.

grah ~ **graf** aor. *graha* ~ *grafa* 'to spur on, to call, to roar'. From PAIb **graska* etymologically related to Skt *grāti* 'to call, to invoke', Lith *giriù*, *girti* 'to praise'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 128 (to Goth *hrops* 'call' and the like); FRAENKEL 154; MAYRHOFER I 343; POKORNY I 478; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200-201.

gram m, pl. *grama*, *gramra* ~ *gramna* 'couch-grass, knot-grass'. Bor-

rowed from Rom **grāma* (> Spanish *grama*) replacing Lat *grāmen* 'grass' (MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 147.

grashinĚ f, pl. *grashina* 'vetch, sweet pea'. Borrowed from Slav **goršina* 'pea', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *gršina* (JOKL *LKUBA* 185). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 326; SVANE 104.

grath m, pl. *grathĚ* 'tooth, prong (of a device), bristle'. A deminutive derived from PALb **graba*, an *o*-grade noun related to *kreh*.

gravĚ f, pl. *grava* 'cave, den, lair'. From PALb **gravā* etymologically identical with Lith *griovā*, Latv *grava*, *grava* 'ravine, precipitous valley', OPrus *grauwus* 'side' further connected with Lith *grūiti* 'to decline, to collapse', Latv *grūt* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). ◇ TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 342; FRAENKEL 171.

grazhd m, pl. *grazhde* 'manger'. Borrowed from South-Eastern Slavic, cf. Bulg *grazhd* id. < Slav **gordъ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 129). ◇ MLADENOV *Ist.* 77.

grebash m, pl. *grebasha* 'rake'. Borrowed from Slav **grebašъ*, a derivative based on **grebъ*, **grebti* 'to rake'. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VII 109-110.

grehull m, pl. *grehuj* 'thicket'. Derived from *greh*, a variant of *kreh*.

grek m, pl. *grĕkĚ* 'Greek'. Borrowed from Lat *graecus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 124 (from Ital *greco*); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197 (agrees with MEYER); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1043; MILETIĆ *Sp. BAN* XVI/9 35-42 (from West Macedonian with **ъ* > [ä]); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 213 (follows MEYER-LÜBKE); LANDI *Lat.* 71, 140.

grellĚ f, pl. *grella* 'deep place'. Continues PALb **gritlā* with a secondary *e* < **i* based on the analogy with *i* < **e* in singularized plurals. PALb **gritlā* is formally identical with Lith *gurklÿs* 'crop', OPrus *gurcle* 'throat', Slav **gъrdlo* id., cf. also **žerdlo* 'river-bed; opening'. Together with Balto-Slavic, the Proto-Albanian word reflects IE **gʷrtlom* (OREL *Fort.* 79). ◇ POKORNY I 475; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VII 204-205.

grep m, pl. *gropa* 'hook, fish-hook'. A more archaic form of the word is preserved in its variant *gĕrjepĚ*. It continues PALb **ga-repa* related to *rjep*. Note *grremç* < **greqç* id. as one of derivatives of *grop*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 129 (borrowed from Ital *grappa* 'hook'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 242; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3342; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; ÇABEJ *St.* I 218 (on *grremç* as derived from *grem* ~ *grop*).

grerĚ ~ **grenzĚ** f, pl. *grera*, *grerĕz* ~ *grenĕz*, *grenza* 'wasp, hornet'. From PALb **graisnā* < **grisnā* that, despite its voiced anlaut, must be equated with Lat *crābrō* 'hornet', OHG *hornaz* id., Lith *širšuō* id., Slav **sъršeny* id. ◇ CAMARDA I 346 (to Skt *gar-* 'to swallow'); JOKL *LKUBA* 89 (singularized plural in Geg); KLUGE 316; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk βροπτή), *Language* XXVIII 35; FRAENKEL 988; WALDE-HOFMANN I 283-284; POKORNY I 576; VASMER IV 432; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

gretĥ m 'flax-combings'. Derived from *kreh* (MEYER *Wb.* 204).

grēmĕratĕ f 'beestings, clots of curdled milk'. Borrowed from Lat *glomerātum*, participle of *glomerāre* 'to wind into a ball, to gather into a round heap', with assimilation of *liquida*. Borrowed to NGk γρομνῶτα with a dissimilation of sonorants. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (from Rom **cremorātum*), *Alb. St.* V 78-79 (goes back to Lat *glomus* 'ball'); PASCUE *RE* 56 (from Arum **grumurata*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204, 258.

grifshĚ f, pl. *grifsha* 'jay, magpie'. Borrowed from Rom **gripsa* based on Lat *gryps* 'griffin'. The form *grizhĕl* 'magpie' seems to be a form of *grifshĚ*. ◇ CAMARDA II 71 (from Gk γρόψ 'griffin'); MEYER *Wb.* 130 (from Friul *gripp* 'kind of bird' or Ital *griva* 'thrush'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 214-215 (related to *krip* 'hair', *krife*).

grifshĚ f, pl. *grifsha* 'arbutus, wild strawberry-tree'. A metaphoric use of *grifshĚ* 'mane' for a bushy tree. Other variants are *kriřshĚ* and *kripçĚ*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 291-292 (to *krife*).

grifshĚ f, pl. *grifsha* 'mane'. Derived from **grifĕ* id., a variant of *krife*.

grigj m, pl. *grigje* 'flock, herd'. Another variant is fem. *grigjĕ*. Borrowed from Lat *gregem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente*

31; MEYER *Wb.* 130). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1043, 1052; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 132-134; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* I 215; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 85, 103.

grih aor. *griha* 'to sharpen'. From PALb **greiska* etymologically related to Gk χρίω 'to rub, to anoint, to prick', Lith *griėjù, griėti* 'to scoop cream from milk, to take hold of'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (identified with *grij*); FRAENKEL 168; FRISK II 1120; POKORNY I 457; ÇABEJ *St.* I 215-216.

grij ~ **grīj** aor. *griva, grijta* 'to cut into pieces, to gnaw, to eat away'. From PALb **grinja* etymologically related to IE **g^{er}-* 'to swallow': Skt *girāti*, Arm *eker*, Lat *vorō*, Lith *geriù, gėrti* 'to drink', Slav **žerti* (MEYER *Wb.* 130, *Alb. St.* III 8). Another derivative of the same root is preserved in *gris* 'to wear out, to tear'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 23-24 (to *gėrrye*), *Slavia* XIII 321; LA PIANA *Studi* I 66 (to *grurē*); MAYRHOFER I 335; FRAENKEL 148-149; POKORNY I 474-476; WALDE-HOFMANN II 836; AFCVTH II 62-63; ÇABEJ *St.* I 216 (to Gk χόνδρος 'granule, lump (of salt)' and OE *grindan* 'to grind').

grill m 'lumpy soil, waste land, slate'. Borrowed from Lat *gracilis* 'poor (of soil)'.

grimē f, pl. *grima* 'crumb, bit'. From PALb **grima* derived from *grij*. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Lat *grūmus* 'heap').

grindē f, pl. *grinda* 'quarrel'. A suffixal derivative of *grij* reflecting PALb **grin-tā*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 131 (borrowed from Ital *grinta* 'wrath').

gromēsij aor. *gromēsita, gromēsiva* 'to belch'. The Geg variant *gropēsij* is phonetically closer to its source - *gropoj* 'to dig out', *gropē* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 216-217). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 131 (based on Slav **gromъ* 'thunder'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 36 (to Latv *grēmens* 'heartburn'); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15 (follows MEYER).

gropē f, pl. *gropa* 'pit, hole, grave'. Borrowed from OHG *crōpa* (FRIEDWAGNER *ZfromPhil* XXXIX 234), probably via Rum *groapă* id. ◇ CAMARDA I 50 (to Gk κρύπτω 'to hide'); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20 (from Slav **grobъ* 'grave'); MEYER *Wb.* 131 (same as MIKLOSICH); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 342; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14 (early Slavic loanword); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; MURATI *Probleme* 130.

groshē f, pl. *groshē* 'bean, lentil'. Borrowed from Slav **goršъ*, an adjective derived from **gorъъ* 'pea' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 132). Note the West Slavic development of the inlaut group **-or-* that may reflect an extinct dialectal source of the word. As to *groshull* 'chick-pea', it seems to be a recent Albanian derivative of *groshē*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 326 (follows MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 184 (also agrees with MEYER), *Slavia* XIII 307-309 (related to ON *grautr* 'grits', Latv *grāuds* 'grain, corn'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 217-218 (etymologically connected with Slav **gorъъ*).

grozhēl f, pl. *grozhla* 'vetch'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **grozdyль*, a derivative of **grozdy* 'cluster'.

grua ~ **gruc** f, pl. *gra* 'woman, wife'. From PALb **grāwā* related to Gk γραῦς 'old woman' (CAMARDA I 39, 65; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 276). The latter is further connected with IE **g^{er}-* 'to become old'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 132 (from IE **g^{nōn}-*, to **g^{en}-* 'woman, wife' but **-n-* would be preserved in Geg); BRUGMANN *IF* IX 372 (on the derivational structure of γραῦς); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 155; BARIĆ *ARSt* 71; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 126, *Stratificazione* 115-116; LA PIANA *Studi* I 20; BARIĆ *Hymje* 49; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; FRISK I 324; POKORNY I 390-391; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Schmidt* 67-76; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 264; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 685; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 381; HULD 66; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (borrowed from γραῦς); DEMIRAJ *AE* 180-181.

grumbull m, pl. *grumbuj* 'heap, crowd'. Another variant is *grumull*. Continues PALb **grumbula* etymologically comparable with Lith *grūmbulis* 'hump, uneven place' and its cognates connected with *grūblas* 'uneven place, hillock' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *grūmulus*); MEYER *Wb.* 132 (from Ital *grumolo* 'cabbage-stump'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049 (from Lat *grūmulus* 'little hill, hillock'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Lith *grūmulas*); FRAENKEL 172-173.

grurē ~ **grunē** m/n 'wheat'. From PALb **grunā*, singularized pl. neut. going back to IE **g^řnom* 'grain' (CAMARDA I 85; LA PIANA *Studi* I 66, 94); Lat *grānum*, OIr *grán*, Goth *kaur̥n*, Lith *žirnis*, Slav **zъrno* (an adjective in **-no-* the meaning of which is clear from Skt *jūrná-*, *jīrná-* 'old, decayed, withered'). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (borrowed from Lat *grānum*); MEYER *Wb.* 133, *Alb. St.* III 8, IV 105 (agrees

with MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1054 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 414 (links *grurë* to Lith *grūdas* 'grain, wheat', Latv *graūds* id., OHG *grūz* 'groats'); MANN *Language* XVII 13; MAYRHOFER I 439, 443; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 8; FEIST *Goth.* 309-310; WALDE-HOFMANN I 618-619; VASMER II 95-96; FRAENKEL 1314; POKORNY I 391; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684; HAMP *KZ LXXVI* 278-279; ÇABEJ *St.* I 218-219; OREL *Koll. Ig. Ges.* 351 (*-rH- > *-f- > -ru- after labials and labiovelars); JANSON *Unt.* 83-84.

grusht m, pl. *grushte, grushta* 'fist'. Early borrowing from (South-Eastern) Slav **grьstь* 'handful, hand' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 133). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 32-33 (related to Slav **grьstь*); JOKL *LKUBA* 33; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 143; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 126; MANN *Language* XVII 13; HAMP *LB XIV/2* 14.

grykë f, pl. *gryka* 'throat'. From PALb **grīwikā* related to IE **gʷr̥iṷā* 'neck': Skt *grīvā*, Av *grīvā*, Latv *grīva* 'river mouth', Slav **grīva* 'mane' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438). ◊ CAMARDA 65 (correctly links *grykë* to IE **gʷer-* 'to swallow, to eat'); MEYER *Wb.* 133 (compares, without certainty, with Slav **kьrkь* 'neck', ON *kverk* 'throat' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89; MANN *Language* XVII 15-16; MAYRHOFER I 353-354; POKORNY I 475; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix -*kë*); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 129-130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257.

grrykë f, pl. *grryqe* 'cool wind'. A derivative of *gërryey*: a cool wind described as a scratching one.

guall m, pl. *gūaj* 'shell, skull'. From PALb **gāla*, a long-grade derivative related to the dialectal Indo-European word for 'head' (and, originally, also 'tumor'): Arm *glux* < **ghōlu-*, Lith *galvà*, Slav **golva*. ◊ AČAREAN *HAB* I 565-566; FRAENKEL 131-132; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 221-222; POKORNY I 350; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236.

gugë f, pl. *guga* 'baby shirt'. An expressive word.

gul adj. 'hornless'. Attested only in Italo-Albanian. From PALb **gula* further related to OHG *kalo* 'naked, bald', Slav **golъ* 'naked', **guliti* 'to skin'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 209 (to ON *kolla* 'hornless animal'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 15; DEMIRAJ *AE* 181.

gulçoj aor. *gulçova* 'to worry, to disturb'. Another form is *kulçoj*. Borrowed from Rom **colluctiäre*, cf. Lat *colluctārī* 'to struggle, to contend'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 209 (uncertain comparison with NGk κοτῶ 'to risk').

gulm m, pl. *gulma* 'worry'. A derivative of *gulçoj* continuing **gulçm*.

gultoj aor. *gultova* 'to get rid off'. Borrowed from Lat *colluctārī* 'to struggle, to contend'. Cf. *gulçoj*.

gunë f, pl. *guna* 'goatskin coat with hood'. Borrowed from MGk γούνα 'fur' (MEYER *Wb.* 134-135). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from MLat *gunna*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046 (from Rom **gunna*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ZALIZN'AK *VSlJa* 39; HAARMANN 129; ZOJZI *St. albanica* III 319-337; LANDI *Lat.* 101.

gungë f, pl. *gunga* 'bump, swelling'. From PALb **gunga*, etymologically connected with Lith *gugà* 'hump, hillock', *gungà* id. (MANN *Language* XXVIII 34). ◊ FRAENKEL 174-175; ÇABEJ *St.* I 219-220.

gur m, pl. *gurë* 'stone, rock'. From PALb **gura* continuing the zero-grade of IE **gʷer-* 'mountain': Skt *giri-*, Av *gairi-*, Lith *girià* 'wood', Latv *dziria* id., Slav **gora* 'mountain, wood' (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *Wb.* 135 with much uncertainty). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 318-319 (follows MEYER and reconstructs **gʷer-*); BARTHOLOMAE 514; JOKL *IF XLIV* 50, *LKUBA* 230, *Sprache* IX 150; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 127; MANN *Language* XVII 13; PORZIG *Gliederung* 198; PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRAENKEL 153; MAYRHOFER I 335; POKORNY I 477-478; HAMP *BSL* L 45; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 29-31; HULD 66-67; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; WATKINS *Dragon* 164 (from IE **gʷr̥H-u-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 181.

gurmac m, pl. *gurmacë* 'small round stone'. Derived from **gurm* based on *gur*.

gurmaz m 'gullet'. A derivative of *kurm* with a secondary voicing of the anlaut *k-*. Borrowed to Rum *grumaz*. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 63-64; PASCU *RE* 56; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 343; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; KALUŹSKAJA - OREL *SBJa Kontakty* 17-22 (comparison with Gk βάραιον 'throat').

gushě f, pl. *gusha* 'throat'. Borrowed from Rum *gušā* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 127). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20 (from Slavic); MEYER *Wb.* 135-136; PUŠCARIU *EWB* 64; MEYER-LÜBKE *ZfomPhil* XV 242; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 106-107 (from IE **gursjā*, related to *grykĕ*); PUŠCARIU *EWB* I 64; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 343; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; MURATI *Probleme* 130.

gusht m 'August'. Borrowed from Lat *augustus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 136). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 112; LANDI *Lat.* 91, 177.

gushtericĕ f, pl. *gushterica* 'lizard'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *gušterica* id., SCr *gušterica* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 220).

gutĕ f 'gout'. Borrowed from Rom **gutta* 'drop' used as a name of the disease, cf. Rum *gutā* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 136 (from SCr *guta* id.); PUŠCARIU *EWB* 65; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* I 220 (follows MEYER-LÜBKE; LANDI *Lat.* 101, 127).

Gj

gjaj aor. *gjava, gjajta* 'to resemble, to be like; to suit, to become; to seem; to happen'. Dialectal forms *glaj, gĕlaj* require the reconstruction of PALb **ga-lanja* < **ga-lab-nja*, a denominative verb based on **lab-* etymologically identical with Lith *lābas* 'good', Latv *labs* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevōřoshkin* 261). Thus, the original meaning must have been 'to suit, to become'. Note another verbal form *gjas* 'to resemble' also belonging here and continuing **ga-labtja*. ◇ CAMARDA I 336 (to Gk γλάσσω 'to shine', an obvious derivative of γλαυκός 'shining'); MEYER *Wb.* 137 (related to *qas*), Alb. *Studien* V 79 (to Gk βάλλω 'to launch, to reach', Skt *gālati* '(he) drops, falls down'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 331; JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 221 (compares with Germ *glänzen* 'to shine'); PISANI *Saggi* 125; FRAENKEL 327; ÇABEJ *St.* I 221 (reconstructs **ga-laig-* and links it to Goth *galeikan* 'to please' but this ablaut grade is unknown in **leig-* ~ **lig-*); OREL *IF* XLIII 102-104, *FLH* VIII/1-2 43 (from PALb **janja* related to IE **iā-* 'to go, to walk').

gjak m, pl. *gjaqe, gjakra* ~ *gjakna* 'blood'. From PALb **saka* related to Gk ὀπός 'juice', Lith *sakaī* 'resin', Slav **sokъ* 'juice' and the like continuing an Indo-European word for 'juice' **sokʰo-* (MEYER *Wb.* 136, Alb. *St.* III 4, 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 285). ◇ CAMARDA I 38 (to Gk ἰχὼρ 'blood'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 128 (reconstructs **δ-* in the root), *Stratificazione* 89; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; FRAENKEL 756-757; PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRISK II 405-406; POKORNY I 1044-1045; VASMER III 708; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279, *ZfBalk* XXIII 149, *VDI* 1986/1 130-144 (Albanian and ancient Indo-Europeans formulas connected with 'blood'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 254; HULD 67; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 181-182.

gjalm m, pl. *gjalma, gjalmitër, gjelmitër* 'rope, lace'. From PALb **salpna*, connected with Slav **solpiti* 'to stick out', Lith *iš-selpinėti* 'to get divided'. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 43, 89 (to Gmc **sailaz* 'rope'), Alb. *St.* III 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIV 286-287; JOKL *Studien* 47 (agrees with MEYER); FRAENKEL 971-972; VASMER III 714, Alb. *Wortforsch.* I 36 (rejects MEYER's etymology as far as Indo-European diphthongs in *-i* do not yield Alb *-a-*); PETERSSON *LUÅ* XIX/6 12-14 (to Gk ἄλυσος 'chain'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 58 (agrees with PETERSSON but treats *-mit-* in *gjelmitër* as a separate root); ÇABEJ *St.* I 222 (to Lat *glomus* 'ball' and the like); ANIKIN *Ėtimologija* 1982 65-70.

gjalpĕ m/n 'butter'. Continues PALb **selpa* identical with Gk ἔλαπος ἔλαιον, στέαρ, εὐθηνία (Hes.), Skt *sarpīs-* 'clarified butter', OHG *salba* 'ointment' (CAMARDA I 93; MEYER *Wb.* 137, Alb. *St.* III 31, 43). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; LA PIANA *Studi* I 85; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 503; MAYRHOFER III 446; POKORNY I 901; HAMP *Kratylos* V 105 (to *shtjalp*); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253; HULD *KZ* CVII 169 (*s-*stem); DEMIRAJ *AE* 182.

gjallĕ adj. 'alive'. Reflects PALb **salwa* etymologically close to Skt *sārva-* 'complete, whole', Gk ὅλος 'whole', Lat *salvus* 'healthy', Tokh A *salu* 'completely' (MEYER *Wb.* 137, Alb. *St.* III 43, 75). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544, *Kelt. Gr.* I 53; JOKL *Sprache* IX 122; LA PIANA *Studi* I 78 (to Lat *vīvus*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; PISANI *Saggi* 131; FRISK I 381; CHANTRAINE 795; MAYRHOFER III 446-447; WALDE-HOFMANN II 472-473; POKORNY I 979-980; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *BSL* LXVI/1

223, RRL XXI 49-51; VAN WINDEKENS 412; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 205, 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 182-183.

gjarkëz pl. 'peritoneum'. A dialectal plural form of *qark*.

gjarpër ~ gjarpën m, pl. *gjarpinj, gjërpinj, gjarpanj, gjarpërinj ~ gjarpninj* 'snake'. From PALb **serpena* etymologically related to Lat *serpens* 'snake, serpent', *serpō* 'to crawl' and, further, to IE **serp-* 'to crawl' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 137, *Alb. St.* III 31, 43, 72). There is no connection between *gjarpër* and *shtërpinj* 'vermin, reptiles' (see *shtrep*) despite the widely accepted opinion. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 235; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 113-114; ERNOUT-MEILLET 113; MANN *Language* XVII 17, XXVI 383; HAMP *Kratylos* V 105; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 284; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129, *Stratificazione* 137; PISANI *Saggi* 129; WALDE-HOFMANN II 524-525; POKORNY I 912; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; HULD 67-68; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; JANSON *Unt.* 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 183-184.

gjashtë num. 'six'. From PALb **sešti-*, a derivative in *-*ti-* close to collectives like Skt *ṣaṣṭi-* 'six tens' (JUCQUOIS *Le Muséeon* LXXVIII 440) or to Slav **šestь* 'six', and further related to IE **s(y)ek̑s-* 'six': Skt *śaś-*, Gk ἕξ, Lat *sex* (BOPP 459, 512; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 138, *Alb. St.* II 56-57, III 43). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 283, *Kelt. Gr.* I 78; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; HAMP *IF* LXVI 52 *Numerals* 913; PISANI *Saggi* 106; POKORNY I 1044; MAYRHOFER III 407; WALDE-HOFMANN II 528-529; FRISK I 527-528; HULD 68; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; KORTLANDT *SSLG* X 219; DEMIRAJ *StF* XXI/4 132-134, *AE* 184.

gjatë adj. 'long'. Dialectal *glatë* reflects the older form of the anlaut. From PALb **dlata* continuing IE **dl̥gh-to-* and related to other Indo-European adjectives for 'long' reflecting *(*d*)longho-: Lat *longus*, Goth *laggs* and the like (BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 545). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 137 (compares with Slav **setьnъ* 'extremus'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308 (reconstructs **dlonghtos*); JOKL *Studien* 96 (follows PEDERSEN), *LKUBA* 315 (rejects the reconstruction of a nasal in the proto-form); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 39 (suggests a syllabic *-*ŋ-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; PORZIG *Gliederung* 124, 190; WALDE-HOFMANN I 820-821; FEIST *Goth.* 318-319; POKORNY I 197; HULD 68; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 35; DEMIRAJ *AE* 184-185.

gjazë f 'riverside forest'. From PALb **sedjā*, a derivative of IE **sed-* 'to sit, to be settled', cf. in particular Slav **sadzь* 'garden, grove' derived from the same root. ◊ VASMER III 543-544; POKORNY I 884-887.

gjedh m, pl. *gjedha* 'cattle'. From PALb **sada* or **seda*, a deverbative based on IE **sed-* 'to go, to walk' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). Semantically, cf. other descriptions of cattle as 'walking', i.e. movable: Gk πρόβατα 'cattle, sheep', Hitt *ijant-* 'ram' and the like. ◊ PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 887; ÇABEJ *St.* I 223 (to IE **g^odu-* 'cattle' and in particular to Slav **govędo*); BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 37-45; OREL *IF* XLIII 104-105 (from IE **g^hndhos* connected with IE **g^hem-* 'to go'; however, the development of the umlauticized **a* to *-je-* is dubious), *Fort.* 79.

gjej ~ gjëj aor. *gjeta* 'to find'. From PALb **gadnja* < **ghnd-* etymologically related to Gk χάνδανω, aor. ἔχανον 'to seize, to grasp', Lat *prehendō* id., ON *geta* id. (MEYER *BB* VIII 187, *Wb.* 140, *Alb. St.* III 10). The full grade is represented in refl. *gjëndem, gjindem* 'to be present'. ◊ CAMARDA I 285 (to Gk γί(γ)νομαι 'to be born'); JOĀL *Balkangerm.* 105-106, *Sprache* IX 123; BARIĆ *AarbSt.* II 383; LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 312 (from Goth *bigitan*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 12-14, 33; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129-130; PISANI *Saggi* 132; FRISK II 1071-1072; WALDE-HOFMANN II 359; POKORNY I 437-438; HAMP *Laryngeals* 135; HULD 145; ÇABEJ *St.* I 223-224 (related to Slav **goditi* 'to satisfy, to correspond, to be fit'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 232 (from **sh-aielo*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 185-186.

gjel m, pl. *gjela* 'rooster'. Borrowed from Lat *gallus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 138). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL *IF* XXX 205; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 224; LANDI *Lat.* 28-29, 128, 138.

gjelbër ~ gjelbën adj. 'green'. Borrowed from Lat *galbinus* 'greenish-yellow' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 49.

gjellë f, pl. *gjellë* 'food; life'. A singularized plural of *gjallë* (CAMARDA I 108). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 138 (borrowed from SCr *jelo* 'meal'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 217.

gjellëz f 'salt'. Another variant is *gillesë* 'salt, taste'. Although the comparison with IE **sali-* 'salt' could be tempting, connection with *gjellë* is much more probable. Thus, 'salt' is treated as a 'taste' of food.

gjem m 'bridle'. From PALb **jama* identical with Skt *yāma-* id. and forming one of the isoglosses of Albanian with Southern Indo-European dialects, particularly, in horse breeding (OREL *IF* XCIII 105-106). Note *gj-* as a regular reflex of the initial IE **j-* (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43). ◊ POKORNY I 505; MAYRHOFER III 2-3; OREL *Ētnogenez* 34-36; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350.

gjemb m, pl. *gjëmbe* 'thorn'. A Greek-Albanian form *glëmb* preserves the original anlaut *gl-*. Goes back to PALb **glamba*, comparable with Slav **glōb-okъ* 'deep' < **hollowed*, **glōbъ* 'trunk, stump, cabbage-stump', cf. also Gk γλάφω 'to scrape up' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). Rum *ghimpe* 'thorn' was borrowed from Albanian. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (to Lith *gėmbė* 'nail used to hang clothes' - impossible in view of the initial *gl-*), *Alb. St.* III 8, 36, 64; JOKL *Studien* 26-28 (to Lith *geliū*, *gėlti* 'to stick'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (against MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 367; FRISK I 311; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 231; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 141-143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 186-187.

gjep m, pl. *gjepa* 'spool'. A phonetic variant of *djep*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 138 (to *gjemb* and *qep*).

gjer prep. 'till'. Other variants are *deri*, *ndjer*, *ngjer*. From PALb **(a)jeri* identical with Gk ἠρί < **ἠερί* 'early' further related to Gmc **airiz* 'before, ere' (Goth *air*, ON *ár*) and Av *ayar* 'day' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 59-60 (to *ndër*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Lat *ferē* 'near'); FRISK I 643; FEIST *Goth.* 24-25; BARTHOLOMAE 157; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 175; DEMIRAJ *AE* 288-289 (to Gk μέχρη 'till').

gjer m, pl. *gjera* 'dormouse'. Borrowed from Lat *glīrem* id., with the long *-ī-* treated as a short one (MEYER *Wb.* 138-139). ◊ TRUBAČEV *Slav. jaz.* XI 11 (related to Lat *glīs* and the like); LANDI *Lat.* 83, 104.

gjerb aor. *gjerba* 'to gulp, to drink'. From PALb **serba* connected with Lat *sorbeō* 'to sup up, to suck in', Gk βορέω id., Lith *surbūū*, *surbtī* id., Slav **srbati* 'to gulp, to sup up' (MEYER *Wb.* 139, *Alb. St.* III 36,

43, 72). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 237, 299; ERNOUT-MEILLET 636; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (reconstructs **ō* in the root); PISANI *Saggi* 131; FRAENKEL 945; FRISK II 663; CHANTRAINE 978; WALDE-HOFMANN II 561; POKORNY I 1001; VASMER III 604; HULD 143 (suggests IE **sorbh-ej-ō*), *KZ* CVII 169; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 273; ANTILA *Schw.* 27; DEMIRAJ *AE* 187.

gjerë ~ gjanë adj. 'broad, wide'. There also exists Tosk *gjërë*. From PALb **saina*, a zero-grade derivative in **-no-* based on IE **sēi-* 'long, late', cf. OE *sīd* 'long, wide', Goth *seipus* 'late', OIr *síth* 'long', Lat *serus* 'late' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 28). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 128; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 292; FEIST *Goth.* 415-416; VENDRYES [S] 120-121; WALDE-HOFMANN II 526-527; POKORNY I 890-891; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD 68-69; JANSON *Unt.* 28.

gjeshtë aor. *gjeshtë* 'to knead'. From PALb **jesja* identical with Skt *yasyati* 'to boil', Gk ζέω 'to boil, to cook' (MEYER *Wb.* 139, *Alb. St.* III 39, 61). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 35, 292; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327, *Kelt. Gr.* I 65; PISANI *REIE* IV 10, *Saggi* 102, 123; MINSHALL *Language* XXXII 629; FRISK I 612; MAYRHOFER III 13; POKORNY I 506; HAMP *Laryngeals* 134; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 152; HULD 99; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 129; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Germ *kneten* 'to knead'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 300.

gjeshtër f, pl. *gjeshtëra* 'broom'. Borrowed from Rom **genistra* (cf. Ital *ginestra* id.) based on Lat *genista*, *genesta* 'broom-plant, broom'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237.

gjëti adv. 'elsewhere'. A number of parallel forms exist, e.g. *gjetiu*, *gjetkë*, *ngjeti*, *njeti* and the like. A fossilized form of aorist of *gjej* with various other elements including *kë*, acc. of *kush*, and *u*, reflexive pronoun. ◊ CAMARDA I 307 (to *tjetër*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 225-226 (treats *njeti* as an older form and links it to Skt *anyá-* 'other').

gjetkëz f, pl. *gjetkëza* 'goose-coop'. Identical with OAlb *gjethkë* 'stall, pen' (BARDHI) continuing **gjerdhkë*, a deminutive of *gardh* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 226).

gjeth m, pl. *gjeth* 'foliage, green leaves'. From PALb **gadza* with an irregular unvoicing of the auslaut or, rather, with a secondary *th-* suffix. The

variant with a voiced *-dh-* is registered by some scholars but it may well be an artifact. Etymologically connected with OHG *questa* 'tuft', ON *kvistr* 'branch', Slav **gvozdb* 'wood, forest' (JOKL *IF* XXX 199-204, *LKUBA* 130, 221). Note the development of the initial cluster **gvo-* > **ga-* in Albanian. The form *gjeshk* 'dry leaves' is derived from *gieth*. ◇ *CAMARDA* I 72 (compares with Gk κλάδος 'branch'); *MEYER Wb.* 138 (develops *CAMARDA*'s etymology); *PEDERSEN KZ* XXXIII 547; *TAGLI-AVINI Dalmazia* 130; *LA PIANA Varia* 103-104; *CIMOCZOWSKI LP* II 230; *PISANI Saggi* 125; *XHUVANI BUSHT* III/3 93 (connected with *gath*); *VASMER* I 263; *POKORNY* I 480; *TRUBAČEV ÈSSJa* VII 185-186; *ÖLBERG St. Bonfante* 562; *ÇABEJ St. I* 226-227 (to Lat *hasta* 'spear' and its cognates); *HULD* 69; *OREL ZfBalk* XXIII 147; *DEMIRAJ AE* 187-188.

gjezdis aor. *gjezdisa* 'to go for a walk, to roam'. An early borrowing from Slav **jězditi* 'to ride' with the initial *j-* substituted by Alb *gj-*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *jazd'a*, SCr *jezditi* (*OREL Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262).

gjë ~ **gjâ** f, pl. *gjëra* ~ *gjana* 'thing'. From PALb **san(s)* going back to the participle of IE **es-* 'to be', **sont-s*: Skt *sant-*, Gk *ὄν* and the like (*MEYER Wb.* 139). ◇ *MAYRHOFER* III 425-426; *FRISK* I 463-464; *POKORNY* I 341; *ÇABEJ St.* VII 201, 212; *HULD* 69; *JANSON Unt.* 27-28; *DEMIRAJ AE* 188.

gjëlpërë ~ **gjylpanë** f, pl. *gjëlpëra* ~ *gjylpana* 'needle'. Goes back to **salpanā* further connected with *gjaln* and its cognates. The Geg vocalism in *gjylpanë* is secondary. ◇ *MEYER Wb.* 143 (borrowed from Rom **acūcula pani*); *BARIĆ ARSt.* I 34 (to IE **g^hel-* 'to stick, to prick'); *TAGLI-AVINI Dalmazia* 131-132; *MANN Language* XVII 20-21 (from **saquil-patno-* 'eye-thread').

gjëmoj aor. *gjëmova* 'to resound, to rumble, to thunder, to shout'. As the variant *glëmoj* shows, there was *gl-* in the anlaut. Borrowed from Lat *clāmāre* 'to cry, to shout', with the voicing of the initial group *cl-*. The noun *gjëmë* 'thunder, shout, illness' is a deverbative. ◇ *MIK-LOSICH Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *gemere* 'to cry, to shout'); *MEYER Wb.* 139-140 (same as *MIKLOSICH*); *MIHĂESCU RESEE* IV/1-2 16; *HAARMANN* 128.

gjëmoj aor. *gjëmova* 'to run after, to hurry after'. A dialectal form of

gjurmtoj, derivative of *gjurmë*. ◇ *MEYER Wb.* 140 (to *gjuaj*); *MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048, 1052.

gjëmtoj aor. *gjëmtova* 'to collect bit by bit, to gather'. Borrowed from Lat *collimitāre* 'to draw boundaries', **to unite*'.

gjëndër ~ **gjandër** f, pl. *gjëndra* ~ *gjandra* 'gland'. Borrowed from Lat *glandula* 'gland of the throat' with the dissimilation of *liquida* (*HELBIG* 120; *SCHMIDT KZ* LVII 22). Tosk variants *glëndër* and *grëndël* reflect the anlaut *gl-* and thus exclude the Italian etymology. Rum *ghindură* id. continues the same Lat *glandula*. ◇ *MEYER Wb.* 140 (from Ital *ghi-andola* 'gland'); *MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1050, 1054 (follows *MEYER*); *PUŞCARIU EWR* 62; *SKOK ZfromPhil* XLIV 332-334 (from Rum *ghindură*, Arum *glindură* id.); *JOKL* apud *WALDE-HOFMANN* I 605 (from Rom **glandura*); *MANN Language* XVII 23; *HAARMANN* 128; *ÇABEJ St. I* 227 (follows *JOKL*); *LANDI Lat.* 47, 145-146.

(T) **gjër** m 'soup'. Corresponds to Geg *gjanë* 'mudbed, alluvium'. Goes back to PALb **jausna* related to Skt neut. *yūṣ* 'soup' (cf. in particular gen. sg. *yūṣnāḥ*), Lat *jūs* id., Lith *jūšė* 'fish soup' (if not from Prussian, cf. *BIGA* I 478-479), OPrus *iuse* 'soup' and the like (*CAMARDA* I 80). ◇ *MEYER Wb.* 308 (to Lat *jentāre* 'to breakfast'), *Alb. St.* III 39; *JOKL* apud *WALDE-HOFMANN* I 734; *PISANI Saggi* 248; *FRAENKEL* 191, 199; *MAYRHOFER* I 26; *WALDE-HOFMANN* I 734; *MINSHALL Language* XXXII 629; *POKORNY* I 507; *HAMP Laryngeals* 134; *KARALIŪNAS Baltistica* I 116; *ÇABEJ St. I* 227-228 (derivative of *gjë*); *DEMIRAJ AE* 183 (borrowed from Slav **glěnz* 'silt').

gji ~ **gjî** m, pl. *gji* ~ *gjî* 'breast, chest'. From PALb **sina* identical with Lat *sinus* 'curve, fold' (*MEYER Wb.* 140, *Alb. St.* III 67). ◇ *JOKL IF* L 45; *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 130, *Stratificazione* 89; *WALDE-HOFMANN* II 546; *ÇABEJ St.* VII 252.

gjije f 'stable, house'. A singularized plural of a form attested in Geg as *gjë* 'stable, pen'. Goes back to **saina* identical with the Baltic word for 'wall': Lith *siena*, Latv *siēna* further derived from IE **sēi-* 'to bind' (*OREL Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). ◇ *PISANI Saggi* 129; *FRAENKEL* 782-783; *POKORNY* I 891-892; *ÇABEJ St. I* 228 (important lexical material but no etymology).

gjinde pl. 'people'. Borrowed from Lat *gentem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30; CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 141). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 131; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 83, 116, 146.

gjithë adj. 'all'. The dialectal variant *gjidhë* (cf. also *gjillë* < *gjidhë*) seems to be a direct continuation of PALb **semǵza*, with the cluster **-em-* reflected as *-i-*, cf. *mish*. The Proto-Albanian form goes back to IE **semǵho-*, a suffix derivative of IE **sem-* 'one' attested in Arm *ez* < **semǵho-* (PEDERSEN KZ XXXIX 414). IE **sem-* is also attested alone in the same meaning, in Dalmatian Alb *gji* [dži] 'all' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 130), with *-i* as in *një* ~ *nji*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (comparison with Germ *ganz* 'all' and Kurd *gi*, *giš* id.); FAY *IF* XXXII 330-332 (to Germ *ganz*); AČAREAN *HAB* II 4-5; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk ἰσχυρός 'strength'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 106 (from **g-li-shit*); POKORNY I 902-903; ÖLBERG *Gedenkschr. Brandenstein* 111; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; HULD 69-70; DEMIRAJ *AE* 188-189 (from **siH-ko-*, to Gk ἰός).

gjizë ~ **gjizë** f 'goat cheese'. A derivative of an unattested **gjin-* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 228-229). Taking into account the cheese-making technology in the Balkans (putting cheese into an animal stomach and tying the latter), **gjin-* may be derived from PALb **sina* identical with OIr *sin* 'chain', ON *sin* 'sinew', OHG *senawa*, Av *hinu-* 'band' and further related to IE **sē(i)-* 'to bind'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 28, LKUBA 89 (to Lat *serum* 'watery part of curdled milk'), *Sprache* IX 153; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 158 (comparison with *urdhë*); LIDÉN KZ LXI 1 -4 (to Lith *gaižūs* 'rancid, bitter'), AASF XXVII 115-117; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; PISANI *Saggi* 102 (to Gk ζύμη 'leaven'); VASMER KZ L 247 (to Ir *seig* 'milk'); MINSHALL *Language* XXXII 628; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124 (suffix *-zë*); POKORNY I 891-892; VENDRYES [S] 112-113; OREL *Étimologija* 1983 137 (borrowed from Slav **gliza* 'swelling', cf. SCr *gliza* 'calf's stomach used for cheese making'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 189-190 (to W *hufen* 'cream' and the like).

gjobë f, pl. *gjoba* 'fine, penalty'. Borrowed from Slav **globa* having the same meaning in its South Slavic forms, Bulg *globa* and SCr *globa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 296). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 144, 181; SVANE 207, 234.

gjoc m, pl. *gjoca* 'aphid, greenfly, pine-weevil'. As another variant of

this word, *gjonth*, shows, it is a diminutive of *gjon* historically identical with *gjon* 'night-owl' and going back to the Latin proper name *Jōannes* > *Gjon*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 141 (on *gjon* < *Jōannes*).

gjollë f, pl. *gjollë* 'clearing or pasture where salt is strewn for sheep; patch of ground for sowing'. From PALb **sālā* based on IE **sal-* 'salt': Gk ἄλας id., Lat *sāl* and the like (HAMP *GJA* VI 45). The Albanian *ā*-stem may well replace the Indo-European athematic stem with a long vowel in nom. sg. (OREL *IF* XCIII 106, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 29 (to OE *selma* 'bed', Lith *súolas* 'bench'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Ir *siól*, Lith *sėkla*); FRISK I 78-79; WALDE-HOFMANN II 465-466; POKORNY I 878-879; DEMIRAJ *AE* 190.

gjurë adj. 'poor, miserable, wretched'. A suffixal derivative of *gjuaj*. Thus, the original meaning of the adjective is 'chased, persecuted'. ◊ HAHN 30 (to *djeg*); MEYER *Wb.* 141 (from Turk *kör* 'blind'); JOKL *Studien* 109, *IF* XXXVII 113 (borrowed from Slav **gor'e* 'grief'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 324; XHUVANI *KLetr* I/6 6 (related to *djerr*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 229 (agrees with XHUVANI).

gju ~ **gjũ** m, pl. *gjunjë*, *gjunj* 'knee'. Dialectal forms preserve the initial cluster *gl-*. Goes back to PALb **gluna* dissimilated from **g(a)nuna*. The latter is a secondary *n*-derivative based on IE **ǵenu-* 'knee': Hitt *genu*, Skt *jānu-*, Gk γόνυ, Lat *genũ* and the like (CAMARDA I 39). As to the phonetics of *gju*, it is close to OIr *glúin* id. < **glūno-* with a similar dissimilation of sonants (MEYER *Wb.* 142, *Alb. St.* III 9, 67). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 156; JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* 237 (on the inaccuracy of the Albanian - Celtic parallel), *Sprache* IX 156; PETERSSON apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk γύγγλυμος 'joint'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 127, *Stratificazione* 89; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34; PISANI *Saggi* 131; HAMP KZ LXXVI 275-276; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 159; MAYRHOFER I 429; WALDE-HOFMANN I 592-593; POKORNY I 380-381; FRISK I 321; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 229, 231; HULD 70; ÖLBERG *Studi Pisani* II 685; BORGEAUD *RRL* XX 4; JANSON *Unt.* 28-29; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 263; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 62; DEMIRAJ *AE* 190-191.

gjuaj ~ **gjuj** aor. *gjoa*, *gjuajta* ~ *gjujta*, *gjojta* 'to hunt'. Goes back to PALb **jägnja* based on the noun **jaga* > *gjah* 'hunt, hunting'. Further

etymological connection is OHG *jagōn* 'to hunt' (HAMP *Laryngeals* 134). ◊ CAMARDA I 122 (to Gk διζήμαι 'to seek'); MEYER *Wb.* 136 (to Slav *ženo, *gъnati 'to drive away', Lith *geni*, *giñti* id.), *Alb. Studien* III 7; THUMB *IF* XXVI 18; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330-331; KLUGE 329; VASMER I 419 (follows MEYER); HULD 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 191-192 (to Lat *sāgiō* 'to feel, to suspect', OIr *saigim* 'to go towards, to seek').

gjuhë f, pl. *gjuhë* 'tongue, language'. Dialectal forms reflect the initial *gl-*: Cham *gluhë*, Calabr *gl'ugë*. From PALb **glusā*, further connected with the Indo-European dialectal word for 'sound' **golso-*: ON *kall* 'shout', Lith *galsas* 'echo', Slav **golsъ* 'voice'. PALb **-ul-* (> Alb *-ul-, -lu-*) seems to go back to *-*l-* so that the source of the Albanian form should be reconstructed as IE **glso-*, a zero-grade opposed to the full grade of Balto-Slavic and Germanic. ◊ CAMARDA 26 (connection with Gk γλῶσσα 'tongue, language'); MEYER *Wb.* 142 (to *gjuaj* 'to call, a secondary variant of *quaj* id.); BARIĆ *ARS*t. 35 (to the Indo-European word for 'tongue', with *gjuhë* < **gl'undh(μā)* < **dlonghūā*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89-90; LA PIANA 94 (compares with Gk γλῶσσα); PISANI *Saggi* 102, *IF* LXI 146 (borrowed from Gk γλῶσσα); POKORNY I 350; FRAENKEL 131; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 34 (reconstructs **dlonghūā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132 (borrowed from Gk γλῶσσα), *Stratificazione* 89-90; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 219-220; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 268; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427-429 (to IE **gelā-* ~ **g'elā-* 'to swallow'); HULD 71 (from **għnud-sk-*!).

gjumë m 'sleep'. From PALb **supna* identical with a nominal derivative of IE **sup-* 'to sleep' - **sup-no-*: Gk ὕπνος 'sleep', Slav **sъnъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 142, *Alb. St.* III 32). In other Indo-European languages another ablaut variant **sup-no-* is represented. ◊ CAMARDA I 55 (to Gk κῶμα 'deep sleep'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 94; JOKL *Realex. Vorgesch.* I 90; MANN *Language* XVII 15, XXVI 387; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132; PORZIG *Gliederung* 179; PISANI *Saggi* 117, 127; VASMER III 716-717; FRISK II 970-971; CHANTRAINE 1160; POKORNY I 1048-1049; HULD 71-72; DEMIRAJ *AE* 192.

gjurmë f, pl. *gjurmë*, *gjurma* 'trace'. From PALb **surma*, a zero-grade variant of IE **sor-mo-* reflected in Skt *sárma-* 'flow', Gk ὄρη 'assault, attack', further connected with IE **ser-* 'to flow' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 59 (borrowed from Romance

via NGk γοῦρμα id.), *Wb.* 142 (uncertain link to Ital *orma* 'footmark', Rum *urmă* id.); BARIĆ *ARS*t. 103 (to Lat *serpō* 'to crawl'); MAYRHOFER III 471; FRISK II 419; POKORNY I 909-910; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216, 227.

gjuvengë f 'harlot'. Borrowed from Lat adj. fem. *juvenca* 'young', also 'young cow' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16). ◊ HAARMANN 131; ÇABEJ *St.* I 229.

gjykoj aor. *gjykova* 'to judge, to try'. Borrowed from Lat *jūdicāre* id. (CAMARDA I 99; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 142-143). As to *gjyq* 'trial, court', it continues Lat *jūdicium* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 229-230). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 74; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046-1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131; LANDI *Lat.* 101, 109, 112.

gjymtë adj. 'defective, incomplete, cripple, stunted'. Borrowed from Rom **junctus* 'joined' or secondarily derived from *gjymtyrë*. ◊ OREL *RRL* XXXI/1 3 (comparison with *gjysmë*).

gjymtyrë f, pl. *gjymtyrë* 'joint, limb'. Borrowed from Lat *junctūra* 'juncture, joint' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 143). Note the East Romance treatment of Lat *-nkt-* > *-*npt-* > *-mt-*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 267; HAARMANN 131; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 49-50; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 89, 101, 121.

gjysmë f, pl. *gjysma* 'half'. A metathesis from a widespread dialectal form *gjym(ë)së*. The latter represents a formation in *-ëšë* < *-*atja* derived from **gjym* < PALb **jāmi-* or **jūma*, to be further compared with Latv *jumis* 'double fruit' (with an unexpected *-u-* reminiscent of the unclear Alb *-y-* < *-*ū-*) and other continuants of IE **jemo-*: Skt *yamá-* 'duplicate, twin', MĀr *emon* 'twins', Lat *im-āgō* 'imitation, copy' (HAMP *Numerals* 920; OREL *RRL* XXXI/1 3-4, *FLH* VIII/1-2 43). Rum *jumătate* was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. ◊ CAMARDA I 93 (to Gk ἡμισος 'half' with unsurmountable phonetic difficulties); MEYER *BB* VIII 192 (to Lat *semi-* 'half'), *Wb.* 143 (follows CAMARDA but treats *gjysmë* as a Greek loanword with *gi-* filling hiatus in ὁ ἡμισος); SPITZER *MRIW* I 322 (from **jumos* 'bound together'); BARIĆ *ARS*t. 35-36 (supports MEYER *BB*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3244; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278;

MAYRHOFER III 8; WALDE-HOFMANN I 680; POKORNY I 505; IVANOV *Bsl. Etnojaz.* 81.

gjysh m, pl. *gjyshë, gjyshër ~ gjyshën* 'grandfather'. From PALb **sūsa* identical with Skt *sūśā* 'progenitor' further derived from IE **seu-* 'to give birth' (WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 243). Borrowed to Rum *ghiuj* 'old man'. \diamond CAMARDA I 72 (from **gēlysh*, related to Gk *γάλως* 'sister-in-law'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5 (from Rom **aviūsus*); MEYER *Wb.* 143; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 176 (from Rom **aviūsus*); JOKL *LKUBA* 28-37 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Sprache* IX 152; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 115; MAYRHOFER III 492; POKORNY I 913-914; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 330 (to *γυγαί·πάπποι*, Hes.); ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 198 (to Hitt *huhhas*, Lyc *huga* 'grandfather'); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD *KZ* CVII 168; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 58 (from **sauišja-* related to Lith *sāvas* 'own'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 192-193.

H

ha aor *hëngra ~ hangra* 'to eat'. Reflects PALb **eda* derived from IE **ed-* id. (HAMP *St. albanica* VIII/2 153-154). In Albanian, it is an accentual archaism with a stressed thematic vowel in 1 sg. pres. **edá* < IE **edóm* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 341). Pretonic *-*d-* > -*h-*, -*φ-* is regular (OREL *SBJa Kont.* 22-23), as well as the apheresis. The *nti*-participle *ngrënë ~ ngranë* is derived from IE **ger(ə)-* 'to swallow' (BOPP *Alb.* 82). The aorist *hëngra ~ hangra* is a secondary formation based on the original **ngra* and contaminated with the paradigm of *ha* (OREL *Ētimologija* 1982 154), cf., typologically, ME *geode* contaminated from *gān* 'to go' and *ēode* 'went' (KONECKAJA *Suppl.* 421-423). \diamond CAMARDA 132 (compares with Gk *χαίνω* 'to yawn, to gape'); MEYER *Wb.* 144 (from IE *(*s*)*khed-*, Skt *khādati* 'to eat, to devour'), *Alb. St.* III 59; BRUGMANN *Grundriß* I 759 (from **ghz-*, cf. Skt *ghas-* 'to eat'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 341 (compares *hëngra ~ hangra* with Arm 1 sg. aor. *eker* '(I) ate' and analyzes *hë-* as a continuation of the augment **e-*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 139-142; BARIĆ *ARSt* 26, 73 (agrees with MEYER), *Hymje* 43 (follows PEDERSEN in his etymology of *ha*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 70; LA PIANA *Studi* I 34, 96; PISANI *Saggi* 110, *Paideia* XXVIII 183 (repeats BRUGMANN's etymology); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 196-198; POKORNY I 287-289, 474-475; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 47; KLINGEN-

SCHMITT *Verbum* 279-280; ÇABEJ *St.* I 306; BADER *BSL* LXXI/I 97 (archaic thematic formations of **ed-*); OREL *Ētimologija* 1982 151-156, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359; IVANOV *Slav.* 92-93, 185 (to Tokh A, B *śwā-* 'to eat'); HULD 72 (to Lat *avere* 'to enjoy, to be well'); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (*ngrënë -* to OE *grindan* 'to grind'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 297-298.

habit aor. *habita* 'to surprise, to astonish'. Borrowed from Slav **xabiti* 'to destroy', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *xab'a*, SCR *habiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 144). \diamond SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 191; OREL *Ētimologija* 1983 133; SVANE 234.

hajmë adj. 'thin, lean'. Another derivative of the same root is *hajthëm* id. Both forms are based on *halë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 231).

hakël f 'fish bone'. Metathesis from **halkë*, a diminutive of *halë*. \diamond ÇABEJ *St.* I 231 (to *hokoç*).

hakrri f 'readiness for copulation (of pigs)'. From **harkrri*, derived from **hark*, see *hokoç*. From *hakrri* the verb *hakërrohem* 'to threaten, to frighten' is derived (ÇABEJ *St.* I 231-232).

halë f, pl. *hala* 'fish bone, splinter; pine'. From PALb **skalā* etymologically related to Lith *skalā* 'stick of firewood', Latv *skala* 'splinter (used to furnish light)'. This word is further connected with IE **skel-* 'to split' (MEYER *Wb.* 144, *Alb. St.* III 59). \diamond JOKL *IF* XXX 192, XXXVII 99, *WuS* XII 70 (agrees with MEYER); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 77; PISANI *Saggi* 122; FRAENKEL 792-793; POKORNY I 923-926; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Gk *ἀλέω* 'to grind'); HULD 151 (to Lat *alnus* 'alder'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148 (same as HULD, to Lith *alksnis* 'alder'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 233 (reconstructs **skolnā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 193-194 (to *elb*).

halbë f 'scab on the bark'. From PALb **skalbā* close to Latv *skalbs* 'sharp, shrill' with a further link to IE **skel-* 'to split', see *halë*. \diamond POKORNY I 923-926; ÇABEJ *St.* I 233 (to *halë* and *helm*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

hall m, pl. *halle* 'trouble, misery, plight, sorrow'. From PALb **skalna* connected with Gmc **skallaz* 'thin, dry, shallow' (E *shallow* and the like) ~ **xallaz* 'weak, tired' (MHG *hel, hellec*). \diamond MEYER *Wb.* 145 (from

Turk *hal* 'state, situation'; BARIĆ *ARSt* 26 (to Skt *khilá-*); ONIONS 816; OREL *IF* XLIII 107-108 (from **edolos* based on IE **ed-* 'to eat').

hamull f, pl. *hamulla* 'stubble-field'. A derivative in *-ull* based on *ha*. Thus, the stubble-field is described as 'eaten up'.

hap aor. *hapa* 'to open'. From PAIb **skapa* connected with IE **skep-* 'to cut, to split, to dig' (MEYER *Wb.* 146, *Alb. St.* III 31, 59). Note *hapě* 'step' derived from *hap*. ◊ POKORNY I 366-368; OREL *Zfbalk* XXIII/1 72; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125 (to Hitt *apa* 'afterwards').

harabel m, pl. *harabela* 'sparrow'. Borrowed from Slav **vorьbьlь* id., a form unattested in South Slavic where we only find **vorьbьcь* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 17). ◊ SVANE 144.

harc m, pl. *harca* 'rocky landscape'. A nominal derivative of *harr* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 233).

hardhēl f, pl. *hardhla* 'lizard'. Other variants are *hardhje*, *hardhicē*, *hardhucē*, *hardhushkē*. The source of all these derivatives must have been **hardhē*. Since other words for 'lizard' are safely etymologized as 'diggers' (cf. Slav **aščerъ* id., **guščerъ* id.), *hardhē* continues PAIb **skardā* to be further compared with Lith *skerdžiū*, *skeřsti* 'to slaughter, to prick', Latv *šķērstu*, *šķērst* 'to split', and with the *o*-vocalism - Lith *skardūs* 'steep', Latv *skārdīt* 'to divide'. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 223 (to Gk *χαρδοῦν· ζῷον ὅμοιον κροκοδείλω*); MEYER *Wb.* 147 (a transformation of Lat *lacerta* id.); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 110 n. 1 (related to Slav **aščerъ* id.); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil* XLI 700-701 (to Arag *faradacho*); SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 105-106; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 26 (to Gk *ἑσχαρός* 'kind of fish'), *AArabSt.* III 217; MLADENOV *RFV* LXXI 454-458; PETERSSON *LUÅ* XVI/3 40-41 (to Gk *κορδύλος* 'triton'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 239, *Stratificazione* 137; FRAENKEL 797, 803; VASMER IV 572 (follows JOKL); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* I 88; DEMIRAJ *AE* 194-195.

hark m, pl. *harqe*, *herq*, *herqe* 'bow'. Variant of *ark* id., borrowed from Lat *arcus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 15).

harlis aor. *harlisa* 'to bring into high spirits (of a horse)'. Borrowed from NGk **χαραλίζω*, a derivative of *χαρίζω* 'to do something agreeable'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 234 (derivative of *harlē*, variant of *harrje*).

harmĚshor m, pl. *harmĚshorē* 'stallion, stud-horse'. Borrowed from Rom **armĚsārius*, also preserved in Rum *armĚsar*, a phonetic variant of Lat *admissārius* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 148). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1042; PUŞCARIU *EW* 11; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111.

harmoj aor. *harmova* 'to destroy, to exhaust'. Together with another derivative, *harmi* 'broken wind, pursiness (in horses)', goes back to **harm* continuing PAIb **skarima*. The latter is based on IE **sker-* 'to cut', cf. *harr* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 234-235). Note *harmoç* 'crumbled plaster; stone-pine' and Geg *hartinē* 'kind of pine' also belonging to this root (ÇABEJ *St.* I 235). ◊ POKORNY I 938-947.

harr aor. *harra* 'to weed, to cut down'. From PAIb **skarna*, a denominative related to IE **sker-* 'to cut', cf. Goth *us-skarjan* 'to tear out', Lith *skiriū*, *skirti* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 148, *Alb. St.* III 59, 73). ◊ CAMARDA I 36-37 (to Gk *χαράσσω* 'to sharpen'); BÜGGE *BB* XVIII 167 (to Lat *sariō* 'to hoe'); LEWY *ZfslavPh* I 416 (the same); JOKL *LKUBA* 156; BARIĆ *ARSt* 27 (from IE **sker-*); FEIST *Goth.* 534; FRAENKEL 808; POKORNY I 938-947; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129-130 (to Hitt *arnumi* 'to bring'); ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 196-197.

harrje f, pl. *harrje* 'midge'. Historically identical with *harlē* 'kind of mite'. A deminutive of **harr*, *herr* 'small creature'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 234 (to *harr*).

harroj aor. *harrova* 'to forget'. Borrowed from Lat *aberrāre* 'to forget (for a time)'. Note prothetic *h-*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224.

harrok m, pl. *harrokē* 'he-goat'. A suffixal derivative of unattested **harr* related to Lith *skerys* 'ram', Latv *šķēris* id., further connected with Gk *σκαίρω* 'to spring, to dance'. ◊ FRAENKEL 801-802; FRISK II 714-715; POKORNY I 934.

hedh aor. *hodha* 'to throw, to shoot'. Another variant is *hjedh*. From PAIb **skeuda* connected with ON *skjóta*, OHG *sciozan* and other continuants of Gmc **skiutan* 'to shoot' < IE **skeud-* 'to throw, to shoot' (MEYER *Wb.* 150, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59). ◊ LIDÉN *Studien* 43; SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 111; BÜGA II 200; BARIĆ *ARSt* 27 (to Lith *sáuju* 'to shoot');

PISANI *Saggi* 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; POKORNY I 955-956; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129 (to Gk ἔγω, *St. Whatmough* 88, *Ētimologija* 1971 268-269 (reconstructs **skēud-*), *St. albanica* X/2 86-88; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126 (against HAMP *Laryngeals*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219, 250; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE **sk-* > PALb **ks-*); HULD 72-73; DEMIRAJ *AE* 197-198 (reconstructs **skedho-*).

hedhe *f*, pl. *hedhe* 'dandruff'. Singularized plural of **hedh(ē)*, derivative of *hedh*. For the semantics cf. Russ *syp'* 'rash' related to *sypat'* 'to throw, to drop'.

hejē *f* 'food supply (for a year)'. From PALb **skaljā* identical with Lith *āt-skala* 'supply, stock' etymologized as a derivative of *skalà* 'stick of firewood', see *halē*. ◊ FRAENKEL 792.

hejzē *f*, pl. *hejza* 'water-shed'. Derived from *hejē* 'spear', see *hell* (GAZULLI 173-174). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 237.

hekē *f* 'agony'. From PALb **skakā* etymologically connected with Lith *šōkti* 'to jump, to dance', Slav **skokъ* 'jump', OIr *scén* 'horror' < **skekno-*. ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 125; FRAENKEL 1021-1022; VASMER III 645; POKORNY I 922-923; VENDRYES [S] 40-41.

hekur *m*, pl. *hekura* 'iron'. Plausibly borrowed from Gk ἄγκυρα 'anchor' (JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 236), cf. *hekur i anijes* 'anchor', lit. 'iron of the ship'. However, some phonetic details remain obscure. Initial *h-* may be secondary. As for *-e-*, it could well appear as a result of umlaut in plural and then in singular - a process widely spread in Albanian. This leads to the reconstruction of PALb **akura*. However, *-nk-* should yield Alb *-ng-*. ◊ CAMARDA 90 (comparison with Gk χαλκός 'copper'); MEYER *Wb.* 150 (compares with Skt *siñcati* 'to pour out, to sprinkle'), *Alb. St.* III 5, 43; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (to Arm *erkat*); IVANOV *SBJa Antič.* 21 (a farfetched hypothesis close to that of CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Goth *aiz* 'ore'), *StF* XXII (V) 121-122; IVANESCU *SAO* VIII 274-276; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359.

helm *m*, pl. *helme* 'poison; grief, sorrow'. From **skal(i)ma* connected with *hall*. (OREL *IF* XC 107-108) ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 107 (compares with OHG *scalmo* 'pestilence, epidemic', *scelmo* id.), *Alb. St.* III 59, 64; JOKL

Erf. Idg. 142 (to Thr σκόλη 'sword'); ; BARIĆ *ARSt* 27; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (to Gk χάλιμος· φαρμάκος, Hes.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 236-237 (to *hell*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 198 (compared with Skt *āla-* 'poison'; borrowed to Greek as χάλιμος).

hell *m*, pl. *helle, heje, hej* 'spear, spit'. Another form of the same word, *hejë*, is derived from plural. From PALb **skōla* identical with Gk σκόλος 'pointed stake, thorn' (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124). Further related to IE **skel-* 'to cut, to split' (MEYER *Wb.* 151). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 386; HAMP *St. albanica* VI/1 125-126 (to OPr *aycolo* 'needle'), *StF* XXII (V) 119-120; FRISK II 745-746; POKORNY I 923-927; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; ÇABEJ *St.* I 237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 199.

hep *m*, pl. *hepa* 'furrow, scratch'. From PALb **skapa* etymologically connected with *hap* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 237-238; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72).

heq ~ hek *aor. hoqa ~ hoka* 'to draw, to pull'. In dialects, a more conservative form *helq* is attested. It goes back to PALb **skalkja*, a causative identical with Gk *ὀλκῆω < **solkeiō* based on ἔλκω 'to draw' (CAMARDA I 81; MEYER *Wb.* 150-151). The initial *h-* in Albanian is irregular (HULD 73) so that an assimilative development **salkja* > **skalkja* must be reconstructed. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 278; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; ERNOUT-MEILLET 664; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (*heq* as a borrowing from Gk ἔλκω); PISANI *Saggi* 120; PORZIG *Namen* 236 f. (Greek data for the reconstruction of *ὀλκῆω), *Gliederung* 172; FRISK I 497-498; CHANTRAINE 340; POKORNY I 901; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132 (suggests **Hυolkeiō*); HULD 73 (groundless comparison with OE *ealh* 'temple, sanctuary').

herdhe *pl.* 'testicles'. From PALb **ardzai* related to IE **orghi-* ~ **ṛghi-* id.: Av dual. *ərəzi*, Gk ὄρχις, Arm *orjik*, Mlir *uirge* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 151, *Alb. St.* III 18, 72, 86). The initial *h-* is a secondary prothetic consonant. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 67, 275; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90; PISANI *Saggi* 132; FRISK I 433-434; CHANTRAINE 831; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129 (*h-* as a continuant of the Indo-European laryngeal); POKORNY I 782; VENDRYES [V] 20-21; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129; RIX *Munch. St. Spr.* XXVII 93 (reconstructs **Hṛgħijā*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238, 251; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; HULD 73-74; DEMIRAJ *AE* 199.

herdhe *f*, pl. *herdhe* ‘nest’. A singularized plural of an unattested **hardh* < **skordhos* related to Skt *sárdhas-* ‘herd, crowd’, W *cordd* ‘crowd’ < **kordho-*, Goth *hairda* ‘herd’, Slav **čerda* id. (MEYER Wb. 151). These forms reflect a root with the alternation of **k-* ~ **k̄-* in the anlaut. In Albanian, the initial **sk-* must be reconstructed. ◊ BARIĆ ARSt 27; JOKL AArbSt I 38-40 (specially on W *cordd*); KLUGE 310; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113, *Stratificazione* 144; MAYRHOFER III 310; POKORNY I 579; FEIST *Goth.* 234; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* IV 60-63.

herë *f*, pl. *herë* ‘time, moment of time, hour’. Borrowed from Lat *hōra* ‘hour’ (MEYER Wb. 151). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; ÇABEJ St. VII 200, 280; HAARMANN 129.

hermoj aor. *hermova* ‘to dig’. Initial *h-* is due to prothesis. Borrowed from Rom **extrimāri* ‘to hoe, to dig out’, cf. Lat *rīmārī* ‘to hoe’.

herr *m*, pl. *herra* ‘dwarf’. From PAIb **skarna* derived from IE **sker-* ‘to cut’, see *harr* (ÇABEJ St. I 238).

hesht aor. *heshta* ‘to stay silent’. Derived from the interjection *hesht* ‘hush’ (MEYER Wb. 151). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113; ÇABEJ St. VII 220.

heshtë *f*, pl. *heshta* ‘spear’. A derivative in *-shtë* based on *hell* (JOKL IF XXXVI 124, LKUBA 214, 330). ◊ MEYER Wb. 151 (from Lat *hasta* id.); ÇABEJ St. I 238 (follows JOKL).

hetoj aor. *hetova* ‘to search, to inquire, to discover’. The initial *h-* is prothetic. Borrowed from Lat *ēdictāre* ‘to announce’. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Lith *skaityti*); ÇABEJ St. VII 273.

hë ~ hê adv. ‘now’, interj. ‘well’. From PAIb **skainai*, dative-locative of a noun related to Goth *skeinan*, OHG *skīnan* ‘to shine’, with a semantic development similar to that of E *in a twinkling*. ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 431; KLUGE 640.

hëpërhë ~ hêpërhê adv. ‘just, actually, in fact’. A univerbation of *hë për hë*, a sequence including the adverb *hë*.

hënë ~ hanë *f* *hëna ~ hana* ‘moon’. From PAIb **ksandā* further com-

pared with Skt *cādati* ‘(he) shines, is bright’, *candā-* ‘shining; moon’ (MEYER Wb. 151, *Alb. St.* III 59). From the point of view of word-formation, the Albanian word is particularly close to Celt **kando-*: W *cann* ‘white’, MBret *cann* ‘full moon’. ◊ SCHEFTELOWITZ KZ LVI 208 (to Av *sand-* ‘to be visible’); GÜNTERT *Ablaut* 91-92; BARIĆ ARSt 27 (to Skt *chandati*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 69-70 (reconstructs **skand-nā*); HASDEU *EMR* II 37; ERNOUT-MEILLET 92; MAYRHOFER I 372-373; POKORNY I 526; ÇABEJ St. IV 57 (on the development of *-nd-* > *-n-*); HULD 74; SCHRIJVER *Latin* 428; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE **sk-* > PAIb **ks-*); DEMIRAJ AE 199-200 (to *hie* or to Lat *annus* ‘year’).

hi ~ hî *m* ‘ash’. From PAIb **skina*, a form with *s mobile* related to Lat *cinis* ‘dust, ash’ (MEYER Wb. 152, *Alb. St.* III 59, 67). ◊ BARIĆ ARSt 27-28; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132 (reconstructs **skino-*); WALDE-HOFMANN I 217-218; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (to Skt *edhas-* ‘firewood’); HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (groundless reconstruction of **Hidh-no-*); ÇABEJ St. VII 210; ÖLBERG KZ LXXXVI 124; HULD 74.

hidhët adj. ‘bitter, sad’. Derived from *hidhem* ‘to jump, to overflow, to walk over’, reflexive of *hedh*. The verb *hidhëroj ~ hidhënonj* ‘to sadden’ has the same source. ◊ MEYER Wb. 157 (to Pol *jędza* ‘fury’ and the like), *Alb. St.* III 16; JOKL *Studien* 29-30 (to Gk αἶθω ‘to burn’); BARIĆ ARSt. I 28; LOEWENTHAL *WuS* XI 60 (to αἶξ ‘goat’); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 134; HAMP *Laryngeals* 127 (to *hi*); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *scindō* ‘to split’); DEMIRAJ AE 200-201.

hidhës *m*, pl. *hidhës* ‘stinging nettle’. Related to *hidhët* (ÇABEJ St. I 238). ◊ MEYER Wb. 152 (uncertain connection with Gk κνίδη id.); BARIĆ ARSt 28; JOKL *Studien* 29-30 (to Gk αἶθω ‘to burn’).

hije *f*, pl. *hije* ‘shadow’. Singularized plural of an archaic *hë* going back to PAIb **skijā*. This form is connected with IE **skāi-* ~ **skī-*: Skt *chāyā* id., Gk σκιά id. (CAMARDA I 71; MEYER Wb. 149-150, *Alb. St.* III 59). ◊ JOKL LKUBA 60-63; PISANI *Saggi* 119 (separates *hije* from *he*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 439; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131; FRISK II 730-731; CHANTRAINE 1017; MAYRHOFER I 407; POKORNY I 917-918; ÇABEJ St. III 139, VII 277; HULD 74-75; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 33, 61; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46; *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE **sk-* > PAIb **ks-*); DEMIRAJ AE 201.

hikërr f, pl. *hikrra* 'sour milk; buckwheat'. This form, with a secondary prothetic *h-*, goes back to PALb **eikrā*, an *r*-derivative of *ik*, *ikěj*. For the semantic development of the Albanian word cf. Germ *gerinnen* 'to coagulate' < *rinnen* 'to run'.

hime pl. 'bran'. From PALb **skeidma*, a morphological innovation based on IE **skeid-men-*, further connected with Goth *skaidan* 'to divide', Lith *skiedžu*, *skiesti* 'to make thin' and, in particular, with Lith *skiemuō* 'opening used to insert the shuttle' < **skeid-men-*. ◇ KLUGE 641; FRAENKEL 805-806; POKORNY I 921; FEIST *Goth.* 427; ÇABEJ *St.* I 239 (identical with *imtë*).

himtë adj. 'grey'. Derived from *hi*.

hingël f, pl. *hingla* 'girth'. Borrowed from Rom **hinnicula*, derivative of Lat *hinnus* 'mule'.

hingëlloj aor. *hingëllova* 'to whinny, to neigh'. Borrowed from Rom **hinniculāre*, an expressive form based on Lat *hinnire*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 151-152 (connected with Lat *hinnire* 'to whinny, to neigh'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

hinje interj. 'behold, now, there'. A sequence of two interjections: *hi* identical with *hë* and *nje*, a form of *njoh* (CAMARDA II 156; MEYER *Wb.* 314). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 239 (follows CAMARDA but also compares *hinje* with *inj*).

hip(ëj) ~ hypi aor. *hipa ~ hypa* 'to go up'. From PALb **sküpa*. If *s* mobile can be suggested here, the verb with its unusual long grade could be compared with Lith *kùpti* 'to rise', Latv *kupt* 'to gather, to build up'. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 17 (to IE **upo* 'over, up'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 135; FRAENKEL 314; POKORNY I 591; HAMP *Laryngeals* 127-128 (to Skt *úpa* 'up, hither'), *St. Whatmough* 88, *SCL XXVIII*/1 74.

hir m, pl. *hire* 'grace, favor, mercy'. From PALb **skīra* etymologically connected with Goth *skeirs* 'clear', Slav **ščīrǝ* 'clean' (MEYER *Wb.* 152, *Alb. St.* III 59, 71). ◇ CAMARDA I 70 (identifies *hir* with *χάρης* 'favor, grace'); MIKLOSICH *Bulg. Siebenb.* 123 (from Gk *χάρης*); BUGGE *BB XVIII* 167 (to Gk *σάκρον* 'white parasol born by a priest-ess'); JOKL *LKUBA* 67 (follows BUGGE); LA PIANA *Studi* I 66-67 (similar

to CAMARDA); KLUGE 647-645; MANN *Language XXVIII* 39 (agrees with MEYER); FEIST *Goth.* 432; POKORNY I 917-918; VASMER IV 507-508; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV*/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk *χάρης*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 239-240 (singularized plural of **her* which, in its turn, is an umlauticized form of **har*; the latter comes from Gk *χάρης*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 201-202 (possibility of *hir* borrowed from Gk *ἅγιος* 'holy').

hirrë f 'whey'. From PALb **ksirā* to be compared with Skt *kšīrā-* 'milk', Osset *æxšīr* id. (PEDERSEN *IF V* 45; *KZ XXXVI* 277). Note that Alb *-rr-* seems to reflect an intervocalic **-r-*. ◇ CAMARDA I 47 (to Gk *ὀρός* id., Skt *sarā-* 'flowing'); MEYER *Wb.* 152 (to Slav **syrǝ* 'cheese' - phonetically impossible), *Alb. St.* III 43 (to Lat *serum*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 28 (to Lith *kartūs* 'bitter'), *AArbSt I*/1-2 145-146; JOKL *LKUBA* 273 (follows PEDERSEN); LIDÉN *KZ LXI* 9-10 (to ON *skyr* 'sour milk' < Gmc **skurjan*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 132; PISANI *Saggi* 132 (follows LIDÉN); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148-149; MAYRHOFER I 290; MILLER *Osset.* 15; HUBSCHMID *XII LFR II* 978 (connected with Mantuan *scaron* id. borrowed from Messap **skar-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HAMP *LB XXIV*/4 49 (links *hirrë* to *urdhë* and reconstructs **skerHinā*); HULD 75; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 144; DEMIRAJ *AE* 202-203.

hisëll ~ hīsëll m, pl. *hisëlla ~ hīsëlla* 'burning nettle'. Goes back to **hithëll*, a derivative of *hith*. Another form belonging here is *hiskull* id. influenced by *hisk* 'sharp and long (of bull's horns)'. Nasalization in Geg is secondary. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 240 (connection between *hisk* and *hiskull*).

(G) **hitas** aor. *hiteta* 'to hurry'. Borrowed from Slav **xytati*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *xitam* id., SCr *hitati* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 240). ◇ SVANE 256.

hith m, pl. *hitha* 'blight, burning nettle'. Apparently, from **hidh* with an irregular auslaut unvoicing (but cf. *gjeth!*), further connected with *hedh*, see JOKL *Stud.* 29-30. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 152 (to Gk *κνίδη* id.).

hjedhët adj. 'slim, long and thin'. Derived from *hjedh*, a phonetic variant of *hedh*. Note also *hjedhë* 'chaff' coming from the same source.

hjekës m, pl. *hjekës* 'mediator, accessory, receiver of stolen goods'. Derivative of *hjek*, a dialectal variant of *heq* (MANN *HAED* 160).

hobe f, pl. *hobe* 'catapult, sling'. A dialectal form of *bahe* (ÇABEJ St I 240).

hoje f, pl. *hoje* 'honeycomb'. A singularized plural of *huall* (ÇABEJ St. I 240). ◇ MEYER Wb. 146 (to *halë*).

hokë f 'joke, jest'. An onomatopoeia imitating laughter. ◇ LA PIANA *Studi* I 95 (borrowed from Lat *jocus* 'jest, joke'); ÇABEJ St. I 240 (identifies *hokë* with *okë* 'measure of weight', from Turkish).

hokoç m 'uncastrated boar'. Other variants are *hakoç*, *harkoç*. A suffixal derivative of **hark* ~ **hork* imitating pig's grunting. ◇ MEYER Wb. 153 (to Pers *xuk* 'pig'); ÇABEJ St. I 232 (related to *harr*).

hollë adj. 'thin, fine, slender, slim'. From PAIb **skāla* further compared with IE **skel-* 'to cut': Lith *skeliū*, *skëlti* 'to split, to divide', Mir *scālim* 'to let go' and the like (JOKL IF XXXVII 99). ◇ LEWY *ZfslavPh* I 416 (to Slav **xoliti*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210 (follows JOKL); BARIĆ ARSt 72 (to Gk σκῶλος 'picket, stake'), *Hymje* 34; FRAENKEL 800; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Gk ἄλλῶ 'to grind'); ÖLBERG KZ LXXXVI 126 (against HAMP); VENDRYES [S] 28-29; POKORNY I 924-925; ÇABEJ St. VII 199, 227; HULD 75-76; CLACKSON LR 219; DEMIRAJ AE 203 (to Gk ἀλόος 'reed flute').

hop m, pl. *hope* 'instant, moment; jump'. A descriptive stem, cf. E *to hop* (MEYER Wb. 153).

horr m, pl. *horra* 'villain, scoundrel, rogue, pauper, miser'. Together with fem. *horre* 'shameless woman, whore', it represents a pair of Germanic loanwords, cf. Goth *hors* 'adulterer' - ON *hóra* 'whore', OHG *huora* id. ◇ MEYER Wb. 153 (borrowed from Turk *hor* 'bad, small'); KLUGE 321; ÇABEJ St. VII 234; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

hu ~ **hû** m, pl. *hunj* 'picket, stake, pole, penis'. Continues PAIb **skuna* with a secondary nasal suffix, going back to the earlier **skuja* identical with Slav **xujb* 'penis'. Further parallels are represented by OIr *scé* 'hawthorn', Lith *skuja* 'pine-needle', Latv *skuja* id., Slav **xvoja* id. (PEDERSEN Zb. *Jagic* 218). ◇ BARIĆ ARSt. I 29; VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* 83-84 (to Gk ξύλον); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 15; VENDRYES [S] 37; FRAENKEL 821; POKORNY I 958;

TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VIII 114; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE **sk-* > PAIb **ks-*).

huaj ~ **huej** adj. 'foreign, strange'. From PAIb **ksanja* further connected with an isolated Gk ξένος, Dor ξένος 'stranger, guest' (MEYER Wb. 154, Alb. St. III 59-60). ◇ CAMARDA II 204 (to Lat *hostis* 'stranger, foreigner, guest'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 124; PEDERSEN IF V 59; BARIĆ ARSt 29 (based on *ha*, cf. Lat *hostis* - Skt *ghāsati* 'to eat'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 106; JOKL IF XXXVII 93 (follows MEYER), L 55; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK II 333-334; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131, *Anc. IE* 116; ÇABEJ St. I 240-241 (adduces OAIb *uoj* as an argument against MEYER's etymology); HULD 76; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282; DEMIRAJ AE 203-204 (semantically unacceptable hypothesis: from **ouos* 'that' → 'other' → 'strange').

huall ~ **huell** m, pl. *hoje* 'honeycomb'. Goes back to PAIb **skāla* further related to *hollë* (ÇABEJ St. I 241).

hudhër f, pl. *hudhra* 'garlic'. A more archaic phonetic form is represented by the variant *hurdhë* continuing PAIb **skurdā*, etymologically connected with Gk σκόροδον id. (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER Wb. 154, Alb. St. III 28, 59, 72). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 160, 331; BARIĆ ARSt 29; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 78-80, *LKUBA* 230, *Sprache* IX 121; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; FRISK II 738; CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 30, 121; CHANTRAINE 1021; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 344; HAMP LB XX 116-117 (reconstructs *o-grade*); ÇABEJ St. VII 237; DEMIRAJ AE 204-205.

hudhëroj aor. *hudhërova* 'to throw, to fling'. Derived from *hudh-*, a morphological variant of *hedh*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 234.

hukas aor. *hukata* 'to shout'. Borrowed from Slav **xukati* id. (SVANE 257).

hulumtoj aor. *hulumtova* 'to follow up, to track out, to investigate'. A parallel form *hulmëtoj* is phonetically closer to the source which is Rom **inventāre* based on Lat *invenīre* 'to find out'. The complicated phonetic history of this word includes the assimilation of *-v-* to the preceding *-n-* and then the dissimilation of two nasals and the loss of the second one. Finally, a prothetic *h-* was added. The irregularities may reflect an unusual way of the word acquisition (via hunters' slang?).

hulli f, pl. *hulli* ‘furrow’. Another variant is *holli*. A derivative of *hollë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 241). ◇ MANN *Language* XVII 14 (to Lith *skilvis*).

humb aor. *humba* ‘to leave, to lose, to spoil, to miss’, to drown. From a nasal present **skumba* compared with IE **skeubh-*: Goth *af-skiuban* ‘to push away, to reject’, Lith *skumbù, skùbtii* ‘to hurry, to hasten’ (PISANI *Saggi* 109). As to *hup* ‘to lose, to spoil, to miss’, it may be a back formation based on *humb*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (connects *humb* with *hup*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 36-37 (*hup* to Lat *sūpō* ‘to upset, to overturn’); PISANI *Saggi* 124; FRAENKEL 820; POKORNY I 955; HAMP *Laryngeals* 128 (to *hipēj*), *SCL* XXVIII/1 75; FEIST *Goth.* 9; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 232; OREL *IF* XCIII 109 (compares with *hup* and reconstructs **skupa* ~ **skumpa* further connected with Slav **čupati* to pinch, to tear, to break’), *TBK* 192.

hundë f, pl. *hundë* ‘nose’. Goes back to Palb **skun-tā* derived from **skuna* > *hu* (MEYER *Wb.* 152-153). The verb *hundohem* ‘to sneer, to turn up nose’ is derived from *hundë* (CAMARDA II 143-144). ◇ SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 16; BARIĆ *ARSt* 103 (to Lat *sentio* ‘to feel’); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276, *Stratificazione* 90; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 127 (accepts MEYER’s etymology); HULD 76 (fantastic comparison with IE **nas-* ‘nose’); ÇABEJ *St.* I 240 (on *hundohem*); OREL *Ètimologija* 1985 180 (against HULD).

huptë aor. ‘stale (of bread); forming a hard crust (of snow)’. Derivative of *hup*, see *humb*.

hurbë f, pl. *hurba* ‘swallow, mouthful’. Another variant is *hurp* which also functions as a verb ‘to swallow’. From Palb **skurbā* etymologically linked to Lith *skerbiù, skefbti* ‘to cut deep’, Latv *šķirba* ‘fissure, slot’, Slav **ščьrba* id. ◇ FRAENKEL 801, 807; VASMER IV 503-504; ÇABEJ *St.* I 242 (onomatopoeia).

hurdhë f, pl. *urdhe* ‘ivy’. The parallel form is *urdhe*. A singularized plural going back to Palb **wurdā* connected with other reflexes of IE **urdho-*: OE *word* ‘thorn-bush’, Lat *rubus* ‘bramble-bush’. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (to Skt *přśni-* ‘spotted’); WALDE-HOFMANN II 445-446; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 405; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236.

hurdhë f, pl. *urdha* ‘pond, pool’. Another variant is *urdhë*. Continues Palb **wurdā*, a derivative in *-dh-* further related to Slav **virz* ‘whirlpool’, **variti* ‘to cook’, Lith *vérdu, virti* id. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 30-

31 (to Skt *vār-* ‘water’); PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRAENKEL 1263; VASMER I 275; POKORNY I 1166; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236-237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

(G) **hut** adj. ‘vain, empty’. The initial *h-* is prothetic. From Palb **uta*, an adjective in *-to-* based on IE **eua-*: **uā-* ‘empty’, cf. similar formations in *-no-*: Skt *ūnā-* ‘missing’, Lat *vānus* ‘empty’ and the like. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 31 (to Gk *αῦτος* ‘vain, empty’); WALDE-HOFMANN II 731-732; CHANTRAINE 382; POKORNY I 345; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 262; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 124 (onomatopoeia); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

hutë f, pl. ‘vulture, owl’. Another variant is *utë*. Borrowed from MGk *ὠτος* ‘horned owl’. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 460 (borrowed from Lat *otus* ‘horned owl’ < Gk *ὠτος*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (from Lat *otus*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227.

hutloj aor. *hutlova* ‘to deceive’. Together *hutirrohem* ‘to be astonished’, derived from unattested nouns **hutël* and **hutërr* (cf. *hutrojë* ‘silly old woman’), both of them based on *hutoj*.

hutoj aor. *hutova* ‘to astonish, to daze’. Derived from *hutë* figuratively denoting ‘fool, dolt’ (MANN *HAEW* 164). ◇ HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (to Geg *hut*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 206, 227.

hyj m, pl. *hyja, hyj* ‘god’. Singularized plural of *yll, hyll* ‘star’ (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438) coined by BOGDANI (ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 150 (connects *hyj* with *hije*); KRISTOFORIDHI 135, 139 (same as MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 64-65 (reconstructs **hye* continuing IE **skēini-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to ON *skuggi* < IE **skuŋi-*); HAMP *St.* *Whاتمough* 88.; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

hyj ~ hÿj aor. *hyra ~ hyna* ‘to enter’. The anlaut *h-* is prothetic. Goes back to a denominative Palb **eiwinja* or **eiwanja* based on **eiwi-* ~ **eiwa*, related to IE **ei-* ‘to go, to walk’ and etymologically close to Skt *éva-* ‘speedy’, Lith *at-eivis, at-éiva* ‘newcomer, stranger’, *pér-eiva* ‘tramp, vagrant’. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 17-18 (reconstructs **sūpnjō*, further to Lat *sub* ‘under’ and the like); FRAENKEL 119; MAYRHOFER I 129; POKORNY I 293-297; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125-126 (to Skt *ava-* ‘off’); ÇABEJ *St.* I 242 (connects *hyj* with *-y-*, reflecting a contraction of **-oi-* < **-odi-*, to IE **sed-* ‘to go’).

I

ijĕ f, pl. *ijĕ* 'hip, side'. Borrowed from Lat pl. *ilia* 'groin, flank' (CAMARDA I 70-71; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 158). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 130; ÇABEJ *St.* I 243; LANDI *Lat.* 126.

ikĕj aor. *ikĕna* 'to go away, to run away'. A more archaic form of present is *ik*; there exists also a form with a secondary initial *h-*. Continues PAIb **eika* further belonging to IE **ei-* 'to go' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 243). Similarly to Slav **jьdĭ* '(I) go' based on **idhi*, an old imperative of **ei-* (POLIVANOV *IORJaS* XXIV/2 349-350), Albanian present forms *ik*, *ikĕj* are derived from the imperative *ik* which can be compared with Lith *eĭk*, *eĭki* 'go!' (OREL *Lingv. issled.* II 35-36, *Baltistica* XXI/2 156-157), with the suffix of imperative *-k-* of dubious origin (STANG *Norw. J.Ling.* XXX 127-131). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 158; BRUGMANN *IF* XXIX 404-412; LA PIANA *Studi alb.* I 193 (compares *ik* with Gk ἵκω 'to come'); BUGA *RFV* LVII 240 (on Lith *eĭki*); POKORNY I 293-294; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205, 227; OREL *ZfBalk* XXII/1 82, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352.

ikra pl. 'spawn, caviar'. Borrowed from Slav **ikra* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *ikra*, SCR *ikra* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170; SVANE 149.

ilqe f, pl. *ilqe* 'holm-oak'. A singularized plural of **ilqĕ* borrowed from Lat *ilicem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 158). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1048; HAARMANN 130.

im pron. 'my'. A univerbated sequence consisting of the demonstrative pronoun **is* (see *ay*) and unstressed 1 sg. pronoun **me*.

imshtĕ f, pl. *imshta* 'oak grove'. Another variant is *ipshtĕ*. Derived from *imĕ*, *imtĕ* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 244).

imtĕ adj. 'tiny, small'. Another variant is *imĕ*. Reflects PAIb **ima* continuing **Is-mos*, cf. Skt *iṣāt* 'little, a little, slightly', Lith *įsas* 'short', Latv *īss* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 158 (to IE **em-* 'to seize'); FRAENKEL 187; MAYRHOFER I 96; POKORNY I 299-300; ÇABEJ *St.* I 239 (derived from *hi*), 244 (to *hime*).

inj prep. 'up to'. A ghost word registered only by MITKO and being, in fact, a phonetic variant of *hinje* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 244). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 159 (to IE **eni* 'in'), Alb. *St.* III 66; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136; DEMIRAJ *AE* 207.

irĕ adj. 'dun'. Related to *err*, with *i-* resulting from the paradigmatic alternation *e ~ i* in nouns. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 244-245 (links *irĕ* to *irĕmadh* 'heroic' but the latter is a compound of *irĕ* 'heroism' and *madh*).

irĕ f. 'wrath, heroism'. Borrowed from Lat *ira* 'wrath'.

iriq m, pl. *iriqĕ*, *iriqa* 'hedgehog'. Borrowed from Lat *ĕricius* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 141; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 159). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 112, 139.

iskĕr f, pl. *iskra* 'spark'. Borrowed from Slav **jьskra* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *iskra*, SCR *iskra* (MEYER *Wb.* 159). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 135; SVANE 57.

ishull m, pl. *ishuj* 'island'. Borrowed from Lat *insula* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 245). As to *ishull* 'sunny place', it is the same word influenced by the analogy with *shullĕ*. ◇ XHUVANI *KLetr* II 14 (etymological connection between *ishull* 'sunny place' and *shullĕ*).

ith prep. 'behind'. From PAIb **its*, a form of IE **eĝhs* 'from, out of' (MEYER *Wb.* 158, Alb. *St.* III 16). The change of meaning is a part of a wider semantic shift in the system of prepositions (see *nga*); the old meaning is preserved in the prefix *sh-* < **is-* < **its-* (partly influenced by a homonymous prefix of Latin origin continuing Lat *dis-*). The vowel of *ith* makes it extremely close to Slavic (**jьz*) and Baltic (OPrus *is*, Lith *iš*, dial. Latv *iz*). Cf. normal vocalism of the same root in *jashtĕ*. ◇ MEYER *BB* XIV 53; PISANI *Saggi* 125; I 98 f.; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 421 (**i-* as the original vowel in this root); KARSTIEN *Festschr. Vasmer* 213; ENDZELIN *Latyš. predl.* I 98; FRAENKEL 188; WALDE - HOFMANN I 423 (reject the connection between *ith* and **eĝhs*); PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 292-293; POLÁK apud KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 82; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359.

ivë f, pl. *iva* 'embroidery pattern'. Borrowed from Slav **iva* in the same meaning as represented by Bulg *iva* and SCr *iva* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 245-246; SVANE 99.

izbë f. 'cellar'. Borrowed from Slav **istzba* 'house, cellar' attested in South Slavic in Bulg *izba* and SCr *izba* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149). ◊ SVANE 54.

J

ja interj. 'behold, here, now'. A shortened form of *javo*, *javua* id., an early borrowing from Slav **avъnъ* 'manifest, obvious' in its adverbial function, with *-o*, *-ua* continuing **-ьnъ*. For South Slavic continuants of **avъnъ* cf. Bulg *javen*, SCr *javan*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 160 (uncertain connection with Slav **aviti* *se* 'to appear'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 246 (from NGk γιά in γιά δέξ id.); OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

jakë interj. 'come'. An isolated imperative form in *-k* (cf. *ik*) based on IE **iā-* 'to go'. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 191 (compound consisting of *ja* and pronominal *kë-*); POKORNY I 296; ÇABEJ *St.* I 247 (transformation of the phrase *eja këtu* 'come here').

jam aor. *qeshë* 'to be'. From PALb **es-mi* further connected with IE **es-* id. and identical with Skt *ásmi*, Gk εἰμί (BOPP 460, 472, 526; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 160-161). The aorist may be tentatively explained as a sigmatic formation based on IE **k'el-* 'to turn, to revolve' (CAMARDA I 45), cf. Gmc **werdan* 'to become' in its connection with IE **uert-* 'to turn, to revolve'. ◊ STIER *KZ* VII 9; MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63, 85; LA PIANA *Studi* I 86; JOKL *LKUBA* 83; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PISANI *KZ* LXXI 64 (aorist compared with Latv *kļāt* 'to become'), *Saggi* 103; MAYRHOFER I 67; FRISK I 463-464; POKORNY I 340-342; HAMP *Festschr. Beeler* 337-346 (derives 3 sg. *ēshtë* ~ *āsht* from **en esti* to be compared with Gk ἐνεστί); ÇABEJ *St.* I 247-248; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 113; OREL *Lingv. issled.* II 31-33 (nasalization in 3 sg. *ēshtë* ~ *āsht* < PALb **ensti* explained by the influence of 3 pl. *janë* < **enti* < **es(o)nti*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (accentual opposition between 1 sg. *jam* and 1 pl. *jemi* in Proto-Albanian); HULD 76-77; DEMIRAJ *AE* 207-208.

jap aor. *dhashë* 'to give'. A parallel form is *ap*. Geg *nap* results from PALb **en-apa* while *j-* in *jap* is explained as filling hiatus (PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247) or resulting from the analogical influence of *jam* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 79). Thus, for Proto-Albanian, **apa* should be reconstructed as a parallel for IE **ap-* ~ **ēp-* 'to seize, to take': Skt *āpnōti* '(he) reaches, overtakes', Gk ἄπτω 'to fasten, to bind', Lat *apiscor* 'to grasp' and the like (BOPP 469; MEYER *Wb.* 13, *Alb. St.* III 31). Semantically, the Albanian word is particularly close to Hitt *epzi* '(he) gives' (HULD 77). For the paradoxical semantic development replacing one conversive with another cf. Hitt *da-* 'take' < IE **dō-* 'to give'. The aorist *dhashë* < PALb **e-das-a* is based on the zero grade of IE **dō-* 'to give' (CAMARDA I 73, 127; MEYER *Alb. St.* III 14). ◊ CAMARDA I 73, 127 (*jap* compared with Gk ἰάπτω 'to send, to drive on'; *dhashë* derived from **dō-*); JOKL *Studien* 32, *LKUBA* 26, *IF* XLIII 51-52, *Sprache* IX 118 (augment in *dhashë*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II 475; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; LA PIANA *Vocale* 25, *Studi* I 23; MAYRHOFER I 76; FRISK I 126-127; WALDE-HOFMANN I 57-58; POKORNY I 50-51, 223-226; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 30; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 4 (< IE **epi-d(o)H-īō*, cf. Gk ἐπιδίδωμι 'to give freely'); HULD 150; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 42 (reconstructs **dodHs-* as the source of *dhashë*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 123 (reconstruction of the aoristic paradigm); OREL *Étimologija* 1982 154 (parallelism of *dhashë* < **e-dəs-ŋ* and Slav **daxъ*; traces of the augment), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 349, 352; HAMP *KZ* CIII 291 (repeats JOKL and OREL in reconstructing the anlaut augment); DEMIRAJ *AE* 154-155.

jargë f, pl. *jarga* 'spit, phlegm'. From PALb **ergā* related to Av *ərəzant-* 'bad', OHG *arg* 'bad, evil', Lith *aržus* 'lusty'. ◊ POKORNY I 338; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 212, 243.

jarickë f, pl. *jaricka* 'pullet, chick'. Another variant is *jarickë*. Borrowed from Bulg *jaricka*. ◊ POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78 (derived from Slav **jarica* 'one year old creature'); SVANE 140.

jarinë f 'ripe fruit'. Borrowed from Slav **jarina* 'harvest', cf. in South Slavic continuants: SCr *jarina* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160.

jarm m 'yoke'. Borrowed from Slav **arьmъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *arьmъ*, Bulg *jarem*, SCr *jaram* (MEYER *Wb.* 161). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 156; SVANE 28.

jashtë adv. 'outside'. From PALb **e(k)šta* derived from IE **eǵh-s* 'out': Gk ἔξ, Lat *ex* and the like (CAMARDA I 36, 87; ÇABEJ St. I 248-249). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24 (from Lat *extra*); MEYER *Wb.* 161 (from Rom **extus* parallel to Lat *intus*), *Alb. St.* IV 49; LA PIANA *Studi* I 85 (reconstructs **eǵhs-to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133 (follows MEYER); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; FRISK I 527; WALDE-HOFMANN I 423; ÇABEJ St. VII 232, 257; HULD 77.

javë f, pl. *javë* 'week'. Borrowed from Lat *hebdomas* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 162) treated as a nominative in *-a*. The group *-bdm-* yields Alb *-v-*. ◇ SKOK *A ArbSt.* II 343 n. 3; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 129; HAMP *GJA* XVII (8) 121-129.

jaz m, pl. *jaza* 'mill-stream'. Borrowed from Slav **ězъ* 'dam, weir', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *jaz*, SCr *jaz* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaimstv.* 11). ◇ SVANE 44.

je f. 'permission'. A phonetic variant of *leje*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 162 (to Skt *yós-* 'welfare, happiness' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 40, 63; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 253 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 32 (to Skt *ávi-* 'favorable'); ERNOUT-MÉLLET 330; ÇABEJ St. I 249 (*je* as a variant of the particle *le* semantically misinterpreted by MEYER).

jeh m. 'echo'. A scholarly borrowing from Lat *ēcho* id. Used as a basis for the formation of *jehoj* 'to echo' and *jehonë* 'echo'. ◇ ÇABEJ St. I 249 (Greecisized Ital *eco* id.).

jerm m 'delirium, absent-mindedness'. Goes back to PALb **erma* etymologically identical with Lith *eřmas* 'monster', Latv *eřms* 'wonderful apparition', eřmi 'wonders, miracles'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 32; FRAENKEL 122; POKORNY I 58; DURIDANOV *Trakite* 56, 75 (to Thr **ermas*); ÇABEJ St. I 250, VII 205, 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 208.

jes aor. *jeta* 'to remain'. From PALb **etja*, a denominative of *jetë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 163 (suggests IE **et-* or **ed-* but without any meaning); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 76 (to IE **sed-* 'to sit'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 134, 186; XHUVANI *KLeTr* I 5; ÇABEJ St. I 250-251 (to Phryg εἶτου, 3 sg. opt. 'let him be').

jetë f, pl. *jetë* 'life'. Goes back to PALb **eta*, related to the isolated group of Gk ἔτεός 'true, real', ἑτά· ἄληθῆ, ἀγαθά (Hes.), ἐτόζω 'to test'. ◇ CAMARDA I 122 (to *jes*); MEYER *Wb.* 163 (from Rom **aeta* > Arum *eta* 'world, life', a back-formation of Lat *aetās* 'age'), *Alb. St.* IV 12; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1043, 1056; PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 156 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *A ArbSt.* I 216; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 23 (reconstructs IE **aj̥otā* > MW *oed* 'world'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133-134; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 242; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 9; ÇABEJ St. I 251-252; FRISK I 578-581; HAMP *ERPh.* 41-43 (supports MEYER); HULD 78; LANDI *Lat.* 71; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

jezull m 'cloud of dust or smoke; ashes'. A secondary formation based on *jezer* id. - a metaphoric usage of Slav **ezerъ* 'lake' (ÇABEJ St. I 252). ◇ MANN *Comp.* 7 (to Gk αἴθραλος 'soot').

jo part. 'no'. Borrowed from Germ *ja* via Slavic languages of Austro-Hungary (FRIEDRICH *IF* LX 164). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 37 (from IE **eneu*: Goth *inu* 'without', Skt *ano* 'not'); ÇABEJ St. VII 227.

jonë f, pl. *jona* 'echo'. Phonetic transformation of *jehonë*, see *jeh*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. I 249 (secondary attraction of *jonë* and *jehonë*).

josh aor. *josha* 'to curl, to fondle, to caress'. From PALb **jāudsja* etymologically connected with IE **jeudh-*: Skt *yúdhya-* 'to fight, to struggle', Tokh A *yutk-* 'to take care of, to trouble about', Lith *jāudinti* 'to excite, to arouse' (OREL *FLH* VIII 44). ◇ FRAENKEL 195-196; POKORNY I 511; MAYRHOFER III 19-20; VAN WINDEKENS I 612; ÇABEJ St. I 252-253 (identifies *josh* with *osh* 'skimming', from Turkish *hoş* 'pleasant'); KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

joshë f, pl. *josha* 'grandmother'. Originally an element of the nursery vocabulary, this word is based on *josh* and identical with *joshë* 'caress' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 209). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 163 (to *gjysh*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 37-38 (same etymology); JOKL *LKUBA* 37-39 (to **āt-sjā* derived from *atë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 115; ÇABEJ St. I 253; DEMIRAJ *AE* 209.

ju pron. 'you'. From PALb **ju* identical with Lith *jūs* id., Goth *jus* id., Gk ὑμεῖς id., Skt acc. *yusmán* id. (BOPP 464; CAMARDA I 95; MEYER *Wb.* 163, *Alb. St.* III 40), with the short vowel generalized from the oblique stem. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 291; PEDERSEN

Festschr. Thomsen 252-253 (eliminates the hiatus *j-* and reconstructs **u* < **ues*), *KZ* XXXVI 103; *JOKL IF* XLIX 275; *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 135 (follows PEDERSEN); *MANN Language* XXVIII 38 (reconstructs **jūs*); *MANN Language* XXVIII 38; *PISANI Saggi* 132 (agrees with MEYER); *MINSHALL Language* XXII 627; *MAYRHOFER* III 24; *FEIST Goth.* 305; *FRAENKEL* 199; *FRISK* II 963-964; *POKORNY* I 513-514; *HULD* 78-79, *JIES* VII 203-207 (rejects MEYER's etymology because of the short vocalism reflected in Albanian, and reconstructs *ju* < **ues*); *OREL FLH* VIII/1-2 43; *KORTLANDT SSGL* XXIII 174 (cliticized form of IE **juH*); *DEMIRAJ AE* 209 (from **usm-* present in oblique cases based on **ues*).

jud m 'mythological monster'. Borrowed from Slav **judъ* ~ **juda* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *juda*. ◊ *LAMBERTZ Alb. Märchen* 26 n. 8 (links *jud* with the name of Judas); *ÇABEJ St.* I 253 (agrees with LAMBERTZ).

jug m 'South, Southern wind'. Borrowed from Slav **jugъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *jug*, SCr *jug* (*MEYER Wb.* 164). ◊ *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 135; *SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie* 197; *SVANE* 175.

K

ka m, pl. *qe* 'ox'. From PALb **kaxa* going back to **koso-*, a nominal derivative of IE **kes-* 'to scratch, to cut'; cf. Slav **volъ* 'ox' ~ **valiti* 'to throw down' > 'to castrate' (*OREL LB* XXVIII/4 52-53). ◊ *BOPP* 491 (from IE **g^hou-*); *STIER KZ* XI 150 (same as *BOPP*, adduces Venet *ceva* 'cow'); *GIL FERDING Otn.* 22 (same as *STIER*); *MEYER Wb.* 164 (compares *ka* with Lith *kārvė* 'cow', Slav **korva* id. and the like); *JOKL WuS* XII 68-69, *Sprache* IX 150; *TAGLIAVINI Stratificazione* 137; *MANN Language* XVII 22 (to Goth *auhsa*); *PORZIG Gliederung* 175; *POKORNY* I 585; *SGGJa* I 58; *HAMP St. Whatmough* 86, *Münch. St. Spr.* 59; *ÇABEJ St.* VII 201; *ÖLBERG Festschr. Pisani* II 684; *OREL Balcanica* 114 (a substratum loanword reflecting IE **g^hou-* 'bull'), *LB* XXVIII/4 52-53, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360; *TRUBAČEV Živ.* 43-44, *ESSJa* XI 108; *TOPOROV PJa* IV 47 (repeats MEYER's etymology); *DEMIRAJ AE* 210 (to Gk κερμάς 'deer's calf').

kabisht m, pl. *kabishta* 'earwig'. A derivative in *-shĭē* based on an unattested **kab* continuing PALb **kaba*. The latter is related to Lith *kabėti*

'to hang', *kabà* 'crooked tree' and the like. ◊ *FRAENKEL* 200-201; *POKORNY* I 918.

kacabu ~ **kacabû** pl. *kacabunj* 'beetle, stagfly'. A compound consisting of *kaca* and *bu* < PALb **buna*, a word of descriptive nature for 'beetle'. As to *kaca*, it is a form of *kac* 'goat' (see *kec*). In several words, it appears as an expressive prefix (cf., for example, *kacafik* 'hut', *kacafytem* 'to fight'), occasionally meaning 'up, over'.

kacadre ~ **kacadrê** m 'stagbeetle, grasshopper'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *dre* 'deer'. ◊ *MEYER Wb.* 178 (a variant of *karkalec*).

kacagjel adv. A part of an idiom *rri kacagjel* 'to brag'. Represents a compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *gjel*.

kacamit m 'stag'. The word *kacamic* 'roebuck' is obviously a phonetic variant of *kacamit*. A compound of *kaca-* (see *kacabu*) and *mitë*. For the meaning of the latter cf. dialectal *mitëz* 'roe' (*ÇABEJ St.* I 254). ◊ *MEYER Wb.* 182 (*kacamitë* 'deer, roe' borrowed from Ital **camozzetta* 'chamois', cf. *camozza* id.).

kacarroj aor. *kacarrova* 'to climb, to clamber'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *rroj*.

kaccarrum aor. *kaccarruma* 'core of corn-cob, corn-cob'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *rrum*.

kacek m, pl. *kacekë* 'wineskin'. Back-formation based on *kaciq* (*ÇABEJ St.* I 254).

kacë f, pl. *kacë* 'butt, barrel, bin'. Borrowed from Slav **kadъca* 'barrel', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kaca*, SCr *kaca* (*SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie* 154). ◊ *SVANE* 68.

kaciq m, pl. *kaciq* 'kid, wineskin'. Borrowed from NGk κατοίκι id. (*MEYER Wb.* 185). ◊ *ÇABEJ St.* I 254 (related to *kec*).

kaç m, pl. *keç, keçër* ~ *keçën* 'weaver'. Borrowed from Slav **rъkačъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants in Bulg *rъkač* (*MIKLOSICH Slav. Elemente* 35; *MEYER Wb.* 182). ◊ *SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie* 171.

kaçel adj. 'lame'. A prefixal derivative based on *çal*. The prefix *ka-* has also a variant *kë-* (see below).

kaçile f, pl. 'basket, hand-basket'. Another, and more archaic, variant is *kashile*. Borrowed from Lat *quasillum* 'small basket' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 254-255). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 202 (borrowed from Slav **košul'a* 'basket'); KRISTOFORIDHI 147 (to Gk κύστις 'bag, pouch'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 85, 104, 110.

kaçorr m 'leveret'. A phonetic variant of *kafshor* ~ *kafshuar*, derivative of *kafshë*. For the source of *-ç-* cf. *kaçile*.

kaçorre f, pl. *kaçorre* 'hut, hovel'. A phonetic variant of *kashtore* 'straw hut', derivative of *kashtë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 254).

kaçubë f, pl. *kaçuba* 'bush'. An early Slavic loanword, from **kočubъ/*kočuba* 'crest, tuft' (OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 138-139). See *kaçubël*. ◊ HAAS *LB* I 37, 46 (to Skt *kakubh-* 'peak, summit'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (to Gk κόσσυμβος); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (prefix *ka-*); VARBOT *Ėtimologija* 1968 68; ÇABEJ *St.* I 256-257; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kaçubël m 'kind of a small bird'. An early Slavic loanword from **kočubejъ/*kočubelъ* 'lark' attested only in Ukr *kočubej* and derived from **kočubъ/*kočuba* 'crest, tuft' (VARBOT *Ėtimologija* 1968 68). Cf. also such Albanian derivatives as *kaçybet* 'vulture' (MEYER *Wb.* 183: erroneously compares with Slav **kobyсь* 'kind of bird'). ◊ OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kaçul m 'shock (of hair or feather), crest; penis (of infants)'. Borrowed from Slav **kočulъ/*kačulъ*, a prefixal derivative of **čulъ* 'hornless; piece of wood; penis', cf. Bulg *kačul* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaimstv.* 13). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 183 (*kaçul* 'penis' borrowed from Ital *cazzo* id.); SVANE 147.

kaçule f, pl. *kaçule* 'hood'. Phonetically developed from **kashulë*. Borrowed from Lat *casula* 'hut', later 'hooded coat'. ◊ MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XIX/1 48-65 (from NGk κατσούλα 'hood, cap').

kaçup m, pl. *kaçupe* 'skin (for wine or oil)'. A masculine form of *kaçubë* with the unvoicing of the auslaut *-b*.

kaçurrel adj. 'frizzy, curly'. A derivative of **kaçurrë*, an early borrowing from Slav **kočura* 'hummock', otherwise unattested in South Slavic.

kade f, pl. *kade* 'barrel'. A singularized plural of **kadë* borrowed from Slav **kada* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kada*, SCr *kada* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 164). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8 (from Lat *cadus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1041; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 276; SVANE 68; MURATI *Probleme* 131.

kadis aor *kadita* 'to burn incense'. Borrowed from Slav **kaditi* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kad'a*, SCr *kaditi* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 186). ◊ SVANE 209, 234.

kadoriqe f, pl. *kadoriqe* (bot.) 'layer, runner'. A singularized plural of **kadorik* borrowed from MGk κατόρις id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 256).

kadh m 'sty'. Another variant is *kath*. From PALb **kadza* related to Lith *kėstiù, kėžni* 'to swell' *kėžėti* 'to widen, to spread'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 165; FRAENKEL 248-249; ÇABEJ *St.* I 271 (deminutive of *ka*).

kadhë f, pl. *kadha* 'pruning-knife, billhook with long handle'. From PALb **kadā* etymologically connected with IE **(s)ke(n)d-*: Skt *skhadate* 'to split', Gk σκεδάσκειν 'to scatter, to disperse' and their cognates. ◊ FRISK II 721; MAYRHOFER III 507; POKORNY I 919.

kafkë f, pl. *kafka* 'skull'. Borrowed from MGk καῦκος 'kind of dish or bowl, patera' (MEYER *Wb.* 165-166). ◊ CAMARDA I 54 (to MGk καύκαλον 'dish, skull').

kafshë f, pl. *kafshë* 'animal, thing'. A relatively late loanword from West Balkan Romance continuant of Lat *causa* (CAMARDA I 53-54; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12; MEYER *Wb.* 166). A direct borrowing from Latin would have reflected as **kashë* (HULD 79). ◊ MEYER *Neugriech. St.* III 29 (with insurmountable semantic obstacles, from Lat *capsa* 'chest, box'); JOKL *LKUBA* 19 (from Lat *capsa*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; ÇABEJ

St. I 256-257 (follows MEYER *Wb.*); HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 73, 110.

kafshoj aor. *kafshova* 'to bite'. Another variant is *kapshoj*. Borrowed from Lat *capessere* ~ *capissere* 'to seize, to snatch at' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1055). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 176 (from Rom **capsāre* based on Lat *capere* 'to take'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1052 (from Rom **captiāre* 'to grasp'); JOKL *LKUBA* 19 n. 1 (to Gk κόπτω 'to snap, to snatch', Slav **xapati* 'to seize, to grasp'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 115; ÇABEJ *St.* I 257 (agrees with JOKL and also adduces *kap*).

kah prep. 'from, out, out of'. Immediately connected with *nga* id. Both prepositions require nominative. The underlying Proto-Albanian phrase must have been **(en) kaxa* continuing **(en) k'o(d) so* '(in) which (is) this'. The original meaning, therefore, may be reconstructed as 'in' or 'wherein' but the whole system of prepositions was semantically transformed in Albanian, cf. *ith.* ◇ CAMARDA I 66-67 (to Gk πη 'in some way, to some place'); MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to Gk κατά 'down'), *Alb. St.* III 4; VON BLANKENSTEIN *IF* XXI 112 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201.

kakë f. 'excrements'. A usual *Kinderwort* (MEYER *Wb.* 166). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8 (from Lat *cacāre* 'to defecate').

kakërdhi f, pl. *kakërdhi* 'dung (of sheep or goat)'. A modified sequence consisting of *kakë* and *dhi*. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (*kakë*-to Gk κόπρος).

kakërdhiçë f, pl. *kakërdhiça* 'lizard'. Based on *kakërdhi*, a compound consisting of *kakë* and *rdhi* (to *hardhi*), cf. a similar formation in *hardhje*. Other compounds of the same type are *kakëzorrë*, *kakërdhok* 'frog (to *kakë* and *zorrë*) and *kakëzog* 'blindworm' - to *kakë* and *zog*, i.e. a creature excreting its children: the blindworm is viviparous. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 147 (variant of *hardhje*), 166-167 (on *kakëzog* and *kakëzorrë*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 242-243 (borrowed from Gk κροκόδειλος 'crocodile').

kakole f, pl. *kakole* 'hip bone'. A phonetic variant of *kokall* 'bone' borrowed from NGk κόκκαλον id.

kakrruk m, pl. 'stone-fruit, hard nut'. A suffixal derivative of *kokërr* with a dialectal change of the unstressed *-o-* > *-a-* (MURATI *Problema* 79). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 195 (to Slav **orěxъ* 'nut').

kalakiç adv. 'piggyback'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalaveshi*) and *kiç*.

kalamān ~ **kalamā** m, pl. *kalamaj*, *kalamānë* 'child (till the age of 8-9)'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and **man*, derivative of *maj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 170 (to Slav **kalъ* 'dirt', **kal'avъ* 'dirty'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 94-95; ÇABEJ *St.* I 257-258 (from Bulg *kalimana* 'female witness at a wedding').

kalamend aor. *kalamenda* 'to entangle, to confuse'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and *mend*.

kalafafë adv. 'piggyback'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and *qafë*.

kalavesh m, pl. *kalavesh* 'grape'. A compound consisting of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (cf. *kalamend*, *kalangërç* 'cramp' ~ *gërç* id.) and *vesh*, cf. *vesh rrush* 'grape' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258). As far as the origin of *kala-* is concerned, with its original meaning 'upside down', 'topsy-turvy', it may continue PAIb **kala* related to IE **k^hel-* 'to turn'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 167 (*kala-* to Turk *kara* 'black'); JOKL *LKUBA* 214 (*kala-* to Turk *kalan* 'rest, surplus'); POKORNY I 639-640; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102 (prefixes *ka-la-*).

kalb aor. *kalba* 'to let rot'. A denominative derived from PAIb **kalba*, see the singularized plural *qelb*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 221-222 (to *qelb*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 53 (reconstructs IE **golbh-* and compares *kalb* with Slav **žely* 'tumor'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 137; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203, 284.

kalecë adv 'gently, quietly'. Other variants are *kalehtazi* and *kaletas*. The original form must have been **ka-leht-az*, consisting of the prefix *ka-* and **leht-az* derived from *lehtë*.

kalesh adj. 'hairy'. A prefixal derivative of *lesh* (MEYER *Wb.* 170). ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 104.

kalě m, pl. *kual*, *kuaj* 'horse'. Borrowed from Lat *caballus* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 146; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wb.* 167). ◊ CAMARDA I 66 (to Gk καβάλλης 'working horse'); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to SKI *khāra-* 'donkey'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1050; PISANI *AAL* VIII 345 (back formation of pl. *kuaj* borrowed from Slav **kon*'b); TAGLI-AVINI *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 97, 137-138.

kalibe f, pl. *kalibe* 'hut'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav **kolyba* id. Cf. *kolibe*. ◊ OREL *Sov. slav.* 1985/5 79-84.

kalibobĕ f, pl. *kaliboba* 'lote, nettle-tree'. Borrowed from Slav **kalibobъ*, a compound of **kaliti* 'to make dirty' and **bobъ* 'bean' unattested in South Slavic.

kaliboç adv. 'on one's back'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (a variant of *kala-*, see *kalavesh*) and *boçĕ*. ◊ XHUVANI - ÇABEJ *BShkSh* 1956/4 74 (on *kali-*).

kalihum adv. 'downwards, over and over'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (see *kaliboç*) and *hum* < *humb* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258).

kalis aor. *kalita* 'to sharpen, to cleanse (of metal)'. Borrowed from Slav **kaliti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kal'a*, SCr *kaliti* (DESNIČKA-JA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 155, 386 (from NGk σκαλίζω 'to carve'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 258; SVANE 234.

kalivaç adv. 'in-a group of three on a stem (of fruit and the like)'. Derivative in -ç of *kalivare* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258).

kalivare adv. 'trickling down'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (see *kaliboç*) and *var* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258-259).

kaloj aor. *kalova* 'to pass, to go past'. Borrowed from Rom **coalläre* < Lat *coambuläre* 'to go with'.

kalptoj aor. *kalptova* 'to fill with tow, to plug, to caulk'. A denominative based on a Turkish loanword *kallp*, *kallĕp* 'form, model'.

(T) **kaltĕr** adj. 'blue, sky blue'. From Rom **calthinus* 'yellow, yellowish',

based on Lat *caltha* 'Calendula officinalis', cf. *calthula* 'yellow robe' (MEYER *Wb.* 170-171). ◊ OREL *Balkanica* 113-114 (from a substratum reflex of IE **ghel-* 'yellow'); HAARMAN 114; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 218.

kall aor. *kalla* 'to insert, to thrust, to place, to incite, to set on fire'. From PALb **kalna*, a denominative based on **kala-*. The latter continues IE **k*olo-* and must be related to *sjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 266 n. 1). ◊ CAMARDA I 149 (to Gk κέλλω 'to urge, to drive on'); MEYER *Wb.* 168 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 3; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 329; PISANI *Saggi* 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 259 (follows JOKL); JANSON *Unt.* 161; HULD 106-107; DEMIRAJ *AE* 210-211.

kalla pl. 'slander, calumny'. Literally, 'incitation'. Derivative of *kall* (CAMARDA II 67; MEYER *Wb.* 168). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 259 (to *kalli*).

kallĕzroj aor. *kallĕzova* 'to slander, to tell stories'. Derived from an unattested **kallĕz*, a collective form of *kalla*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 168 (to *kall*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 260-261 (identifies this verb with *kallĕzroj* 'to put ears of corn together', derived from *kallĕz* 'ear of corn').

kalli m, pl. *kallinj*, *kallĕza* 'ear of grain'. An archaic variant *kall* 'straw, chaff' is attested in Italo-Albanian. From PALb **kalsa* related to Slav **kolsъ* 'ear of grain' (MEYER *BB* XIV 53; *Wb.* 168). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124, *Sprache* IX 151; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 79; PISANI *Saggi* 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 270; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* X 152-153; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 203; DEMIRAJ *AE* 211-212 (to Slav **koltъ* 'picket, stake').

kallm m, pl. *kallma* 'reed, straw'. Borrowed from Lat *calamus* 'reed, cane' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 261). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 168-169 (together with *kallam* 'reed' borrowed from NGk καλάμι id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 138-139.

kam aor. *pata* 'to have'. From PALb **kapmi*, an athematic verb based on IE **kap-* 'to seize, to grasp', cf. Lat *capiō* id., Goth *haban* 'to have'. The aorist is etymologically related to Lat *potior* 'to take possession of' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 171, *Alb. St.* III 36). ◊ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk ἔχω 'to possess, to have'); MEYER *Wb.* 171 (to Goth *haban* and Lat *habeō* 'to have'), *Alb. St.* III 6; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 93, *KZ*

IXXXVI 308 (derives the aorist form **pot-to-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 261; JOHANSON *IF* XIX 115; TREIMER *Slavia* III 455; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 27-28; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216; ERNOUT-MEILLET 97; PISANI *Saggi* 98, 130; KLUGE 278; WALDE-HOFMANN I 159-160, II 350-351; POKORNY I 408, 842; FEIST *Goth.* 229; CAMAJ *Beitr. SOE* 41-44 (from **kë-am*, to **es-* 'to be'); HULD 167; JANSON *Unt.* 149-151; ÇABEJ *St.* III 130, VII 253; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 230; HULD 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 212, 313-314 (*pashë* treated as a denominative derived from **poti-*).

kamare f 'cobweb'. A metaphoric usage of *kamare* 'vault' borrowed from NGk *καμάρα* id. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 171-172 (borrowed from Lat *cammarus* 'sea-crab, lobster' or Gk *κάμματος* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 263 (follows MEYER).

kandër f, pl. *kandra* 'jar, vessel'. Borrowed from Lat *cantharus* 'large drinking vessel, tankard, pot' (LANDI *Lat.* 116, 145). ∅ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk *κάνθαρος*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 264 (borrowed directly from Gk *κάνθαρος* 'drinking cup').

kandërr f, pl. *kandrra* 'insect'. Borrowed from Lat *cantharis* 'beetle, worm'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 173 (to Ital *canterella* 'Spanish fly'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Greek); ÇABEJ *St.* I 263-264 (from Gk *κάνθαρος* 'beetle, scarab').

kanë f 'reed, rush'. Borrowed from Lat *canna* 'reed, cane' (MEYER *Wb.* 173-174), with the geminate preventing rhotacism in Tosk. ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1041, 1051; HAARMAN 114.

kangjel m 'song'. Borrowed from Rom **canticellum* reflected in Rum *căntecel* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 187). Cf. *këngë*. ∅ ÇABEJ *St.* I 264 (Albanian derivative in *-el-* based on *këngë*).

kanushë f, pl. *kanusha* 'stork'. Borrowed from Rom **cănōsus*, derivative of Lat *cānus* 'white' MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* I 265). ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Ital *cicogna* 'stork'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 24 (to SCr *kanja* 'vulture' and the like); SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 198; HELBIG 90 (follows MEYER); HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 63, 110, 114.

kap aor. *kapa* 'to seize, to grasp'. From PALb **kapa* connected with IE **kap-* 'to seize': Gk *κάπτω* 'snap', Lat *capiō* 'to seize, to take', Goth *haban* 'to hold, to have' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 34). See *kam*. ∅ MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 174 (from Turk *kapmak* 'to catch'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 139-140; MANN *Language* XXVI 380; FRISK I 783-784; FEIST *Goth.* 229; WALDE-HOFMANN I 159; POKORNY I 527-528; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 212-213.

kapasë f, pl. *kapasa* 'oil-barrel'. Borrowed from NGk *καπόσα* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 265). ∅ JOKL *Studien* 33-34 (to *kap*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 206, 266; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

kapë f, pl. *kapë* 'armful of corn; shock, pile'. From PALb **kapā* identical with Gk *κάπη* 'manger, crib', further related to *kap* (KRISTOFORIDHI 141). ∅ MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Slav **kirъ*, Lith *kaũpas*); FRISK I 783-784; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 73.

kapërcej aor. *kapërceva* 'to cross, to jump over'. A prefixal derivative of *ecëj*, **ka-për-ecëj*. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Rom **capitiäre*).

kapërdij aor. *kapërdiva* 'to swallow'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-* based on *përdij*. ∅ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242, 244.

kapërdhij aor. *kapërdhiva* 'to overturn, to subjugate'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-* based on *përdhe*. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Ital *capovolgere* 'to turn upside down').

kapërthej aor. *kapërtheva* 'to entangle, to entwine'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-për-* based on *thyej*.

kapinë f 'bramble, blackberry'. A recent loanword from Maced *kapina* 'blackberry' with *-a-* < **-o-*. ∅ ÇABEJ *St.* I 266 (from Bulg *кърпина* or SCr *kupina* id.).

kapis aor. *kapita* 'to exhaust, to wear out'. Often in passive - *kapitem*. Borrowed from Slav **kapiti* ~ **kapati* 'to get tired', cf. Bulg *kap'a* id., SCr *kapati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 176 (based on NGk *κόπος* 'toil, suffering'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 24; JOKL *Studien* 34 (to *qem*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 266 (to *kap*); SVANE 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

kapruall ~ **kapruell** m, pl. *kaproj, kaprej, kaprenj* 'roeback'. Borrowed from Lat *capreolus* id. with an innovative penultimate stress (STIER KZ XI 136; MEYER Wb. 176). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 78-80, 118.

kapt m, pl. *kapte* 'irrigation ditch'. A parallel form *kaptë* 'lee-side of mountain' also belongs here. An adjective in *-to- based on *kap* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 266). ◊ MEYER Wb. 175 (to *kaptoj*).

kaptoj aor. *kaptova* 'to cross, to pass through'. A more conservative form is *kapërtoj*. ⚡ phonetic variant of *kapërcej*. ◊ MEYER Wb. 175 (from Ital *capitare* 'to arrive, to turn up'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 266-267 (derivative of *kap*).

kapth m, pl. *kaptha* 'path, mountain path'. A derivative in -th based on an unattested **kap* continuing PALb **kapa*. The latter is related to Lith *kāpas* 'grave', *kopà* 'dune', Latv *kāpa* 'dune' continuing IE **(s)kep-*. ◊ FRAENKEL 217; POKORNY I 932.

kapua ~ **kapue** m, pl. *kaponj* 'rooster'. Borrowed from Lat *cāpōnem* 'capon' (MEYER Wb. 176). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11 (from Ital *capone* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1047 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 143-145.

kaq adv. 'so, so much, so many'. For the structure of this adverb see *aq*. ◊ MEYER Wb. 167 (related to *aq*).

kar m 'penis'. Borrowed from Gypsy *kar* id. (MEYER Wb. 176). ◊ TREIMER *MRIW* I 366; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 141.

karabobe f, pl. *karabobe* 'lote, nettle tree'. Variant of *kalibobë* (MANN *HAED* 185).

karabush m, pl. *karabusha* 'corn-cob'. A prefixal derivative of *rabush*. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 141 (from Turk *kara baş* 'black head'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

karavelë f, pl. *karavela* 'small round bread'. Another variant is *kravelë*. A singularized plural of the original **karavalë* borrowed from Slav **korvajь* 'round bread', cf. in particular SCr *kravaj* (MEYER Wb. 177). The group -ara- < South Slavic -ra- is explained by the analogy with Turk *kara* 'black'. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 155; ÇABEJ *St.* I 268; SVANE 92.

karbë f 'vulture'. From PALb **kar(i)bā* related to Lith *kárti* 'to hang' and its cognates, cf. the semantic development of Slav **kobьсь* 'vulture' - to Lith *kabėti* 'to hang'. In both cases, the basis of the semantic motivation is the well-known hunting position of the vulture "hanging" in the sky. ◊ MEYER Wb. 178 (to Bulg *kraguj*, SCr *kraguj* 'hawk'); JOKL *LKUBA* 304 (to *shkabë*, with an unorganic -r-); FRAENKEL I 224-225; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* X 101-102 (on the etymology of **kobьсь*).

karkalec m, pl. *karkaleca, karkalecë* 'grasshopper'. A transformation of Bulg *skakalec* id. (MEYER Wb. 178), probably, under the influence of *karkal* 'excrements' and similar descriptive forms.

karkashinë f, pl. *karkashina* 'lean sickly sheep; pottage of pulse and grain'. Derived from SCr *karkaša* 'carcass'. ◊ MEYER Wb. 179 (the word for pottage - from SCr adj. fem. *kokošinja* 'belonging or related to hen').

karkas aor. *karkata* 'to quack'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrkati* 'to caw, to croak, to quack', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kъrkam*, SCr *krkati*. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIII 216.

karmë f, pl. *karma* 'rock'. From PALb **karpnā* further related to *karpë* (JOKL *Studien* 35). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 269.

karpë f, pl. *karpa* 'rock'. From PALb **karpā* related to Lith *kerpù, kiŗpti* 'to cut', Latv *cŗpt* 'to shear, to clip', ON *harfr* 'harrow' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 34-35). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 144 (related to the name of the Carpathian mountains, Καρπάτης ὄρος); ROZWADOWSKI *JP* II 161-162; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 24-26 (same as KRISTOFORIDHI); FRAENKEL 257-258; POKORNY I 944; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119 (suffix -pë); ÇABEJ *St.* I 268-269, IV 74; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

karsh m, pl. *kersh* 'rocky area'. A parallel form is *kërshë*. Continues PAIb **kar-usa*, a derivative of IE **(s)ker-* 'to cut', semantically similar to *karpë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 207 (from SCr *krš* id.); POKORNY I 938-947; ÇABEJ *St.* I 269.

kartë f 'measure of grain'. Borrowed from Lat *quarta* 'fourth part' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 269-270). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 144; LANDI *Lat.* 134.

karthi f, pl. *karthi* 'dry firewood'. The same root is represented in *karthë* 'laburnum, golden rain'. A derivative in *-th-* based on **karë* from PAIb **karā* etymologically identical with Slav **kora* 'bark', Lith *kerū, kėrti* 'to become separated' and further with IE **(s)ker-* 'to cut'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 178 (from NGk *κάρφος* 'brushwood'); FRAENKEL 245; POKORNY I 938-947; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XI 44-45.

karrabisht m, pl. *karrabishta* 'earwig'. A compound of an expressive morpheme *karra-* (a variant of *kala-*) and *bisht*.

karrapuc adv. 'squatting'. A compound of an expressive *karra-* and an unidentified morpheme. Unclear.

karravesh m, pl. *karraveshë* 'stick'. A variant of *kalavesh*.

karrem m, pl. *karrema* 'rainworm'. A prefixal derivative of *rrime*.

karrë f, pl. *karra* 'cart'. Borrowed from Lat *carrum* 'two-wheeled wagon' (MEYER *Wb.* 180). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 128, 139.

karrigë f, pl. *karriga* 'chair'. Borrowed from Lat *quadrīga* 'set of four' (here, of four legs). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12 (from Ital *cadrega, carega* 'chair'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047 (from Ital Venet *carega* 'chair'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280.

karroqe f, pl. *karroqe* 'bushel, milk-can'. A parallel form is *krroqe* 'measure made of bark, bucket'. Borrowed from Gmc **krūk-* 'jug', cf. OHG *krūche*, OE *crūce*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 180 (uncertain comparison with Germanic and Celtic names of vessels); BÜGA III 721; KLUGE 407; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 61.

karrup m, pl. *karrupa* 'fish-trap'. An early borrowing from Slav **korupъ* attested in Bulg *korup* (BER 648). ◊ KLEPIKOVA *Sb. Bernštejna* 419-427.

karrutë f, pl. *karruta* 'fermenter'. An early borrowing from Slav **koryto* 'trough', see *koritë* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 78, 142). ◊ SVANE 67.

kasnec m, pl. *kasnecë, kasneca* 'herald'. Borrowed from Slav **kazньсь* id., cf. SCr *kaznac* (JOKL *LKUBA* 56-58). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 179, 286; SVANE 193.

kastravec m, pl. *kastravecë, kastraveca* 'cucumber'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav **kostrovьсь* id, cf. Bulg *krastavec, krastavica*, SCr *krastavac* (MEYER *Wb.* 180). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 286; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; SVANE 106.

kashër f, pl. *kashra* 'reed, rush'. From **kashtër* related to *kashtë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 270).

kashnjët m, pl. *kashnjete* 'chestnut grove'. Borrowed from Lat *castanētum* id. See *gështenjë*.

kashtë f 'straw'. From PAIb **kalstā*, derivative of *kalli* (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124, *LKUBA* 214, 274). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 180 (to Gk *κοσταί· κριθάι or ἀκοστή· κριθή παρὰ Κυπρίοις*, Hes.); TREIMER *MRIW* I 366-367 (borrowed from Gypsy *kašt* 'wood'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 26-27 (to Slav **kostь* 'bone'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 143; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 104 (prefix *k-* and equivalent of Slav **ostь*); HAMP *St. albanica* X/2 87-88, *Ėtimologija* 1971 270-271; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 283; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213-214.

kashtup m, pl. *kashtupë* 'skin of corn-cob'. A derivative in *-up* based on *kashtë*.

katër num. 'four'. From PAIb **katūr(a)* etymologically related to IE **k^hetur-* ~ **k^hetūr-* id.: Skt *catvāra-*, Gk *τέσσαρες*, Lat *quattuor* and the like (CAMARDA I 169; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; MEYER *BB* VIII 185). The vocalism of the second syllable is generalized according to the form of accusative **k^heturm*. The vowel in the first syllable presents serious

difficulties. It may be explained by reduction similar to that of Lat *quatuor* (MANN *Language* XVII 17; HULD 79) and Slav *četyre co-existing with *četyre (but cf. TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* IV 97). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 181 (from Lat *quattuor*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 144 (agrees with MEYER *Wb.*); MANN *Language* XVII 17; PISANI *Saggi* 102; FRISK II 883-884; MAYRHOFER I 371-372; WALDE-HOFMANN I 400-401; POKORNY I 642-644; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 228, 244; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 79; HAMP *Numerals* 907-910.

katua ~ katue m, pl. *katonj* 'stable, basement, cellar'. Borrowed from NGk κατώγι < κατώγειον id. (MEYER *Wb.* 183). ◊ OREL *Subst.* 12 (from Iran *xata- 'basement').

katund m, pl. *katunde* 'village'. A prefixal derivative of *tund* representing a calque of Slav *kolyba 'hut' as based on *kolyhati 'to tremble, to shake' (cf. OREL *Sov. slav.* 1985/5 79-84). From Albanian, the word - originally, a name of a hut - was borrowed to other Balkan languages. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10 (from Ital *cantone*); MEYER *Wb.* 183; BRÜCKNER *KZ* XLVIII 168; JOKL *IF* XXXIII 421-424 (from *ka-* and *tund* < **ṛnto-*, participle of *ndej*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 28-30 (from Proto-Bulgarian); TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXVIII 388; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 144; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; TANAS, OCA *RESEE* XXVII/1-2 139-144; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 230; MOUTSOS *KZ* LXXXVIII 59-73 (from MGk κατοῦνα 'suppelles, impedimenta, aedes in qua quis habitat'); MURATI *Probleme* 81; DEMIRAJ *AE* 214-215.

kazhup m, pl. *kazhupë* 'peasant coat'. An early borrowing from Slav *kožuxъ 'coat made of skin', cf. *gozhup*.

ke prep. 'to, at'. From PALb *kō continuing the pronominal form *k'ōi or *k'ōd (MEYER *Wb.* 218, *Alb. St.* III 2). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 326 (analogical formation based on *ku*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 272 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

kedh m, pl. *kedhë, kedha* 'kid'. Other variants are *kec* and *keç*. An umlauticized form of PALb *kadza related to Slav *koza 'she-goat' (*Alb. St.* III 4, 16; CIMOCHOWSKI *LII* 231). ◊ POTT *KZ* IV 70 (to Lat *hoedus*); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21 (from SCr *keca* 'sound used to call goats'); MEYER *Wb.* 185 (borrowed from Gmc *kidjaz 'kid' or Turk *käçi* 'goat');

TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 137-138; MLADENOV *Ist.* 192; PISANI *Saggi* 130; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XII 19-21; MURATI *Probleme* 131.

kem m 'incense'. Another form is *qem*. From PALb *kapna etymologically identical with Gk κοπνός 'smoke' and its cognates reflecting IE *k₁m̥p- (JOKL *Studien* 37, *IF* XLIV 14). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 222 (from *kedmo- and to Slav *čadъ 'fumes, smoke'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 31; FRISK I 781-782; POKORNY I 596-597; ÇABEJ *St.* I 272-273 (borrowed from Gk θυμιάμα 'incense' or Lat *thymiana* id.); DEMIRAJ *AE* 215-216.

kep aor. *kepa* 'to hew'. The basic deverbative is *kep* 'quarry; tip, point'. Continues the umlauticized PALb *kapa etymologically related to Gk κόπτω 'to hit, to hew', Lith *kapiù, kapti* 'to hew' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 185, *Alb. St.* III 4, 31). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 39-40 (connects *kep* with *sqep*); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK II 914-915; FRAENKEL 218; POKORNY I 931; ÇABEJ *St.* I 272-273 (dialectal form of *qep*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 216.

keq adj. 'bad, evil'. From PALb *kakja related to Gk κακός 'bad' (BOPP 490; CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 184-185, *Alb. St.* III 3). The disyllabic *keiq, këeq* seems to be an artefact going back to KAVALLIOTIS. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 85 (borrowing from Rom *cadōcus), *Gr. Gr.* 258; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327; JOKL *Studien* 35-36 (divides *këeq* > *keq* into a prefix *kë-* and the root *-eq* compared with Latv *īgns* 'sour', Lat *aeger* 'ill, sick'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 145 (rejects JOKL's etymology for phonetic reasons); CIPO *BIShk* III/1 113-116; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94; PISANI *Saggi* 128 (follows MEYER); MANN *Language* XXVI 380, 385 (follows MEYER *Wb.*); FRISK I 758-759; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 100 (from *kë + eq* = Latv *īgns*); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 565; ÇABEJ *St.* I 273-274 (borrowing from Gk κακός > Alb *kak, pl. *qeq with the consequent analogical transfromation into *keq*); HULD 79-80; DEMIRAJ *AE* 216-217.

kerrmë f, pl. *kerrma* 'thorn-bush'. The umlauticized form of *karmë*, variant of *karmë*.

kerrnjoj aor. *kerrnjova* 'to purr (of cat)'. As it becomes obvious from *kerrmëz* 'purr', the verb continues an earlier form **kerrnjoj* which, therefore, is a loanword from Lat *carmināre* 'to sing, to make verses'.

ketër m, pl. *ketra* 'squirrel, dormouse'. Other variants are *ketërr, kitër*

and *kitërr*. From PALb **kōk-ter* related to Lith **kuokas* 'dance' (reconstructed from *kuokinė* 'dancing party') and Slav **skakati* 'to jump, to spring'. At an early stage, borrowed to dialectal South Slavic **katerь*, attested in Bulg *katerica* 'squirrel' (OREL *Ėtimologija* 1980 60-61). ∅ FRAENKEL 311-312; POKORNY I 922-923; ÇABEJ *St.* I 274 (derivative of SCr *kita* 'tuft, cluster', Bulg *kita* id.); GEORGIEV *Vzprosi* 41-42 (Bulg *katerica* from Thracian, with the ultimate reconstruction of **skōk-ter-*); STANG *LS* 86; BER 271-272 (agrees with GEORGIEV); GINDIN, KALUŽSKAJA, OREL *Blssl.* 251; MURATI *Probleme* 83.

kezë f 'woman's head-dress, bonnet, hair-net'. Another variant is *kesë*. Derivative in *-zë* of an unattested PALb **kaxā* 'plaited hair' etymologically related to Slav **kosa* id., ON *haddr* 'woman's hair' and the like. ∅ CAMARDA I 114 (to Gk *χαίτη* 'long hair'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 274 (from **krežë*, derivative of *krye*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XI 131-133.

këlboqe f, pl. *këlboqe* 'sputum'. A suffixal derivative of *kalb* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 275).

këlqere f 'lime'. Borrowed from Lat fem. adj. *calcāria* 'pertaining to lime' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 186). ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1047, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 81, 111-112.

(G) **këlshëjt** m 'communion cup, chalice'. Borrowed from Lat *calicem sanctum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 221) both parts of which are preserved in *qelq* and *shenjhtë*. ∅ ÇABEJ *St.* I 272 (believes the compound to be formed in Albanian rather than in Latin).

këlthas aor. *këlthita*, *klitha* 'to cry'. Together with *këlcas* 'to make noise', this form reflects a strong secondary influence of *kërcas*. However, originally, these verbs go back to a different source, Slav **klicati* ~ **klikati* 'to shout, to call'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 189 (identifies *këlcas* with *kërcas*); ANTILA *Schw.* 100.

këlysh m, pl. *këlyshë*, *këlysha* 'young of animal, cub'. A derivative in *-ysh* of an unattested **kul* related to Gk κύλλα· σκύλαξ. Ἡλείοι, Hes. further connected with σκύλαξ 'young dog, cub' (ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). ∅ STIER *KZ* XI 145 (borrowed from Lat *catulus* 'cub'); MEYER *Wb.* 186 (to Lith *kalė* 'dog, bitch' or W *colwyn* 'young dog, cub'); JOKL

LKUBA 259-264 (prefix *kë-* followed by *lysh* < **ludh-sjo-*, to IE **leudh-* 'to grow'); TREIMER *MRIW* I 357-358 (to Lat *lutum* 'dirt'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (prefix *kë-*); FRISK II 741; MOUTSOS *Zfbalk* XXV/2 154-156 (from MGk κουλούκι(ον) 'puppy, young dog'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 218-219.

këllas aor. *këllita*, *kalla* 'to put into, to insert, to dig, to instigate'. Derivative of *kall*. Note various deverbatives based on *këllas*, such as *këllëç* 'case' and *këllëf* id. ∅ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257.

këllk m, pl. *këllqe* 'hip bone'. Borrowed from East South Slavic continuants of **kъlkъ* 'hip': Bulg *кълк*, Maced *kolk*, *кълк*.

këmbë ~ **kambë** f, pl. *këmbë* ~ *kambë* 'leg, foot'. From Rom **camba* ~ **gamba* 'leg' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 178). Note that there are no traces of the variant *camba* in Balkan Romance. ∅ CAMARDA I 55 (compares with Gk *καμπή* 'bend'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 138; MANN *Language* XVII 19 (from IE **kampā*, cf. CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 114; OREL *Balcanica* 114-115; COROMINAS *DEC* II 645-646; ROHLFS *Spr.* 93-94 (borrowed from Gk *καμπή* 'foot joint of a horse'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279; HULD 80 ('the direction of borrowing is uncertain'); LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 115.

këmborë ~ **këmbonë** f, pl. *këmborë*, *këmbora* ~ *këmbonë*, *këmbona* 'bell'. Borrowed from Rom **campona*, a secondary variant of Lat *campana* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 186: directly from *campana*). ∅ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk κύμβη 'drinking vessel'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL *Litteris* IV 197 (from Dalm *canpuone*), *Slavia* XIII 287.

këmishë f, pl. *këmishë* 'shirt'. Borrowed from Lat *camisia* 'linen shirt, night-gown' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 187). ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 114.

kënaq aor. *kënaqa* 'to please, to satisfy'. From PALb **ka-nakja* closely related to Goth *ga-nah* 'to be enough', OHG *gi-nah* id. (OREL *Fort.* 79). These forms are based on IE **nek-*: Skt *nāsati* 'to reach' and the like. Note the development of IE **-k̑i-* > Alb *-q-* that seems to be phonetically regular.

◊ JOKL *Studien* 36 (to Lith *nókti* 'to become ripe', Latv *nākt* 'to come'); WEIGAND 36 (prefixal derivative of *ēndē*); KLUGE 248; MAYRHOFER II 145; POKORNY I 316-318; FEIST *Goth.* 194; ÇABEJ *St.* I 275 (supports WEIGAND); DEMIRAJ *AE* 219.

kënd ~ **kand** m, pl. *kēnde* ~ *kande* 'corner, angle'. An early borrowing from Slav **kortъ* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Ital *canto* id.); MANN *Language* XVII 19 (to Gk *κωνθός*).

kënd pron. 'somebody'. From PA1b **kan tan*, a sequence of two pronouns continuing IE **k'o-* and **to-* in acc. sg. See *kush*. ◊ JOKL *A ArbSt.* I 35 (related to *kē*, acc. sg. of *kush*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 275-276 (follows JOKL).

këndell ~ **kandell** aor. *këndella* ~ *kandella* 'to make red-hot, to revive'. A denominative of *këndellë* (MANN *HAED* 193). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 40 (analyzes a dialectal variant *knell* as a prefixal form related to Goth *ganisan* 'to be healthy'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 276 (repeats MANN's explanation); DEMIRAJ *AE* 219.

këndellë ~ **kandellë** f, pl. *këndella* ~ *kandella* 'lamp'. Borrowed from Lat *candēla* 'wax-light, tallow-candle' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; ÇABEJ *St.* I 276; LANDI *Lat.* 81, 116.

këndë ~ **kandë** f 'pleasure, appetite'. A prefixal derivative from *ēndē* (MEYER *Alb. St.* V 85). The verb *kënditem* 'to be sated' is derived from *këndë* as well as *këndis* 'to deceive', literally, 'to satiate somebody (with lies)'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 187 (*këndis* 'to deceive' - to Turk *kı namak* 'to torment' or to *gēnjej*); JOKL *Studien* 33 (to *gdhij*).

këndirr aor. *këndirra* 'to choke, to suffocate'. A prefixal derivative of *djerr*: *kē-n-dirr*.

këndoj aor. *këndova* 'to sing'. Borrowed from Lat *cantāre* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10; MEYER *Wb.* 187). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 139; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 115; HULD 80; LANDI *Lat.* 40, 155.

kēnetë f, pl. *kēneta* 'marsh, valley'. Borrowed from Lat *cannētum* 'reeds, thicket of rushes'.

kēngë ~ **kangë** f, pl. *kēngë* ~ *kangë* 'song'. Borrowed from Lat *canticum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 187). As to *kēngjelë* ~ *kangjelë* id., it continues Rom **canticella*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MANN *Language* XVII 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 115.

kēpucë f, pl. *kēpucë* 'shoe'. Derived from *kēputë* 'sole', see *kēpus*. ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (from NGk *παπούτσι* 'slipper'); MEYER *Wb.* 188 (from Turk *papuş* 'slipper'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 214, 216.

kēpujë f, pl. *kēpujë*, *kēpuja* 'round fruit, drop'. Borrowed from Slav **kapul'a*, derivative of **kapati* 'to drip'.

kēpurdhë f, pl. *kēpurdha* 'fungus, mushroom'. Another variant is *kērpudhë*. A derivative in *-dhë* of an unattested **kēpur* related to Lith *kēpure* 'cap', Latv *čepure* id. Thus, the mushroom is described as having a cap. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 187 (borrowed from Bulg *pečurka* id., SCr *pečurka* id.); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 163-165 (prefixal form related to Gk *παρδακός*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (prefox *kē-*); FRAENKEL 241; NEPOKUPNYI *BSS* 40 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

kēpus aor. *kēputa* 'to tear off, to pluck'. Another variant is *kēruc* 'to pinch, to pluck'. From PA1b **karputja*, a derivative verb based on an adjective in **-uta* reflected in *kēputë* 'sole'. As to PA1b **karputa*, it is further related to *karpë*. ◊ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk *κόπτω* 'to strike, to hew'); MEYER *Wb.* 187-188 (from Rom **carputiō*, to Lat *carpō* 'to pick, to pluck'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

kēpushë f, pl. *kēpusha* 'tick, cattle-tick'. Other variant, with an unorganic *-r-*, is *kērpushë*. Derivative of *kap* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 276-277). Borrowed to Rum *căpușă*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to SCr *krpelj* 'sheep louse'); PUŞCARIU *Dacoromania* II 594 (from Rum *căpușă* id. based on *cap* 'head'); JOKL *IJ* XXIII VII 176 (derived from Lat *capere* 'to take'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274-275; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13 (from Bulg *kapuš* id.).

kēqyr aor. *kēqyra* 'to look, to observe'. A prefixal derivative of *qyr* (MEYER *Wb.* 230). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 22; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

kērbaç m 'whip'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrbačъ*, a derivative of **kъrhati*

'to scratch, to break', cf. SCr *korbač* (DESNIČKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◊ SVANE 48.

kērbē f, pl. *kērba* 'tub, barrel'. From PALb **karbā* related to Lat *corbis* 'basket', Lith *kařbas* id., Latv *kārba* 'birch bark vessel', Slav **korbъ* 'basket'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to SCr *krbulja* 'small basket for berries' and the like); FRAENKEL 220; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XI 52-54.

kērbisht m 'sacrum, sacral bone'. A derivative of *bisht* with a prefix containing an unorganic *-r-* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 277). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 123 (to *gērbē*).

kērc m 'stump'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrčъ* id. (Czech *krč* id., Slovene *krč* 'stubbed area, area cleaned of trees and stumps'). Note Alb *-c-* reflecting Slav **-č-*. Alb *kērci* 'shinbone' and *kērcē* 'cartilage, gristle' belong to the same root. Cf. also *kērcu*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 189; BARIĆ *ARSt* 39 (compares *kērci* with Lith *kārka* 'pig's foreleg'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90-91; VASMER II 340; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIII 210-211; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 191; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kērcas aor. *kērcita*, *kērcisa* 'to cry, to shout, to rattle, to thunder, to sound'. Borrowed from Slav **kričati* 'to cry, to shout' (MEYER *Wb.* 189; JOKL *LKUBA* 93). An early loanword with Alb *-c-* reflecting Slav **-č-*. Note that the verb **kričati* is not attested in this meaning in South Slavic where we have only SCr *kričati* 'to warn' (Slovene *kričati* 'to shout' could not be the source of the Albanian word). ◊ OREL *Ėtimologija* 1980 61 (connects *kērcas* with *kērcēj*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kērcēj aor. *kērcēva* 'to dance, to jump; to pour'. Further phonetically developed to *kēcej*. This verb is derived from *kērc* 'stump', the main element of the Albanian pre-Christian sacral rite similar to South Slavic *badnjak*. The original meaning was 'to dance, to take part in a ritual dance'. The meaning 'to pour' is secondary - for a similar semantic development in Rom **salire* see BUCK 677-678; ANIKIN *Ėtimologija* 1982 67-69. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 189 (from Slav **skočiti* 'to jump'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; GEORGIEV *Vъprosi* 41-42 (derives *kērcēj* from **katerj-*), *Trakite* 253-254; OREL *Ėtimologija* 1980 61 (mistakenly connects *kērcēj* with *kērcas*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kērcēlloj aor. *kērcēllova* 'to grind one's teeth, to crack, to creak'. Based

on *kērcyell* 'stem, stalk' which is, in its turn, derived from *kērc*. ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 107 (analyzes *kēr-cyell* as a prefixal form); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199, 239.

kērcēnoj aor. *kērcēnova* 'to threaten'. A recent derivative of *kērcēj*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 277 (identical with *kērcēlloj*).

kērcu ~ **kērcû** m, pl. *kērcunj* 'stump, block, log, root'. Derived from *kērc* (JOKL *LKUBA* 264). Used in semi-pagan Christian rites (TOPOROV *Ėtimologija* 1974 3 f.; ROSETTI *Rom. slav.* 1960 65-70; ZOJZI *BUSht* 1949 49 f.), *kērcu* as a name of a sacral log was borrowed into Slav **korčunъ* 'Christmas day, winter solstice' from where it was passed on to Rum *crăciun* 'Christmas; ritual bread baked at Christmas' (DESNIČKAJA *Slav. jaz.* 1978 169-171). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23 (from Slavic); ÇABEJ *St.* I 277-278 (reconstructs **kortjo-*); VAILLANT *JF* XXIV/1-2 72-76 (*kērcu* < Rum *crăciun* < Lat *quartum jejūnium*); MLADENOV 256 (Rum *crăciun* < Lat *calātiōnem*); DEŇSUȘIANU *Hist.* I 262 f. (Rum *crăciun* < Lat *creātiōnem*); PUȘCARIU *EW* 35-36; SCHUCHARDT *AfslPh* IX 526 (Rum *crăciun* < Lat *Christi jejūnium*); MELICH *MNr* XXXVII 177 f. (Slav **korčunъ* from **korkъ* 'leg', **korčiti* 'to walk'); PREOBRAZHENSKIJ I 361 (Slav **korčunъ* from **korčiti* 'to walk' as a calque of Lat *adventus*); ROSETTI *Etudes* 204-206; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 106 (prefix *kēr-*); ROHLFS *Spr.* 191-196; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361.

kērcēp m, pl. *kērcēpē* 'stump, log, branch'. A derivative of *kērc*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 278 (reconstructs the original sg. **kērcap* and explains it as a prefixal derivative of *çapē*).

kērdhokull f, pl. *kērdhokulla* 'hip bone'. See *krrokull*.

kērkoj aor. *kērkova* 'to look for, to seek'. Borrowed from Rom **cîrcăre* id. with the assimilation of velars in the original **qērkoj* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 188). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1048, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 158-159; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253; HAARMANN 117.

kērlesh aor. *kērlesha* 'to stand on end (of hair)', *теш. kērleshem* 'to quarrel'. A derivative of *lesh* with a prefix *kē(r)-* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 104). Cf. also *ngērleshem* 'to bristle, to stand on end (of hair)'.

kërmë f 'carcass, carrion, cadaver'. From PALb **karp-nā*, related to Skt *kṛp-* 'shape, beautiful appearance', Lat *corpus* 'body', OHG *hrēf* 'belly, body' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to a Turkish loanword *kērdis* 'to butcher'); KRISTOFORIDHI 154 (from NGk κορμί, κορμί 'cadaver'); MAYRHOFER I 260; WALDE-HOFMANN I 277-278; POKORNY I 620; ÇABEJ *St.* I 278 (from Bulg *кърма* 'forage, fodder'?), IV 76.

kërmill m, pl. *kërmij* 'snail, slug'. Other variants are *kërmi* and *kërmijnj*. Connected with *krimb* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22) as its singularized plural (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 165-168). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 182 (to Portuguese *caramujo* 'sea snail' and other Romance names of snail), 525 (to ἀκρομούλα 'snail', Hes.); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 27 (from late Lat *ceramida* id.); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 214 (agrees with VASMER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 278-279 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI).

kërnac adj. 'miserly'. A derivative based on Slav **кърнъ* 'hornless, broken', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *крън*, SCr *krn*.

kërp ~ **kanp** m, pl. *kërpe* ~ *kanpe* 'hemp'. Borrowed from Rom **cannapis* (> Ital *canape*, Rum *cănăpă*) for Lat *cannabis* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 174). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9 (from Ital *canape*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039; JOKL *LKUBA* 232, *IF* XLIV 39; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 114; JANSON *Unt.* 51-52; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 83.

kërpë f 'stain, patch, spot'. Borrowed from Slav **кърпа* 'patch', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *кърпа*, SCr *krpa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 189). Derived from here is *kërpij* 'to revive, to refresh, to patch'.

kërqabë f 'peg on animal's neck preventing it from passing through hedges'. A derivative based on **kërk*, loanword from Slav **къркъ* 'neck', cf: Bulg *кърк*, SCr *krk*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 278 (deals with a secondary phonetic variant *kërçabë* which he compares with *kërçëp*).

kërqelë f, pl. *kërqela* 'large knife worn at the belt'. A variant of *kurqel* 'dagger' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 279-280) borrowed from Ital *coltello* 'knife', dial. *cortello*. ◇ WEIGAND 36 (from Lat *circellus* 'small ring'); SKOK *Zb. Rešetar* 429-432 (follows WEIGAND).

kërrshëndella pl. 'Christmas'. Borrowed from Lat *Christi nātāle* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539) or *Christi nātālia* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 189). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 159; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 280; LANDI *Lat.* 49, 85, 146.

kërrshnjët m 'kind of tree, arbutus'. A derivative of *krifshë* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 280).

kërtolë f, pl. *kërtolë* 'big bone'. A lexicalized variant of *kërtollë* ~ *kar-tollë* 'potato, lump' borrowed from Germ *Kartoffel*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279.

kërtyl aor. *kërtyla* 'to fill up, to satiate'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested **tyl* reflecting PALb **tüla*. The latter is related to Lith *tūlas* 'many', Gk *τύλος* 'corn' and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL 1136-1137; FRISK II 942-943; POKORNY I 1081.

kërth adj. 'crosswise, askew'. Other derivatives of the same root are *kërthiz* 'navel' and *kërthi* 'tiny; baby' (originally, **small as a navel*?). Attested in a phonetically advanced form *kithi* 'crosswise'. An adverbial form in *-th* based on a loanword from Lat *crucem* 'cross'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (*kërthiz* as a deminutive of Lat *cortina* 'circle, arch'); HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 99.

kërthndezem refl. 'to blush'. A compound of *kërth* and *ndez*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 280-281 (identifies the first component as a prefix *kër-*).

kërveshem refl. 'to grin, to pull faces'. A compound of the prefix *kër-* and *vesh* 'to put on', cf. in particular *veshem* ~ *vishem* 'to get dressed'. As far as the meaning is concerned, the underlying metaphor must have been 'putting on faces', as in E *to pull faces*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 281 (identifies the second part with *vesh* 'ear').

kërr m 'donkey, ass, foal', adj 'grey'. From PALb **kara* identical with Skt *khāra-* 'donkey', Av *xarō* id., Scyth **xara*, Osset *xæræg* id. (OREL *Ëtimologija* 1986-1987 220-222). The Indo-Iranian unvoiced aspirate seems to correspond to PALb **k-*. Note derivatives: *kërriç* 'foal', *kriç* id. and *kiç* id. ◇ PISANI *Saggi* 132; BARTHOLOMAE 532; MAYRHOFER II 302-303; ABAEV *Skif.* 309; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350-361.

kërrabë f, pl. *kërraba* 'hook, staff'. A suffixal derivative of an unattested PAIb **kara* further related to *karthi*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 129 (to *grep*).

kërris aor. *kërrita* 'to grunt (of pigs), to gurgle'. A descriptive stem imitating corresponding sounds.

kërrlë f 'sloppy mud, slime'. Another variant is *kërlë*. From PAIb **kar-ilā* related to ON *hqr̄r* 'snivel', OHG *horo* 'excrement', Gk κόρυζα 'snivel'. A derivative *kërrnjotë* 'mucus from nose, snivel' also belongs here. ◇ FRISK I 924; POKORNY I 573.

kërrus aor. *kërrusa* 'to bend'. From PAIb **karnutja*, based on a nominal derivative in *-ut- further connected with Gk κυρτός 'curved, bent', Lat. *curvus* id. (CAMARDA I 178; MEYER *Wb.* 190). The original nominal form is represented by *krrutë* 'hunch-backed old woman'. ◇ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (to Lat. *curvō* id.); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to ON *hnjópa* < **kneudhō*); FRISK II 55; WALDE-HOFMANN I 317-318; POKORNY I 309, 935; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; DEMIRAJ *AE* 220 (to ON *hverfa* 'to turn').

kërrutë f, pl. *kërruta* 'ewe with horns'. Borrowed from Lat. fem. adj. *cornūta* 'horned' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 190, *Alb. St.* III 73). ◇ CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk κερατίας 'horned one'); KRISTOFORIDHI 155 (to Gk κυρτός 'curved, crooked'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; BARIĆ *A ArbSt* I/1-2 148 (from **ko-kru-to-* 'horned'); PASCU *RE* 40 (from Rumanian); KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 75 (from Arumanian); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 76; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 99, 114.

kësen impers. 'to ache (of the stomach), to have griping pains'. Based on PAIb **kaniša* < **kankja* related to Lith *kenkiū, keñkti* 'to damage, to harm', ON *há* 'to torment' < Gmc **xanxōn* and the like (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 39-40). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 190 (from Turk *kı smak* 'to pinch'); FRAENKEL 240; POKORNY I 565; ÇABEJ *St.* I 281 (dialectal form of *këcej* ~ *kërcej*).

kësulë f, pl. *kësula* 'bonnet, cap'. Borrowed from Rum *căciulă* 'cap', with -ci- > PAIb *-tš- > -s-. The Rumanian word itself goes back to Alb *kaçule*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 190-191 (from Lat. *casula* 'hooded coat' via Gk κασοῦλα 'thick coat'); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 21; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XIX/1 48-65 (from NGk κασοῦλα).

këshete pl. 'bran'. A prefixal derivative of *shete* (CAMARDA I 70).

këshill m, pl. *këshilla* 'council'. Borrowed from Lat. *consilium* id. (CAMARDA I 80; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 208-209). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 119; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 99, 117.

kështallë f, pl. *kështalla* 'splint (in medicine)'. From PAIb **ka-stalā*, a derivative related to Goth *stols* 'chair', Lith *stālas* 'table', Slav **stolъ* 'table, pole'. ◇ VASMER III 764-765; FRAENKEL 893; KLUGE 761; FEIST *Goth.* 455-456.

kështër ~ **kështën** adj. 'Christian'. Borrowed from Lat. *christianus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117.

kështjellë f, pl. *kështjella* 'castle, fort'. Borrowed from Lat. *castellum* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 281-282). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 191 (from Ital. *castello* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 81.

këshyre f, pl. *këshyre* 'mountain path, path in the ravine'. Borrowed from Lat. *clausūra, clūsūra* 'lock, bar, bolt; castle, fort' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 282). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 103, 110.

këtu adv. 'here'. From PAIb **ka tu* including a pronominal stem **ka* < IĒ **k'o-* and adverbial **tu*, cf. Skt *tú* 'now, but' (BOPP 496-497; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 5-6). While the prevailing form for 'there' is *aty*, certain dialects preserve *atu* (ELEZOVIC *A ArbSt.* II 249). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161; MAYRHOFER I 507; ÇABEJ *St.* I 282; HULD 80-81.

kic aor. *kica* 'to bite'. A descriptive stem.

kij aor. *kiva* 'to prune, to trim'. Another variant is *kiej*. From **këinj* < PAIb **kadinja*, a denominative verb related to *kadhë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 282-283). Derived from *kij* is *kizë* 'pruning-hook'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 226 (from Lat. *incidere* 'to cut'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 40 (to *shqyej*, from **klednjō*); AJETI *ZfBalk* V/2 139-140 (to Slav **kyjъ* 'stick').

kikë f, pl. *kika* 'top, tip; mane'. Borrowed from Slav **kyka* 'tuft of hair,

plaited hair', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kika*, SCr *kika* (SVANE 181).

kinse conj. 'as, just as, as if'. A univerbation of *kini se* 'you (pl.) have that, you assume that' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 283-284). Cf. also *kish* 'if only' from 3 sg. imperf. *kish*, form of *kam*.

kishë f, pl. *kisha* 'church'. Another variant is *qishë*. Borrowed from Lat *ecclesia* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to late Gk ἐκκλησία id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 279; HAARMANN 123; LANDI *Lat.* 81, 119, 125.

kitë f, pl. *kita* 'icicle'. Borrowed from Slav **kyta* 'tuft, bundle, branch', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kita*, SCr *kita*. This Albanian word is historically identical with the singularized form *kite* 'sheaf; ear of grain' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 284). ◊ SVANE 103.

kith m 'veil of mist'. A derivative of *kitë*.

klečkë f, pl. *klečka* 'splinter, piece of wood'. Borrowed from Slav **klěčka* id., cf. Bulg *klečka*, SCr *klečka* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172, 308). ◊ SVANE 81.

klekë f, pl. *kleka* 'kind of mountain pine'. From PALb **klakā* related to Slav **kloky* 'tuft, tow'. ◊ VASMER II 252.

kllabë f 'pick, pick-axe'. Borrowed from Slav **klapa*, a derivative of **klapati*, with an irregular substitution of *-p- > -b-. A more phonetically regular reflex of the same loanword is *kllapë* 'fetter, chain' (BER 419). Note a derivative *kllabëz* 'door-bolt'. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* IX 184.

kllanë f 'last day of the year, New Year eve, first snow'. Other variants are *kullana*, *kollanë*, *këllanë*, *kllandë*. Borrowed from Rom **calandae*, a form of Lat *calendae* 'first day of a month' attested in Romance and borrowed to Celtic (ÇABEJ *St.* I 296-297). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 196 (from Slav **kolęda* 'New Year day'); MEYER-LÜBKE *REW* 115; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 116.

kllapë f, pl. *kllapa* 'puddle'. From **kë-llapë* further related to *llap*. As to *kllaçë* id., it continues **kllapçë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208.

kllapit aor. *kllapita* 'to eat like a dog'. Either derived from *llap* or borrowed from Slav **klapiti* ~ **klapati* 'to sound, to clatter', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *klapam*, SCr *klapaŕi* (SVANE 222).

kllashë f, pl. *kllasha* 'cape of sheep and goat wool'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *klašn'a* 'woolen shawl', SCr *klašnje* 'kind of cloth'.

kllaçis aor. *kllaçita* 'to brood, to cluck'. Borrowed from Slav **klociti* 'to cluck', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *klocam*, Slovene *klociti*. As to *kllukas* id., it is a local borrowing from dialectal Bulg *klukam* < *klokam*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 191 (adduces various Balkan forms but is uncertain of the actual source of the Albanian verb); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 31 (from Bulg *kloča* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 147; SVANE 236.

kllupit aor. *kllupita* 'to gulp'. From a dialectal form of Bulg *klupam* < *klopam* 'to clap, to beat, to quack' belonging to Slav **klopiti* ~ **klopiti*, cf. also SCr *klopiti* id.

kmesë f, pl. *kmesa* 'billhook, sickle'. Another form is *kmesë*. Derived from *kamë*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 9 (to *kep*, suffix *-esë*); HULD 145, 154 (reconstructs **Hekm̃-ŕjeH*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 220-221 (crossing of *kizë* id. and *kamë*).

kobë f 'theft, augury, deception, disaster'. Borrowed from Slav **kobь*, **koba* id., cf. Bulg *koba*, SCr *kob*, *koba* (MEYER *Wb.* 193, but treats *kobë* 'theft' as an Italian loanword). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 149, 493; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 32; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 185; SVANE 222, 236.

koc m, pl. *koca*, *kocinj* 'bone, skull'. Borrowed from Slav **kostь* id. with a metathesis in the consonantal cluster *-st- > -ts- (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195). The Slavic diminutive **kostьka* id. is the source of Alb *kockë* id., *kockë* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 202-203 (from Ital *coccio* 'cracked pot'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

kocë f, pl. *koca* 'black goat; girl from 8 to 10 years old'. An allegro

form of Slav **kozьlica* '(young) she-goat', cf. CS *kozьlica*, SCr *kozlica*.

kočě f, pl. *koca* 'rush-trap for fish'. Borrowed from Slav **kotьсь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kocē*, SCr *kotac*.

koč m 'penis'. Another form is pl. *kočet* 'testicles'. Borrowed from Bulg *koč* 'ram'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22 (from Slav **kočanjь* 'head of cabbage'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 194; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149 (to *kokě*); OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 140-141.

koděr f, pl. *kodna* 'hill, angular stone, corner'. Borrowed from Rom **codrum* < Lat *quadrum* 'square' on which also Rum *codru* 'forest' is based (SCHUCHARDT *Vokalismus* II 510). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 193 (compares *koděr* with Rum *codru*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XL 212-213 (from Rum *codru*); CAPIDAN *Dacoromania* I 509 (follows PEDERSEN); SCHEFTELOWITZ *BB* XXVIII 157 (to Alb *katar* 'peak'); PUȘCARIU *EW* 34; TAGLIAVINI *RivAlb* II 185 (repeats PEDERSEN's etymology); SKOK *AfslavPhil* XXXVIII 83-84 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); BARIĆ *ARS* I 40 (to Lat *castrum* 'castle, fort'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 340; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29-30; HAMP *SCL* XXXI 664 (from early Rumanian); PICCILLO *RLiR* XLV 146-157 (from Rumanian); ÇABEJ *St.* I 284-285 (follows SCHUCHARDT).

kofshě f, pl. *kofshě* 'hip, thigh'. Borrowed from Lat *coxa* 'hip' (CAMARDA I 65; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 193). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 246, 366; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 99, 124, 134.

kohě f, pl. *kohě* 'time'. From PAIb **kāxā* etymologically related to Slav **časъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 194, *Alb. St.* III 3). ◇ PEDERSEN *BB* XX 279, *KZ* XXXVI 279; JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 144, *Sprache* IX 151; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 148; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 (reconstructs an inlaut cluster **-sk-*); MLADENOV *Ist.* 226; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 35; PORZIG *Gliederung* 174; PISANI *Saggi* 124 (follows SCHEFTELOWITZ and reconstructs **kĕskā*), *REIE* IV 6; ECKERT *ZfSlav* VIII 890; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 567; HAMP *StFil* XXVII (V)/3 68 (reconstructs **kĕskā* or **kĕksā*), *St. albanica* X/2 86-87, *Ėtimologija* 1971 268-269; HULD 81; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; SCHMALSTIEG 265; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 66; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X

222; DEMIRAJ *AE* 221-222 (to OPrus *kisman*, reconstructs *kohě* < **kĕsmā*).

koj aor. *kova* 'to feed (children or animals)'. A phonetic variant of *mĕkoj*. ◇ CAMARDA II 73 (to Gk *κοπέω* 'to hasten'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

kokě f, pl. *kokě*, *koka* 'head, bulb, berry, grain'. Borrowed from Lat *coccum* 'berry' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; WEIGAND 37). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 165 (from Rom **coca*, Lat *cauca* 'kind of dish, bowl'), 194 (on *kokě* 'berry, grain'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 285-286 (agrees with WEIGAND).

kokĕrr f, pl. *kokrra* 'berry, grain'. Derived from *kokě* (JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 29). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 195 (from Ital *coccola* 'globular fruit (of plants)'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149 (to *kokě*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 286-287 (agrees with JOKL).

koleshkě f, pl. *koleshka* 'cart'. An early borrowing from Slav **kolesъka* id. otherwise unattested in South Slavic.

kolibe f, pl. *kolibe* 'hut'. Borrowed from Slav **kolyba* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *koliba*, SCr *koliba*. Cf. *kalibe* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165). ◇ OREL *Sov. slav.* 1985/5 79-84; SVANE 52.

kolmě adj. 'pretty, winsome'. From PAIb **kālīma*, a suffixal derivative of IE **kal-*: Skt *kalyā-* 'healthy', Gk Hom *κᾶλός* 'beautiful'. The long vowel in Proto-Albanian remains unclear. ◇ FRISK I 766-767; POKORNY I 524; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202.

koll m 'plow-beam'. Borrowed from Slav **kolъ* 'pole', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kol*, SCr *kolac*.

kollě f 'cough'. From PAIb **kāslā* identical with Slav **kašlъ* id., Lith *kosulys* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 195, *Alb. St.* III 2, 63). These forms are derived from IE **kʷās-* 'to cough'. ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 79; JOKL *Sprache* IX 117-118; VASMER II 214-215; FRAENKEL 284; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 150; MANN *Language* XXVI 380, XXVIII 35-36; PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 649; HULD 81; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; KORTLANDT *SSGI* X 220; DEMIRAJ *AE* 222.

kom m 'mane'. Another variant is *komē*. Borrowed from Lat *coma* 'hair' (JOKL *Studien* 110). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 40-41 (from *(s)kēp-no-, related to Germ *Schaf* 'sheep'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 118; ÇABEJ *St.* I 287 (agrees with JOKL).

kongjill m, pl. *kongjij* 'charcoal'. A variant of *thëngjil* with a different prefix *k-. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

kopër f, pl. *kopra* 'fennel'. Borrowed from Slav **koprъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kopъr*, SCr *kopar* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 287). ◇ SVANE 109.

kopicë f, pl. *kopica* 'moth'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **kopica* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 198).

kopil m, pl. *kopilë*, *kopila* 'lad, chap, bastard'. Borrowed from Slav **kopylъ* 'shoot, sprout, bastard', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kopil*, *kopile*, SCr *kopil*. Rum *copil* is of the same origin. ◇ CAMARDA I 162 (to Gk κόπος 'toil and trouble'); MEYER *Wb.* 198 (from Rom **cōpilis* 'son born from cōpa, tavern-keeper'); VASMER *IORJas* LXXXVI 96 (from Gk κοπέλλα 'girl'); OŠTIR *WuS* V 220 (prefix ko- and -pil related to *pjell*); JOKL *LKUBA* 6, 14, 311 (follows OŠTIR), *Ib* XXIII 227 (from Modern Greek); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 116-117; SCHÜTZ *WSl* III 17-18; REICHENKRON *Dakisches* 112-113 (from Dacian **kolpilos*, to IE **guelbh-* 'cub, uterus'); HUBSCHMID *ZfBalk* XVI 61-63, *ZfromPh* XCIX/5-6 497-511; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 340; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; ABAEV II 279 (to Osset *qæbül* 'child'); TRUBAČEV *Ėtimologija* 1979 129-130, 177; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

kopsht m, pl. *kopshte*, *kopshtinj*, *qipshite* 'garden'. A derivative in -*sht* based on PALb **kāpa* identical with Gk κήπος id., OHG *huoba* 'plot of land' (MEYER *Wb.* 198-199, *Alb. St.* III 4, 31). ◇ JOKL *Sprache* IX 118; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 123; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 842; KLUGE 318; POKORNY I 529; ÇABEJ *St.* III 275-276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 222.

koqe f, pl. *koqe* 'corn, berry'. A singularized plural of *kokë* (CAMARDA I 112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 287-288). The latter is the source of Rum *coacăză*. ◇ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249 (from Rom **cocceum*, based on Lat *coccum*, or from Ital *coccia*); MEYER *Wb.* 194-195, 210 (repeats SCHUCHARDT's

etymology); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045 (the same explanation); SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLVIII 398-400 (from Rom **cocceum*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238.

korb m, pl. *korbë*, *korba* 'raven'. Borrowed from Lat *corvus* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 136; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 200). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 139-140.

korbull f, pl. *korbulla* 'keg, cask, wooden pail'. Borrowed from Lat *corbula* 'little basket'.

kordhë f, pl. *kordha* 'gut string'. Borrowed from Lat *chorda* 'gut, catgut' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 119).

kordhë f, pl. *kordha* 'sword'. Borrowed from Slavic, cf. ĆS *korъda* id., SCr *korda* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 199). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052 (from Romance); MURATI *Probleme* 131.

korë f, pl. *kora* 'crust, bark'. Borrowed from Slav **kora* 'bark', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kora*, SCr *kora* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 199). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173; SVANE 94, 121.

kore f, pl. *kore* 'chicory'. Borrowed from Lat *cichorëum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 117.

koris aor. *korita* 'to shame, to dishonor'. Borrowed from Slav **koriti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kor'a*, SCr *koriti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 200). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153-154; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191; SVANE 236.

koritë f, pl. *korita* 'trough'. Borrowed from Slav **koryto* id., cf. Bulg *korito*, SCr *korito* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22-23; MEYER *Wb.* 200). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 142, 170-171; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 67.

korp m, pl. *korpe* 'body'. Borrowed from Lat nom. *corpus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 84.

korsēm adv. 'perhaps, as if'. Another variant is *korse*. A univerbated phrase *kur se* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 288-289). ◇ BARIC *ARSt.* I 89 (from **kosrem* based on **kosē* < IE **kʷā-kʷe*).

kortē f 'quarter of a slaughtered animal; liquid measure'. Borrowed from Lat *quarta* 'fourth part, quarter' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 289). Cf. *kartē*.

korube f, pl. *korube* 'beehive'. Borrowed from Slav **koruba* 'hollow trunk, beehive', cf. Bulg *koruba*, SCr *koruba* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 170 (connected with *kolibe*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 289 (agrees with SELIŠČEV); SVANE 159.

korr aor. *korr* 'to reap, to harvest'. Goes back to PALb **kāsra*. Related to Lith *kasù, kàsti* 'to dig', Slav **kosa* 'scythe' (MEYER *Wb.* 200). The name of July *korrik* as well as *korriqe* 'measure of grain' are derived from *korr*. ◇ PEDERSEN *IF* V 46 (follows MEYER); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 100-102 (to IE **sker-* 'to cut'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153; PISANI *RIL* CXII 12 (from Ital *corre* < *cogliere* 'to reap'); FRAENKEL 226-227; POKORNY I 585; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XI 133-135; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 567; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (from IE **kēr-nō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 222-224.

korropitet refl. 'to become tired'. A prefixal derivative related to *rropatet* 'to strain'.

korropesh adj. 'dark, dark-haired'. A compound of *korr* and *peshtë* structurally similar to *korrozi* id., a compound of *korr* and *zi*.

korrovesh m, pl. *korroveshë* 'jug with a handle; grape', adj. 'without ears'. A compound of *korr* and *vesh*.

kos m 'yogurt, clotted curds'. Borrowed from Slav **kvasъ* 'sour substance', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *kvasъ*, Bulg *kvas*, SCr *kvas* (MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14.

kosē f, pl. *kosa* 'scythe'. Borrowed from Slav **kosa* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kosa*, SCr *kosa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 157; SVANE 236.

kosē f, pl. *kosa* 'plait'. Borrowed from Slav **kosa* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kosa*, SCr *kosa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ SVANE 181.

kosis aor. *kosita* 'to mow'. Borrowed from Slav **kositi* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kos'a*, SCr *kositi* (MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 157; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 155; SVANE 236.

kosore f, pl. *kosore* 'small scythe'. Borrowed from South Slavic **kosorz* 'scythe, pruning knife': Bulg *kosor*, SCr *kosor* (SVANE 33).

kosh m, pl. *kosha, koshe* 'basket'. Borrowed from Slav **košъ* id.: Bulg *koš*, SCr *koš* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201-202). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151, 154; SVANE 67, 159.

koshëz f, pl. *koshëza* 'bot-fly'. Another form is *koshas* < **koshaz*. A collective form of **kosh* borrowed from Lat *cossus* 'kind of larva' (CANDREA *GS* III 430). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; ÇABEJ *St.* I 289; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

kot m, pl. *kota* 'useless, vain'. From PALb **kakta* related to Lith *koktùs* 'disgusting'. The latter is further explained as a derivative of *kòks* 'which', Slav **kakъ* 'how'. ◇ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk κότος 'rancor'); MEYER *Wb.* 202 (to *kot* 'darkness' and Gk σκότος id.); FRAENKEL 280; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* IX 118-119.

kot m 'darkness'. From PALb **kāta* further related to OIr *scáth* 'shadow' < **skāto-*, Gk σκότος 'darkness' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 202). ◇ FRISK II 739-740; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 19; VENDRYES [S] 36; POKORNY I 957.

kovaç m, pl. *kovaçë* 'smith'. Borrowed from Slav **kovačъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kovač*, SCr *kovač* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 203). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172, 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 156; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; SVANE 87, 197.

kozhup m, pl. *kozhupe* 'shepherd's fur jacket'. A variant of *kazhup*.

krañ m, pl. *krañë* 'arm, shoulder, side'. Borrowed from Slav **krajъ* 'end,

side, extremity'. For the semantic development cf. Bulg *krajnik* 'arm, leg', *kraište* id. (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). Note the development of *-j-* > *-h-* characteristic of early loanwords from Slavic. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 203 (comparison with Lith *kárka* 'shin, shank' and Slav **korkъ* id., morphologically difficult), *Alb. St.* III 6, 71; LIDÉN *Studien* 92, *Arm. St.* 43 (comparison with Skt *kiṣku-* 'forearm'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 251 (derives *krah* from **krok-skā*); SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 (reconstructs **kar-skā* and compares *krah* with Skt *kará-* 'hand, elephant's trunk'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 384-385; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 18; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 156 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Stratificazione* 91; PISANI *Saggi* 126 (follows LIDÉN); POKORNY I 945-946; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 207, 210, ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (from **korok-*); HULD 81-82; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 224 (to Arm *srunk'* 'calf (anat.)', Lat *crūs* 'shank').

krahëror ~ krahnuer m, pl. *krahërorë ~ krahnuerë* 'breast, chest'. Derived from *krah* (CAMARDA II 66; MEYER *Wb.* 203). ◊ WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 250 (to *krehër*); WEIGAND *Grammatik* 55 (follows WIEDEMANN); JOKL *LKUBA* 154 (agrees with WEIGAND); ÇABEJ *St.* I 290 (supports CAMARDA).

krahinë f, pl. *krahina* 'region, area'. An early loanword from Slav **krajina* id.: OCS *kraina*, Maced *kraina*, SCr *kraina* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 175). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178, 324; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205; SVANE 205; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (*-h-* is a hiatus filler).

krahis aor. *krahisa* 'to sweep up (wheat); to cut (branches)'. Borrowed from Slav **krajiti* 'to cut, to winnow', otherwise unattested in South Slavic.

krap m, pl. *krep* 'carp'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *krap* id., SCr *krap* id. (MIKLÓSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 204). ◊ MIKLÓSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11 (from Lat *carpiō* or Ital *carpa*).

krap m 'collar-bone'. From PALb **krapa* related to W *craff* 'strong' < **krapnos*, ON *hræfa* 'to tolerate, to bear with', Slav **krěpъкъ* 'strong, firm' continuing IE **krēp-* 'strong'. The same root is found in *krape* 'ovary'. ◊ POKORNY I 620; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XII 135-138.

krat m 'back'. Borrowed from Lat *crātis (spinae)* 'spine'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 204 (from SCr *hrbat* id.).

kredh aor. *krodha* 'to plunge, to immerse, to steep, to smother, to bespatter'. From PALb **krōda* identical with Slav **kradō, *krasti* 'to steal', refl. **kradō sę, *krasti sę* 'to sneak, to steal up, to approach unnoticed' (OREL *IF* XLIII 110-111). Further connections of the Slavic verb (including a popular comparison with Latv *krāju, krât* 'to gather, to collect') are uncertain. The aorist in *-o-* must be secondary as it is, normally, characteristic of presents in *-e-* < PALb **-e-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 204 (to Slav **greznoiti* 'to sink', phonetically improbable), *Alb. St.* III 8, 17, 71; PISANI *Saggi* 124; VASMER II 364; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XII 103-105.

kreh ~ kref aor. *kreha ~ krefa* 'to comb'. From PALb **krebska* related (with an irregular unvoicing of the anlaut) to Lith *grėbti* 'to rake', Slav **grebō, *grebti* 'to row, to rake' (MEYER *Wb.* 204-205, *Alb. St.* III 8, 71). Derived from *kreh* are *krehër ~ krehën* 'comb', a singularised plural of **krah*, and *kresë* 'curry-comb'. ◊ FRAENKEL 165-166; POKORNY I 455-456; ÇABEJ *St.* I 290 (on *krehër*); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VII 109-100.

krej aor. *kreva* 'to pull out'. From PALb **krebnja* connected with *kreh* ~ *kref* (MEYER *Wb.* 205).

kekë f, pl. 'maple'. Borrowed from Lat (*acer*) *Crëticum* 'Cretan maple' (MEYER *Wb.* 205).

krel m, pl. *krela* 'curl, lock'. From a local variant of Rom **cerebellus* 'related to the head' based on Lat *cerebrum* 'brain, skull'. For the semantic development cf. *cerebelläre* 'cap'. Metathesized in *klerë* 'curly, fizzy'.

kremte f, pl. *kremte* 'holiday'. A singularized plural of a less usual *kremtë*. In dialects, a form without suffix *kreme* is attested. A suffixal form in *-m-* based on *krye*.

krep m, pl. *krepa* 'rock'. An unlaucized form of PALb **krapa* related to *krap*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 205 (to Ital *greppo* 'steep, rocky bank' and the like); JOKL *Studien* 35 (to *karpë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 268-269; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 150; DEMIRAJ *AE* 225 (reconstructs **křHp-* or **krop-*).

krepull adj. 'inebriated'. Borrowed from Rom **crāpulus*, cf. Lat

crāpula 'excessive wine-drinking, inebriation' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 290-291, with an alternative link to Ital *crepare* 'to burst, to split').

kreshkĕ f 'foliage'. A suffixal derivative in *-shkĕ* of *krĕnd* (attested also as *krend*). As to *kreshk* 'fish scale', it also belongs here. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19 (from Ital *crusca*); JOKL *LKUBA* 166 (to *kreshtĕ*).

kreshmĕ pl. 'fast'. Borrowed from Lat *quadrāgēsima* 'Lent, fast of forty days', cf. Ital *quaresima* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 205). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051 (from Ital *quaresima*); HAARMANN 144.

kreshnik m, pl. ^ṣ*kreshnikĕ* 'hero, knight'. Borrowed from SCr *krajišnik* 'inhabitant of a border region' (SCHMAUS apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 291). ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 116 (to *kreshtĕ*).

kreshpĕ f, pl. *kreshpa* 'sheep with long and rough wool'. From Lat fem. adj. *crispa* 'curled, crisp, uneven'. The verb *kreshpĕroj* 'to anger' is based on the same Latin adjective in its different meanings - 'quivering, tremulous'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 205 (on *kreshpĕroj*); HAARMANN 120.

kreshtĕ f 'mane, rooster's comb'. Borrowed from Lat *crista* 'rooster's comb, crest of a helmet' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 205). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 102, 119.

krĕnd ~ **krande** m, pl. *krĕnde* ~ *krande* 'foliage; brushwood; leaves used as fodder; chips; branch without leaves'. From PAIb **ka-randa*, a prefix formation connected with IE **rendh-* 'to tear (asunder)' and, in particular, with OHG *rinda*, *rinta* 'rind', OE *rinde* id. and the like (OREL *IF* XLIII 111). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 204 (to OIr *grend* 'side-whiskers', OHG *grana* 'mustache' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 8, 71; JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 240; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (to Gk κράνον); POKORNY I 865; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 261; OREL *IF* XCIII 111 (to IE **sker-* 'to cut'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 225.

kri ~ **krĭ** f, pl. *kri* ~ *krĭ* 'woodworm, moth'. From PAIb **kriwi-* continuing a dialectal Indo-European form **k^hymi-*: Slav **čьrvь* 'worm' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46-47). Nazalisation in Geg is secondary. ◊ TRAUT-

MANN *BSIWB.* 134; VASMER IV 335-336; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* IV 171-172.

krife f, pl. *krife* 'mane'. Borrowed, with the irregular unvoicing of both voiced consonants, of Slav **griva* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). The influence of *krinĕ* 'mane' borrowed from Romance cannot be excluded. ◊ HAMP *KZ CVI/2* 305-306.

krikiløj aor. *kriklløva* 'to creak (of wheels)'. Borrowed from Rom **car-riculāre* based on Lat *carrus* 'wagon'.

krimb ~ **krym** m, pl. *krimba*, *kĕrminj* ~ *kryma* 'worm'. Reflects PAIb **krim-* connected with IE **k^hmi-* id.: Skt *k^hmi-*, Lith *kĕrmis* and the like (STIER *KZ* XI 247; GIL FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 62; MEYER *Wb.* 206). Geg *-y-* remains unexplained: could it be a rare case of *u*-umlaut suggesting PAIb **krimu-*? ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 64; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 43; JOKL *LKUBA* 23, 191-192, 318, *Sprache* IX 120; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 160; MAYRHOFER I 261-262; FRAENKEL 257; PISANI *Saggi* 132; BARIÇ *Hymje* 36; POKORNY I 649; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227, *Etim.* II 323; HULD 82; OREL *IF* XLIII 116, *Zfbalk* XXIII 148, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (irregular *-ry-*, *-ri-* < IE **-r-*); KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 64; DEMIRAJ *AE* 225-226.

kripĕ ~ **krypĕ** f, pl. *kripĕra* ~ *krypna* 'salt'. From PAIb **krupā* connected with ON *hrufa* 'scab', Lith *kraupūs* 'rough', *kraupis* 'scab', Latv *kraūpis* 'frail, brittle', Slav **krupa* 'goats' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 31, 71; PISANI *Saggi* 124). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 206 (borrowing from Slav **krupa*); MLADENOV *Ist.* 220; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 290; POKORNY I 623; OREL *IF* XLIII 106; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XIII 43-45.

Krisht m 'Christ'. Borrowed from Lat *Christus* while *krishterĕ* ~ *krishtenĕ* 'Christian' goes back to Lat *christiānus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 191). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 158.

krocĕ f, pl. *kroca* 'dogrose'. A derivative in *-cĕ* from *kromĕ*.

krodhĕ f, pl. *krodha* 'bread crust'. Borrowed from Lat fem. adj. **crūda* < *crūda* 'crude, rough'.

krodhĕ f, pl. *krodha* 'beehive'. Goes back to PAIb **krādā* related to Goth

hrot 'roof', Slav **krada* 'heap, pile'. ◇ POKORNY I 617-618; FEIST *Goth.* 270-271; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XI 58-60.

kromë f, pl. *kroma* 'scabies; dogrose'. Derived from *kruaj*. Another derivative from the same source is *krosë* 'scab'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (to *grij*).

krongjill m, pl. *krongjij* 'icicle'. Borrowed from Rom **corniculus* based on Lat *cornū* 'horn'.

krua ~ *krue* m, pl. *kronj*, *roje* 'spring, fountain'. From PALb **krāna* < **krasna* with compensatory lengthening of the vowel. Related to Gk κρήνη id., OE *hræn* 'wave' < Gmc **xraznō* (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 207). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 71; TORP *IF* V 204; THUMB *IF* XXVI 3-14 (borrowed from Greek); PETERSSON *IF* XXIV 50 (from **krēnyo-*); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 146; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 92 (prefix *k-* and root *-rua* identical to that of *përrua*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 81-82 (to *krye* and Skt *khānati* 'to dig'); RIBEZZO *RivAlb* II 137 n. 3 (agrees with THUMB); MANN *Language* XXVI 381; PISANI *Saggi* 120; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 107 (prefix *k-*); FRISK II 16; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 685; ÇABEJ *St.* I 292-293.

kruaj ~ *kruej* aor. *krava* 'to scratch'. From PALb **krābnja* with a long grade of ablaut, further connected with *kreh*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (to *grij*); JOKL *Studien* 23-25 (same identification with *grij*), *IF* XXXVII 99; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVI 381 (to Gk κνάω, Lith *knóju*); ÇABEJ *StF* III/1 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 226.

krunde pl. 'bran'. Another form is *grundë*. Derivative of *kruaj* ~ *kruej*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 132-133 (explains *grundë* in connection with OE *grindan* 'to grind'), *Alb. St.* III 8; JOKL *Studien* 23 (reconstructs zero grade *-un-* < **-ŋ-*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 358 (to Slav **krupa* 'groats'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 293 (to Gk κρίνω 'to separate').

krup aor. *krupa* 'to loathe'. From PALb **krupa* etymologically related to Lith *kraupūs* 'easily scared', *krupūs* id., *krūpti* 'to scare'. ◇ FRAENKEL 291.

krushk m, pl. *krushq* 'bride's man, unmarried relative'. A metathesis of **kushk(ë)r*, borrowed from Lat *consocer* 'father-in-law' > Rum *cuscru* (MEYER *Wb.* 207). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1045; PUŠ-

CARIU *EWR* 41; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; HAARMANN 119; LANDI *Lat.* 61, 117-118.

krybe f, pl. *krybe* 'oakum, tow'. From PALb **krūba*, a derivative in **-b-*, connected with Gk κρύπτω 'to hide' (where old **-bh-* may be alleged), Lith *krāuti* 'to pile up', Slav **kryti* 'to cover, to hide'. ◇ FRAENKEL 291; SCHWYZER I 333 (on the nature of the labial in κρύπτω); FRISK II 29-30; POKORNY I 617; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XIII 71-72.

krydh aor. *krydha* 'to plunge; to steal, to rob'. An Elbasan form. Connected with *kredh* (OREL *IF* XLIII 110).

krye n, pl. *krerë* ~ *krenë* 'head'. From PALb **krānjā* < **krasnjā* with a compensatory lengthening of the root vowel. Etymologically identical with Gk κρᾶνίον 'skull, head' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 33) and further related to IE **kerās-* 'head' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23). The word for 'head' is the source of *kryej* 'to finish'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 206 (borrowed from Lat *cerebrum* 'head, brain'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; TREIMER *MRIW* I 360 (reconstructs **kreunom* connected with Slav **krušiti* 'to destroy, to grind'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 81 (comparison with OIr *cenn* 'head'); JOKL *IF* XLIV 47; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 160, *Stratificazione* 91-92; MANN *Language* XVII 16, XXVIII 33; PISANI *Saggi* 120; FRISK II 6-7; POKORNY I 574-577; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 86, *KZ* LXXVI 279-280; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684; HULD 83 (reconstructs **krH-euno-*).

kryq m, pl. *kryqe*, *kryqa* 'cross'. Borrowed from Lat *crucem* id. with an irregular substitution of the short Lat *-u-* (CAMARDA II 201; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 207). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 198; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 83, 146.

kririlë f, pl. *kririla* 'crane'. Other forms are *koririlë*, *kurrilë* and *kojrrilë*. Borrowed from Gmc **kran-ila*, a deminutive of **kranaz* id.: OHG *kran*, OE *cran*. ◇ KLUGE 399-400; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 59; ZALIZN'AK *Ëtimologija* 1964 179; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129 (from Rom **gruilla*).

krrok aor. *krroka* 'to caw'. A descriptive stem similar to Lat *crōciō* id.

krrokull f, pl. *krrokulla* 'hip bone, joint, knuckle'. An allegro form of *kërdhokull* id. The latter is a derivative of **kërdhok* 'round object' preserved as a singularized plural in *kërdhoq* 'eye-ball'. As to **kërdhok*, it reflects a suffixal derivative based on the unvoiced variant of *gardh*.

krrokull f, pl. *krrokulla* 'saffron'. Borrowed from Rom **croculum*, diminutive of Lat *crocum* id.

kshetë f, pl. *kshetë* 'nymph, mermaid'. Identical with *kshetë* 'plait', a variant of *gërshetë*.

kthej aor. *kthevā* 'to turn'. A prefixal derivative of *thyej*. ◇ CAMARDA I 101 (to Gk ἐκ-τίθημι 'to set outside'); MEYER *Wb.* 185 (from Lat *convertere* 'to turn round'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1054; JOKL *Studien* 94 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

kthetër f, pl. *kthetra* 'claw (particularly, of vulture)'. Derivative in **-ter* of *kthej*.

kthill aor. *kthilla* 'to make clear, to brighten'. An older Tosk form is *kthiell*. A prefixal derivative (CAMARDA I 101) of unattested **thiell* reflected in *thjeshtë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 184 (to Italo-Alb *fjeyonem* 'to clear up'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 191 (from **kthej diell*); JOKL *Studien* 37-38 (to IE **skēi-* attested in *hije*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 294 (to *fill*).

ku pron. 'where'. From PALb **ku* identical with Skt *kūha* id., Slav **kŭ-**de* id., Lith *kuř* id. and the like, originating from IE **ku-*, a variant of the pronominal stem **ko-*. ◇ CAMARDA I 67 (to IE **ko-*); MEYER *Wb.* 218 (follows CAMARDA); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317, 326; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161; PORZIG *Gliederung* 168; FRAENKEL 314; MAYRHOFER I 249; POKORNY I 647-648; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 232, 254; HULD 83-84; DEMIRAJ *AE* 226-227.

kuar ~ **kuer** m 'measure, order, free time'. Borrowed from Lat *chorus* 'dance in a ring, harmony, harmonious motion'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (*përkuar* 'moderate' based on **përkoj* < Lat *parcere* 'to spare'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 294-296 (to *korr*, IE **sker-* 'to cut').

kuç m 'dog'. Borrowed from South Slavic **kučē* 'dog, cub', cf. Bulg

kuče, SCr *kuče*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 218-219 (various Slavic and Romance parallels); BUGA II 220; MACHEK *ZfslavPh* XXI 154 (onomatopoeia); MURATI *Probleme* 131.

kuçedër f, pl. *kuçedra* 'dragon (with many heads)'. Another variant is *kulshedër*. Borrowed from Lat *chersydrus* 'kind of snake' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 116). ◇ CAMARDA I 192 (compound of *kulish* 'whelp, young' or *kuç* and gen. of ὕδρα 'hydra'); MEYER *Wb.* 219 (from Lat *excetra* 'snake, serpent'); POLÁK *EBTch* V 29-30.

kuhet refl. 'to redden (of skin)'. Derived from *kuç*.

kujtoj aor. *kujtova* 'to remember, to think'. Borrowed from Lat *cōgitāre* (CAMARDA I 99; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 194). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1049; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 41-42 (to OIr *ciall* 'reason'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 162, *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117.

kuk adv. 'alone'. From PALb **kuka* continuing IE **ku-ko-* 'whoever, anybody', cf. Lat *quisquam, quisquis* and the like.

kukas aor. *kukata* 'to wail, to shriek'. Borrowed from Slav **kukati* 'to be alone, to wail', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kukam*, SCr *kukati*.

kukoj aor. *kukova* 'to make fast, to seal (of a barrel)'. Literally, 'to isolate'. Derived from *kuk*.

kukur m 'quiver'. Borrowed from late Lat *cucurum* id. or MGk κοκούρον id. (MEYER *Wb.* 211).

kukutë f 'fennel'. Borrowed from Lat *ciçuta* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1048) ◇ HAARMANN 121.

kukzoi aor. *kukzova* 'to bend, to arch over'. Based on **kukëz*, a suffixal derivative of **kukë* borrowed from **kuka* 'hook', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kuka*, SCr *kuka*.

kulaç m, pl. *kulaçë, kuleç* 'pancake'. Borrowed from Slav **kolačъ* 'round bread', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kolač*, SCr *kolač* (MIKLOSICH

Slav. Elemente 22). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 155, 303; HAMP *LB XIV/2* 14; SVANE 93.

kular m, pl. *kularë* ‘curved piece of wood, ox-collar’. Borrowed from Lat *collāre* ‘collar’ (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049) ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 118; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 88, 99.

kulbë f, pl. *kulba* ‘kind of freshwater fish’. Another form is *kubël*. Early Slavic loanword: note Alb -u- rendering Slav -ъ-. The source is (South) Slav **кълба* ~ **кълъ* (Pol *kielb*, Rus *kolba*), see MEYER *Wb.* 212; OREL *Ëtimologija* 1983 143. ◇ MIKLOSICH *EW* 154 (the Slavic and Albanian words are genetically related); BERNEKER I 659; VASMER II 286; OREL *Ëtimologija* 1983 143; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 296 (from Rom **cuplea*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361.

kulë f ‘hernia’. An early borrowing from Slav **kyla* id., with *-y- rendered as Alb -u-. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 212-213 (from Lat *culleus* ‘leather sack’); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 34; SVANE 182.

kulm m, pl. *kulme* ‘ridge, peak; wave’. Borrowed from Lat nom. *culmen* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 213). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19 (from Lat *culmus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 244 (to Gk κολώνη ‘hill’, Lat *columen* ‘top’); HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 147.

kulmak m, pl. *kulmakë* ‘rush, reed’. Derived from the archaic *kulm* ‘sheaf’, borrowed from Lat *culmus* ‘stalk, stem, straw’ (MEYER *Wb.* 213).

kulpër ~ **kulpën** m, pl. *kulpra* ~ *kulpna* ‘ivy, clematis’. A parallel form is Geg *kurpën*. These variants represent a singularized plural of a less usual *kulp*. From PAIB **kulpa* etymologically related to Lith *kilpa* ‘loop’, Latv *ciļpa* id. (MANN *Language* XVII 14). Borrowed to Rum *curpen*. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 42 (to Gmc **xwurbana* ‘twined, twisted’ and Lat *cucurbita* ‘gourd’); JOKL *LKUBA* 229-232 (to IE **k^{el}*- ‘to turn’); FRAENKEL 253-254; POKORNY I 926; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 340; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; ÇABEJ *St.* III 214 (to *për-kul*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 227.

kulte f ‘water melon, gourd’. Borrowed from Rom **cuculbita*, a variant

of Lat *cucurbita* ‘gourd’ (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* I 296) ◇ LANDI *Lat.* 114.

kultër f, pl. *kultra* ‘pillow, cushion’. Borrowed from Lat *culcitra* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 213) ◇ HAARMANN 121.

kulloj aor. *kullova* ‘to sieve, to sift, to filter’. Borrowed from Lat *cōlāre* ‘to filter, to strain’ (MEYER *Wb.* 212). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117.

kulloshtër f ‘beestings’. Borrowed from Lat *colostra* id. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 118). ◇ KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 116 (from Italian).

kullos aor. *kullota* ‘to put out to pasture, to graze’. A derivative of *kulloj*. ◇ CAMARDA I 295 (to Gk βου-κολέω ‘to tend cattle’); MEYER *Wb.* 212 (from Lat *colere* ‘to cultivate’); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163 (against MEYER).

kullumbri f, pl. *kullumbri* ‘blackthorn, sloe; turtle dove’. A derivative of **kullumbë* borrowed from Lat *columba* ‘dove’, the plant being called after the bird as Rum *porumb* ‘maize, corn’ after *palumbes* ‘dove’ (MEYER *Wb.* 212). ◇ PUŞCARIU *EW* 119; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249 (from Lat *palumbes*); HAARMANN 118.

kullusmë f, pl. *kullusma* ‘thicket’. A metathesis from **kullumesë* (cf. *giysmë*) borrowed from Rom **columnātia*, cf. Lat *columnātiō* ‘supporting by pillars’.

kum m ‘godfather’. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *kum*, SCR *kum* id. A parallel feminine form for ‘godmother’ (Bulg *kuma*, SCR *kuma*) was borrowed as *kumë*. The latter also stands for ‘fox’ thus reflecting the Slavic folklore tradition of describing the fox of the fairy-tales as *kuma* ‘godmother’.

kumahark m, pl. *kumaharqe* ‘dragonfly, damselfly’. A recent compound of *kumë* ‘godmother’ (see *kum*) and *hark*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 297 (a form with two prefixes **kë-më-* based on *harlë*).

kumb m, pl. *kumbe* ‘tone, sound’. Together with *kumboj* ‘to sound’, a back-formation based on *këmborë* (MEYER *Wb.* 186).

kumbull f, pl. *kumbulla* 'plum tree'. Other variants are *kumull* and *kumëll*. Borrowed from Gk κοκκύμηλον id. (MEYER *Wb.* 213). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249 (from Rom **columbula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* I 297 (borrowed from Doric).

kumerë f 'fear, fright'. A prefixal derivative of *mer*, *tmer*.

kumerq m 'toll, duty'. Borrowed from Lat *commercium* 'trade, commerce' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048.

kumt m 'news, announcement'. Borrowed from Lat *commonitus*, participle of *commonere* 'to remind, to put in mind'. From *kumt* the verb *kumtoj* 'to announce' is derived. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 297-298 (from Lat *computāre* 'to sum up, to reckon'); HAARMANN 118.

kumtër m, pl. *kumtër* 'godfather'. Borrowed from Lat *compater* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 214). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1048; HAARMANN 118; ÇABEJ *St.* I 298-299 (based on fem. *kumëtër* borrowed from Lat *commāter* 'godmother'); LANDI *Lat.* 41, 115, 143.

kunaf m, pl. *kunetër* ~ *kunetën* 'brother-in-law'. Borrowed from Lat *cognātus* 'kinsman, blood relation'. The feminine form *cognāta* is reflected as Alb *kunatë* (CAMARDA I 158; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 214). Note a derivative *kunatoll* 'brother-in-law (wife's brother)' that may continue Rom **cognāteōlus*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 125, 138.

kund adv. 'somewhere'. Goes back to PAIb **kum to(m)*, acc. sg. of *ku* and a pronominal stem **to-*, see *ay*. ◊ WEIGAND 41 (to Lat *unde* 'whence'); JOKL *AArbSt* I 35-36 (acc. sg. of **k'o-* and a pronominal **to-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 299-300 (phonetic transformation of *ku*).

kundër prep. 'against'. Borrowed from Lat *contra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 214). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 119.

kundoj aor. *kundova* 'to hesitate'. Borrowed from Lat *cunctārī* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 214). ◊ HAARMANN 121; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 52-54 (against MEYER).

kungoj aor. *kungova* 'to communicate'. Borrowed from Lat *commūnicāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 214). As to *kungë* 'altar (of the Orthodox church)', it is a back-formation derived from the verb. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14, 22; HAARMANN 119; ÇABEJ *St.* I 300 (*kungë* borrowed from Lat *concha* 'shell-fish, mussel, *vault'); LANDI *Lat.* 117.

kungull m, pl. *kunguj* 'marrow, pumpkin, bottle'. From PAIb **kunkula* identical with Lith *kuñkulas* 'bubble' (MANN *Language* XXVI 387). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 214 (from Lat *cucumis* 'cucumber'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163 (against MEYER).

kunj m, pl. *kunja* 'peg, wedge'. Borrowed from Lat *cuneus* 'wedge' (MEYER *Wb.* 215). The verb *kunjoj* 'to close a sack with a peg' continues Lat *cuneāre* 'to wedge'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

kup m 'heap, pile'. Borrowed from Slav **kurъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kup*, SCr *kup*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 215 (from Rom **cuppus* 'kind of vessel'); SVANE 43.

kupë f, pl. *kupa* 'glass, bowl'. Borrowed from Lat *cuppa* 'tub' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 215). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 100.

kuptoj aor. *kuptova* 'to understand'. Borrowed from Lat *computāre* 'to sum up, to reckon' (MEYER *Wb.* 215). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 118; ÇABEJ *St.* I 300-301 (derived from *kap*).

kuq adj. 'red'. Borrowed from Rom **cocceus*, cf. Lat *coccineus* 'scarlet' (MEYER *Wb.* 210). ◊ BOPP 490 (to Skt *sūci-* 'fiery, bright'); CAMARDA I 164 (compares with NGk κόκκινος 'red'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 162; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; HULD 84.

kur adv. 'when'. From PALb **kur* formally identical with Arm *ur*, Lith *kuř* 'where', Latv *kūr* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 34), derived from IE **k^u*- (see *ku*). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250 (from Lat *quā hōrā* 'at what hour, when', with an irregular development of the inlaut vocalism); MEYER *Wb.* 215 (accepts SCHUCHARDT's etymology); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317, *Kelt. Gr.* I 127; MEILLET *MSL* X 259, XX 92; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 164 (follows VASMER); AČAREAN *HAB* III 613-614; PISANI *Saggi* 123; FRAENKEL 314; POKORNY I 647-648; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 324 (on -*r*); HULD 84; HAARMANN 144; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; DEMIRAJ *AE* 227-228.

kurorē ~ kunorē f, pl. *kurora ~ kunora* 'crown'. Borrowed from Lat *corōna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1046, 1048; ERNOUT-MEILLET 144; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; HAARMANN 120; JANSON *Unt.* 52-53; LANDI *Lat.* 63, 88.

kursej aor. *kurseva* 'to spare'. Derived from **kurt* 'short' borrowed from Lat *curtus* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 101 (to Lat *curtus*); MEYER *Wb.* 216 (from Rom **curtiāre*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1051; HAARMANN 122.

kurt m, pl. *kurte* 'yard'. Borrowed from Lat *cortem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 216). ◊ GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* III 472 (from NGk κοῦρτη id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 301 (on Old Alb *kurtē* id. preserving the gender of Lat *cortem*).

kurth m, pl. *kurthe* 'snare, trap'. Derivative in -*th* of *kurp ~ kulp*, cf. *kulpēr*. Somehow connected with Rum *cursă* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 216 (from Turk *kurs* 'disk'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 42 (to OHG *hurt* 'wicker-work'); MANN *Language* XVII 14 (to Lat *crātis*, Goth *haurds*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237.

kurvë f, pl. *kurva* 'whore, prostitute'. Borrowed from Slav **kury*, gen. **kurъve* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kurva*, SCr *kurva* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 216). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 194; SVANE 200.

kurrë adv. 'never, ever'. Goes back to PALb **kur ne* of which the first element is identical with *kur* and the second reflects the Indo-European negation **ne* 'not' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 215

(identifies with *kur*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 145; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 164; HAMP *HSyn.* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 302 (phonetic variant of *kur*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 228.

kurriz m 'spine, backbone, hump'. A derivative in -*iz* based on PALb **kurna* < **kynos* related to Lith *kėras* 'stump', *kirna* 'pointed end of a trunk, bush', Slav **korenъ* 'root'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 190 (to *kėrrus*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92; FRAENKEL 241; POKORNY I 573; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XI 62-66.

kush pron. 'who'. From PALb **kuša* going back to an Indo-European pronominal compound **k^u-so-* consisting of **k^u*-, a morphological variant of **k^o*- id., and demonstrative **so-*. The Albanian form is, thus, quite close to Tokh A *kus* id., B *kuse* id. < **k^u-so-* (MEILLET *Idg. Jb.* I 13; OREL *LB* XXX/1 57-58). Note -*sh-* < **-s-* explained by the "ruki" rule (OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI/2 114). As to acc. *kë ~ kâ*, it continues PALb **kam* < IE **k^oom* (MEYER *Wb.* 217, *Alb. St.* III 2, 88). ◊ BOPP 463 (to IE **k^o*-); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 212 (to IE **k^o*-); MEYER *Wb.* 217-218 (*kush* treated as a borrowing from Lat *quis* with some reserve); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317 (related to IE **k^o*-), *Kelt. Gr.* I 128; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 165; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (follows MEILLET); VAN WINDEKENS I 246; POKORNY I 647-648; ÇABEJ *St.* I 275-276, 302-303; HULD 84; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *LB* XXX/1 58-59, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351; DEMIRAJ *AE* 218, 228 (from **k^u-sqi*).

kushëri ~ kushëri m, pl. *kushërinj* 'cousin'. Borrowed from Lat *consōbrīnus* id. (CAMARDA I 120; MEYER *Wb.* 218). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 119.

kusht m, pl. *kushte* 'vow, bet, boundary, condition'. Back-formation of *kushtoj* 'to cost' continuing MLat *constāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 217). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 303 (borrowed from Ital *costo* 'price').

kushtrim m 'hue-and-cry, war cry, call-up, enrollment, alarm'. A regular deverbative in -*im* based on **kushtroj* borrowed from Rom **conscriptāre*, cf. Lat *conscribere* 'to enroll (of troops)'. ◊ WEIGAND *BA* I 257 (to *kusht*); LAMBERTZ *Volkspoesie* 247 (divides into *kush trim*

'who is brave?'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 303-304 (agrees with LAMBERTZ).

kushull m 'consul'. Borrowed from Lat *consulem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046.

kut m, pl. *kut* 'measure of length'. Borrowed from Lat *cubitus* 'cubit' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 138, 141.

kutë f, pl. *kuta* 'young dog, cub'. Borrowed from Slav **kutej* id. attested in East Slavic (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198). Cf. *kuç*.

kutëndoj aor. *kutëndova* 'to thank'. Borrowed from Lat *contentāre* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049) ◇ HAARMANN 119.

kuvend m, pl. *kuvende* 'speech; council, meeting'. Borrowed from Lat *conventus* 'meeting, assembly' (CAMARDA I 340; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 219). A parallel form pl. tantum *kuvise* 'speeches, words' continues Rom **conventiae*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1044, 1048; JOKL *Idg.Jb.* XI 190 (*kuvise* as a deverbative of **kuvij* borrowed from Lat **conventire*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; HAARMANN 119; ÇABEJ *St.* I 304 (*kuvise* as a plural of *kuvend*, cf. his interpretation of *vise* : *vend*); LANDI *Lat.* 55, 88, 148-149.

ky pron., f. *kjo* 'this'. From PALb **ka-ei*, f. **ka-jā*, based on a pronominal element **ka-* and a demonstrative, see *ai*, *ajo*. ◇ PEDERSEN *Pron.* 315; HULD-84-85 (to *k'o-*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (from **ku-i*, with **-i* < IE **ejom*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 217-218.

kyç m, pl. 'key'. Other forms are *klyç* and *qyç*. Borrowed from Slav **kl'učь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kl'uč*, SCr *ključ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 193). ◇ JOKL *Slavia* XIII 296; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 144, 150, 308; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 12; SVANE 84.

L

laḅ m, pl. *labë*, *lebër* ~ *lebën* 'Lab, inhabitant of Laberia'. Back-formation based on *Labëri* 'Laberia' borrowed from an unattested South

Slavic **laban̆ja* < **olban̆ja* rendering the native pre-Albanian name of the country: *Albania*, Ἀλβανία. ◇ DESNICKAJA *VĚI* 194 (directly from ancient **arb-/alb-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193.

labërgoj aor. *labërgova* 'to undo, to untie'. A phonetic variant of the same word is represented in *labërkoj* 'to reduce, to diminish, to wear out'. A derivative of an unattested **lapërkë* based on *lapër* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 304).

labiç m 'ghost, bogey', adj. 'importunate, rotten'. From **lamiç*, a derivative of *lamjë* 'bogey' (from NGk λαμία, cf. MEYER *Wb.* 231). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 230 (from Ital **larviccio*, based on Lat *larva* 'specter, shade'); JOKL *LKUBA* 77-78 (from Slav **l'ubičь* 'bogey').

labrik m 'sea-wolf'. Borrowed from Gk λάβριχος id. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *labrax*); MEYER *Wb.* 233 (from Rom **labracum* < Gk λάβραξ id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

laçë f 'gusset, inlet; white goat'. Continues **larcë*, a phonetic variant of *larëz* id., a derivative of *larë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 304-305). ◇ BARDHI apud ÇABEJ *ibid.* (to IE **leuk-* 'white').

laçkë f, pl. *laçka* 'household goods'. One of the rhyming words appearing together with *plaçkë* 'thing, booty' (of Modern Greek or late Slavic origin, cf. MEYER *Wb.* 344): *me laçkë e me plaçkë* 'bag and baggage', *plaçkë e raçkë* id.

ladut m, pl. 'rogue, rascal'. Probably, borrowed from an unattested Bulg **lɔgur* 'liar' derived from Slav **lɔgati* 'to lie'.

lafatë f, pl. *lafata* 'Judas tree'. Another phonetic variant is *lajthatë*. A form *lofatë* is also attested. Derived from *lajthi*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 248 (from Ital *siliquastro* 'Judas tree').

lafshë f, pl. *lafsha* 'crest (of bird), comb'. Borrowed from Lat *laxa* (*cutis*) 'loose (skin)' (MEYER *Wb.* 234). ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 197 (to *lapë*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1055; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 84 (deminutive of *lapë*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 133; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 77-78.

lag aor. *laga* 'to wet, to soak, to bathe, to wash'. From PAIb **lauga* to be further compared with *lëgatë*. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 23 (to Skt *lī-* 'to melt'); CAMARDA 140 (to Gk *λούω* 'to wash'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Slav **volga* 'liquid'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 37 (related to Slav **volga*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 45-46; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (same as VASMER); POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 83; ÇABEJ *St.* I 319-320; HAMP apud DEMIRAJ (to Lith *liūgas* 'swamp'); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430; DEMIRAJ *AE* 229-230.

lagaterë f 'period of changeable weather (in March - April)'. A compound of *lag* and *ter* (JOKL *LKUBA* 293).

lagje f, pl. *lagje* 'district, quarter'. Singularized plural of **lag* etymologically identical with Gk *λόχος* 'ambush, place for lying in wait', Slav **logъ* 'den, narrow valley' and other continuants of IE **loghos*, a deverbative of **legh-* 'to lie' (JOKL *RIEB* I 58-60). ◇ POKORNY I 658-659; FRISK II 110-112; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 79 (borrowed from Gk *λόχος*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 305 (agrees with JOKL, adduces sg. *lag* 'band, horde'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XV 248-250; DEMIRAJ *AE* 230.

laj ~ **lâj** aor. *lava* 'to wash'. Originates from PAIb **launja* related to Gk *λούω* id., Lat *lavō* id. (PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 211, 215). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35 (borrowed from Lat *lavāre*); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; JOKL *IF* XLIII 51; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 84-86 (to Russ *solovyj*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175 (follows MEYER); FRISK II 138-139; WALDE-HOFMANN I 773-774; POKORNY I 692; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbuim* 117, *Münch. St. Spr.* 109; HAMP *AION-L* II (XIII) 186 (follows PEDERSEN); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 211, 247; HULD 85 (if borrowed, Lat *lavāre* would yield **lëvoj* or **loj*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 230-231.

lajkë f, pl. *lajkë* 'caress; flattery'. From **larkë* further related to *larë*. Semantically, the development is identical with that of *laroj* 'to speckle, to spot' and 'to flatter' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 305-306). ◇ CAMARDA I 37 (to Gk *λαϊκάζω* 'to wench'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (borrowed from or related to Slav **laska* 'caress'); JOKL *LKUBA* 204-205 (to Gk *λάσκω* 'to shout' and its cognates); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 207, 276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 231 (to *laj*).

lajle f, pl. *lajle* 'ornamentation, decorations'. A contamination of *lajkë* and *lale*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 306 (related to *larë*).

lajthi f, pl. *lajthi* 'hazel-tree, hazel-nut'. In Borgo Erizzo, *lakthi* is attested (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166-167). Based on *lakth* ~ **laqth* 'loop, noose', derivative in *-th* of *lak* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 30). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 234 (to Slav **lëska* 'hazel-nut', Lith *lazdà* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* 44 (to Skt *vleşka-* 'sling'); JOKL *LKUBA* 203-205 (supports MEYER and reconstructs an earlier **ladh* with an epenthetic *-j-*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109 (from **l-al-thi*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 231-232.

lak m, pl. *leq, leqe* 'trap, snare, rope, bow (of a musical instrument), pass (in the mountains), bend, curve'. From PAIb **laka* 'bend, curve' connected with IE **lëk-* ~ **lək-*, see *flak* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *laqueus* 'noose, snare'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Rom **laquus*, cf. Lat *laqueus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 160; DESNICKAJA *Gr. str.* 9; POKORNY I 674; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 207, 227.

lakë f 'defilé, valley'. Borrowed from Gmc **lakaz* 'brook, river, swamp', cf. OHG *lahha*, OE *lacu* and the like. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *lacus*); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Ital *lacca* 'deep bottom', itself from Germanic); KLUGE 416.

lakër ~ **lakën** f, pl. *lakra* ~ *lakna* 'cabbage, greens'. Borrowed from Gk *λάχανον* 'greens' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 14; MEYER *Wb.* 236). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 208; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 41; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; JANSON *Unt.* 41.

lakmi f, pl. 'greed, avarice'. Derived from **lakëm* 'greedy' borrowed from Slav **olkomъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lakom*, SCr *lakom* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 236). As a result of erroneous segmentation of **lak-ëm*, a new form *lakut* 'greedy, glutton' was produced. ◇ MLADENOV *Ist.* 77.

lakshte f 'dew'. Derivative in *-sht(ë)* from *lag*.

lakuq adj. 'red (of earth)'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq*.

lakur adj. 'naked'. From PAIb **lauk-ura* derived from IE **leuk-* 'to

shine, to be white'. The derivative **lauk-urā* > *lëkurë* 'skin, bark' also belongs to the same root. For the semantic motivation of words for 'bark'. From *lakur* the word for bat *lakuriq*, *laskuriq* is derived. \diamond MEYER *Wb.* 236 (to Gk λέπω 'to peel'), *Alb. St.* III 3; JOKL *Studien* 46, n. 1 (compares *lëkurë* with Gk λακίς 'tear, break, crack', Slav **lǫčǫ*, **lǫčiti* 'to split'), 51 (prefix *lë-* in *lëkurë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 92-93; ERNOUT-MEILLET 335; TRUBAČEV *Remesl. term.* 165-166; POKORNY I 687-689; HULD 86; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145, *Orpheus* VI 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 232-233, 240-241 (dialectal form of *lakuriq*, further related to *lëkurë* and based on IE **skeud-* 'to cover').

lale f, pl. *lale* 'ornamentation, decorations'. A result of assimilation of *liquida* in the plural form of *lar*.

lalë m 'uncle, father' (used as a title). Represents a *Lallwort* widespread in the Balkans, cf. NGk λαλῶς 'grandfather' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 236; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 167, *Stratificazione* 117). From this stem *lalush* 'to fondle, to caress' is derived.

landër f, pl. *landra* 'tendril (of plants); oleander'. Borrowed from MLat *lorandrum*, a transformation of Lat *rhododendron* (OREL *Orpheus* VI 66).

lanok m, pl. *lanokë* 'robber, thief'. Another variant is *landok*. Borrowed from Slav **lěnykъ* 'lazy person, idler', cf. Bulg *lenk'o*. \diamond ÇABEJ *St.* I 307 (derivative of *lëndë* with the original meaning 'woodcutter').

lap aor. *lapa* 'to slurp, to lap up'. From PALb **lapa*, an onomatopoeia relate to Gk λάπτω 'to lick', Lith *laph* 'to swallow greedily', Slav **lopati* 'to eat greedily' and the like (CAMARDA I 127; MEYER *Wb.* 237, *Alb. St.* III 31). Among derivatives, note *lëpij* 'to lick' and *lëpis* 'index' (literally, the licked finger). \diamond SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (equal to Friul *lapa* 'to lick'); FRISK II 85, 92; POKORNY I 677; FRAENKEL 339-340; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVI 45-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 242 (influenced by *pij*, form of *pi*).

laparos aor. *laparosa* 'to make dirty'. Together with Bulg *lapardos-vam* id. borrowed from a Modern Greek formation based on Gk λαπαρός

'soft'. \diamond JOKL *Studien* 47-48 (to *lapërdhi*), *LKUBA* 90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 233 (new formation in *-os* based on *lapër* 'cloth').

lapë f, pl. *lapa* 'hard piece of meat or skin; peritoneum; leaf'. Continues PALb **lapā* related to Lith *lāpas* 'leaf', Gk λοπός 'shell, husk, bark' and the like. Derived from *lapë* are *lapetë* 'peritoneum (of a slaughtered animal); triangular patch of cloth' and *lapër* 'peritoneum, dewlap', adj. 'foul, evil, bad'. As to *labë* 'bark', it is a secondary dialectal variant of *lapë*, cf. ÇABEJ *St.* I 307. \diamond MEYER *Wb.* 237 (to Lith *lōpas* 'spot' and its cognates); JOKL *Stud.* 44 (*labë* to Lith *lūobas* 'bark'), *LKUBA* 88-89; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Slav **lupъ* 'scale', ON *lauf* 'leaf'), XXVI 386 (*labë* to Gk λοβός 'pod'); FRAENKEL 339-340; FRISK II 105-107; CHANTRAINE 632; POKORNY I 678; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208, 230; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 229, 233.

lapërdhi f, pl. *lapërdhi* 'dewlap; obscenity, dirty joke'. Derivative of *lapër*, cf. *lapë* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 234). \diamond VASMER *Alb. Wqrforsch.* I 36 (to Skt *lāpati* '(he) whispers', Slav **lepetъ* 'babble'); JOKL *Studien* 47-48 (together with *laparos* 'to make dirty' related to IE **leip-* 'fat, grease, dirt'), *LKUBA* 90.

laps aor. *lapsa* 'to exhaust, to wary'. Although in other cases the cluster *-ps-* indicates the Greek origin, this word may continue PALb **lapitja* related to Gk λαπαρός 'weak', λαπάζω 'to weaken' (JOKL *Studien* 48). \diamond FRISK II 84-85; ÇABEJ *St.* I 307 (from Gk βλάπτω 'to disable, to weaken'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 234.

laps aor *lapsa* 'to wish, to want'. From PALb **laubitja* related to Skt *lúbhyati* 'to wish', Slav **l'ubiti* 'to love' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 48). \diamond MAYRHOFER III 107-108; POKORNY I 683-684; ÇABEJ *St.* I 308 (identical with *laps* 'to exhaust, to wary'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XV 174-176.

lapush adj. 'big-eared'. Borrowed from Slav **lapuša* 'plant with big leaves', cf. SCr *lapuša* 'kind of oak'. The Albanian usage is obviously metaphorical.

lar m 'laurel'. Borrowed from Lat *laurus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 237). From *lar* a diminutive *larth* 'holly' as well as *larëz* 'wild vine' and *larushk* id. are derived. \diamond MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17 (*larushk* from Lat *labrusca*); HAARMANN 132; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 110, 140.

lara pl. 'menstruation; rinse water'. Substantivized form of *larë* ~ *lanë*, participle of *laj*.

laracoj aor. *laracova* 'to variegate'. Together with *laraman* 'motley, spotted' and *laragan* id. derived from *larë*.

lardh m 'fat bacon'. Borrowed from Lat *lāridum*, *lārdum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 238). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169.

larë f, pl. *lara* 'white spot', adj. 'spotted, motley'. From PAIb **laurā*, derivative in -r- based on *laj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 238 (to *laros*, cf. *laroj*).

larg adv. 'far (away)'. Borrowed from Lat *largus* 'big, large' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 238). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1050; HASDEU *EMR* I 583; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 132; HULD 85 (gross misinterpretation of MEYER's view); LANDI *Lat.* 49.

laroj aor. *larova* 'to speckle, to variegate; to flatter'. Another morphological variant is *laros*. Derived from *larë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 238 (borrowed from NGk λερώνω 'to dirty'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 153 (*laroj* 'to flatter' to Slav **laskati*); JOKL *IJ* X VII 67 (united *laroj* 'to speckle' and *laroj* 'to-flatter' by comparing it to Gk ποικίλλω 'to speckle, to paint, to flatter'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 308 (follows JOKL).

lartë ~ **naltë** adj. 'high'. Based on the adverbial Lat *in altum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 297). ◊ MEYER *BB* XIV 54, *Wb.* 238 (rejects his earlier explanation); JOKL *LKUBA* 228 (from PAIb **laudra*, to IE **leudh-* 'to grow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 34 (on prothetic l-), 201; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 147-148 (< **lā-ro-*, to Lat *tollō*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 246; HAARMANN 130; LANDI *Lat.* 49.

lashtë adj. 'old; early, premature (of fruit)'. A parallel form is *lashë*. An adjective in -të going back to PAIb **lauša* related to Goth *laus*

'empty, loosen', with further connection with Gk λύω 'to loose, to release'. Semantically, the development may be compared to that of Gmc **alda-* 'old' if, in our case, an intermediate link 'to release' > 'to let grow' > 'to grow old' is admitted. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 238 (from Lat *lassus* 'faint, languid'); JOKL *LKUBA* 226-228, *Slavia* XIII 309 (to IE **leudh-* 'to grow'); KLUGE 446; FRISK II 149-150; POKORNY I 681-682; FEIST *Goth.* 325; HAARMANN 132; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 56 (to Lith *ilgas* 'long'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 308-309 (derivative of *lag*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

latë f, pl. *lata* 'small axe'. From PAIb **laptā* related to *lapë* (JOKL *Studien* 47, *LKUBA* 88) and reflecting a derivation close to (thematic) Slav **lopata* 'spade', Lith *lōpeta* id. and (athematic) OPrus *lopto* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 234). On the semantic link between 'leaf' and 'spade' see TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVI 43. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 17 (related to Slav **delbto*); TOPOROV *PJa* IV 358-363.

latredh m, pl. *latredha* 'uncastrated ram or goat'. A prefixal derivative of *tredh* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 110).

latyrë f, pl. *latyra* 'rinse water'. Borrowed from Rom **lavātūra* from Lat *lavāre* 'to wash' (MEYER *Wb.* 237).

lavare f, pl. *lavare* 'noose, hangman's rope'. Singularized plural of *lavar* 'dog-collar'. A prefixal form of *var* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 309). The corresponding verb is *lavirem* 'to hang down'.

lavij aor. *lavita* 'to become mad'. Another variant is *lavem* id. Historically identical with *lavos* 'to wound, to injure' from NGk λαβώνω id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 309). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 239 (on *lavos*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 108.

lavire f, pl. *lavire* 'filthy rags; whore; brook, rill; ridge (of a hill)'. Derivative of *lavirem*, see *lavare* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 310).

lbardh aor. *lbardha* 'to make white'. A prefixal derivative of *bardh*.

le part. Accompanies verb in jussive. Goes back to PAIb **laide* identical with the Baltic particle of optative and permissive: Lith *laĩ*, Latv *lāi*, *lei*, OPrus -*lai*. It coincides with the old unattested imperative as well as with 2 sg. pres. of *lē* (CAMARDA I 255; PEKMEZI 76-77). ◊ FRAENKEL 329; ÇABEJ *St.* I 310.

lebetis aor. *lebetita* 'to tremble, to shudder, to be frightened'. Borrowed from Slav **lebetati* 'to tremble', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *lebetati* (MEYER *Wb.* 239). ◇ SVANE 254.

lebër f 'mastitis; leprosy'. Identical with *lepër* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 315).

lečkë f, pl. *lecka* 'rag, scrap of cloth'. Derived from *lesë* 'cleaning-rag' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 310). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (to *rreckë*).

leçis aor. *leçita* 'to proclaim, to announce'. Borrowed from Slav **ličiti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: CS *ličiti*, Maced *liči*, SCr *ličiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 242). The reasons for which the vowel of the first syllable is reflected as Alb -i- are not clear. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 180; SVANE 247.

ledh m 'mud, alluvium, clay; wall, earth mound; river mouth, bank'. Continues PAIb **laida* related to OPrus *laydis* 'clay' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 239, *Alb. St.* III 28). The meaning 'wall' may be explained as an original description of a 'clay wall'. ◇ TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 367-368; JOKL *IF* XXX 206 (to OE *liste* 'edge'); ENDZELĪNS *DI* IV/2 248 (follows MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36 (to Gk λήμη); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; PISANI *Saggi* 123; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 148 (to Latv *lēza*, ON *lāgr*); POKORNY I 662; DURIDANOV *TD* 94 (reconstructs Dac **laid-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282 (follows JOKL); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220 (repeats JOKL and OREL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 235.

ledhë f, pl. *ledha* 'caress, fondling'. If the underlying meaning was 'to touch', *ledhë* is related to *ledh* exactly as Lith *laistas* 'silt' is connected with *liësti* 'to touch' (JËGERS *KZ* LXXX 87-88). The Baltic forms, moreover, are cognates of OPrus *laydis*, see *ledh*. ◇ FRAENKEL 334.

leh m, pl. *lehë* 'plot of land, patch of land'. Borrowed from Slav **lëxa* id., cf. in South Slavic: OCS *lëxa*, Bulg *lexa*, SCr *lijeha*, *leha* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 240). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158, 305; SVANE 38.

leh ~ lef aor. *leha* ~ *lefa* 'to bark'. Goes back to PAIb **laja*, a zero grade form related to Skt *rāyati* id., Lith *lõju*, *lõti*, Slav **lajati* and

the like (MEYER *Wb.* 240). ◇ CAMARDA I 65 (to Gk ληκέω 'to sound'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 151; ERNOUT-MEILLET 344; PISANI *Saggi* 130; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Gk λάσκω); FRAENKEL 387; MAYRHOFER III 55; POKORNY I 650; TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* XIV 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 235.

lehtë adj. 'light'. A more archaic variant is *leh*. Continues PAIb **lega* < IE **legʰ-* or **laga* < IE **l̥gʰ-* etymologically connected with Skt *raghú-* 'hastening', *laghú-* 'light', Gk ἐλαχός id., Lat *levis* id. and the like (BOPP 462, 490; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 134; MEYER *Wb.* 239-240). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 38 (from Lat *levis* id.); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 69; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 108 (*leh* < **lev* < **l̥gʰ-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 170; MAYRHOFER III 31-32; FRISK I 484-485; WALDEHOFMANN I 788-789; POKORNY I 660-661; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133 (follows VASMER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 310-311.

lej aor. *leva*, *linda* 'to give birth; to be born; to rise (of the sun)'. A parallel morphological variant *lind* represents - as many other Albanian verbs of this type - a nasal present indicative of the original vocalism **li-n-d*. The original verb is represented by its dialectal form *le* continuing PAIb **laida* while the form *lej* is a secondary formation **laidnja*. Further related to *lë* and, outside Albanian, to Lith *lëisti* 'to let', Latv *laist* id. and the like. For the semantic development of *le* ~ *lej* 'to be born' < 'to appear' < 'to be sent forth' it is important to note the range of meanings of Lith *lëisti* - 'to let, to send, to let rise'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 241 (hesitantly suggests a borrowing from Lat *levāre* 'to lift up, to raise'); JOKL *Studien* 49, *LKUBA* 42-44, 262 (to IE **leudh-* 'to grow' - but that leaves the vowel of *lind* unexplained); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 170 (agrees with JOKL); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 29-30 (to Lat *liberi* 'children' < **leidheroi*, not **leudheroi*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 17; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (from **lei-n-*); FRAENKEL 351-352; ÇABEJ *St.* I 311-313 (to IE **legʰ-* 'to lie', cf. in particular Gk λόχος, λοχεία 'child-birth'); POKORNY I 666; ÖLBERG *Unt.* 28; JANSON *Unt.* 29-30; CLACKSON *LR* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 235-237 (to Lat *alō* 'to feed', Bret *ala* 'to give birth'); OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

lekë f 'sinciput, top of the head'. From PAIb **lakā* etymologically connected with *lak* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75).

lelē f, pl. *lela* 'dirty woman, slut'. Borrowed from Slav **lěl'a* 'aunt', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *lěl'a*, *lel'a*, Bulg *lel'a*, SCr *ljelja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25).

lemarak m, pl. *lemarakë* 'glutton'. Another variant is *lemacak*. Expressive derivatives based on *lemcë*.

lemcë f 'uterus (of animals)'. A morphological variant in *-zë* is represented by *lemzë* 'female sexual organ'. Both words are based on *lemë*, a participle of *lej* (GAZULLI 234). As to *klemzë* id., it is a prefixal derivative of *lemzë* (GAZULLI 204). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 313.

lemeri f, pl. *lemeri* 'fear, terror'. Prefixal derivative of (*t*)*merr*.

lend m, pl. *lende* 'acorn'. From PALb **lenta* compared with the Indo-European word for 'lentil' **lent-*: Lat *lēns*, *lēntis*, OHG *linsi*, Slav **leŋja* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 313-314). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *glānde(m)* 'acorn' but how to explain Lat *gl-* > Alb *l-*?); MEYER *Wb.* 243 (follows MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 22 (compares with *lēnd*); MANN *Language XVII* 20-21 (to Gk βάλανος id.); VASMER II 553-554; WALDE-HOFMANN I 783; POKORNY I 677; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 131-132 (same as MANN); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 16 (from Latin); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa XV* 63-65; OREL *IF XLIII* 111 -113 (unconvincing comparison with *lej*).

lenicë f, pl. *lenica* 'female salmon'. Derivative of *lej* using a suffix of Slavic origin. The specific term is connected with the salmon spawning.

lenoj aor. *lenova* 'to mitigate, to soften, to relieve'. Borrowed from Ital *lenire* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◇ CAMARDA I 173 (to Lat *lēnīre* 'to make soft, to alleviate'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; ÇABEJ *St.* I 314 (derived from *leh*, *lehtë*).

lepër f 'leprosy'. Borrowed from Lat *lepra* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 315). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 241 (from NGk λέπρα id.).

leptyrë f 'muddy place'. Borrowed from Rom **lippitūra*, cf. Lat *lippitudo* 'blearedness, rheum'.

lepur m, pl. *lepra*, *lepuj* 'hare'. Borrowed from Lat *leporem* id. (STIER *KZ XI* 139; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 241). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 9; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 17; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 83, 144-145.

lerë f, pl. *lerë* 'dirt, mud'. From PALb **laurā* etymologically identical with Lith *laūrė* 'dirty person', further related to **leu-* reflected in *lum*. ◇ CAMARDA I 146 (to ὄλερον·κόπρον, Hes.); MEYER *Wb.* 238 (to *laroj*, ὄλερον); JOKL *LKUBA* 67 (derivative in *-rë* of *lyej*), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86; LAMBERTZ *KZ LIII* 12 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 346-347; ÇABEJ *St.* I 315 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 237 (dialectal form of *lyrë*, cf. *lyej*).

lerë f, pl. *lera* 'heap of stones, pebble bank'. Continues PALb **laurā* related to Gk λάρα 'alley, pass between rocks' (JOKL *RIEB* I 43-46). ◇ FRISK II 91; PISANI *Saggi* 85; POKORNY I 683; GINDIN *JaDN* 164; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 79 (borrowed from λάρα); OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 237-238 (originally Geg).

lerth m 'ivy'. Another variant is *lerdh*. Deminutive in *-th* of *lar*.

lesë f, pl. *lesa* 'harrow, wicker-work, frame'. Borrowed from Slav **lěsa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *lesa*, SCr *ljesa* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. nasele-nie* 156). A parallel form *leshë* id. belongs to an earlier layer of Slavic loanwords. ◇ SVANE 31.

lesë f, pl. *lesa* 'cleaning rag, cloth'. A derivative of *lyej* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 315).

leskër f, pl. *leskra* 'scale (of fish), shred, slate, thin metal shavings'. A derivative of **lesk* borrowed from Slav **listъкъ* 'small leaf', cf. South Slavic continuants: Maced *listok*, SCr *listak*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 316 (from SCr *liska* 'metal plate'); SVANE 149.

lesh m, pl. *leshra* ~ *leshna* 'wool, fleece, hair'. From PALb **laiša* etymologically connected with the Balto-Slavic word for 'foliage': Lith *laĩškas* 'leaf', Latv *laĩska* 'leaf on a linen stalk; stalk', Slav **listъ* 'leaf'. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* I (to Slav **voisъ* 'hair'); *Wb.* 241 (comparison with Gmc **fleusaz* 'fleece'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 38, 61; JOKL *Studien* 49 f. (to

Skt *laví-* 'sickle', Gk *λαίον* id.), *Slavia* XIII 292 (borrowed from Slav **lěsa*); KRISTOFORIDHI 205 (to Gk *λόχνη* 'down, fleece, frizzy hair'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 45 (to Gk *οὔλος* 'curly'), *Hymje* 26 (same as KRISTOFORIDHI); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 38-39 (to ON *vlóh* 'hair', Gk *λόχνη*, same as KRISTOFORIDHI); RIBEZZO *Riv. indo-gr.-it.* I 16 (to Gk *λάσιος* 'hairy, covered with hair'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92; PISANI *Saggi* 122 (agrees with MEYER *Wb.*); PUDIĆ *IX Ling. Cong.* 862 (follows MEYER); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 331; ÇABEJ *St.* I 315-316, IV 78; FRAENKEL 333-334; VASMER II 500-501; POKORNY I 681; NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 198 (borrowed from Slav **volsъ*); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XV 143-144 (Slavic and Baltic words derived from IE **lei-* 'to spring up [of plants]'); HULD 85-86 (to OS *wlōh* 'fringe'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 238-239 (to Lat *vellus* 'wool').

leshko m, pl. *leshko* 'credulous, gullible'. This homonym of *leshko* 'hairy one' (to *lesh*) is borrowed from Bulg *lečko*, *лъčko*, adv. 'lightly', cf. *lečok* 'light'.

leshnje f 'moss'. Derivative of *lesh*.

lez m, pl. *leza*, *lezë* 'wart, mole, pimple, birthmark'. Another morphological variant is *lezë*. There exists a dialectal form *lemzë* that reflects the original structure of the word and allows to identify it with *lemzë* ~ *lemcë* and, in the long run, with *lej* (JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 31). For the semantics cf. E *birthmark*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 316-317 (to *lyej*).

lë ~ **lâ** aor. *lašhë* 'to let'. From PALb **laidna*, a present in *-*nelo-* replacing a more archaic **laida* (see *lej*). Related to IE **leid-* attested in Baltic and Germanic: Lith *lėisti* id., Latv *laist* id., Goth *letan* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 242, *Alb. St.* III 28, 65, IV 24). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 252, *Sprache* IX 118; PISANI *Saggi* 130; FRAENKEL 351-352; POKORNY I 666; FEIST *Goth.* 329-330; ÇABEJ *St.* I 317 (to Lat *lēnis* 'soft, smooth' - semantically difficult); DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 227; OREL *IF* XLIII 113; HULD 155; JANSON *Unt.* 81 (on part. *lënë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 239.

lëbarke f 'dysentery'. A prefixal derivative of *bark* (MEYER *Wb.* 242). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 51; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109.

lëbyr aor. *lëbyra* 'to dazzle, to maze, to confuse'. A prefixal deriva-

tive of *byr*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 317-318 (reconstructs two prefixes *lë-* and *b-*); MURATI *Probleme* 86-87 (to *lyej*).

lëforë f, pl. *lëfora* 'rind, peel, scale of fish'. A dialectal phonetic variant of *lëvore* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 318).

lëfos m, pl. *lëfosë* 'glutton'. From **lëpues* 'lapping', see *lap*. The feminine form *lëfosë* is attested in a different meaning - 'woman or animal with hanging breasts'.

lëfyf m, pl. *lëfyta* 'pipe, tube'. A prefixal derivative of *fyf* (MEYER *Wb.* 115). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

lëgatë f, pl. *lëgata* 'marsh'. Cf. also *lëngatë* under the influence of *lëng* ~ *lang*. From PALb **leugatā* connected with Illyr *ἔλος Λούγεον* *καλούμενον* (Strabo 7.43), Lith *liūgas* id., Slav **luža* 'pool' (MEYER *Wb.* 242). ◊ MEYER *Alb. Studien* IV 52 (to Gk *λέμφος* 'mucus'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 45-46 (to *lag*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86, *IF* XLVI 383; KRAHE *BNF* XIV 120-124 (Illyrian parallels); FRAENKEL 379; POKORNY I 686; ÇABEJ *St.* I 319-320; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430; DEMIRAJ *AE* 239-240 (to *lag*, *lagë*).

lëkore f, pl. *lëkore* 'chicory'. A prefixal derivative of *kore* id., probably influenced by *lëkurë*.

lëkostër f 'bast'. A prefixal derivative of unattested **kostër* borrowed from Slav **kostra* 'bark, grass'. In South Slavic only a derivative **kostr'ava* 'kind of grass' has been registered: Bulg *kostr'ava*, SCr *kostrja-va*.

(G) **lëkue** m, pl. *lëkonj* 'water lily'. Borrowed from Lat (*lilium*) *Lacōnem* 'Spartan (lily)'.

lëkund aor. *lëkunda* 'to rock, to swing, to sway, to shake'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested **kund*, a nasal present reflecting PALb **kunda* and related to Gmc **xutan* 'to swing': MHG *hutzen*. ◊ BUGA *RFV* LXV 317 (compares Germanic forms with Lith *kuzdėti* 'to tremble', *kūdulti* 'to pull hair or beard'); POKORNY I 956-957; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 269.

lĒkuq aor. *lĒkuqa* 'to tinge red, to dye red'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 101).

lĒkurĕ f, pl. *lĒkurĕ* 'skin, hide'. Derived from *lakur*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92-93; ERNOUT-MEILLET 335; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102, 108 (prefix *lĕ-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 240-241.

lĒmaqe f, pl. *lĒmaqe* 'expanse of rubble, stonesslide, pile of stones'. A singularized plural of **lĒmak*, a derivative in *-ak* of *lĒmĕ*.

lĒmashk m, pl. *lĒmashqe* 'mud, scum, moss, fur on tongue'. Another variant is *lĒmĕshk* 'moss, fur on tongue'. A prefixal derivative from *myshk*.

lĒmazĕ f, pl. *lĒmaza* 'thin skin, shell'. A prefixal derivative of *mazĕ* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 108).

lĒmehem refl. 'to put on make-up'. A reflexive form of *lĒmoj* 'to smooth, to polish'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 318 (derived from *lyem*, participle of *lyej*).

lĒmekem refl. 'to become wet; to faint'. A prefixal denominative (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 110) of an unattested **mek* 'wet' continuing PAIb **maka* and connected with *makĕ*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

lĒmĕ ~ lamĕ f, pl. *lĒmĕ ~ lamĕ, lĒmĕnj ~ lamĕnj, lĒmenj ~ lamenj* 'threshing-floor, wine-press'. There also exists a more archaic masculine form *lĒm ~ lam*. From PAIb **lamā* etymologically identical with OHG *lam* 'lame', Slav **lomъ* 'breaking; crow-bar; broken branches', reflecting **lomos* further derived from IE **lem-* 'to break' (MEYER *Wb.* 243, *Alb. St.* III 64). ◇ SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 17 (to *lej*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 167-168 (follows MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 674; ÇABEJ *St.* I 318-319 (to Lith *lomà* 'pit, hole'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVI 25-27; DEMIRAJ *AE* 241 (to Gk ἀλώη 'threshing-floor').

lĒmoj aor. *lĒmova* 'to file, to polish'. Borrowed from Lat *limāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 243). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

lĒmoshĕ f, pl. *lĒmosha* 'alms, charity'. Borrowed from Germanic, cf. OHG *alamuosa* id., OS *alemōsa* id. Based on *lemoshĕ* is *lemoshtĕr*

'crumb, speck, offering to the dead enclosed in coffin with corpse'. ◇ KLUGE 15; OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

lĒmsh ~ lamsh m, pl. *lĒmshe ~ lamshe* 'ball (of wool, thread), globe (of earth), pool, spellet'. The meaning 'globe of earth' < *'broken lump of earth' may be one of the oldest. The word goes back to PAIb **lemesja* and is formally identical with Latv *lemesis* 'sharp edge of the plow', Slav **lemešъ* 'plowshare', with a parallel form with a voiced auslaut in Lith *lĒmėžis* 'wooden part of plough to which the ploughshare is fixed', Slav **lemežъ* 'plowshare'. The resulting IE **lemesjo-* is a derivative of **lem-* 'to break', cf. *lĒmĕ*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 243 (from Rom **glemus*, cf. Lat *glomus* 'ball, clue of yarn, thread'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1054; JOKL *LKUBA* 23-24 (follows MEYER); TREIMER *Slavia* III 451 (against MEYER for phonetic reasons: Lat *gl-* cannot yield Alb *l-*; suggests a comparison with Slav **lomiti* 'to break'); SPITZER *MRIW* I 324 (*-sh* explained as the ending of locative!); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 20 (to OIr *loman* 'cord'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168; FRAENKEL 354; ÇABEJ *St.* I 319 (from IE **ulo-m-* based on **uel-* 'to turn'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIV 108-110; OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

lĒmuq adv. 'in a heap, piled up', m 'pile'. Another variant is *lĒmuç*. A variant of *lĒmaqe*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 255.

lĒndĕ ~ landĕ f, pl. *lĒndĕ ~ landĕ* 'wood, timber, material'. Goes back to PAIb **lentā* etymologically related to Gmc **lendō* 'linden' (OHG *linta*, OE *lind*), Lith *lentā* 'board', Slav **lqtъ* 'bast' (MEYER *Alb. Studien* IV 117; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 36). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 152, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93; MANN *Language* XVII 20; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 203; FRAENKEL 357-358; VASMER II 536; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 217; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVI 150-151; HULD 87; CLACKSON *LR* 135, 227.

lĒndinĕ f, pl. *lĒndina* 'untilled land, fallow field, grassland'. Borrowed from Slav **lĕdina* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *ledina*, SCR *ledina* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 187). ◇ SVANE 166.

lĒndoj ~ lendoj aor. *lĒndova ~ lendova* 'to irritate, to make sore, to hurt'. Borrowed from Lat *lentāre* 'to make flexible, to bend'. ◇

MEYER *Alb. St.* V 92 (to *linda*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 319 (from Lat *laedere* 'to hurt, to wound').

lëng ~ *lang* m, pl. *lëngje* ~ *langje* 'juice, liquid, broth'. From PALb **langa* obviously connected with *lag* and *lëgatë* but reflecting an unexpected nasal infix. Morphologically not clear. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (to Slav **slęknęti* 'to become wet'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 319-320; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430.

lëngatë f, pl. *lëngatë* 'illness, sickness, ailment'. Another variant is *ligatë* 'liver phthisis (in sheep)'. From PALb **ligatā* derived from **liga* > *lig*. The inlaut-*-ën-* has appeared under the influence of *lëngo*j. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (to *lëngo*j).

*lëngo*j aor. *lëngova* 'to weaken, to languish'. Borrowed from Lat *languēre* 'to be faint, languid' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 244). Note a nominal derivative *lëngjyrë* 'typhus'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 132.

lëngor adj. 'pliant, supple'. Derived from *lëngo*j (MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 50 (to Lith *leñkti* 'to bend'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 320 (to *lëng*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 242.

lënur ~ *lnuer* aor. *lënura* ~ *lnora* 'to card, to comb (flax)'. A prefixal derivative of *nvar*, a variant of *mvar*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (from Rom **lānōrius* 'worker in wool').

lëpec m 'old ox or cow; ailing person'. Derivative of *lopë* (MEYER *Wb.* 248). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 320 (to *lapë*).

lëpiskë f, pl. *lëpiska* 'scale (of fish)'. A prefixal derivative of *pisk*.

lëpitkë f, pl. *lëpitka* 'slipper'. A derivative of *lapë* with a Slavic suffix. A homonymic *lëpitkë* 'blade (of knife)' is borrowed from Bulg *lepidka*, diminutive of *lepida* id., itself a Modern Greek loanword (*BER* 364). ◊ MANN *HAED* 241 (explains *lëpitkë* 'blade' directly from Greek).

lëpizë f, pl. *lëpiza* 'shelf, rack'. As well as *lëpozë* 'roof', related to *lapë* (JOKL *LKUBA* 86-95).

lëpjetë f, pl. *lëpjeta* 'orach, dock'. Borrowed from Gk λάπαθον id. (THUMB *IF* XXVI 14-16) or, rather, from an unattested *λάπεθον. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 241 (from Lat *lapathum* id.), *Alb. St.* V 92; JOKL *LKUBA* 119 (agrees with THUMB); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 132; ÇABEJ *St.* I 320 (Albanian and Greek forms derived from the same Mediterranean source).

lëplungë f, pl. *lëplunga* 'webbing for tying cradle to mother's back, cheese-cloth used as a strainer'. A secondary phonetic variant of *naplungë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

lëpushë f, pl. *lëpusha* 'mullein; broad-leafed plant'. Derived from *lapë*.

lëroj aor. *lërova* 'to cultivate, to till'. Borrowed from Lat *labōrāre* 'to labor, to take pains'.

lërushkë ~ *larushkë* m *lërushq* ~ *larushq* 'wild vine, kind of grape, clematis'. Borrowed from Lat *lābrusca* 'wild vine' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; HAARMANN 132.

lëshoj aor. *lëshova* 'to let, to leave, to free'. Borrowed from Lat *lassāre* 'to render faint, to tire, *to let' (MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◊ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk λίσσομαι 'to beg, to pray'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35 (from Ital *lasciare* 'to let'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 228, 243; HAARMANN 132.

lëti ~ *lëti* adj 'Italian, Latin, Catholic'. Borrowed from Lat *Latīnus* 'Latin' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 238-239). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169-170; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 132; ÇABEJ *St.* I 309.

lëvare f, pl. *lëvare* 'waterfall'. Another variant is *livare*. A prefixal derivative of *var* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 310) structurally close to *ujvarë* id. < *ujë varë* 'hanging water'. For the original meaning of *lëvare* cf. a derivative *livarzë* 'catkin' < *'hanging'.

lëvere f 'cloth, rag, laundry'. A singularized plural of **lëvar*, the latter being a prefixal derivative of *var*, cf. *lëvare* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 309-310). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (with a metathesis, from Lat *velarium* 'covering, screen'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109.

lëvirem ~ lëvyrem refl. 'to beg, to beseech'. A semantic development of an older *lëvyrem* 'to scratch oneself (as a sign of grief)', the latter being based on *lëvyr* 'to scratch, to lacerate', a prefixal derivative of *var*, *vjerr*.

lëviz aor. *lëviza* 'to move, to stir'. Related to *luaj* from which it is derived with an unusual suffix *-iz* < PALb *-*idja*.

lëvore f, pl. *lëvore* 'peel, skin; rag'. A formation parallel to *lëvere* but with a different vocalism (ÇABEJ *St.* I 321). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 108 (prefix *lë-*).

lëvorzroj aor. *lëvorzova* 'to peel'. Based on *lëvorzë ~ lëvorxë* 'peel, skin', derived from *lëvore*.

lëvozhgë f, pl. *lëvozhga* 'hard shell, peel, skin'. Other variants are *lëvezhgë, lëvexhgë, lëvozhgë*. Derivative in *-kë* or *-shkë* of *lëvorxë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 476 (borrowed from Slav **luska ~ *l'uska* 'peel, shell'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 321 (derived directly from *lëvorë*).

li ~ lî m, pl. *linj* 'flax, linen'. Borrowed from Lat *linum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 244-245). ◊ CAMARDA II 161 (compares *li* with Gk λίνov id., Lat *linum* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1056; JOKL *LKUBA* 256; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (same as CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133; JANSON *Unt.* 53.

licë f, pl. *lica* 'flax tow'. A metaphoric usage of Slav **lice* 'face' as 'face side' or 'upper part', cf. such meanings as Bulg *lice* 'upper part' or SCr *lice* id.

lidh aor. *lidha* 'to bind, to tie'. From PALb **lidza* etymologically close to Lat *ligare* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 245, *Alb. St.* III 17). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 43-44 (to Lat *volvō* 'to roll'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 173 (agrees with MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI

LP II 230; ERNOUT-MEILLET 358; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; PISANI *Saggi* 129; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 448; HAMP *IF* LXVI 53; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HULD 86-87; DEMIRAJ *AE* 242-243.

lifqer m, pl. *lifqere* 'waterfall'. Another form is *lifqar*. Borrowed from Rom **lavcărur* < Lat *lavacrur* 'bath'. The vowel of the first syllable results from the development of the unstressed *-ë-* to *-i-*. ◊ XHUVANI *KLetr* I/5 9 (from Lat *liquor* 'liquid'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 321-322 (related to *lëvare*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

lig adj. 'bad, ill'. Reflects PALb **liga* while *ligë* 'illness' goes back to PALb **ligā*. Further connected with Gk ὀλίγος 'small, few', λογός 'destruction, death', Lith *ligà* 'illness', Latv *liga* id. (CAMARDA I 66 on λογός; MEYER *Wb.* 245, *Alb. St.* III 7). The related adjective *ligshhtë* 'ailing' is identical with Lith *ligistas* 'ill' (DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 203). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 60-61; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 173 (follows MEYER); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 45; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRAENKEL 370; FRISK II 376; CHANTRAINE 645; HAMP *AION-L* II (XIII) 190; POKORNY I 667; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199; HULD 87; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 164; DEMIRAJ *AE* 243.

ligj m, pl. *ligje* 'law'. Other morphological variants of sg. are *ligje* and *ligjë*. The word is borrowed from Lat *lēge(m)* id. (CAMARDA II 69; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 245). Note Alb *-i-* < Lat *-ē-* (explained by the Sicilian dialectal mediation in MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 43 (*ligj* vs. *zakon*), *WuS* XII 83; ŠIROKOV *ZFL* XXIV/1 15 (related to Lith *lygūs* 'equal', OPrus *ligan* 'court'); TOPOROV *SBJa Ėtmokul't.* 25 (follows ŠIROKOV); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 133; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361-362; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 85.

ligje pl. 'mourning, dirge'. Historically identical with *ligj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 245 (from Rom **elēgium* instead of Lat *elogium*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044.

lijë f, pl. *lija* 'smallpox'. Borrowed from Slav **lixo* 'evil'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (to Lat *lira* 'furrow').

lik m 'level'. Borrowed from Slav *likъ 'face, surface', cf. Bulg *lik*, SCr *lik* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 322). ◇ SVANE 126.

likardhë f 'chickenpox'. Probably, from *lëkurdhë, a suffixal derivative of *lëkurë*. As to the unexpected -a- in *likardhë* it could be explained by the analogy with the dialectal *likar* 'doctor' of Serbo-Croatian origin. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* IV 369 (to Russ *kor* 'chickenpox'); RUSAKOV *LIs* 1980 173.

likogjone pl. 'sacrum, loins, lumbar regions'. An adaptation of the unattested Slavic compound *lëdvo-gonъ 'place from where hips begin', based on *lëdva 'hip, kidney, loin'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 245 (to Gk κοχώνη 'part between the pudenda and the anus'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

likoq m 'animal with one testicle'. A prefixal derivative of *koqe* one of the meanings of which is 'testicles'.

liktyrë f 'rope for binding a bundle of wood; band, bandage'. Another variant is *lyktyrë*. Borrowed from Lat *ligātūra* 'band, bunch' (MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17). ◇ HAARMANN 133; ÇABEJ *St.* I 327-328.

lil m, pl. *lila* 'lily'. Borrowed from Lat *lilium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35).

lilë f, pl. *lila* 'small iron ring, loop-ring, link'. From PALb *leilā related to Lith *leilas* 'thin, supple, flexible' and, further, to *liēlas* 'big', Latv *liēls* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 246 (to the non-existent Lith *lélēs* 'hand-cuffs'); FRAENKEL 329; POKORNY I 662.

limë f, pl. *lima* 'file'. Borrowed from Lat *lima* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 246). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 133.

lind aor. *linda* 'to bear, to beget; to be born'. A nasal present of *lej* (OREL *IF* XCIII 112-113). ◇ PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 12; JOKL *Studien* 63; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 33-35; PISANI *Saggi* 120; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205, 217; DEMIRAJ *AE* 243-244.

ling m 'hurry, haste'. From PALb *linga, a substantivized nasal present related to Skt *rējate* 'to spring', Goth *laikan* 'to jump', Lith *lāigyti*

'to run (unattached)'. For forms with a nasal infix cf. Lith *lingiūoti* 'to swing'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 246 (*ling* 'trotting' from Turk *link* 'trot'); FEIST *Goth.* 319-320; FRAENKEL 330-331; MAYRHOFER III 72; POKORNY I 667.

lingë f, pl. *linga* 'small bell'. From PALb *lingā etymologically identical with Lith *lingė* 'flexible pole; bend', Latv *liņga* 'loop'. ◇ FRAENKEL 331; POKORNY I 676; ÇABEJ *St.* I 322 (onomatopoeia).

linjë f, pl. *linja* 'linen shirt; linen'. Borrowed from Lat *lineum* 'linen garment' (MEYER *Wb.* 245). The homonymic *linjë* 'line' either goes back to Lat *linea* 'thread, line' or to its continuations in Romance. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 133.

lipë f, pl. *lipa* 'lime-tree'. Borrowed from Slav *lipa id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lipa*, SCr *lipa* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 322). ◇ SVANE 126.

liq m 'woof, weft'. A singularized plural of *lik going back to PALb *lika. A nominal deverbative of IE *leik- 'to leave, to remain': Skt *riṇākti* 'to leave', Lat *linquō* id., OHG *līhan* and the like. ◇ MAYRHOFER III 59; WALDE-HOFMANN I 808-810; POKORNY I 669-670; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

liroj aor. *lirova* 'to free'. Borrowed from Lat *liberāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 247). Cf. also *lirë* 'free'. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1053; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133.

lis m, pl. *lisa* 'oak, high tree'. A borrowing from Slav *lěsz 'wood, forest, tree' (MEYER *Wb.* 247). The Slavic dialect from which the word was borrowed must have had a narrow *ě > Alb *i*, i.e. it may be identified as "ikavski" Serbo-Croatian (JOKL *LKUBA* 177). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 48 (to Gk ἄλλοος 'holy grove'), *AArbSt* I/1-2 205-206; HULD 87 (compares *lis* with *lende* and *lëndë* as a parallel of *vise* ~ *vend*).

lisë f, pl. *lisa* 'woof, weft'. Goes back to PALb *litšā continuing *leikšā and related to *liq*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 322 (borrowed from Bulg *lesa* 'fishing-line, rope, plaiting'); OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

lismë f, pl. *lisma* 'slate, fragile earth, stony field, clay'. From PALb

**litšimā*. A derivative of *liq*, *lisě*. The original meaning of the word might be 'remaining (earth), remainders'.

loc m 'dear, darling'. As demonstrated by the derivative *ločkě* 'pupil (of the eye)', also used metaphorically as a synonym of *loc*, the original meaning of the latter must have been 'pupil'. It is, therefore, a continuation of PALb **lātjā*, derivationally connected with *lot*. Another derivative of *loc* is *loke* 'dear' (addressed to mother).

lodroj aor. *lodrova* 'to spring, to dance, to play'. Derived from *lodēr* 'game, play' based on *loz* (SPITZER *MRIW* I 326). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175.

lodh aor. *lodha* 'to tire, to weary'. From PALb **lada* related to Goth *leian* 'to let', Gk ληδεῖν·κοπιᾶν·κεκμηκέναι (Fies.) and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 242, *Alb. St.* III 28). ◇ CAMARDA I 124 (to Gk λῶβη 'maltreatment'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 250; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32, 36; PISANI *Saggi* 130; PORZIG *Gliederung* 104; FRISK II 114; KLUGE 424; FEIST *Goth.* 329; POKORNY I 666; HULD 143; BEEKES *IF* XCIII 36; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 54; DEMIRAJ *AE* 244-245.

log m, pl. *logje* 'meadow'. Borrowed from Slav **logъ* 'ravine, low place' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 75, 187). Note that in these meanings the word is not attested in South Slavic where it usually stands for 'lying' or 'den'. ◇ SVANE 167.

logori f, pl. *logori* 'wailing, mourning, dirge'. Assimilated from **lęgori*. Borrowed from Lat *allēgoria* 'allegory'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 245 (to *ligje*); KRISTOFORIDHI 211 (related to Gk λόγος used to denote 'dirge'); JOKL *WuS* XII 88 (from NGk μυρολογῶ 'to mourn'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 322 (identical with *llogaris* 'to count', of Modern Greek origin), IV 78.

lojc adj. 'unstable'. Literally, 'playful'. Derived from *lojě* 'play' < **loě* related to *loz*.

lopatě f, pl. *lopata* 'shovel, oar'. Borrowed from Slav **lopata* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *lopata*, Bulg *lopata*, SCr *lopata* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 245). The derivative *lopatěz* 'tadpole' has derived its unusual meaning from the South Slavic usage in which Bulg *lopata* and SCr *lopata* may stand for 'unpro-

portionately large parts of the body'. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 176; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 169, 303; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 81 (from SCr *lopata*); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 76.

lopě f, pl. *lopě* 'cow'. Continues PALb **lāpā* related to Latv *luōps* 'cattle' (ENDZELIN *KZ* XLIV 62). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 206; MEYER *Wb.* 248 (parallels with Alpine words for 'cow'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II 22 (to Celt **lāpego-* 'calf': OIr *lāeg*, Bret *leue*); JOKL *IF* XLIII 57, *Sprache* IX 149; MIKKOLA *BKIS* XXI 219-220 (to ON *lamb* 'lamb'); PETERSSON *Heter.* 22; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175-176, *Stratificazione* 138; POKORNY I 654; ÇABEJ *Glotta* XXV 51; HAMP *RomPh* XII 153; SCHRIJVER *BC* 309; DEMIRAJ *AE* 245.

loqe f, pl. *loqe* 'penis; testicles'. A singularized plural going back to a paradigm sg. **lok* ~ pl. *loqe*. From PALb **lāuka* closely related to Lith *liaukà* 'gland' further based on IE **leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 322-323). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 248 (compares with SCr *lokanja* 'belly', Bulg Gypsy *lokatiši* 'penis'); PEDERSEN *St. Balt.* IV 152 (on Lith *liaukà*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93; FRAENKEL 361-362; POKORNY I 687-690; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427.

lorzě f 'parrot'. Used in a phrase *flas si lorza* 'to chat like a parrot'. A suffixal diminutive of an unattested **lori* 'parrot lori, one of the Lorinae'.

losh adj. 'tearful'. Continues **lot-sh*, derived from *lot*.

lot m, pl. *lot* 'tear'. From PALb **lā(i)ta*, an adjective in *-*to-* based on IE **lēi-* 'to pour, to flow' (BARIĆ *AarbSt* I 148-150). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 249 (from Lat *flētus* 'weeping, wailing'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 176 (agrees with BARIĆ); POKORNY I 664-665; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

loz aor. *lojta* 'to move, to shake, to play'. From PALb **lādja*, a denominative verb based on . The latter is etymologically identical with Slav **ladъ* 'order, peace' from which a similar verb **laditi* 'to make order, to make peace' is derived. ◇ CAMARDA I 50 (related to *luaj*); MEYER *Wb.* 248 (related to Lith *palóda* 'lack of restraint, licentiousness' and separated from *luaj*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 152 (connects *loz* with *luaj*); JOKL *Studien* 75, *LKUBA* 224; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 323-324 (to OIr *luaid* 'to move'); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XIV 9-12.

loze f, pl. *loze* 'tendrils (of a plant)'. A singularized plural of a less widespread *lozë* id. Borrowed from Slav **loza* 'vine, tendril', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *loza*, Bulg *loza*, SCr *loza* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164). ◇ SVANE 118.

lter m 'altar'. Borrowed from Lat *altarium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1040, 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 38, 115.

luaj ~ **luej** aor. *lojta* ~ *luejta* 'to move, to shake, to play'. From PAIb **lādnja*, a denominative verb closely connected with *loz* (CAMARDA I 50). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 248 (borrowed from Lat *ludere* 'to play'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; HAARMANN 133.

luan ~ **luã** m, pl. *luaj* ~ *luanj*, *luanë* 'lion'. Borrowed from Lat *leōnem* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 141-142; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 249). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 89, *IF* L 49-52 (from Slav **lvъ* id.); MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (related to Gk λέων id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 324 (follows MEYER).

lubenicë f, pl. *lubenica* 'water-melon'. Borrowed from Slav **lubënica* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *lubenica*, SCr *lubenica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 249). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 304; SVANE 106.

lubi f, pl. *lubi* 'ogress, dragon-woman with seven heads'. Another variant is *luvgi*. Note also *luvgi* 'voracity, greed' representing a metaphoric usage of this word. It seems probable that *lubi* is a back-formation based on *luvat*, see *lugat*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 72-74 (to Slav **l'ubiti* 'to love').

lucë f, pl. *luca* 'mud, mire'. Important parallel forms are *jucë*, *juci* and *juzi*. Borrowed from Lat *lutea* 'muddy' (MEYER *Wb.* 251). ◇ CAMARDA I 88 (connected with Lat *lutum* 'mud'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37 (borrowed from *lutum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; FRAENKEL 198-199; KRISTOFORIDHI 143 (to *llucë*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 133; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 44 (to Lith *jáudra*

'swamp, marsh; podzol (a kind of soil)'); KORTLANDT *SGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

luftë f, pl. *lufta*, *luftëra* ~ *luftna* 'fight, war'. Borrowed from Lat *lucta* 'wrestling' > Rum *luptă* 'fight' (CAMARDA I 65; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 250). Note the East Romance type of the development of *-ct-* in this word. The verb *lëftoj*, *luftoj* 'to fight' corresponds to Lat *luctari* id. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1049, 1054; PUȘCARIU *EWB* 86; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 145, 366; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 267; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 55-56; HULD 86; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 22-123, 135.

lug m, pl. *lugj*, *lugje* 'trough, water-trough, long gutter, pipe'. Related to *lugë* 'spoon' with which it continues PAIb **luga* ~ **lugã* etymologically connected with Slav **lъga* 'spoon, blade', **lъžica* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 143-145, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93). Both Albanian and Slavic forms are based on IE **leugh-* 'to break', cf. Skt *rujāti* 'to break'. Note *lugatë* 'oar' derived from *lugë* under the structural influence of *lopatë* and *lukth* 'stomach' based on *lug* (MEYER *Wb.* 250). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 250 (*lugë* borrowed from Slavic); MEYER *IF* II 368-369, *Wb.* 250 (*lug* treated as a Turkish loan, from *oluk*, *uluk* 'channel'; for *lugë* follows MIKLOSICH); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 101; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; MANN *Language* XVII 14; MAYRHOFER III 64; POKORNY I 686; HAMP *SCL* XXVII/2 183; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, apud DEMIRAJ (to OE *long* 'vessel'); TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* XVI 257-260; DEMIRAJ *AE* 245-246.

lugat m, pl. *luget*, *lugetër* 'bogey, vampire'. Another variant is *luvat*. Borrowed from an early Romance compound the first element of which was, undoubtedly, Lat *lupus* 'wolf' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; JOKL *LKUBA* 69-74). The whole word can continue Rom **lupus peccātus* 'false wolf'. ◇ POLÁK *EBTch* V 34-35.

luhas aor. *luhata* 'to rock, to sway, to swing'. Borrowed from Slav **l'uxati* 'to strike', cf. in South Slavic - Bulg *l'uxam* 'to strike at a short stick while playing chelik'.

lukër f. 'sheep'. Borrowed from Lat *lucrum* 'gain, profit, wealth' (JOKL *LKUBA* 257-259). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; ÇABEJ *St.* I 324 (agrees with JOKL); HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 118.

lule f, pl. *lule* 'flower'. Singularized plural of **lulë* < PALb **lulā*, an ancient Balkan loanword from an oriental source, probably, from Copt *hrêri*, *hlêli* 'lily' < Eg *ḥrr.t* id. The same source is postulated for Gk *λείριον* id., Lat *lilium* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 250 (from Lat *lilium* with *i* > *u* after *l*-); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 178 (questions MEYER's explanation); MANN *Language* XVII 16; FRISK II 100-101; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109 (prefix *l*-); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203, 254; HULD 87-88.

lum adj. 'blessed, happy, lucky, fortunate'. From PALb **lubna*, an adjective in *-no- derived from IE **leubh-* 'to love, to wish' (JOKL *Studien* 52-53, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86), cf. in particular Goth *liufs* 'dear'. ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 333; POKORNY I 683-684; ÇABEJ *St.* I 325 (to *lus*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 247-248.

lumak m, pl. 'bud, shoot; lichen, moss'. Another form is *lëmak*. A suffixal derivative of an unattested **lum* continuing PALb **lubna*. The latter is an adjective in *-no- based on IE **leubh-* 'to peel, to skin', cf. Lith *lubà* 'board (of a ceiling)', Latv *luba* 'bark, board', OPrus *lubbo* 'board', Slav **лѣбъ* 'forehead, skull'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 251 (from Lat *limācem* 'snail'), *Alb. St.* IV 94; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 48-50 (a prefixal derivative of *makë*); POKORNY I 690; FRAENKEL 388; ÇABEJ *St.* I 325-326 (from *lumë*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVI 225-228; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

lumë m, pl. *lumenj* 'river'. From PALb **luma* etymologically identical with Gk *λύμα* 'dirt', and further related to IE **leu(ə)-* 'dirt'. ◊ CAMARDA I 38 (to Gk *λούω* 'to wash'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27 (borrowed from Lat *flūmen* 'river'); MEYER *Wb.* 251 (follows MIKLOSICH); JOKL *Studien* 51-52 (to IE **lei-* 'to pour'); FRISK II 144-145; POKORNY I 681; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227, 258; HULD 88 (to IE *(*s*)*leub-* 'to be slick, wet'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 246-247.

lundër f, pl. *lundra* 'boat, barge, ferry'. Borrowed from Rom **lunter*, cf. Rum *luntre* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 251). ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 86; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 116, 129.

lundër f, pl. *lundra* 'otter'. Borrowed from Rom **lunter* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046).

lungë f, pl. *lunga* 'swelling, tumor'. From PALb **lunkā*, a derivative of IE **leu-k-* 'to bend' with a nasal infix, similar to that of OPrus *lunkis* 'angle', Lith *luņkanas* 'supple', Latv *lūnks* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 252 (to *bulë*, *bulungë*); BUGA *RR* I 369; JOKL *Studien* 53 (to Skt *rōga-* 'pain, illness'); FRAENKEL 390; POKORNY I 681-682; ÇABEJ *BUSht* XV/4 76-77 (follows MEYER), apud DEMIRAJ (Lat *volvō* 'to roll'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 248 (to *lëng*).

lupesh m 'glutton'. Derivative of *llup* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 153). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 326 (from a non-existent Bulg *lupež* 'thief').

luqerbull f, pl. *luqerbullā* 'werewolf'. Other variants are *ruqerbull*, *riqe-bull*. Borrowed from Rom **lupus cervulus*, cf. a more usual Romance **lupus cervarius* as in Fr *loup-cervier* id. (LA PIANA *Prefisso* 21). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 326 (a prefixal derivative of *qelb*).

luqerë f 'lamp, lantern'. Borrowed from Lat *lucerna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 250, *Alb. St.* IV 80). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133; ÇABEJ *St.* I 326 (adduces Old Albanian data); LANDI *Lat.* 89, 112-114.

luroj aor. *lurova* 'to howl, to wail'. A phono-morphological variant of *ulërij*.

lurtoj aor. *lurtova* 'to cajole, to flatter, to caress'. A phonetic modification of **larëtoj*, to *laroj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 326-327).

lus aor. *luta* 'to pray, to invoke, to beg'. From PALb **lugtja* related to Lith *lūgate* 'to ask, to pray', Latv *lūdzu*, *lūgt* 'to ask, to invite', OHG *lockōn* 'to lure, to entice' (TREIMER *MRIW* I 377-378), further related to IE **leugh-* 'to lie, to cheat'. ◊ CAMARDA I 53 (to Gk *λίσσομαι* 'to beg, to pray'); MEYER *Wb.* 251 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 25; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 50-51 (to IE **leubh-* 'to love, to wish'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Slav **l'utiti* 'to be fierce, to be violent'); KLUGE 444; FRAENKEL 389; POKORNY I 686-687; JOKL *Die Sprache* IX/2 150 (agrees with TREIMER).

luspë f, pl. *luspa* 'scale (of fish)'. Borrowed from Slav **luspa* 'scale, shell', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *luspa*, SCr *ljuspa* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 327). ◊ SVANE 119, 237.

lush m, pl. *lushë* 'berserk; carrion'. Back-formation based on fem. *lushë* 'bitch; berserk woman'. As far as the latter has a parallel form *lutë* 'bitch, glutton', *lushë* must be explained as resulting from **lut-shë* based on an unattested **lutë*, borrowed from Slav **l'utъ* 'angry, wild, violent' (in particular, of animals).

luzmë f 'swarm (in particular, of bees)'. From **luazmë* ~ *luezmë*, derivative of *loz*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

luzhi f 'flood'. Based on **luzhë* borrowed from Slav **luža* 'pool', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *luža*, SCr *lužā* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 327). ◇ XHUVANI *Shkëndija* III/4 5 (related to *lēgatë*); SVANE 170.

lyç adv. 'in a mess, in a muddle, out of joint'. Derived with an adverbial marker *-ç* from *lyej*.

lyej aor. *leva*, *lyejta* 'to smear, to oil'. Since the original meaning seems to be 'to cover with oil', the expected Proto-Albanian form may be reconstructed as **elaiwanja*, with *-ye-* resulting from the contraction of the inlaut cluster **-aiwa-*. This is a denominative verb based on an unattested **elaiwā* borrowed from Gk ἔλαι(ν)ον 'oil'. Note *lyrë* 'fat' derived from *lyej*. ◇ CAMARDA I 242 (to Gk ἀλείφω 'to oil'); MEYER *Wb.* 251-252 (borrowed from Lat *linō* 'to daub, to besmear' or related to IE **lēi-* 'to flow, to pour'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 50 (to IE **leip-* 'fat', thus repeating CAMARDA's etymology); JOKL *LKUBA* 67; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 327 (to IE **lēi-* 'to flow, to pour').

lylyver m, pl. *lylyvere* 'rainbow'. A phonetic variant of *yllber*.

lym m, pl. *lyme* 'mud, alluvium'. Borrowed from Gk λῦμα 'dirt', cf. *lum*. ◇ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86 (to *lerë*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 225; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to *lum*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 248-249.

lyp aor. *lypa* 'to beg, to ask, to seek, to need'. In Tosk also *lip*. Despite an irregular development of the root vowel, continues PALb **leipa* related to Gk λίπτομαι 'to be eager, to long for', Lith *liepiù*, *liepti* 'to order'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 247 (to *lipsem* 'to miss', itself a Modern Greek loanword); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 50-51 (to IE **leubh-* 'to love, to wish'); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 179 (against MEYER); FRAENKEL 367; FRISK II 127-128.

lyr aor. *lyra* 'to make dirty'. Derived from *lerë* 'dirt'.

lyrdhëz f, pl. *lyrdhëza* 'wart'. Apparently, from **lyr-th-ëz*, a derivative of *lyrë*. Cf. *lyth*.

lyshëtër f, pl. *lyshtra* 'flotsam, alluvium; crowd'. Borrowed from Lat *lūstrum* 'slough, bog, morass, puddle; house of ill-repute, debauchery'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 328 (to *lyej*).

lyth m, pl. *lytha*, *lythë* 'wart, corn'. A derivative in *-th* of *lyej* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 328).

LI

llabiç m, pl. *llabiçë* 'bogey, vampire; glutton'. From **lubiç*, derivative of *lubi*.

llacë f, pl. *llaca* 'ladder'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **lazьsa* related to **laziti* 'to climb'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llallë f, pl. *llalla* 'wet-nurse; moth'. An onomatopoeia. In its second meaning *llallë* may be a calque of Slav **baba* 'woman, grandmother; butterfly, moth'.

llap aor. *llapa* 'to lap up' (of animals). From PALb **lapa* compared with Gk λάπτω 'to gulp, to drink greedily', Lith *lapénti* 'to swallow food' (of pigs), Slav **lopati* 'to eat up' (CAMARDA 127; MEYER *Wb.* 237). ◇ FRAENKEL 340; FRISK II 85; POKORNY I 651; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429.

llapë f, pl. *llapa* 'tongue, language'. From PALb **lapā* connected with the verb *llap*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 237; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429.

llapush adj. 'long-eared'. An early borrowing from an unattested Slav **lop(o)ušь* id., cf. **lorouxъ* id.

llapushë f, pl. *llapusha* 'broad-leafed cabbage, covering leaf of maize'. Borrowed from Slav **loruшь*, derivative of **loruxъ* 'burdock, broad-

leafed plant', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *lopux*, SCr *lopuh*. ◇ SVANE 112; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llaskonjě f 'twig, shoot'. A derivative in *-onjě* of **laskě* borrowed from Slav **lozъka*, diminutive of **loza* 'vine'. Another form of **laskě* is attested as *llashkě* 'shoot'.

llazurě f 'agitation, noise, swarm'. Borrowed, with dissimilation of liquids, from Slav **orzorzъ* 'ravage, destruction', cf. SCr *razoriti*.

llējñž f 'mud, silt'. A derivative from PAIb **slinjā* related to Lith *sliėnas* 'saliva, mucus, slime', Slav **slina* 'saliva'. ◇ FRAENKEL 826; VASMER III 672; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llěrě ~ llaně f, pl. *llěrě ~ llaně, llěra ~ llana* 'forearm, ell'. From PAIb **alenā* related to Gk *ὐλένη* 'elbow', Lat *ulna*, OHG *elina* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 233). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 76 (borrowed from Rom **ulnāna*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 44, *Kelt. Gr.* II 59; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; FRISK 1146-1147; WALDE-HOFMANN II 812; POKORNY I 307; HULD *KZ* XCIX 247 (from Gk *ὐλένη*); HAMP *AION-L* II 185-187; JANSON *Unt.* 30; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 249-250.

lloç m 'mud, mire, sludge'. Derived from *llohě*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 328 (from Bulg *ločka* 'mud').

llohě f 'rain with snow, snow broth, dampness'. An early borrowing from Slav **lojъ* **'anything liquid'* (SLAWSKI V 259) > 'fat, lard; flooded area; crater, funnel' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 233 (compares with Slav **loky* 'pool, pit'); SVANE 173; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

llokmě f, pl. *llokma* 'lump, chunk'. Another variant is *llomkě*. Borrowed from Turk *lokma* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 233). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 328 (from Bulg dial. *lomka* id.).

llom m 'mud, sludge, sediment'. Derived from *llohě*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 233 (from the non-existent Slav **lomъ* 'swamp'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 36.

llomis aor. *llomita* 'to pound, to crush'. Borrowed from Slav **lomiti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lom'a*, SCr *lomiti* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188; SVANE 91, 237.

llomotis aor. *llomotita* 'to brawl, to chatter'. Borrowed from Slav **lomoti-ti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lomot'a*, SCr *lomotiti*.

lloskě f, pl. 'kind of fish, roach'. Borrowed from Slav **loska* unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *losk* 'kind of insect, Ixodes ricinus'.

llosh m, pl. *lloshe* 'nest, den'. Borrowed, with the unvoicing of the anlaut consonant, from Slav **loža ~ *ložъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *loža*, SCr *loža, lož*.

lloz m, pl. *lloze* 'bolt, bar'. Another variant is *loz*. Derived from the verb *loz*.

llubatě f 'sediment'. A derivative from *llurbě* as well as *lluburdině* id.

llukě f, pl. *lluka* 'lime-tree'. An early Slavic loanword, from **lyko* 'bast' and, in particular, 'lime-tree bast'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llukě f, pl. *lluka* 'foul egg'. From PAIb **lukā* related to *lerě* and derived from IE **leu(ə)-* 'dirt'. ◇ POKORNY I 681.

llup aor. *llupa* 'to gulp down, to swallow'. Continues PAIb **lupa* etymologically connected with Skt *lumpāti* 'to break, to injure', Lith *lūpti* 'to peel', Latv *lūpt* 'to peel; to eat', Slav **lupiti* 'to peel' (hesitantly - MEYER *Wb.* 233). ◇ FRAENKEL 391-392; POKORNY I 690-691; MAYRHOFER III 108-109; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XVI 183-184.

llurbě f 'sediment, mud'. Continues PAIb **lur(i)bā* derived from **lur-a*, a form related to *lerě*.

M

macě f, pl. *maca* 'cat'. Borrowed from Slav **maca* id., cf. South

Slavic forms: Bulg *maca*, SCr *maca* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 263). Derived from *macē* is *mackē* 'cat; bush (on wheel)'. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 166; SVANE 138.

macollë f, pl. *macolla* 'mallet'. Dissimilated from **malollë*, borrowed from Lat *malleolus* id.

macukë f 'shepherd's staff'. A lexicalized phonetic variant of *matukë*.

maçë f, pl. *maça* 'hard soil'. Borrowed from Slav **mača* 'swamp, marsh' (Czech *máča*) unattested in South Slavic.

madh adj. 'big, large'. From PALb **madza* related to Hitt *mekkiš* id., Skt *mahānt-* 'great, large', Gk *μέγας* id., Lat *magnus* id. and the like (BOPP 489, 491; GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 23; CAMARDA I 6; MEYER *Wb.* 252). The irregular vocalism may be explained by an unusual reduction (MANN *Language* XXVI 385, XVII 17); in any case, it is reminiscent of *-a-* in Lat *magnus* and OIr *maige* id. Rum *mare* id. seems to have been borrowed from dial. Alb *mall* with *-ll-* < *-dh-*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18, 63, 81, *Gr. Gr.* 277; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 535; JOKL *IF* XLIV 57; PUŞCARIU *EWR* -88-89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180-181; MANN *Language* XVII 17; ERNOUT-MEILLET 379; FRISK II 189-190; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; MAYRHOFER II 609-610; WALDE-HOFMANN II 10-12; POKORNY I 708; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 344; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 448; HULD 88-89; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *StF* XXVI/3, 95-96 (reconstructs **məgjos*), *AE* 250-251.

magar m, pl. *magarë* 'donkey'. Another variant is *magjar*. As it is clear from *margaç* id., the original form of *magar* was **margar*, with the dissimilation of sonorants. Both words are derivatives of an unattested **margë*. The latter appears to be a borrowing from Gmc **marxjō*, cf. OHG *mar(i)ha* 'mare', *mar(a)h* 'horse', ON *merr* 'mare' and the like. The form *magar* was borrowed to other Balkan languages. ◊ CAMARDA II 73 (from *gomar*); MEYER *Wb.* 253 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); BARIĆ *ARSt* 54 (prefix *ma-* + *krrič*); KLUGE 454; IL'INSKIJ *Rodna reč* VII 9-10 (to IE **mek-* ~ **meg-* 'to bellow'); SKOK *AArbSt* IV 124-132; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 180; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 218; ÇABEJ *St.* I 329 (prefixal derivative of Old Alb *gare* 'she-ass'), *Etim.* 14-15.

mahajër f 'fallow'. A compound *mah ajër* 'feeds the air', cf. for the semantic motivation Russ *pole pod parom* 'fallow' = 'field under the vapor'. ◊ JOKL *Glotta* XXI 121-124 (from Rom **majarium*, cf. Ital *maggiatico* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* I 329 (agrees with JOKL); HAARMANN 134.

mahnis aor. *mahnita* 'to astound, to stupefy'. Another variant is *manis*. Borrowed from Slav **maniti* 'to lure, to charm', with *-h-* influenced by **maxati* 'to wave'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 254 (from **maxati*). ◊ SVANE 250.

maj ~ māj aor. *majta* 'to feed, to fatten'. Another morphological variant is *mah* id. From PALb **mazdnja*, a deverbative based on IE **mazd-* 'feeding': OHG *mast*, Skt *médas-* 'fat, marrow' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 251-252). ◊ CAMARDA I 37 (to IE **meġh-* 'big'); MEYER *Wb.* 259 (to Lat *mandō* 'to chew'), *Alb. St.* III 28, 63; JOKL *Studien* 54, *LKUBA* 183 (to Skt *mādati* 'to boil'); KLUGE 465; MAYRHOFER II 683-684; POKORNY I 694.

maj m 'May'. Borrowed from Lat *Mājus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 255). ◊ HAARMANN 134.

maj m, pl. *maja* 'hammer'. Borrowed from Lat *malleus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 255). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536 (uncertain of Latin origins of the word); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1050 (from Ital *maglio* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* I 330; HAARMANN 134.

majere f 'terraced land'. Derived from *majë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 329 (from Rom **majarium* 'fallow' reconstructed by JOKL for *mahajër*).

majë f, pl. *maja* 'tip, top, point, peak, summit'. Another form is *malë*. From PALb **malā*, a feminine form of *mal* (MEYER *Wb.* 255). Derived from *majë* is *majos* 'to fill to the brim'. ◊ CAMARDA II 69-70 (from IE **meġh-* 'big'); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63 (to Lat *mōns* 'mountain'); JOKL *LKUBA* 162-163 (from **moljā*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 88-189; HULD 89; DEMIRAJ *AE* 252-253.

majmë adj. 'fat'. Derived from *maj* 'to feed, to fatten' (CAMARDA I

37; MEYER *Wb.* 259). ◇ GRIENBERGER *Got.* 156-157 (to Goth *mats* 'food', Skt *mādati* 'to boil', Mlr *māt* 'pig').

majtĒ ~ mājĒ adj. 'left'. Borrowed from Rom **manctus*, based on Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm', cf. also Ital *manca* 'left hand' (MEYER *Wb.* 273). Cf. *mëngjër*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

makar adv. 'at least'. The word is also used as an interjection. Based on MGk μακάρι < μακάριον, neut. 'blessed' (FILIPOVA-BAJROVA *Gr. zaemki* 122). The same word is attested in other Balkan languages. ◇ MIKLOSICH *EWb* 181 (from Turk *meyer* 'but, however, only' < Pers *meger*); MEYER *Wb.* 255 (follows MIKLOSICH); SKOK II 359 (from NPers *mā* 'not' and *ägär* < Iran **hakaram* 'unless, maybe').

makë f, pl. *maka* 'glue, scum, skin (on the milk or other liquids)'. Goes back to PALb **makā* related to Lith *makėnti* 'to walk through a swamp', Slav **mokrъ* 'wet', **moknŕti* 'to become wet' (MEYER *Wb.* 255). ◇ POKORNY I 698; FRAENKEL 399-340; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XIX 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 253-254.

makërr m 'stagnant green on ponds'. A derivative of *makë* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 254) reflecting PALb **makra*, an exact correspondence of Slav **mokrъ* 'wet'. From **makra* other forms are derived: *makrohem* 'to get covered with a film (of liquids)' and *makrosë* 'stagnant green on ponds'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

makth ~ mākth m 'kind of clover'. A parallel form is *mokth*. Derived from *mak* 'opium poppy'. The latter is borrowed from Slav **makъ* 'poppy'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

makth ~ mākth m 'place where the cattle gives birth to their young'. Based on an unattested **mak ~ māk* derived from *maj*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138.

makth ~ mākth m 'bogey, nightmare'. Other variants are *mangth*, *mankth*. A secondary formation based on *ankth* with an expressive prefix *m-*. ◇ DEMIRAJ *AE* 254.

makth ~ mākth m 'leveret'. Derived from *mang*. ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIII 57-60 (related to Goth *magus* 'youth' and continuing IE **maghu-*); BARIĆ

ARSt. 16 -17; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 254.

makush m, pl. *makushë* 'ostrich'. Derived from *makut*.

makut adj. 'greedy, gluttonous'. Suffixal form in *-ut* based on an unattested **mak ~ māk* derived from *maj*. Cf. also *makth*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

mal m, pl. *male* 'mountain'. From PALb **mala* identical with Lith *malū* 'land', Latv *mala* 'bank, shore' (JOKL *LKUBA* 162 f., 320, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87); cf. also **mal-* reflected in the ancient Balkan toponymy: Illyr *Maluntum*, Dac *Dacia Maluensis* vs. *Dacia Ripensis*. Note an archaic derivative in PALb **maljā > majë* 'summit, peak' (MEYER *Wb.* 273, *Alb. St.* III 63, 78; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39). From Proto-Albanian **mala* was borrowed into Rum *mal* 'bank'. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *marú-* 'mountain'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; JOKL *ZONF* X 198-200; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 181, *Origini* 149; KRAHE *Balkan-ill.* 53-55; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XIV 90; MÜHLENBACH - ENDZELIN II 556; MAYER II 73-74; LA PIANA *Studi* I 112 (to Skt *mürdhán-* 'top, summit', OE *molda* 'forehead'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387, XXVIII 36 (to rare Ir *mol* 'heap'); PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRAENKEL 400-401; POKORNY I 722; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 331; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; HULD 89 (follows LA PIANA); DEMIRAJ *AE* 254-256.

malcoj aor. *malcova* 'to inflame, to make sore'. Borrowed from Rom **malitiäre*, cf. Lat *malitia* 'badness, spite' (MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◇ MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* I 330 (euphemistic use of *mëlcoj*); HAARMANN 134.

mall m 'homesickness, longing, affection'. Borrowed from Lat *malum* 'evil, misfortune' (MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◇ MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 255; HAARMANN 134; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

mallesë f, pl. *malleša* 'pasture, meadow'. A variant of *mballesë*, see *mballoj*.

mallëngjej aor. *mallëngjeva* 'to touch, to move, to stir'. Used in the figurative sense only. Borrowed from Lat *malum angere* 'to cause pain', instead of *angere* proper (MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 233.

malkoj aor. *malkova* 'to curse, to excommunicate'. Another form is *malkoj*. Borrowed from Lat *maledicere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◇ CAMARDA I 105 (to Gk μαλακός 'soft, gentle'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253; HAARMANN 134.

mallth m 'pad under the claw (of animals)'. Based on an unattested **mall* continuing PAIb **maldwa* and related to Lat *mollis* < **molduis* 'soft', Skt *mṛdú-* id. and the like. ◇ POKORNY I 718; WALDE-HOFMANN II 103-104; MAYRHOFER II 676; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

mamicë f, pl. *gamica* 'wet-nurse, midwife'. Borrowed from Slav **mamica* 'mother', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mamica*, SCr *mamica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25). ◇ SVANE 190.

mamuz m, pl. *mamuza*, *mamuze*, *mamuzë* 'spur'. A suffixal derivative of *mamis* 'to allure, to embroil, to spur' borrowed from Slav **mamiti* id., cf. Bulg *mam'a*, SCr *mamiti*.

man m, pl. *mana*, *mane* 'mulberry'. Other variants are (T) *mën*, (G) *mand*. From PAIb **manta*. The same word is attested in Dac *μαντεία* 'blackberry', Diosc. 4.37, *mantia*, App. Herb. 87 (POTT *KZ* XIV; MEYER *Wb.* 257). ◇ WEIGAND *BA* II 213, III 236; BERTOLDI *Glotta* XXI 258-260 (Dac *μαντεία* to Gk βάτος 'blackberry'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; PISANI *Saggi* 124; ÇABEJ *St.* I 330-331 (quotes *mani* 'strawberry' of the Alpine Romance).

mandile f, pf. *mandile* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Lat *mantile* 'towl, napkin' (MEYER *Wb.* 258).

mang m 'small (of animals); urchin'. Borrowed from Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm'. The adjective *mangët* id. with a recently added suffix *-ët* and the adverb *mangut* 'less, missing, short' go back to the same source. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38 (*mangut* from Ital *manco* 'maimed'); MANN *HAED* 262 (metaphorical usage of *mangë* 'flax-breaker', see *mëngë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 182; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* I 331 (to IE **men-* 'little'); LANDI *Lat.* 48.

maraj m 'fennel'. Other variants are *mërajë* and *maraq*. Borrowed from Rom **marathrium*, derivative of Lat *marathrum* 'fennel' (MEYER

Wb. 259) or, as reflected by *maraq*, from **marathricum*. The intermediate form **mararja* was borrowed to Rum *mārar*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Lat *marathum* or Gk μάραθον); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk *μάραθριον); ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; HULD *KZ* XCIX 247.

marauzhgë f, pl. *marauzhga* 'horse-fly'. Borrowed from an unattested Bulg **maravuška*, diminutive of dialectal *marave* 'ant' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mardhë f 'chill, frost, ice'. Goes back to PAIb **mardzā* etymologically identical with Slav **morzъ* 'frost' (MEYER *Wb.* 260, *Alb. St.* III 17, 63, 72). Both forms continue IE **merǵh-* 'to rot, to soak'. The verbs *mardh* 'to chill, to freeze' and *mërdhij* id. are deverbatives. ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535, *Kelt. Gr.* I 105; LA PIANA *Studi* I 41; MANN *Language* XVII 18; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; PISANI *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 739; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XX 10-14; DEMIRAJ *AE* 256.

mare f, pl. *mare* 'bearberry, strawberry-tree'. Borrowed from Lat *marum* 'cat-thyme, kind of sage'.

mareňë f, pl. *marena* 'marsh rosemary'. Borrowed from Slav **marëna* 'plant *Rubia tinctorum*' attested in West and East Slavic.

margaç m, pl. *margaçë* 'ass, donkey'. A derivative of **margë*, see *magar*. ◇ KONITZA *Albania* VIII/Ser. 9 52 (from Rom **marcātum* ~ **mercātum* 'market').

(G) **margjënuer** m 'ledge of a rock serving as a cover'. A suffixal derivative of **margjën* borrowed from Lat *marginem* 'edge, brink' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 332).

marmur m 'marble'. Borrowed from Lat *marmurem* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 332.

mars m 'March'. Borrowed from Lat *Martius* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 261). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 215; HAARMANN 135.

martë f, pl. *marta* 'Tuesday'. Borrowed from Lat *Martis (dies)* '(day

of) Mars, Tuesday' (MEYER *Wb.* 261). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40 (from Ital *martē* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183 (supports MEYER); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17.

martesë f, pl. *martesa* 'marriage'. Borrowed from Rom **maritātiō* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Lith *marū* 'sister-in-law'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183.

martoj aor. *martova* 'to marry'. Borrowed from Lat *maritāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39; MEYER *Wb.* 261). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1050; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308; JOKL *LKUBA* 13-15 (to IE **merī* 'young woman'); SKOK *A ArbSt.* I 210 (derived from IE **merī* 'young woman'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183 (questions JOKL's etymology); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 256-257.

mart aor. *mora* 'to take, to grasp'. From PALb **marna*, a deverbative based on the heteroclytic word for 'hand' preserved in Gk μάρη, Lat *manus* (NEISSER *BB* XIX 121-122). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 261 (to Skt *mṛśāti* 'to touch'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (to Gk μάπτω 'to grasp, to seize'); JOKL *Studien* 53-54 (agrees with NEISSER); LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (to Gk μέιρομαι 'to divide'); PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; FRISK II 175; CHANTRAINE 667; WALDE-HOFMANN II 34-35; POKORNY I 740; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140 (compares *marr* with Gk ἄρνυμι 'to take' and reconstructs *(s)*med-Hernō*), *Norw. J Ling.* XXIII 13-14, *Sprache* XXX 157; HULD 89-90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 257-258 (to Skt *prá-mṛṇa*, imper. 'to pack').

marrë adj. 'mad, foolish, crazy'. Literally, 'dim, murky'. See *marrtë*. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *mūrā-* 'stupid'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Hitt *maršaš*).

marrtë 'murky, cloudy, dim, dull'. A suffixal derivative of PALb **marsa* related to Slav **morxъ* 'dusk, fog'. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIX 222; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mas aor. *mata* 'to measure'. From PALb **matja*, a denominative verb based on an adjective in *-to-, **ma-ta-* further related to IE **mē-* id.: Skt *mímāti*, Tokh A *me-* and the like (CAMARDA I 35; MEYER *BB* VIII 190, *Wb.* 262-263, *Alb. St.* III 24, 63, 81). ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II

575; JOKL *Sprache* IX 118-119; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 703-704; ÇABEJ *StF* I (XIX)/3 41; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44; MAYRHOFER II 638; VAN WINDEKENS I 295-296; HULD 95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 258.

mashë f 'gum, paste, glue'. Borrowed from Lat *massa* 'lump, mass, adhering stuff'.

(G) **mashën** f 'barn, hayloft, cowshed'. A singularized plural of **mashë* borrowed from Lat nom. *mansiō* 'place of abode, dwelling'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 332 (from Lat *massa*).

mashkull m, pl. *meshkuj* 'man', adj. 'male'. Borrowed from Lat *masculus* 'male, masculine' (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 262). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 143; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135; LANDI *Lat.* 94, 137-138.

mashkull m, pl. *mashkuj* 'hook'. Borrowed from Lat *masculus* 'male, masculine' used to denote the part of the hinge which is inserted into another called *fēmina* 'female'. Thus, Lat *masculus et fēmina* > Alb *mashkull e femër* 'hook and eyelet'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mashterĕ m, pl. *mashterq* 'big wooden platter, dish'. Another variant is *mashtër*. Borrowed from Rom **magistericus*, literally, 'master's (dish)'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 332-333 (from SCr *masur* 'wooden platter').

mashurkë f, pl. *mashurka* 'green bean, pod'. Derived from *mashë*.

mat m 'bank, shore'. Continues PALb **mata* < **mpto-* related to Lat *mōns* 'mountain' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 39-40). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 314-315 (borrowed from Gk ἄμαθος 'sand, sandy soil'); BARIĆ *Lingv. stud.* 17 (agrees with VASMER); WALDE-HOFMANN II 108-109; POKORNY I 726; ÇABEJ *St.* I 333-334 (related to OIr *math* 'sand').

matkë f, pl. *matka* 'queen-bee'. Borrowed from Slav **matъka* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Buġ *matka*, SCr *matka* (JOKL *LKUBA* 286-287). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167; SVANE 158.

matukë f 'mattock, hoe'. An early borrowing from Slav **motyka* id.

(MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 263). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 78, 142; SVANE 76.

mazatore f, pl. *mazatore* 'one year old heifer'. Derived from *mëzat*, see *mëz*.

mazë f, pl. *maza* 'cream, skin on the milk'. The same word is attested as *madh*, *mazë* 'corn skilly with cream'. Borrowed from Slav **mazъ* ~ **mazъ* 'fat, ointment', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *maz*', SCr *maz*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 54 (to *maj*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; DEMIRAJ *AE* 250 (*madh-* to Skt *médas-* 'fat'); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Goth *mats* 'food, meal'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 258-259 (related to Slav **mazъ*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mbaj aor. *mbajta* 'to hold, to carry'. From PALb **en-barnja*, a causative derived from **bera* > *bie* (MEYER *Wb.* 35). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 196 (reconstructs **-bhorejō* but Italo-Albanian forms preserve *-nj*), *IF* XXXVII 103-105; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 227; HULD 90 (believes that in the cluster **-rnj-* the first element is preserved); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39; DEMIRAJ *AE* 86.

mball aor. *mbolle* 'to bung'. A prefixal derivative of *ballë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 264 (to Gk ἐμβάλλω 'to throw in, to put in').

mballoj aor. *mballova* 'to turn out to graze'. The noun *mballesë* 'meadow, pasture' is derived from *mballoj*. From an earlier **mbëlloj* reflecting a loan from Lat *ambulāre* 'to walk (around)'.
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mbār aor. *mbara* 'to bring (back)'. From PALb **en-bara*, further related to *mbaj* and *bie* (BOPP 540; CAMARDA I 135; MEYER *Wb.* 35). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVII 104; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 185; ÇABEJ *St.* I 54-55.

mbarë adj. 'right, good, favorable'. A tabooistically used Lat *impar* 'uneven, unequal'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 35 (to *mbar*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

mbarështoj aor. *mbarështova* 'to arrange, to dispose, to administer'. Another variant caused by the analogical influence of *shtrōj* is *mbarështrōj*. Goes back to the phrase *mbarë shtrōj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 334). ◊ JOKL *ZfromPhil* XLI 233 (from Lat *ministrāre* 'to take care of, to

manage'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 136; JANSON *Unt.* 54.

mbaroj aor. *mbarova* 'to finish, to end, to complete'. A prefixal derivative of *parë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 35 (to *mbar*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 185 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

mbars aor. *mbarsa* 'to make pregnant, to fecundate'. Derived from the adjective *mbarsë*, *barsë* 'pregnant'. The latter continues PALb **en-bartja* related to IE **bher-* 'to give birth' (MEYER *Wb.* 28). ◊ POKORNY I 128-132 (presented together with **bher-* 'to bear'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 334-335; MANN *Comp.* 72 (*barsë* identical with Illyr [*equa*] *bardia* 'pregnant [mare]').

mbart aor. *mbarta* 'to bear, to carry (back)'. Continues PALb **en-barta* based on an adjective in **-to-* and related to *mbar*.

mbarre f 'shame'. Another phonetic variant is *marrë*. The original meaning was 'burden'. Derived from *mbar*.

mbas prep. 'after', adv. 'behind'. A prefixal variant of *pas* id. These forms continue PALb **en-apa-tši* from **en apo k'id*, cf. *pa*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 322-323 (to Skt *paścāt* 'after, behind'); HAMP *KZ* LXXV/1-2 23.

mbase adv. 'perhaps, maybe'. From *mba(j) se* (MEYER *Wb.* 264). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 247.

mbasi conj. 'since'. As clear from a variant *mbassi*, continues a sequence *mbas si*.

mbath aor. *mbatha* 'to put on (shoes)'. From PALb **amb(i)-autsa*, a prefixal verb based on **autsa* < **ou-k-*. The latter is an extension of IE **eu-* id.: Arm *aganim* 'to put on (clothes)', Lat *ex-uō* 'to draw out, to pull off', Lith *aunū*, *aūti*, Slav **uti*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 264 (from Rom **bassus* 'lower part, underwear'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 54-55 (from IE **ambhi-oudhō*, derivative of the above **eu-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 186; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 18-20 (to IE **ayedh-*); AČAREAN *HAB* I 76; FRAENKEL 27; WALDE-HOFMANN I 434-436; POKORNY I 346; VASMER III 109; ÇABEJ *St.* I 335-336 (to Slav **bozъ* 'barefooted', Lith *bāsas* id. - but there is no **k* in this root!); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mbes aor. *mbeta* 'to remain, to stay'. A prefixal derivative of *jes* (CAMARDA I 134; MEYER *Wb.* 163). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 186.

mbesë f, pl. *mbesa* 'niece, granddaughter'. Borrowed from Lat *nepōtia* id. known only in Dalmatia, > ODalm *nepoça* (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1040; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117-118). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 264-265 (phonetically incredible comparison with Lith *mōša* 'sister-in-law'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 180 (from Rom **nep̄tia*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232 (reconstructs IE **nepōtjā*), *KZ* XXXVI 308, *Kelt. Gr.* I 93; JOKL *LKUBA* 27 (against the Latin etymology), *WuS* XII 82; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 201; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117-118; ERNOUT-MEILLET 438; HULD 90; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 259.

mbë prep. 'at, in'. Another variant is *më*. From the atonic form of PALb **ambi* continuing IE **ambhi*: Gk ἀμφί 'about, around', Goth *bi*, OIr *imm-* < Celt **mbi* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 265, *Alb. St.* III 35, 64). ◇ BOPP 499 (to Skt *āpi*); CAMARDA I 170 (to Gk ἐπί 'upon'); FEIST *Goth.* 87-88; FRISK I 98; POKORNY I 34; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 95; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130, *Ériu* XXVIII 145; MANN *Language* XVII 22; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 128; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 45; DEMIRAJ *ZfBalk* XXIX 64-67, *AE* 260-261.

mbëltoj aor. *mbëltova* 'to plant'. Borrowed from Rom **implantāre* 'to plant', cf. Lat *plantāre* id. ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 227 (derived from *baltë*); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 79, VII 230.

mbërdhe adv. 'on the ground'. A compound of *mbë* and *dhe* with an epenthetic *-r-*.

mbërthej aor. *mbërtheva* 'to fasten, to button'. A prefixal derivative of *birth* (see *birk*). For the semantic development cf. Germ *knöpfen* 'to button' ~ *Knopf* 'button, knob, bud'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 265 (from Lat *invertere* 'to turn upside down'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 336-337 (phonetic transformation of *mbath*).

mbërrij ~ **mbërrĭj** aor. *mbërrita* ~ *mbërrina* 'to arrive'. Another variant is *mërrij*. Derived from *arrij* (MEYER *Wb.* 17). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 337 (related to *mbar*).

mbëshel aor. *mbëshela* 'to shut, to close, to lock'. Other variants are *mbëçel* and *mbërshel*. A prefixal derivative of *çel* (JOKL *Studien* 55).

mbështet aor. *mbështeta* 'to stand, to prop'. From PALb **ambhi-stata* based on an adjective **stata* identical with IE **st(h)atos* 'standing', cf. Skt *sthita-*, Gk στατός id., Lat *status* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 250). ◇ FRISK I 739; MAYRHOFER III 526-527; WALDE-HOFMANN II 596-599; POKORNY I 1006; DEMIRAJ *AE* 259.

mbi adv. 'on, upon'. Originally, an adverb. From a tonic form of PALb **ambi*, cf. *mbë*.

mbiatu adv. 'immediately, at once'. A Calabrian phonetic variant of *mbi ato* 'on this' > 'at once' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 337). ◇ CAMARDA II 153 (*mbi* + Ital *atto* 'act'); MEYER *Wb.* 265 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology).

mbij ~ **mbĭj** aor. *mbiva* 'to thrive, to grow, to shoot'. From PALb **enbünja* related to IE **bheu-* : **bhū-* 'to grow, to be' (CAMARDA I 48; MEYER *Wb.* 36-37, *BB* VIII 189). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 35; JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 504 (to IE **bher-* 'to bring'); POKORNY I 146-150; ÇABEJ *St.* I 66 (to IE **bhei-* 'to beat, to strike'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 100-101 (follows ÇABEJ).

mbjell aor. *mbolla* 'to sow'. A prefixal derivative of *pjell* (MEYER *Wb.* 342). ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 124; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

mblatë f, pl. *mbлата* 'shewbread'. Borrowed from Lat *oblata* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38), with a non-etymological nasal in the anlaut. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 292; ÇABEJ *St.* I 337-338.

mbledh aor. *mblodha* 'to gather, to collect'. Continues PALb **ambiledza*, a prefixal verb related to Gk λέγω id., Lat *legō* 'to read, *to gather' (MEYER *Wb.* 265, *Alb. St.* III 17). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 13; JOKL *LKUBA* 8; LA PIANA *Studi* I 56; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; PORZIG *Gliederung* 192, 211; PISANI *Saggi* 129; ERNOUT-MEILLET 350; FRISK II 94-96; CHANTRAINE 626; WALDE-HOFMANN I 780; POKORNY I 658; ŠIROKOV *ZFL* XXIV/1 15 (to Goth *lisan* 'to gather'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 28; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243; HULD 145, 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 261-262.

mbloj aor. *mblova* 'to fill'. Borrowed from Lat *implēre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 265). ◊ CAMARDA I 125 (related to *plotē*); LAMBERTZ LVII 71 (follows CAMARDA); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 254-255; ÇABEJ *St.* I 338.

mbloj aor. *mblova* 'to betroth'. Historically identical with *mbloj* 'to fill'.

mbrapa adv. 'behind, back', prep. 'behind'. Together with *prapa* id. continues PAIb *(*en*)-*per-apa*, cf. *për* and *pa* (CAMARDA I 61; MEYER *Wb.* 351). ◊ JOKL *MRIW* I 302; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188.

mbraz adj. 'empty, void'. Results from the recombination of *mbrazëm* < *(*m*)*brazën*, borrowed from Slav **porzdъnъ* id., cf. Bulg *prazen*, SCr *prazan* (MEYER *Wb.* 266). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 323-325; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15.

mbrej aor. *mbreja* 'to harness, to yoke'. Another variant is *mbreh*. From PAIb **en-breunja*, further related to *brez* (MEYER *Wb.* 46). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188.

mbrenda adv., prep. 'inside, within'. Variant of *brenda*.

mbres aor. *mbreta* 'to bruise, to beat'. A prefixal derivative of *pres*.

mbret m, pl. *mbretër* ~ *mbretën* 'king'. Borrowed from Rom **imperātus* for Lat *imperātor* 'emperor'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 266 (directly from *imperātor*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1043; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 191, 256; ROSETTI *RRL* XXVII/6 495; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239, 280; HAARMANN 130; LANDI *Lat.* 145.

mbrëma ~ **mbrama** adv. 'in the evening'. From PAIb **en-prama* the second element of which is identical with Gk πρόμος 'foremost man', Goth *fram* 'from', OHG *fram* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 266, *Alb. St.* III 64, 72). ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 164; MANN *Language* XVII 20; FRISK II 600; POKORNY I 814.

mbrodh aor. *mbrodha* 'to help, to do good'. A suffixal derivative of *prodh* 'to produce', a back-formation of *prodhaj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (continuation of Ital *prode* 'brave, valiant'); MANN *Comp.* 4 (from IE **en-pro-agō*).

mbroj aor. *mbrojta* 'to defend, to protect'. Borrowed from Rom **imparāre* id. (HAARMANN 140).

mbruaj ~ **mbrue**j aor. *mbrujta* 'to knead'. From PAIb **brunja* related to *brunë* (MEYER *Wb.* 266) and, further, to Lat *ferveō* 'to boil' (JOKL *LKUBA* 263). Derived from *mbruj* is *mbrus* 'to stuff full'. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to OE *beorm* 'barm', Lat *fermentum*); PISANI *Saggi* 126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 111.

mbufas aor. *mbufata* 'to inflate, to swell'. A prefixal derivative of **bufas* borrowed from Slav **buxati* 'to beat, to swell' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 338). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 54 (to Ital *buffare* 'to blow').

mbulum m 'source; burial, grave'. Deverbative of *mbuloj*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 339-340 (to *bulë*).

mbuloj aor. *mbulo*va 'to cover, to bury'. Another variant is *mbloj*. Borrowed from Rom **manipulāre* 'to dig in handfuls', cf. Lat *manipulus* 'handful'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 267 (from Rom **invēlare* 'to cover'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (agrees with MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187; HAARMANN 131; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 172; ÇABEJ *St.* I 339-340 (identical with *mbloj*).

mbuloj aor. *mbulo*va 'to seal'. Attested only in BUZUKU. Based on **bulë* borrowed from MLat *bulla* 'seal' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 340). ◊ HELBIG 84 (from Ital *bolla* id.).

mburr aor. *mburra* 'to praise'. Denominative of *burrë* (MEYER *Wb.* 55). ◊ MANN *Comp.* 126 (to Lat *furō* 'to rage').

mbush aor. *mbusha* 'to fill'. Continues PAIb **en-busa* related to Gk βυνέω < *βυσ-ν-έω 'to fill up' and its cognates (CAMARDA I 52; MEYER *Wb.* 267, *Alb. St.* III 32, 61, 80). ◊ LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk φλύω); FRISK I 276-277; CHANTRAINE 202; POKORNY I 101; DEMIRAJ *AE* 262 (reconstructs a nasal present for Proto-Albanian).

mbutoj aor. *mbuto*va 'to seal, to bung'. Denominative based on *but* 'barrel, tub'.

mbyll aor. *mbylla* 'to shut, to fasten'. Continues PALb **ambi-wela*, originally, **'to encircle'*, related to Skt *valati* 'to turn', Gk εἰλέω 'to roll tight up, to close', OIr *fillid* 'to bend' and the like (HAMP *Evidence* 139-140). ◊ ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 130; FRISK I 457-458; MAYRHOFER III 161; POKORNY I 1140-1143; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 233.

mbys aor. *mbyta* 'to strangle, to drown, to kill'. From PALb **ambi-witja* with the regular development of **-iwi-* > *-y-*. Further related to Skt *vyáthate* 'to sway, to rock', Goth *wipon* 'to pour'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 56 (to Lat *confūtōre* 'to suppress, to restrain', ON *bauta* 'to strike'); POKORNY I 1178; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 233, 254; HULD 90-91; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 130; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139 (derived from IE **wed-* ~ **ud-* 'water', cf. also *zhys* 'to dive'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 262-263 (derived from *pi*).

mə m 'insufficiency, lack', adj. 'insufficient, scanty, not full'. From PALb **manu* etymologically close to Gk μάυν·μικρόν. 'Αθαμῶνες (Hes.), μόνός 'thin' and Arm *manr* 'small, thin' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 430). The form *metē* 'insufficient' is derived from *me* after the fall of the final nasal. Related to *me* is *mej* ~ *měj* 'to reduce, to diminish'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 273 (comparisons with Lat *minuō* 'to lessen', Ital *meno* 'less' or Slav **тънь* 'small(er)'); MEILLET *MSL* VIII 164; KRISTOFORIDHI 227 (to *mangut*, *mungoj*); AÇAREAN *HAB* III 257; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (*mej* < IE **m̥jiō*); FRISK II 171-172; POKORNY I 728-729; NEROZ-NAK *Paleob.* 199 (to IE **(s)meik-* 'small'); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 79.

me prep. 'with'. From PALb **me(t)* etymologically connected with Goth *mif* id., Gk μέτα 'in the middle, between' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 32). ◊ CAMARDA I 314 (identifies *me* with NGk μέ); MEYER *Wb.* 268 (borrowed from NGk μέ); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188 (against MEYER); FEIST *Goth.* 364; FRISK II 216; POKORNY I 702; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140, *NTS* XXIII 13 (follows MANN); HULD 91.

mečkə f, pl. *mečka* 'she-bear'. Borrowed from one of South Slavic tabooistic names for bear: Bulg *mečka*, SCr *mečka*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

mefshtə adj. 'slow, sluggish'. A suffixal derivative of *mehem*.

meh ~ **mef** aor. *meha* ~ *mefa* 'to soak'. From PALb **meu-ska* related to Latv *maūt* 'to dive', Slav **myti* 'to wash' and other continuants of

IE **meu-* ~ **meuə-* 'wet'. ◊ VASMER III 26; POKORNY I 741-742; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mehem refl. 'to fail'. Goes back to PALb **mōja* related to OHG *muoan* 'to work diligently', Gk μῶλος 'toil (of war)', Slav **majati* 'to work slowly'. ◊ FRISK II 282; POKORNY I 746; BER 702; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XVII 132-134; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mekem refl. 'to gasp, to choke'. Related to *mekēt* 'wet' (JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 508) according to a semantic universal linking words for 'being silent' and 'melting'. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 63 (to Slav **mьlčati* 'to be silent'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; TRUBAČEV *PIEJa* 100-105 (examples of this semantic development); ANIKIN 67-78 (semantic parallels); DEMIRAJ *AE* 264 (expressive word).

mekēt adj. 'wet'. Cf. also the verb *mek* 'to make wet'. Continues PALb **maka* related to *makē* (ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). ◊ JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 508 (to Lith *minkau* 'to knead'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* V 193; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 110; DEMIRAJ *AE* 263-264 (borrowed from SCr *mek*, Bulg *mek*).

meksh m, pl. *meksha* 'buffalo-calf'. Another variant is *meshk* 'bull-calf'. From **megsh* continuing PALb **maguša* related to OIr *maug* 'slave', Goth *magus* 'youth' (from IE **maghu-* : **maghos*). ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 339; POKORNY I 696; ÇABEJ *St.* I 340 (related to *mekēt*).

mel m 'millet'. Borrowed from Lat *milium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 523; MEYER *Wb.* 268). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 136.

mellə f 'clay, loess'. Borrowed from Slav **mělъ* ~ **niělъ* 'chalk, loess', cf. Bulg *mel*, SCr *mel*.

memec m, pl. *memecə*, *memeca* 'deaf-mute, dumb'. Borrowed, with assimilation of nasals, from Slav **něťсь* 'stranger, mute person', cf. Bulg *nemec*, SCr *nemac*, *nijemac* (MEYER *Wb.* 269). Such assimilation is, in fact, attested in Bulg dial. *memkin'a* < *nemkin'a* 'kind of haricot', originally, 'Germ woman', fem. of **něťсь*. ◊ SCHULZE *Kl. Schr.* 214; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195-286; SVANE 185.

memzi adv. 'hardly, scarcely'. Another variant is *mëzi*. Based on *mem*, a participial form of *mej* ~ *měj* 'to reduce, to diminish', see *me*.

menati adv. 'early in the morning'. A lexicalized phrase *me natë* with an adverbial marker.

mençëm adj. 'clever, intelligent'. A derivative in *-shëm* of *mend* (JOKL *LKUBA* 106).

mend pl. 'mind'. Borrowed from Lat *mentem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA I 306; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40-41; MEYER *Wb.* 274). Note the denominative verb *mendoj* 'to think, to count'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from IE **mṛtis*), XXVIII 32 (from Latin); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 255; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 55, 83-85, 116.

mendër f, pl. *mendra* 'mint'. A suffixal derivative based on **mendë* borrowed from Lat *menta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 41; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 55). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 272 (from Ital *menta* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 232; ÇABEJ *St.* I 340 (from Gk *μίνθη* id.); LANDI *Lat.* 55, 135.

mendull f 'almond'. Borrowed from Rom **amendula*, cf. Ital dial. *ammenola* < **amendula* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 341). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 485 (from Ital Venet *mandola* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 258-259 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189-190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 110 (from Lat *amygdala*).

(G) **merajë** f 'winter pasture'. A derivative of *mera* 'pasture', of Turkish origin (ÇABEJ *St.* I 341). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 259-260 (from Lat *hibernālis* 'wintry'); JOKL *LKUBA* 265 (from Rom **invernālia*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129.

merendoj aor. *merendova* 'to arrange'. A recent formation based on the adverb *merend* 'in order', a lexicalized phrase *me rend*, cf. *rend*.

merë f 'fear'. A phonetic variant of *tmerr* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190).

merë f 'measure'. Borrowed from Slav **měra* id., cf. in South Slavic:

Bulg *m'ara*, dial. *mera*, SCr *mera*, *mjera* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 270). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 182; SVANE 89.

merë f 'scent, fragrance'. Borrowed from Lat *myrrha* 'myrrh' > Rom **mírra*.

merimangë f 'spider'. Other variants are *merimagë*, *mirëmangë*, *milimangë*, *milingonë* and *merimajkë*. Tabooistic transformations of *merming* id. borrowed from NGk *μυρμήγγι* 'ant, midget' (MEYER *Alb. St.* I 77). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 274-275 (compound the first element of which is compared with Slav **paokъ* 'spider'); KRISTOFORIDHI 220, 234 (to Gk *μύρμηξ*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk Dor *μύρμαξ* 'ant'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 341-342 (follows MIHĂESCU).

mesë 'skin (of onion), milk-skin, film'. Goes back to PALb **matšā* related to *makë* and reflecting IE **mok^hi-*. Thus, Albanian seems to reflect a labiovelar in this root.

mesnik m 'meat pasty'. Borrowed from Bulg *mesnik* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 270 (to Slav **męso* 'meat').

meshë f, pl. *meshë* 'mass'. Borrowed from Lat *missa* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 270). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 209; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 56.

meshnohem refl. 'to become senile, to dote, to be childish'. A prefixal derivative (in *me-* < *mbë-*) of **shenoj* borrowed from Lat *senēre* 'to be old'.

metale f, pl. *metale* 'snow-drift'. Borrowed from Slav **metadlo* 'heap', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *metalō*, SCr *metalō*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 342 (from Bulgarian). ◊ SVANE 174.

(G) **meteh** m 'boundary, frontier'. Another variant is *metef*. A deverbative based on an unattested **meteh* 'to partake, to share'. The latter is borrowed from MGk *μετέχω* id. From MGk *μετόχιον* 'priory, farm', *metoq* 'stable' has been borrowed. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 342 (borrowed from MGk *μετόχιον* 'priory', later - 'farm').

metë f, pl. *meta* 'swallow, mouthful'. A deverbative based on Slav **metati* 'to throw' (depicting a swallow as a 'throw' of food into the mouth).

mezhdë f, pl. *mezhdä* 'baulk, strip of land between fields'. Reflects a Bulgarian continuant of Slav **medja* 'boundary' > *mežda*. Another regional loanword, *megjë* id., reflects a Serbo-Croatian continuant of the same provenance, SCr *medja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26).

më ~ mã adv. 'more'. Continues PALb **mai* from IE **mājes* with a secondary nasalization. Related to Goth *maiza* id., Oscan *mais* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 271 (borrowed from Lat *magis* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 86-88 (< IE **maison-*); MANN *Language* XVII 23 (same as MEYER); KLUGE 470; FEIST *Goth.* 342; POKORNY I 704.

mëgashtër f, pl. *mëgashtra* 'sage'. Another variant is *mugashtër*. Borrowed from Rom **medicaster* reflected in Ital *medicastro* (JOKL *LKUBA* 211-213). ◊ MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* I 342; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 82, 109, 136.

mëkat m, pl. *mëkate* 'sin'. Borrowed from Lat *peccatum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; CAMARDA II 199; MEYER *Wb.* 271). The initial *m-* results from *mp-* as demonstrated by the form *mpkat* in BOGDANI (WEIGAND *BA* III 205) and seems to be a prefix added already in Albanian. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* I 343; HAARMANN 141.

mëkeq aor. *mëkeqa* 'to anger'. A prefixal derivative of *keq*.

mëkëmb ~ mëkamb aor. *mëkëmba ~ mëkamba* 'to set up, to erect'. A prefixal denominative of *këmbë*.

mëkoj aor. *mëkova* 'to feed'. Borrowed from Lat *medicāre* 'to heal, to cure' (MEYER *Wb.* 282). ◊ MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 244; HAARMANN 135.

mëkresë f, pl. *mëkresa* 'tombstone'. Together with its morphological variant *mëkrejçë* 'baulk', reflects a prefixal derivative of *krye*.

mëlcoj aor. *mëlçova* 'to sweeten'. Other variants are *ëmbëlcoj ~ ambëlcoj*. Derivative of *ëmbël* (MANN *HAED* 279; ÇABEJ *St.* I 343). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 281-282 (from Rom **mellitiāre* based on Lat *mellitus* 'of honey, related to honey'); JOKL *LKUBA* 212, 287-288 (derivative of *mjaltë* in *-ësoj*); PEDERSEN *Philologica* II 111 (agrees with JOKL).

mëlçi f, pl. *mëlçi* 'lung, liver'. Also used in phrases *mëlçi e bardhë* 'lung' and *mëlçi e zezë* 'liver' and, originally, representing a word for spleen borrowed from Ital *milza* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 271-272). ◊ HAMP *Festschr. Kahane* 310-318, *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95.

mëlmej aor. *mëlmeva* 'to add fat and oil to food'. Based on *majmë* even though the origin of *-l-* is not clear.

mëltoj aor. *mëltova* 'to graft, to wed (of plants)'. Borrowed from Lat *maritāre* 'to marry', also used in the sense of *mëltoj*.

mëllagë f, pl. *mëllaga* 'marsh mallow'. Another variant is ^z*mullagë*. From the original **mëllakë*, with an unexplained sonorization of the auslaut. Borrowed from Gk *μαλάχη* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 271). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 193 (considers *g < χ* to be strange); ÇABEJ *St.* I 343-344 (from the same pre-Indo-European source as Lat *malva* 'mallow' and Gk *μαλάχη* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208; HULD *KZ* XCIX 247.

mëllenjë f, pl. *mëllenja* 'blackbird'. There exist also phonetic variants *mëllënjë, mëllinjë* and the like. Continues PALb **melanjā* from IE fem. adj. **melanġā* 'black' > Gk *μέλαινα* id., cf. also Skt *malinā-*, fem. *malinī* 'dirty, unclean, Latv *mēlns* 'black' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 42-43; ÇABEJ *St.* I 344). ◊ CAMARDA I 45 (borrowing from Gk *μέλαινα*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 207 (Greek origin); MEYER *Wb.* 271 (from Rom **mer(u)lanea*, derivative of Lat *merula* 'blackbird'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 537 (accepts MEYER's etymology); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; WEIGAND 58 (from Rom **merlōnia*, cf. Rum *merloi* < Rom **merlōnius*); JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138; POKORNY I 720-721; MAYRHOFER II 598; FRISK II 198-199; ÇABEJ *St. Pisani* I 176-177, *St.* III 259; JANSON *Unt.* 205; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 264-265 (to OHG *amusta, amsala* 'thrust').

mëllezë f, pl. *mëlleza* 'kind of elm; blackbird'. Another variant is *mullezë*.

A derivative in *-zë* of *mëllenjë* (VASMER *Alb. St.* I 42; JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194). ◊ ÇABEJ *Festschr. Pisani* I 176-177, *St.* I 345; DEMIRAJ *AE* 280-281.

mëllë ~ mullâ m, pl. *mëllënj ~ mullanj* 'grief'. From PAIb **melana* 'black', the masculine form of the adjective represented in *mëllenjë* (MEYER *Wb.* 283). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 285 (from Ital *malanno* 'misfortune'); JOKL *LKUBA* 195 (follows MEYER *Wb.* 283); MANN *HAED* 298 (figurative use of *mëllë* 'swelling').

mëllë ~ mullâ m, pl. *mëllënj ~ mullanj* 'swelling, lump'. Derived from *mullë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 345-346). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 53 (from Rom **bullāna*, to *bullā* 'bubble'); BARIĆ *AARBSt* I 145 (prefixed formation with *-llā* being related to *lungë*); SCHMIDT *KZ L* 236 (related to *bulë*); TREIMER *Slavia* III 545 (connected with *mall* 'property, goods', a Turkish loanword).

mëllugë f, pl. *mëlluga* 'scale; scar, mark'. Related to *mëllë*.

mëmë f, pl. *mëma* 'mother'. A typical example of a nursery word reflecting an earlier **mamā*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63 (related to Gk *μάμα*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117; ERNOUT-MEILLET 381; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 265.

mënd m, pl. *mënde* 'moment'. Borrowed from Lat *mōmentum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 274).

mënd aor. *mënda* 'to suckle, to feed'. Continues PAIb **manzda*, a nasal present further related to *maj*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 64 (to Gk *μαζός*); TOMASCHEK *BB* IX 101; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XVI 182; LA PIANA *Studi* I 113; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (to Lat *mentum*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 265 (related to *mëmë*).

mëndafsh m, pl. *mëndafshra ~ mëndafshna* 'silk'. Borrowed from Lat *metaxa* 'raw silk' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 272) or from MGk *μέταξα* id. (CAMARDA I 45), in both cases, through an intermediary stage of Rom **mentaxa*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 135, 140.

mëngë ~ mangë f, pl. *mëngë ~ mangë* 'armful, sleeve'. Borrowed from

Lat *manicae* 'sleeve' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39; MEYER *Wb.* 272). Note a derivative *mëngore* 'short jacket, fur-coat'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 111.

mëngër ~ mangën f, pl. *mëngra ~ mangna* 'oil-press, press, roller'. Borrowed from Gk *μάγγανον* 'axis of a pulley, bolt' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 9) or, rather, from MGk *μάγγανον* 'machine, contrivance'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 272 (from NGk *μάγγανον* 'press'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 250, XLIV 24-27; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1050; MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* I 346 (a Geg variant *mangë* resulting from the decomposition of *mangën*); ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 42; JANSON *Unt.* 42.

mëngoj aor. *mëngova* 'to rise early'. Borrowed from Lat *mānicāre* 'to come in the morning', derivative of *māne* 'morning' (MEYER *Wb.* 272-273). ◊ CAMARDA I 141 (to Lat *māne*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 135.

(T) **mëngjër** adj. 'left'. Borrowed from Rom **mancinus*, cf. Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm' (MEYER *Wb.* 273). ◊ HAARMANN 134; ROHLFS *Spr.* 161; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

mëngji ~ mangji f, pl. *mëngji ~ mangji* 'sorcery, witchcraft; medicine'. Borrowed from Lat *magia* 'magic, sorcery' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050) influenced by the popular etymology linking it to *mëngjër*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 253 (from Gk *μαγεία* 'sorcery'); JOKL *IF* XLIV 24-27 (from Gk *μάγγανον* 'charm, drug'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 346-347 (derived from *mjek*).

mënoj aor. *mënova* 'to halt, to be late'. Phonetic variant of *vënoj* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 274, *IF* VI 105), see *vonë*. ◊ CAMARDA I 44, 61 (to *vonë*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Lat *manēre* 'to stay, to remain'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 134.

mënjanë adv. 'at the side'. A univerbation of *më nj(ë) anë*. From it, a verb *mënjanoj* 'to avert' is derived.

mënjë f ‘manna; drizzle’. From Rom **mannia*, cf. Lat *manna* ‘manna’.

mënjill m, pl. *mënjille* ‘vigil; fast’. Borrowed from Rom **vingilia*, cf. Lat *vigilia* ‘vigil’ (MEYER *Wb.* 273-274) with the further assimilation to Rom **mingilia*. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23 (from Lat *mane vigil*); HAARMANN 157.

mënjollë f, pl. *mënjolla* ‘sapling, shrub, shoot’. Borrowed from Lat *malleolus* ‘mallet-shoot’ with a dissimilation of sonorants (MEYER *Wb.* 274). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542; ÇABEJ *St.* I 347 (from Ital Venet *magliolo* id.); HAARMANN 134.

mërehem refl. ⁷ ‘to be fascinated, to be charmed’. Borrowed from Lat *mīrārī* ‘to wonder, to be astonished’.

mërgoj aor. *mërgova* ‘to exile, to drive away’. Borrowed from Lat *mergere* ‘to thrust, to push’ (MEYER *Wb.* 274). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 136; HAMP *SCL* XXVIII/1 73-74.

mërgjzë ~ **mërgjizë** f, pl. *mërgjyze* ~ *mërgjize* ‘marigold, narcissus’. Based on a compound of *mër-* < *Maria* and *gji*, ‘Mary’s breast’.

mëri ~ **mëni** f, pl. *mëri* ~ *mëni* ‘hate, wrath’. Borrowed from Lat *mania* ‘madness’ (MEYER *Wb.* 273). Note, however, that an alternative source could be Gk *μαρία* with its stress corresponding to that of the Albanian word. ◊ HAARMANN 134; JANSON *Unt.* 54-55.

mërkosh m, pl. *mërkosha* ‘man lying in wife’s bed after childbirth and receiving visitors; lover’. Borrowed from Rom **māricōsus* ‘husband-like’, based on Lat *mās* ‘male’. For the formation cf. *bellicōsus* ‘warlike’. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 10-13 (related to Skt *mārya-* ‘young man, lover’ and the like); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (borrowed from a poorly attested Bulg *mъrkuš* ‘miserable, broken’); DEMIRAJ *AE* 267-268 (derived from Turk *merakî* ‘hypochondriac’); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mërkurë f, pl. *mërkura* ‘Wednesday’. Borrowed from Lat *Mercurii* (*diēs*), cf. MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 516. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; ÇABEJ *St.* I 347; HAARMANN 136.

mërlaqet refl. ‘to eat greedily’. An expressive verb of onomatopoeic character.

mërmëris aor. *mërmërita* ‘to murmur, to mutter’. Borrowed from Slav **мѣртѣрати* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *мѣртот’а*, SCr *mrtmrtati*.

mërqinjë f ‘jujube, kind of briar’. Borrowed from Rom **myricīnia* based on Lat *myrica* ‘tamarisk, kind of shrub’ (MEYER *Wb.* 274). ◊ HAARMANN 137.

mërshë f ‘corpse, carrion’. From PALb **merusa* based on IE **mer-* ‘to die’: Skt *mriyāte*, Lith *miřti*, Slav **merti* and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 457-459; MAYRHOFER II 696-697; POKORNY I 735; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XVIII 101-102.

mërshinë f, pl. *mërshina* ‘wineskin’. Borrowed, with an epenthetical -r-, from Slav **měšina* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *mešina*, SCr *mješina*, *mešina* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 275). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 185; SVANE 68.

mëru ~ **mirû** m, pl. *mëruṛë* ~ *mërun* ‘handle’. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Rom **manurus*. The latter is a derivative of Lat *manus* ‘hand’. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 275 (from **manōbrium* or *manūbrium* ‘handle’); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054.

mërzej aor. *mërzeva* ‘to rest at noon (of animals)’. Borrowed from Lat *meridiāre* ‘to take a mid-day nap’ (MEYER *Wb.* 274). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 136.

mërzis aor. *mërzita* ‘to bore, to hate’. Borrowed from Slav **mъrziti* ‘to hate’, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mъrzi*, SCr *mrziti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 275). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 191; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 198; SVANE 237.

mësoj aor. *mësova* ‘to teach, to train’. Borrowed from Rom **invitiāre* id. > Rum *îneṭa*, Prov *envezar* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 276, *Alb. St.* IV 81). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051; PUȘCARIU *EWB* 78; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 43 (from

Gk μαθηθῆναι 'to learn'; ÇABEJ *St.* I 347-348 (a prefixal derivative of *pĕsoj*).

mĕsyj aor. *mĕsytā* 'to attack'. A prefixal derivative of *sy*, cf. Germ *ins Auge fassen* (MEYER *Wb.* 276; ÇABEJ *St.* I 348). ◇ WEIGAND *BA* I 259 (from *mbĕ syj*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 149-150 (related to *qoj*); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; DEMIRAJ *AE* 357-358.

mĕshere f 'small piece of cheese'. Borrowed from Rom **mensōra* for Lat *mensūra* 'measure'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 349 (identical with *mueshirĕ*).

mĕshikĕ f 'bubble, blister, bladder'. Borrowed, with an irregular change of the anlaut, from Lat *vĕsĭca* 'bladder' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 276-277). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1053.

mĕshirĕ f 'pity, mercy'. Borrowed from Lat *miseria* 'wretchedness'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 277 (based on an unattested **mĕsh(i)roj* borrowed from Lat *miserĕre* 'to feel pity'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224; HAARMANN 136.

mĕshkenjĕ f, pl. *mĕshkenja* 'cadaver, carrion'. Derived from *mĕrshĕ*.

mĕshoj aor. *mĕshova* 'to be heavy, to bear down'. Another variant is *pĕshoj*. Borrowed from Lat *pensāre* 'to weigh' > Rom **pesāre* (MEYER *Wb.* 336). ◇ PISANI *Saggi* 124.

mĕshqerrĕ f; pl. *mĕshqerra* 'heifer'. A prefixal derivative of *shqerra* (MEYER *Wb.* 417).

mĕshtekĕr ~ **mĕshtekĕn** f, pl. *mĕshtekra* ~ *mĕshtekna* 'birch'. Borrowed from Lat *masticinus* 'related to the mastic-tree' (> Rum *masteacan* 'birch'). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* I 349 (from Gk δένδρον μαστίχινον 'mastic-tree').

mĕshtekoĕm refl. 'to become wild, to rave, to rage'. Borrowed from Lat *masticāre* 'to chew', with an unusual semantic development partly reflected by Rum *mesteca* 'to chew, to mix' (MEYER *Wb.* 277) ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 91; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135.

mĕtrik m 'disease of cattle, tumor, gangrene of intestines'. Borrowed from Rom **mātricus* based on Lat *mātrix* 'womb' MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 349; HAARMANN 135.

mĕz ~ **māz** m, pl. *mĕza* ~ *māza* 'foal'. From PALb **mandja* related to *mĕnd* 'to suckle' (MEYER *Wb.* 276, *Alb. St.* III 28). A closely related form is attested in Messapic, in Jupiter's name *Menzana* (STIER *KZ* XI 148). From Proto-Albanian, Rum *mĭnz* 'foal' was borrowed while Ital *manzo* 'ox' and other forms go back to Messapic. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Ital *manzo* 'tame ox'); TOMASCHEK *BB* IX 101; KRETSCHMER *Einleitung* 266; PUŞCARIU *EWR* 94; CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 436 (to Lat *mandus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184, *Stratificazione* 138; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; ERNOUT-MEILLET 384; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; PISANI *Saggi* 127; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 33; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 332; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; POKORNY I 729; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 79; ÇABEJ *Glotta* XXV 51-52; *St.* VII 204, 212; JANSON *Unt.* 27; DEMIRAJ *AE* 267.

mĭ ~ **mĭ** m, pl. *minj* 'mouse'. From PALb **mū(s)* related to IE **mūs* id.: Skt *mūs-*, Gk μῦς, Lat *mūs* and the like (MEYER *BB* VIII 190, *Wb.* 278). The nasalization in Geg is secondary. ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 139 (borrowed from Greek); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63-64, 81; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282; JOKL *Studien* 77; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190, *Stratificazione* 138; LA PIANA *Studi* I 95; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; ERNOUT-MEILLET 424; FRISK II 275-276; MAYRHOFER II 668; WALDE-HOFMANN II 132-133; POKORNY I 752-753; HULD 91-92; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *KZ* CVI 100-103, *AE* 267-268.

micĕ f, pl. *mica* 'cat'. A word of onomatopoeic origin represented in Romance: Rum *mița*, Ital *micio*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25 (from SCr *mica* id., - but there is no such word); MEYER *Wb.* 263 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192.

midĕr f, pl. *midra* 'raspberry'. Another variant is *mitĕr*. A figurative use of *mitĕr* 'womb, uterus', of Modern Greek origin.

miĕll m, pl. *miĕllra* ~ *miĕllna* 'flour'. Continues PALb **melwa* closely related to OHG *mĕlo* id., ON *mjǫl* id., Slav **melvo* 'grain for grinding' and continuing IE **melyo-*, further - to **mel-* 'to grind' (MEYER *Wb.* 282, *Alb. St.* III 64, 75). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191; KLUGE 470;

MANN *Language* XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 122; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 9; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 145; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVIII 92-93; POKORNY I 716-718; DEMIRAJ *AE* 268.

mih ~ **mif** aor. *miha* ~ *mifa* 'to dig, to hoe'. From PALb **mik-ska* related to Skt *mīmīkṣati* 'to mix', Gk μίσγω < *μίγσκω id. (with a voiced velar), Lat *misceō* id., OHG *miskan* id. and the like. ∅ FRISK II 192-193; MAYRHOFER II 632-633; WALDE-HOFMANN II 95-96; POKORNY I 714; ČOP *ŽA* IV 294-295; HAMP *Sprache* XI 139 (< IE*(s)mi(d)-sk-); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

mijë f, pl. *mijë, mija, mijëra* 'thousand'. A phonetically more archaic variant is *milë*. Borrowed from Lat *mīlia* id. (CAMARDA I 171; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 41; MEYER *Wb.* 278). ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; HAARMANN 136; HAMP *Numerals* 920.

mik m, pl. *miq* 'friend'. Borrowed from Lat *amicus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 278). The derivative *mikloj* 'to flatter, to fondle, to caress' seems to be based on **mikull* continuing Lat *amiculus* 'friend'. ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192, *Origini* 209; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 110; HULD 92 (on the apharesis of the pre-tonic vowel); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257; LANDI *Lat.* 59, 136.

milak m, pl. *milakë* 'leveret'. Borrowed from SCr *milak* 'dear one'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 278 (to *milor* 'young ram', of Rumanian origin); PASCU *RE* 65 (suffixal derivative of **mel* borrowed from Rum *mel* 'lamb'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk μέλλας 'boy'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 350 (follows MIHĂESCU).

milingër f 'blight on leaves'. A suffixal derivative of **milingë* borrowed from Slav **mělinzka* 'crumb, pinch', otherwise unattested in South Slavic. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 279 (comparison with SCr *medljika* 'mildew'); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil* XI 489-490 (from Gk-Rom *melandrya*).

mill m, pl. *mille* 'sheath'. From PALb **meila* 'fastening (of a knife)' related to Skt *minōti* 'to fasten', OIr *-tuidmen* id. and the like. ∅ POKORNY I 709; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 233.

mirë adj. 'good'. From PALb **mira* forming a separate isogloss with Slav **mirъ* 'peace' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 43-44; as to OLith *mieras*, it was borrowed from Slavic despite VASMER II 626). Further connections are OPrus *mīls* 'nice', Lith *meilūs* 'dear', Slav **mīlъ* 'nice, pleasant' (MEYER *Wb.* 279, *Alb. St.* III 64, 78) and other continuations of IE **mēi-* ~ **mī-* 'mild, weak, nice': ∅ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *mitrá-* 'friend'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 541; JOKL *LKUBA* 228 (on suffixes *-l- ~ *-r- in this stem); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (from Lat *mīrus* 'wonderful, amazing'); PISANI *Saggi* 125 (follows VASMER); HOLUB-KOPEČNÝ 224 (follow VASMER); FRAENKEL 449; POKORNY I 711-712; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; HULD 92 (confused account of JOKL's analysis); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk σμόρις 'emery'); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 268-269.

mis m, pl. *misa* 'limb, member'. Continues PALb **mitja* related to Lith *mīklas* 'supple', *mitrūs* id. (for the semantics, cf. Germ *gelenkig* as a usual translation of *mīklas*), Latv *mīkls* id., *mitrs* id., *mīkāt* 'to knead'. ∅ FRAENKEL 447-448, 452.

miskë f, pl. *miska* 'turkey'. Unclear.

misur m, pl. *misurë* 'deep plate'. Derivative of an unattested **misë* borrowed from Slav **misa* 'plate', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *misa*, SCr *misa* (MEYER *Wb.* 280). ∅ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 44.

mish m/n, pl. *mishra* ~ *mishna* 'flesh, meat'. From PALb **miša* further related to IE **memso-* id.: Skt *māmsa-* 'flesh, meat', Arm *mis*, Goth *mimz*, Slav **męso* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 280, *Alb. St.* III 61, 64, 68). The development of *-em- to *-i- seems to precede the "ruki" rule. ∅ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 56, *Kelt. Gr.* I 82; JOKL *LKUBA* 326; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192, *Stratificazione* 93; LA PIANA *Studi* I 113-114; BARIČ *Hymje* 39; AČAREAN *HAB* III 323-324; PISANI *Saggi* 100; ERNOUT-MELLET 395; MAYRHOFER II 615; FEIST *Goth.* 361; POKORNY I 725-726; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIX 7-11; HAMP *BSL* LXVI/1 222; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 128, *St.* VII 242; HULD 92-93; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *StF* IX/1 359, *AE* 269-270.

mishkonjë f, pl. *mishkonja* 'midge, gnat'. Another variant is *mushkonjë*. A feminine derivative of **mushkë* ~ **mushkue* borrowed from Lat

musca 'fly'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 280-281 (from Rom **muscōnia*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 137 (from Rom **muscōnea*).

mitë f, pl. *mita* 'shoot'. Continues PALb **meita* related to Skt *methí-* 'pillar, post', ON *meiðr* 'beam', Lith *miėtas* 'post, stake'. ◇ FRAENKEL 451; MAYRHOFER II 683; POKORNY I 709; ÇABEJ *St.* I 350 (to Gk *μίτυλος* 'hornless').

mitë f 'bribe, tip'. Borrowed from Slav **myto* 'payment', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *mito*, Scr *mito* (MEYER *Wb.* 281). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 181, 299; SVANE 208.

mizë f, pl. *miza* 'fly'. A derivative in -zë of PALb **mūjā* identical with ON *my* id., further connected to Gk *μυῖα* id., Lat *musca* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 75; MEYER *BB* VIII 190, *Wb.* 281, *Alb. St.* III 64, 81). ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 168 (derives *mizë* from **mūs-* rather than **mūjā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 193, *Stratificazione* 139; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93, 107; PISANI *Saggi* 131 (to Arm *mžil*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 424; FRISK II 265-266; WALDE-HOFMANN II 133; POKORNY I 752; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254, 268; DEMIRAJ *AE* 270.

mizoj aor. *mizova* 'to rage, to snarl, to hate'. Borrowed from Rom **invidiāre* id., cf. Lat *invidia* 'envy, jealousy' (MEYER *Wb.* 268). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; HAARMANN 131.

mizon aor. *mizoi* 'to snow (of light flocks)'. Derived from *mizë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 350), a figurative usage widespread both in Romance and Slavic.

mjalcë f, pl. *mjalca* 'bee'. Continues PALb **melitjā* identical with Gk *μέλισσα* (< **μέλιτjα* id. (CAMARDA I 79). Cf. *mjaltë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 281; JOKL *LKUBA* 287; FRISK II 200-201; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

mjaltë m/n/f 'honey'. Continues PALb **melita* related to Hitt *milit* id., Gk *μέλι* id., Goth *milib* id. (CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 281-282, *Alb. St.* III 64, 78). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40 (from Lat *mel*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 162; JOKL *LKUBA* 287-289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; FEIST *Goth.* 359-360; ERNOUT-MEILLET 394; PISANI *Saggi* 132; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 203; POKORNY I 723-724; FRISK II 200-201; CHANTRAINE 682; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 38; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 270-271.

mjalloj aor. *mjallova* 'to mew'. Another variant is *mjaulloj*. A verb of onomatopoeic origin.

mjedhër f, pl. *mjedhra* 'mulberry; tares'. Other variants are *mjetërr*, *mitër* and *mjedër*. Also used in a phrase *mane mjedhëra* id. A suffixal derivative of **mjedh* related to Lith *mėdis* 'tree', Latv *mežs* 'wood', thus defining mulberry as a wood berry. ◇ FRAENKEL 423-425; POKORNY I 706-707; ÇABEJ *St.* I 350-351 (from **mer-dā* related to OIr *merenn* 'mulberry').

mjegull f, pl. *mjegulla* 'cloud'. Other variants, *mjergull* and *njegull*, are secondary (ÇABEJ *St.* I 351). From PALb **meg(u)lā* related to Gk *ομίχλη* 'fog, mist', Lith *miglā* id., Slav **mьgla* 'darkness, mist' (CAMARDA I 70). In Proto-Albanian, the word with an unusual vocalism was reshaped according to a more standard pattern with *-e- in the root. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 283-284 (borrowing from Lat *nebula* 'cloud' or cognate of Slav **mьgla* and the like); BRUGMANN - DELBRÜCK II/1 362; JOKL *Studien* 57-58 (explains *mjergull* by invoking the influence of **merg*- 'dark', cf. ON *myrkr* 'dim'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191; MANN *Language* XXVI 385-386; PISANI *Saggi* 128; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 202-204 (derived from **mjergë* with suffix -*ullë*); FRISK II 387; FRAENKEL 451; VASMER II 587-588; POKORNY I 712; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 687; ÇABEJ *St.* I 351-352; HULD 93; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 271-273 (to Lat *nūbēs* 'cloud', W *nudd* 'fog' and also to *natë*).

mjek m, pl. *mjekë* 'physician, doctor'. Borrowed from Lat *medicus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 282). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 109, 137, 139.

mjekër f, pl. *mjekra* 'chin, beard'. From PALb **smekrā* etymologically related to Hitt *zamankur-* 'beard', Skt *śmāsru-* id., Arm *mawruk* id., Lith *smākras* 'chin' (MEYER *Wb.* 282, *Alb. St.* III 4, 58, 71, 84). ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 169; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; JOKL *LKUBA* 268; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191 (follows MEYER), *Stratificazione* 93; AČAREAN *HAB* III 375; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; PORZIG *Gliederung* 75, 126, 161; FRAENKEL 839; MAYRHOFER III 382; POKORNY I 968; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 116; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 683, 687; HAMP *BSL* LXVI/1 222; HULD 93-94; ADAMS *JIES* XVI/1-2 76; KORTLANDT

SSGL X 220; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 273.

mjel aor. *mola* 'to milk'. From PALb **melga* identical with Gk ἀμέλω id., Lat *mulgeō* id., Lith *mélžiu*, *mélžti* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 40; MEYER *Wb.* 283, *Alb. St.* III 17, 64). The loss of -g- may be rather late if the variant *mjelg* adduced by CAMARDA is not an artefact. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 23; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 550, *Kelt. Gr.* I 43; JOKL *LKUBA* 275; BARIĆ *ARSt* 20; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192; MANN *Language* XXVI 382, XXVIII 37; FRAENKEL 434-435; FRISK I 91; WALDE-HOFMANN II 121; POKORNY I 722-723; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139; HULD 94-95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 273-274.

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mjellme f, pl. *mjellme* 'swan'. Derived from *miel*, cf. similar connections of Slav **olbōdъ* 'swan' related to Lat *albus* 'white', Gk ἄλφι 'barley flour'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 283 (to Slav **bělŭto* 'wall-eye, white spot'); VASMER II 470; POGHIRC *LB* VI 98 (follows MEYER).

mjerë adj. 'unhappy, unfortunate'. Borrowed from Lat *miserem* id. > Rom **misrem* (CAMARDA I 133). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 283 (to IE **melən-* 'black'), *Alb. St.* III 64, 78; JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194 (from **mel-*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 541 (to Lat *morior* 'to die'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Lat *miser*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254, 264, apud DEMIRAJ (to OIr *meirb* 'lifeless'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 274 (to Gk μῆρός 'stained').

mjeshtak m, pl. *mjeshtakë* 'brother-in-law'. Borrowed from Rom **domestiācus*, cf. Lat *domesticus* 'belonging to the house'.

mjeshtë m, pl. *mjeshtë*, *mjeshtra* 'master, builder'. Borrowed from Lat *magister* 'master' (CAMARDA II 204; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 284). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 252; HAARMANN 134; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 136, 139.

mjet prep/adv. '(up) to, among, between', m, pl. *mjete* 'means; boundary'. From PALb **meta* related to Gk μετά, μέτα 'among', Goth *mip* 'with' (JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191-192; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; DEMIRAJ *AE* 274-275.

mjetë f 'coarse wool, lint, yarn'. Borrowed from Gk μίτος 'thread

(of the woof)' with the change of vowel similar to that of *mjegull*. ◊ CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk μίτος); MEYER *Wb.* 284 (from Rom **migetta* ~ **micetta* > Fr *miette* 'crumb'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 352 (a prefixal derivative of *jes*).

mjezditë f 'noon'. While in the parallel forms *mesditë* and *mesnatë* 'midnight' the first element is *mes* 'middle' of Modern Greek origin, in *mjezditë* and *mjeznatë* 'midnight' *mjez* continues Lat *medius* 'middle' (MEYER *Wb.* 284). ◊ CAMARDA I 89 (*mjez-* to Gk μέσος 'middle'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191.

mkeqem refl. 'to get worse'. A prefixal derivative of *keq*.

mlysh m, pl. *mlysha* 'kind of fish, pike'. Another variant is *mlyç*. Borrowed from Rom **maris lūcius* 'sea pike', even though in Albanian the word refers to a sweet water fish. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 284 (a hesitant comparison with Ital *merluzzo* 'cod, hake'), *NGr. St.* III 39; ÇABEJ *St.* I 352 (from Lat *lūcius* 'pike'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133.

(G) **mllef** m 'rancor, wrath'. A derivative in -f (= Tosk -h) of *mëllë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 352-353).

mnerë f 'fear, fright'. A phonetic variant of *tmerr*.

moç m, pl. *moça* 'one year old wether'. From PALb **matuša* derived from *mot*.

moçoj aor. *moçova* 'to insult, to offend'. Borrowed from Lat *monstrāre* 'to show, to report, to witness against'.

modh m 'bushel'. Borrowed from Lat *modus* 'measure'.

modhull f, pl. *modhulla* 'vetch, chickling, chick-pea'. Continues PALb **mādzula* derivationally close to Lith *mažulis* 'small' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335) and further related to Lith *mažas* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 284-285, *Alb. St.* III 16, 64, 83). Borrowed from Rum *mazāre*. ◊ CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk μόδος 'kind of plant'); JOKL *LKUBA* 182-186 (to Goth *mats* 'dish, food', OIr *maisse* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* 55-56 (to Skt *māṣa-* 'bean'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (to *mot*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233;

CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117 (suffix *-ull*); FRAENKEL 422-423; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 332; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 218; HAMP *SCL* XXX 89; BURROW *Henning MV* 95; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 276.

mokĕr ~ mokĕn f, pl. *mokra ~ mokna* 'millstone'. Borrowed from Gk μηχανή 'device, instrument' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 16). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37 (from Lat *machina* 'machine, instrument'); MEYER *Wb.* 285 (from Latin); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 19 (follows THUMB); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 195 (prefers the Latin etymology); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 42; HAARMANN 134 (from Latīn); JANSON *Unt.* 43; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 112.

mokĕrr f, pl. *mokrra* 'millipede, woodlouse'. Borrowed from the substantivized Slavic adjective **mokra*, fem. 'wet', cf. **mokrica* 'millipede'.

molar adj. 'dirty, muddy'. A prefixal formation based on *larĕ*, a participial form of *lyej*.

molĕ f, pl. *mola* 'moth'. Borrowed from Slav **molv* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mol*, SCr *molj*. A parallel form *molice* continues Slav **molica* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 285). The verb *molis* 'to eat away (of moth)' is derived from *molĕ*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; SVANE 154.

molikĕ f, pl. *molika* 'silver fir'. An early borrowing from Slav **moldika* 'young tall tree', cf. Bulg *mladika*, SCr *mladika*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 196-197, 200 (to *mellenjĕ* and its cognates); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164; SVANE 127.

molis aor. *molisa, molita* 'to make tired, to weaken'. Borrowed from Slav **mъdliti* id., cf. CS *mъdliti*, Slovene *medliti*.

mollĕ f, pl. *mollĕ* 'apple, apple tree'. Borrowed from Lat *mālum* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 285). ◇ CAMARDA I 46 (compares with Gk μήλον id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk μήλον); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210, 254; HULD 94 (*mollĕ* described as a cognate of Lat *mālum* and Gk μήλον).

mollok m, pl. *mollokĕ* 'boulder, rock, lump'. Derived from *mollĕ*.

moraĕĭ f 'fennel'. Borrowed from South Slavic **moraĕĭ* id.: Bulg *moraĕ*, SCr *moraĕ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 259).

more interj. A vocative particle used in a call to a man. Other variants are *mre, bre, ore*. In feminine forms *moj* and *mori* are used (but *vore* in Italo-Albanian). The same interjection is used in all Balkan languages. The source of *more* may be one of the aoristic forms of *marr*. ◇ CAMARDA I 323 (to Gk ὀράω 'to see'); MEYER *Wb.* 286.

morĕ f 'bogey, nightmare'. Borrowed from Slav **mora* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mora*, SCr *mora* (MEYER *Wb.* 286-287). ◇ SVANE 216, 237.

mori f 'swarm, mass, crowd'. Borrowed from Slav **mor'e* 'sea; (fig.) large amount, swarm', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *more*; SCr *more*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 209, 281

mornica pl. 'shivering fit'. Borrowed from Slav **morĕnica* 'shivering; kind of illness', cf. Bulg *mornica*, Slovene *mornica* (SVANE 184).

morovicĕ f 'ant'. Borrowed from South Slavic **morvica* id., cf. Bulg *mravica*, SCr *mravica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 287). Alb *-oro-* seems to reflect an analogical change of **morvica* to **morovica*, cf. Ukr *muravic'a* and the like. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 196 (contamination with *morr*).

morovinĕ f 'sultriness'. Borrowed from Slav **morovina*, deverbative of **moriti* 'to destroy' otherwise unknown in South Slavic. ◇ SVANE 172.

mort m 'death'. Borrowed from Lat *mortem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA II 145; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 287). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 85.

morth m 'chilblain'. Derivative of *morr*, cf. a similar semantic relationship in Rum *păducei* 'chilblain' ~ *păducel* 'small louse, nit'

(ÇABEJ *St.* I 353). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 260 (to *mardh*); MURATI *Probleme* 91.

morr m, pl. *morra* 'louse'. From PALb **mērwa* based on IE **mer-* 'to die' as Gk φθείρ 'louse' is based on φθείρω 'to destroy' (OREL *Fort.* 79). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 245 (to Lat *mordeō* 'to bite' or to NGk μωρά); MEYER *Wb.* 287 (follows STIER); JOKL *Studien* 58 (to Skt *marcáyati* 'to endanger'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 196, *Stratificazione* 139; FRISK II 1012-1013; DEMIRAJ *AE* 277.

mos adv. 'not' (prohib.). From PALb **mātš* connected with IE **mē* id. (BOPP 497; CAMARDA I 102, 214; MEYER *Wb.* 287). The Indo-European prohibitive **mē* is directly reflected in a simple form *mo*. The second element may go back to IE **k'e* 'and' so that *mos* continues **mē k'e* as reflected in Gk μήτε 'and not' (OREL *SBJa Lexikol.* 149-150). ◇ BOPP 497 (identifies *-s* in *mos* with *s* 'not' so that *mos* is treated as a double negation); MEYER *Wb.* 287 (*-s = s* 'not' < Lat *dis-*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 322; JOKL *AArbSt.* I 37-38 (connects *-s* with the pronominal stem **k'o-* ~ **k'i-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 197; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 205; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22, 90; PISANI *Saggi* 110; POKORNY I 703; CHANTRAINE 692; ÇABEJ *St.* I 353-354 (analyzes *mos* as two subsequent negations *mo + s*); HAMP *SCL* XXX/1 89; HULD 94-95 (follows OREL); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 349; ; DEMIRAJ *AE* 275-276.

moshë f 'age'. In dialects, a more phonetically archaic form *močë* is preserved. Goes back to PALb **mātušā* derived from **māti-* > *mot*. Borrowed to Rum *moş*, 'grandfather' after the change of **-t(u)š-* to **-š-* (JOKL *LKUBA* 33; reconstructs **mēt-sjo-*). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 263 (to *mas*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ÇABEJ *St.* I 354; HULD 95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

mot m, pl. *mote* 'time, weather, storm, thunderbolt'. Goes back to PALb **māti-* etymologically identical with Skt *māti-* 'measure', Gk μήτις id., OE *mēd* id. derived from IE **mē-* 'to measure' and, in particular, to Iran **mātya-* 'day': Sogd *myδ*, Yagn *mēt*, Yazg *mīθ*, and also Osset *met*, *mīt* 'snow' (TRUBAČEV *Ėtimologija* 1965 14). Semantically, *mot* is also close to Lith *mėtas* 'time, year' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 263, *Alb. St.* III 23, 63, 87) which, however, displays a

short vowel in the root, and to Hisp-Celt *maTus* '(favorable) period of time' reflecting a zero-grade. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 33, 40, 326, *Sprache* IX 117; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 197; LA PIANA *Studi* I 114; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; FRAENKEL 445; FRISK II 232-233; MAYRHOFER II 638; POKORNY I 703-704; MORGENSTIERNE *Frontier* II 24, 229 (Baltic ~ Iranian comparison); ABAEV II 124 (isolates the Ossetic word from the rest of Ianian); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187, 252; HULD 95; ESKA *Botorrita* 75-76; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 203; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

motër f, pl. *motra* 'sister'. From PALb **māter* going back to IE **māter-* 'mother': Skt *mātár-*, Gk μήτηρ, Lat *māter* and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 72; MEYER *BB* VIII 190 ('mother' > 'elder sister'), *Wb.* 287-288, *Alb. St.* III 24, 64, 72, 82). ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 48; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 197, *Stratificazione* 118; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22; ERNOUT-MEILLET 390; FRISK II 232; CHANTRAINE 699; MAYRHOFER II 619-620; WALDE-HOFMANN II 49-50; PISANI *Saggi* 99; BARIÇ *Hymje* 38, 71; POKORNY I 700; HULD 95-96 (reconstructs the Omaha-kinship system for Proto-Albanian); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

motovile f, pl. *motovile* 'reel, spool'. Borrowed from Slav **motovidlo* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *motovila*, SCr *motovilo* (MEYER *Wb.* 287). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 171, 306; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 46, 252.

mpij ~ **mpîj** aor. *mpiva* ~ *mpîva* 'to benumb, to make stiff'. Goes back to PALb **en-pāginja* related to Gk πήγνυμι 'to make firm, to make stiff', Lat *pangō* id., Goth *fāhan* 'to catch' and the like (CAMARDA II 157; MEYER *Wb.* 265). ◇ FRISK II 525-526; WALDE-HOFMANN II 245-246; FEIST *Goth.* 134-135; POKORNY I 787; ÇABEJ *St.* I 354-355 (reconstructs **en-pāginja*).

mráz m, pl. *mráze* 'rain-storm, bitter frost'. Borrowed from Slav **morzъ* 'cold, frost', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mráz*, SCr *mráz* (SVANE 174, 237).

mrekull f, pl. *mrekull, mrekullra* 'miracle'. A singularized plural of **mrakull* borrowed from Lat *miraculum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente*

41-42; MEYER *Wb.* 288). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1048; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; ÇABEJ *St.* I 355; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 45, 86, 141-142.

mret m, pl. *mreta* 'arbutus, wild strawberry'. Derivative of *mare* id.

mrezhë f 'net'. Borrowed from Slav **merža* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *mreža*, SCr *mreža* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 288). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170; SVANE 153.

mti ~ **mtî** m 'churn'. Other variants are *bëti*, *pëti*, *muti*, *tpî*. Borrowed from Rom **pătina* for Lat *patina* 'broad dish, pan'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 295 (based on Slav **męsti* 'to sweep' or **mętiti* 'to stir'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 355-356 (to *tirë* 'barrel').

mu ~ **mû** adv. 'just, right, exactly'. Borrowed from Lat *immüne* 'freely, absolutely'. ◊ CAMARDA I 311 (to *me*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 356 (to *më* 'more').

muaj ~ **muej** m, pl. *muaj* ~ *muej* 'month'. From PALb **māsnja*, derived from an earlier **mēs-*, metathesis of IE **mēns-* 'moon, month': Skt *mās-*, Gk μήν, Lat *mēnsis*, OIr *mí* and the like. The same metathesis may be supposed for Slav **měsěcъ* < **mēsen-ko-* id. ◊ BOPP 467 (direct comparison with reflections of IE **mēns-*); CAMARDA I 58 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 288, *Alb. St.* III 64; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247, *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; JOKL *IF* XLIX 276, *WuS* XII 81, *Sprache* IX 150; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 194-195; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 44; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 223; ERNOUT-MEILLET 398; FRISK II 227-228; MAYRHOFER II 631-632; WALDE-HOFMANN II 71-72; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 24; VENDRYES [M] 46; POKORNY I 731-732; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 127; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XVIII 192-194; HULD 96 (treats -j in *muaj* as a suffix similar to -i in *ari*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 142; DEMIRAJ *AE* 279-280.

muf adj. 'unripe'. From PALb **muska* (with -f < -h) related to IE **meu-* 'wet', cf. Latv *maūt* 'to plunge, to swim', Slav **myti* 'to wash' and, formally, Lat *muscus* 'moss' belonging to the same root. ◊ POKORNY I 741-742.

mufas aor. *mufata* 'to puff up, to swell, to inflate'. From **mpufas*, a prefixal derivative of *puhas*.

mug m, pl. *mugje* 'twilight'. From PALb **smuga* related to OE *smoca* 'smoke', OIr *múch* id., Arm *mux* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 356). ◊ CAMARDA I 131 (to Gk μυχός 'inside'); MEYER *Wb.* 272-273 (to *mëngo*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 104 (to Gk ἀχλός 'mist, gloom' < IE **ḡgh-*); AČAREAN *HAB* III 353; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 45 (to ON *mykr* 'dung'); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 41; VENDRYES [M] 69-70; POKORNY I 971.

mugull m, pl. *muguj* 'shoot, bud, sprout'. Another variant is *mungull*. From PALb **mugula* identical with Lith **mugulas* on which *muguliúoti* 'to move' is based. The latter is further related to *mugóti* 'to go through the mud', *müginginti* 'to touch, to move' and the like. Borrowed to Rum *mugur*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 288 (quotes the non-existent Skt *mulula-* 'bud'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 54 (prefix *mu-* and a cognate of Gk βλαστός 'sprout, shoot'); JOKL *LKUBA* 267 (suffix -ull); FRAENKEL 468; POGHIRO-*Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; IONITA *SCL* XL 485 (from an unattested Rom **muculus*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

muj ~ **muej** aor. *mujta*, *mufta* 'to be able, to prevail'. From PALb **mundnja*, a secondary formation based on *mund*.

mujoj aor. *mujova* 'to disprove'. Derived from *muj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 356). ◊ CAMARDA I 47 (to Lat *mūniāre* 'to defend, to protect').

mullë f 'stomach'. Borrowed from Rom **mula* > OFr *mule* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 289). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 285; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Skt *mürdhan-*).

mulli ~ **mullî** m, pl. *mullinj* 'mill'. Borrowed from Lat *molinum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 289). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43 (from Ital *molino* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1049; JOKL *IF* L 47; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 199; ERNOUT-MEILLET 411; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 137; JANSON *Unt.* 55; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 137, 158.

mund aor. *munda* 'to be able'. Continues PALb **munda*, a nasal present related to Lith *mudà* 'possibility', *mudiúoti* 'to try, to attempt', Skt *módate* y 'to rejoice, to be merry'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 291 (to OHG *muntar*

'fresh', Lith *mundrūs* 'cheerful, merry'), *Alb. St.* III 64, 80; *JOKL Studien* 58 (adds Lith *mandrūs* 'high-spirited', Slav **mōdrъ* 'wise' to MEYER's parallels), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 91, *IF* XXXIII 127, XXXVI 131; *BARIĆ ARSt.* I 105; *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 198; *SCHMIDT KZ* LVII 37; *LA PIANA Studi* I 23; *FRAENKEL* 467; *CHANTRAINE* 664; *MAYRHOFER* II 693; *POKORNY* I 741-742; *HAMP Laryngeals* 138 (adduces Lith *išmintis* 'to be able'); *ÇABEJ St.* I 357-358 (to OHG *magan* 'to be able' or to Gk *μόγος* 'trouble, distress'); *DEMIRAJ AE* 281-283 (follows *ÇABEJ*).

mungoj aor. *mungova* 'to lack'. A more archaic variant is *mëngo*j. Borrowed from Rom **mancāre* > Ital *mancare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 273). ◇ *ÇABEJ St.* VII 251.

murg ~ **mung** m, pl. *murgj* ~ *mungj* 'monk'. Borrowed from Lat *monachus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 289). ◇ *MANN Language* XVII 14; *ÇABEJ St.* I 358; *ÖLBERG SPhAen* 49; *MIHĂESCU RESEE* IV/1-2 23; *HAARMANN* 137; *JANSON Unt.* 45-46; *LANDI Lat.* 61, 138-139.

murg adj. 'dark, grey'. From PALb **murga* related to Lith *mārgas* 'multicolored', *mirgūoti* 'to sparkle, to shine', Latv *mirga* 'gleam', *mūrgs* 'fantastic image'. The word for 'mould', *murgjan*, is derived from *murg*. Borrowed to Rum *murg* 'brown'. ◇ *SCHUCHARDT KZ* XX 250 (from Lat *amurca*); *MANN Language* XVII 14 (to ON *myrkr*); *FRAENKEL* 410-411; *POGHIRC Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; *PISANI Saggi* 122; *ROSETTI ILR* I 279.

murgë f 'lées of oil'. Borrowed from Lat *amurga* id. ◇ *CAMARDA* II 163 (from Gk *ἀμύργη* id.).

murmë adj. 'dark, grey'. Related to *murrët*. ◇ *MEYER Wb.* 286 (related to *muer* ~ *mor* id. borrowed from Turk *mor* id.).

murmuroj aor. *murmurova* 'to murmur'. Borrowed from Lat *murmurāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43; *MEYER Wb.* 292).

murtajë f 'plague'. Another variant is *mortajë*. Borrowed from Rom **mortālia*, based on Lat *mortalis* (MEYER *Wb.* 287). ◇ *MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; *HAARMANN* 137; *LANDI Lat.* 28, 88, 147.

murrash m, pl. *murrashë* 'sparrow'. Identical with *murrash* 'dark, dark grey', cf. *mëllenjë*.

murrelë f, pl. *murrela* 'horsefly, gadfly'. Related to *murrët*.

murrë ~ **murrâ** m 'North wind'. Borrowed, with an assimilation of the initial *b-*, from Rom **boreānus*, an adjectival formation of *Boreas* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 42). ◇ *MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052; *ÇABEJ St.* I 358-359 (to *murrët*).

murrët adj. 'dark'. A derivative in *-ët* based on **murr* continuing PALb **mura*. The latter is etymologically related to Lith *mūras* 'mud', *mūrinas* 'dirty', Latv *murīt* 'to besmirch' and other reflexes of **meu-ro-* 'dirt'. ◇ *FRAENKEL* 419; *POKORNY* I 742.

murriz m, pl. *murriza* 'brier, hawthorn, whitethorn'. Since it is also translated as 'Schwarzdorn' by MEYER, *murriz* may be linked to *murrët*. ◇ *SCHUCHARDT KZ* XX 250 (connected with Ital *marruca* 'Christ-thorn'); *MEYER Wb.* 292 (from **mburniz-* connected with NGk *προυνελιά* 'brier'); *JOKL IF* XXXVI 148 (agrees with *SCHUCHARDT*); *TREIMER Slavia* III 455 (from a compound **mollë drizë*); *ÇABEJ St.* I 359 (to *morr*).

mushicë f, pl. *mushica* 'midge'. Another variant is *mushiqe*. Borrowed from Slav **mušica* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mušica*, SCr *mušica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27). ◇ *SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie* 198; *SVANE* 155.

mushk m, pl. *mushqe* 'mule'. Together with Bulg *mъsk* id., ORuss *mъскъ* id. and other Slavic forms (presumably, spreading from the South), *mushk* forms an areal Balkan word for 'mule'. Rum *mușcoi* id. is derived from **mușcu* borrowed from Albanian. ◇ *MIKLOSICH Slav. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); *CAMARDA* II 158; *STIER KZ* XI 149; *HIRT IF* XII 225 (to Lat *mūlus* id., Gk *μύχλος* id.); *MEYER Wb.* 293-294 (to Lat *mūlus* id. < **muslus*; adduces Ital dial. *musso* 'ass'), *Alb. St.* III 64; *BARIĆ ARSt* 56; *TAGLIAVINI Stratificazione* 139; *ERNOUT-MEILLET* 420; *PISANI Saggi* 129; *POGHIRC Ist. limb. rom.* II 346; *ROSETTI ILR* I 279; *CHANTRAINE* 720; *HAARMANN* 137; *CLACKSON LR* 231.

mushk m 'shoulder'. Results from the recomposition of *mushkull*. ◇

MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 549 (borrowed from Lat *musculus* 'muscle'); CAMARDA II 158; MEYER *Wb.* 294 (follows MIKLOSICH); BARIĆ *ARSt* 56 (to Lat *umerus* 'shoulder'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 200; ÇABEJ *St.* I 359-360; HAARMANN 137.

mushkēllyer adj. 'dun, grey-brown, red-brown'. A parallel form is *mushkyl-luar*. Borrowed from Rom **muscellārius* 'colored like a mouse', cf. Lat *muscellārium* 'mouse-trap'.

mushkēri ~ **mushkni** f, pl. *mushkēri* ~ *mushkni* 'lung, liver'. As *mēlçi*, this word may be used in phrases *mushkēri e bardhë* 'lung' and *mushkēri e zezë* 'liver'. Derived from *mushk* 'shoulder'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43 (from Lat *musculus*).

mushkuar ~ **mushkuar** m 'buffalo steer'. A prefixal derivative of *shkuar*, participle of *shkoj*. Here a wide-spread pattern of calling cattle as 'walking' is used (cf. BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 145). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 360 (somehow related to Gk *μόσχος* 'young bull').

mushkull f 'muscle'. Borrowed from Lat *musculus* id.

mushllinzë f, pl. *mushllinza* 'clambering vetch'. A parallel (secondary) form is *bushllizë*. Based on **mushllī* borrowed from Rom **mustēlina*. The latter is a derivative of Lat *mustēla* 'weasel'. For the semantic development cf. Russ *myšij gorošek* 'mouse vetch'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 360 (from **mbështëllizë*, to *mbështjell*).

musht m 'must, new wine'. Borrowed from Lat *mustum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43; MEYER *Wb.* 294). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 137.

mushtëkohem refl. 'to settle down'. Borrowed from Rom **domesticāre* based on Lat *domesticus* 'belonging to the house'.

mushtuar ~ **mushtuer** adj. 'adult, ripe (of human beings)'. A participial form of *mushtoj* 'to train, to accustom, to make ferment (of wine)', derived from *musht*.

mut m, pl. *mutra* ~ *mutna* 'excrement'. Continues Palb **mukta* for-

mally identical with Skt *muktā-* 'released' (MEYER *Wb.* 294, *Alb. St.* III 5, 64). The latter is derived from *muñcāti* 'to loose, to free', cf. also Lith *mùkti* 'to get free, to flee' and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 418; MAYRHOFER II 649-650; POKORNY I 744.

muz m 'corn-measure'. A rare word from a Shkodran document in Turkish reflecting a Latin loanword from *modius* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 360).

muzg m 'dusk'. From Palb **muzga* borrowed from to Slav **mъzga* 'rainy weather'. The position of *muzgë* 'mud' is not clear: it may be related to *muzg* or, less probably, to represent a borrowing from Slav **muzga* 'sap, mud' (but neither Bulgarian, nor Serbo-Croatian preserve the meaning 'mud').

(T) **mvrojtur** adj. 'dark'. A secondary phonetic form of *mvrëjtur*, a participle of *mvrëj* 'to cloud over'. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *vrër*.

mycë f, pl. *myca* 'brushwood'. Derivative in *-cë* of *myjë*.

myjë f 'hardwood interior of trees, medulla'. Another variant is *my* ~ *mi*, *mī* id. Borrowed from Lat *medulla* id. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 195 (related to *mëllenjë* and based on IE **mel-* 'black').

myk m 'mould, slime'. Borrowed from Lat *mucus* 'slime' (MEYER *Wb.* 295). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

mykë f 'back edge (of knife)'. From Palb **mūkā* etymologically related to Gk *μυχός* 'innermost part', Arm *mxem* 'to put into, to insert'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 360 (identical with *pykë*); FRISK II 279; POKORNY I 745.

myll m 'mule'. Borrowed from Lat *mūlus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 295). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24.

mys m 'clod (of earth); bread crust'. From Palb **mūtja*, based on IE **meu-* 'wet, dirty, to wash'. For the development of meaning, cf. LGerm

moder 'mould', Dutch *modder* 'slime, mud' continuing the same root. ◇ POKORNY I 741-743; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

myshk m, pl. *myshqe* 'moss, musk'. Another form is *mushk*. Borrowed from Lat *muscus* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 360-361). As to *myshnjë* 'moss', it is derived from *myshk*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 280 (from Turkish *misk*); SKOK *ZfslavPh* VIII 409 (< **mus* + *ko-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; LANDI *Lat.* 66, 138, 140.

mzith m 'ankle'. Derived from an unattested **zi*. The latter continues PALb **džija* etymologically identical with the Indo-European word for 'tendon, bow-string': Skt *jà*, Av *jà*, Gk βίος. ◇ FRISK I 237-239; POKORNY I 481.

N

na interj. 'here you are!' Borrowed from Slav **na* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *na*, SCr *na* (MEYER *Wb.* 296).

napë f, pl. *napa* 'cloth, napkin, towel, kerchief'. Borrowed from Rom **nappa* > Fr *nappe* 'table-cloth' (MEYER *Wb.* 297). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 138.

naplungë f, pl. *naplunga* 'cheese-cloth (used as strainer)'. Borrowed from an unattested Bulg *napl'unka*, cf. *napl'unčvam* 'to smear (with saliva)', *pl'unka* 'saliva'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

nartë adj. 'bright, clear'. A derivative of *nartoj* 'to polish, to clean, to make bright'. Borrowed from Rom **inauritäre* replacing Lat *inauräre* 'to cover with gold' ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

natë f, pl. *net, netë* 'night'. From PALb **nakti-* corresponding to IE **nokt-* id.: Skt *nákt-*, Gk νόξ, Lat *nox* and the like (BOPP 460; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 40; MEYER *Wb.* 298, *Alb. St.* III 65) and particularly to the Balto-Slavic *i*-stem reflected in Lith *naktis*, Lett *nakts*, OPrus *naktin*, Slav **nokt'ь* (HAMP KZ LXXVII 254). ◇ MEYER *Gr.* 114; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 123; JOKL *LKUBA* 65 (ablaut in pl.), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90; TRAUTMANN 193; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34; POKORNY I 762-763; TAGLIAVINI

Dalmazia 204; PISANI *Saggi* 98; FRISK II 327-328; FRAENKEL 481-482; MAYRHOFER II 121-122; WALDE-HOFMANN II 181-182; VASMER III 86-87; ANTTILA *Schw.* 111; HAMP KZ LXXVII 254-256; HULD 96-97; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* 688; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 283-284.

natyrë f 'nature'. Borrowed from Lat *nātūra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 298 (from Ital *natura* id.). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1047; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 267; HAARMANN 138.

ndaj prep. 'among, with; towards'. Based on *ndanë* 'near'. The latter is a compound of *ndë* and *anë* (MEYER *Wb.* 11). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 58-59 (*ndaj* < **nd-anj* explained as an old locative in a sandhi position).

ndaj ~ **ndáj** aor. *ndava, ndajta* 'to divide, to separate'. From PALb **danja* etymologically related to Skt *dáyate* id., *dāti* 'to cut, to divide', Gk δαίωμα 'to divide' (CAMARDA I 37; MEYER *Wb.* 59). ◇ FRISK I 341-342; MAYRHOFER II 20-21, 31; POKORNY I 175.

ndal aor. *ndala* 'to stop, to hold up'. Another morphological variant is *ndaløj* id. Originally, an antonym of *dal*, this verb goes back to PALb **en-dala*, a prefixal form derived from *dal*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 60 (from Slav **dal'ь* '(long) distance'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 202 (against MEYER); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 239; ÇABEJ *St.* I 361 (to *W dal, dala* 'to hold')

ndej ~ **ndêj** aor. *ndeva, ndejta* 'to stretch out, to spread'. Other morphological variants are *nder, ndër* and *ndeh*. This stem is used as a suppletive aorist stem of *rri*. Continues PALb **en-tenja* related to Gk τείνω 'to stretch', ἐν-τείνω 'to stretch out' and, further, to Skt *tanóti*, 'to expand', OHG *denen* 'to stretch' and other reflexes of IE **ten-* (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 299-300, *Alb. St.* III 24). ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); PISANI *Saggi* 101; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 107; FRISK II 863-865; MAYRHOFER I 475; POKORNY I 1065-1066; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 48; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 243; DEMIRAJ *AE* 284-285.

nder m 'honor, fame, name, reputation, worth'. A suffixal derivative of *ndej* ~ *nder* depicting 'fame' as '(wide)spread'. ◇ BOPP 497 (to the non-existent Skt *dar-* 'to respect'); CAMARDA I 81 (to *njeri*); MIKLOSICH

Rom. Elemente 31 (borrowed from Lat *honōrem* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 298-299 (continues an unattested **ner* borrowed from Lat *honōrem* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 202-203 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 366; TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXVIII 402 (prefixal formation in *nd-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; ÇABEJ *St.* I 361-363 (to *ëndërr*); LANDI *Lat.* 64-65, 101.

ndes aor. *ndesa* 'to have troubles', refl. *ndeset* 'to get tangled up (of threads)'. Goes back to PALb **en-datša* reflecting IE **dek-* and closely related to the isolated Lith *dàkyti* 'to mix up, to put in disorder', *dàknyti* id., *dàkanoti* id. ◊ FRAENKEL 80-81; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

ndesh aor. *ndesha* 'to meet'. Continues PALb **en-da-sja* etymologically related to Gk δῆω 'to find' (OREL *Orpheus* VI 69). ◊ PEDERSEN *IF* V 47 (to Slav **desiti* 'to meet' - but it continues IE **dek-*); JOKL *Studien* 60-61 (follows and compares *ndesh* with *ndieh*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; FRISK I 383; POKORNY I 217; DEMIRAJ *AE* 285.

ndez aor. *ndeza* 'to set alight, to ignite'. From PALb **en-dadžja*, a causative formation based on *djeg* and continuing **-dog^hhejō* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 323-324). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 333; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 208; LA PIANA *Studi* I 74, *St. Varia* 33; ÇABEJ *St.* III 124, VII 217, 219; HULD 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 286.

ndë prep. 'in, into'. A frequently used parallel form is *në*; in Old Albanian the initial vowel was still preserved in *ende* (BUZUKU). Goes back to PALb **en-da* composed of IE **en* 'in' (cf. Gk ἔν, Lat *in* and the like) and IE **do*: Slav **do* 'to', Gmc **tō* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 299). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 201; MANN *Language* XVII 22; FRISK I 508-509; WALDE-HOFMANN I 687-688; ONIONS 927; POKORNY I 181-183, 311-313; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 59-66; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* V 37-38; HULD 97-98 (separates *ndë* from *në* and derives the latter from IE **eni*).

ndër prep. 'under, between'. Borrowed from Lat *inter* (MEYER *Wb.* 299). ◊ BOPP 500 (related to Lat *inter*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 213; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136 (reconstructs **Henter*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 286-287.

ndërgoj aor. *ndërgova* 'to suck'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Lat *integrāre* 'to restore, to refresh'.

ndërliq aor. *ndërliqa* 'to tangle up threads; to interlace, to weave'. Another variant is *ndërlik* preserving the original form of the auslaut velar. Derived from *liq* (KRISTOFORIDHI 271). The dialectal form *ndërliks* id. < **ndërliks* is derived from *ndërlik* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 364). ◊ CAMARDA I 42 (to Gk ἐντολίσσω 'to roll, to wrap up'); MEYER *Wb.* 301 (follows CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 80.

ndërtoj aor. *ndërtova* 'to build, to construct'. A derivative of Rom **directāre*, cf. Lat *directus* 'straight' (MEYER *Wb.* 66). ◊ CAMARDA I 123 (derived from *drejt*); WEIGAND 60 (follows CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* I 364-365 (to *trajtoj*).

ndërzej aor. *ndërzeva* 'to mate'. A prefixal derivative of *zë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 300 (borrowed from Slav **drzniti* 'to irritate, to arouse'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 250.

ndërroj aor. *ndërrova* 'to change, to alter'. Borrowed from Lat *alterāre* id., with an irregular change of the sonorant (MEYER *Wb.* 300, *Alb. St.* IV 15). ◊ CAMARDA I 45 (to *tjetër*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* I 365 (to Skt *ántara-* 'other' and the like); MANN *Comp.* 27 (same as ÇABEJ).

ndëshkoj aor. *ndëshkova* 'to punish'. A prefixal derivative of **dëshkoj* borrowed from Lat *dēspicārī* 'to despise'. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* I 365-366 (from Lat *castigāre* 'to correct, to chastise, to punish'); HAARMANN 116 (same as ÇABEJ).

ndiç adv., conj. 'well, at any rate'. Another form is *ndish*. Goes back to *në diç* 'if you know' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 366).

ndiçëm adj. 'old, withered, stale'. Another form is *ndishëm*. Historically identical with *ndishëm* 'sensitive', an adjectival derivative of *ndiej*.

ndiej aor. *ndjeva* 'to feel, to perceive, to hear'. A prefixal derivative of *di* (MEYER *Wb.* 66). ◊ CAMARDA I 81 (to Gk νοέω 'to see, to perceive'); MEYER *Alb. Gr.* (to *gjegj*, variant of *dëgjoj*); JOKL *Studien* 60, *IF* XXXVI 112; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 33-34; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (to

dëgjem); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; ÇABEJ *St.* I 366-367 (related to Goth *þagkjan* 'to think'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 287-288.

ndih ~ **ndif** aor. *ndiha* ~ *ndifa* 'to help'. Continues PALb **en-diska* related to Gk *δίεμμι* 'to hurry, to drive', Skt *dīyati* 'to fly, to soar' and the like. For the semantic development cf. Russ *s-po-speš-estvovat* 'to assist, to help' ~ *spešit* 'to hurry'. ◊ CAMARDA I 135 (to Gk *τεῖχος* 'wall' or *τύχη* 'luck, fortune'); MEYER *Wb.* 300 (to Goth *þeihan* 'to thrive, to flourish'), *Alb. St.* III 6-7; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 208-209 (to the non-existent Skt *dāy-* 'to take care'); FRISK I 389-390; ÇABEJ *St.* I 367-368 (continues IE **deik-* 'to show'); MAYRHOFER II 46; POKORNY I 187.

ndikoj aor. *ndikova* 'to influence'. Borrowed from Lat *indicāre* 'to impose, to inflict'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257-258.

ndjej aor. *ndjeva* 'to pardon, to forgive'. More archaic forms are *ndëje* and *ndëlej*. Borrowed from Lat *indulgēre* 'to be indulgent, to concede' (MEYER *Wb.* 299). Note the development of the group *-lg-* as in *mjel*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 130.

ndjek aor. *ndoqa* 'to follow, to chase, to pursue'. From PALb **en-teka*, a prefix formation related to IE **tek-* 'to run, to flow': OIr *techim* 'to flee', Lith *tekù*, *tekėti* 'to run', Slav **tekq*, **tekti* 'to flow, to run' (MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 300-301, *Alb. St.* III 3, 24). Another verb, **awa-teka*, is reflected as *vdjek* 'to pursue' instead of **ftjek* under the influence of *ndjek*. ◊ FRAENKEL 1074-1075; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 291; VĚNDRYES [T] 40; VASMER IV 37; POKORNY I 1059; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (to Gk *διώκω* 'to pursue'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 96; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (on *v-* in *vdjek*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 269; HULD 97; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 288.

ndjell aor. *ndolla* 'to entice, to lure; to call (to an animal)'. Continues PALb **en-delna*, a denominative related to the Balto-Slavic word for 'palm (of the hand)': Lith *dėlna*, Slav **dolnъ*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 301 (to Lith *délka* 'fishing-rod'); FRAENKEL 87-88; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 63-64.

ndodh aor. *ndodha* 'to happen, to take place, to occur'. From PALb

**en-tādza* continuing IE **tāg-* (or **tāg-* as implied by Baltic): Gk *τάσσω* 'to arrange, to put in order', *τάγῃ* 'ordering, array', Lith *pa-togùs* 'comfortable', *su-tógti* 'to marry': ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 301 (to Lat *tangō* 'to touch' or to Goth *tekan* id.), *Alb. St.* III 17; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; BARIĆ *ARS.* I 57-58 (to Lat *cadō* 'to fall'); FRISK II 845-846, 859; FRAENKEL 551; POKORNY I 1055; ÇABEJ *St.* I 369-370 (to Gk *τεύχω* 'to prepare').

(T) **ndohtĚ** adj. 'dirty, foul'. Based on *ndoh* 'to make dirty', an inchoative derivative of *ndyj* (MEYER *Wb.* 301; KRISTOFORIDHI 229). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 61-62 (to *dhjes*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 290-291.

ndorĚ f 'charge, tutelage, patronage'. A back-formation based on *ndoroj* 'to manage, to control, to protect'. A metathesized borrowing from Rom **pantōrāre* < **patrōnāre*, cf. Lat *patrōnus* 'protector, defender'.

ndormĚ adj. 'unleavened; ordinary'. Derived from *dorĚ* with the original meaning 'handy, easy to make' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 370). ◊ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 321 (to Skt *tāruṇa-* 'young, fresh'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 212, 242.

ndorrina conj. 'although'. Other variants are *ndorina* and *ndori*. More frequent variants use the adverbial element *-na* but the original conjunction is *ndori*, a form of *ndor* ~ *ndorĚ*. The underlying meaning is '(even) with the protection of'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 370-371 (from *ndo rri* 'although you are sitting').

ndoshta adv. 'perhaps, maybe'. Derived from *ndosh* 'to happen', a secondary formation based on *ndodh* (KONITZA apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 371). ◊ WEIGAND *BA* I 260 (from *nĚ do tĚ ishte*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 370-371 (from SCr *doista* 'truly'); MURATI *Probleme* 92.

ndrag aor. *ndraga* 'to make dirty'. From PALb **en-traga*, a denominative verb related to OHG *drec* 'dirt, dung', ON *þrekkr* id., Gk *στεργάνος* 'dung' (Hes.) and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 301). ◊ KLUGE 141; FRISK II 790; POKORNY I 1032.

ndreq aor. *ndreqa* 'to put in order, to arrange'. Derived from *ndreq* ~ *ndrejt*, adv. 'straight, direct', cf. *drejtĚ*.

ndrikull f, pl. *ndrikulla* 'godmother; midwife'. Borrowed from Lat *mātrīcula* used in the sense of Rom **mātrīna* id. > Ital *madrina* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 301). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1054 (from Lat *nutrīcula*); HAARMANN 135.

ndrizë f, pl. *ndriza* 'band, bandage'. Continues **n-dridh-zë* related to *dredh* (JOKL *Studien* 18).

ndrydh aor. *ndrydha* 'to press, to squeeze, to twist'. From PALb **en-trūda* etymologically connected with Lat *trūdō* 'to thrust, to push, to press on', Goth *us-þriutan* 'to burden' and the like. The verb *ndrydh* is a source of secondary expressive forms *ndryp* 'to press, to squeeze' and *ndrys* 'to massage' (the later may be a derivative in *-*tja*). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 301 (from Rom **intrūdō*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261; WALDE-HOFMANN II 710; FEIST *Goth.* 535-536; POKORNY I 1095-1096; ÇABEJ *St.* I 372 (to *dredh*).

ndryj aor. *ndryva* ~ *ndryna* 'to lock'. Derived from *dry*. MANN *Language* XVII 16 (from *dru*). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

ndryqem ~ **ndriqem** refl. 'to stretch oneself'. Continues PALb **en-truka* related to W *trychu* 'to cut', OHG *drucken* 'to press', Lith *trūkti* 'to get torn, to come off', Latv *trūkt* 'to break, to get torn'. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 181 (from Rom **intuberculāre*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 58 (to Lat *dūrus* 'hard' and JE **dreu-*); FRAENKEL 1130-1131; POKORNY I 1074; ÇABEJ *St.* I 372 (a secondary formation based on *ndreq*).

ndryshkull m, pl. *ndryshkulla* 'boil, abscess'. Derived from *ndryshkë* 'rust', cf. *dryshk*.

ndryshkull m, pl. *ndryshkulla* 'kind of large scented plant'. Derived from *dushk* ~ *dyskh* 'oak' with an epenthetic *-r-*.

ndryshoj aor. *ndryshova* 'to differentiate, to differ, to vary'. Based on *ndryshe* 'otherwise', derived from *ndërroj*.

nduk aor. *nduka* 'to pluck out, to pull out, to tear'. Continues PALb **en-duka* related to Goth *tiuhan* 'to pull', Lat *dūcō* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 301-302). ◊ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk δάκνω 'to bite');

ERNOUT-MEILLET 186; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; KLUGE 885; FEIST *Goth.* 478-479; WALDE-HOFMANN I 377-378; POKORNY I 220-221; ÇABEJ *St.* I 373-374; DEMIRAJ *AE* 291.

ndulkem refl. 'to ripen'. From PALb **en-tulka* etymologically linked to Lith *telkiū*, *telkti* 'to gather, to bring together', Slav **telkti* 'to beat, to pound'. MEYER *Wb.* 313 (derived from Lat *dulcis* 'sweet'); VASMER IV 73-74; FRAENKEL 1078; ÇABEJ *St.* I 374 (to *tul*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

ndyj ~ **ndyej** aor. *ndyra* 'to make dirty, to soil, to dip, to immerse'. From PALb **en-danja* related to Gk δόω 'to sink, to cause to sink, to plunge in'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 307 (to OHG *tūhhan* 'to immerse'); FRISK I 427-428; POKORNY I 217-218.

ne pron. 'we'. From PALb **nō(s)* etymologically related to Skt *nas-*, Av *nō*, Lat *nōs* id. and other continuations of this stem in Indo-European (BOPP 464; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 216-217; MEYER *Wb.* 296, *Alb. St.* III 63, 65). Oblique cases have *na* from the Indo-European form of accusative with a short vowel. In some dialects, *na* appears in nom. sg. while *ne* represents oblique cases. ◊ JOKL *Sprache* IX 142; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204; LA PIANA *Studi* I 85, 90; ERNOUT-MEILLET 445; MANN *Language* XVII 18, XXVIII 37; PISANI *Saggi* 130; WALDE-HOFMANN II 175-176; MAYRHOFER II 148; POKORNY I 758; HULD 96; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 222; DEMIRAJ *AE* 291-292.

ne prep. 'to, at'. A parallel and more authoritative form is *nek* from which *te* evolved as an allegro variant (cf. *te*). Both *nek* and *tek* require nominative - an unusual feature that can only be explained by its etymology below. It continues PALb **anai ka* 'to that which' consisting of a dative of a demonstrative comparable with Skt *ana-* 'this', Lith *anàs* 'that', Slav **onъ* id. and of a relative pronoun **k'o-*. ◊ FRAENKEL 10; VASMER III 141; MAYRHOFER I 32; POKORNY I 319-321; ÇABEJ *St.* I 374 (etymologically identical with *te* ~ *tek*).

nemak adj. 'dumb, stuttering'. Derived from **nem* borrowed from Slav **němъ* 'dumb', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *n'am*, SCr *nijem*, *nem*.

nemec m, pl. *nemeca* 'dumb, stuttering person'. Borrowed from Slav **němьcь* id. also denoting Germans, cf. in South Slavic Bulg *nemec*, SCr *nijemac*, *nemac* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27). The form *nemc* 'German' goes back to the same source. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195, 286.

nepĕrkĕ f, pl. *nepĕrkĕ* 'adder, viper'. A more archaic form is *nepĕrtkĕ*. Borrowed from Slav **nepĕrtkĕ* attested in Bulg *nepĕrtkĕ* 'buttercup, yellowgold' (its other name being *žabun'ak* 'related to toads') connected with some other marginal Slavic forms such as **ǰьzportkĕ* 'miscarried fetus' and **γυρortkĕ* id. The original form being the source of *nepĕrkĕ* described a freshly hatched snake. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *năpîrcă*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (from Lat *vipera* 'viper'); MEYER *Wb.* 303 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 139; VASMER I 369; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 346; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 204; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XXXII/2 204 (borrowed from Rum *năpîrcă* continuing Rom **natricipertica*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

nesĕr adv. 'tomorrow'. From PALb **natšĕr* continuing **nok'tjĕr*, an adverbial derivative of **nok't-* 'night', cf. W *neithiwr*, *neithwyr* 'last night', Bret *neizær*, *neizür* id. (MANN *Hist. Gr.* 204). ◇ CAMARDA I 309 (to Gk ὑστεραία 'the day after tomorrow'); MEYER *Wb.* 303 (to Goth *neva* 'near' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 13, 65; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 236-237, *KZ* XXXVI 336 (from an earlier **nati herĕ* 'at the hour of night'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 123; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 58-60 (from **en auso-* 'at dawn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204 (supports PEDERSEN); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 41, 109; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 45-46 (compound of *nes-* < **en ōku-* 'swift' and *herĕ*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 374-375 (from *nĕ esĕll herĕ* 'at the time of morning fast'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 292-293.

neveris aor. *neverita* 'to desert, to neglect'. Borrowed from Slav **ne věriti* 'not to believe' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 304). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; SVANE 246.

nevojĕ f, pl. *nevoja* 'need'. Borrowed from Slav **nevol'a* 'lack of freedom, necessity', cf. South Slavic parallels: Bulg *nevol'a*, SCr *nevolja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 304). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178; SVANE 222

nĕmĕ ~ **namĕ** f, pl. *nĕmĕ* ~ *namĕ* 'curse'. From PALb **namā* related to *nĕm* ~ *nam* 'to curse' from PALb **nama*. Etymologically connected with Gk νέμω 'to distribute', Goth *niman* 'to take' and the like, with the semantic shift justified by the development in Greek, cf. νέμεις 'wrath' (CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 297, *Alb. St.* III 64-65). ◇ FRISK II 302-304; FEIST *Goth.* 375-376; POKORNY I 763; ÇABEJ *Festschr. Pisani* I 184; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 293.

nĕmĕroj aor. *nĕmĕrova* 'to number, to count'. Borrowed from Lat *numerāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 312, *Alb. St.* IV 19). Other similar forms, such as *numĕr* 'number', are of Italian or learned Latin origin (ÇABEJ *St.* I 384). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 138.

nĕn prep. 'under'. A more conservative variant is *ndĕn*. An extended form of *ndĕ* (MEYER *Wb.* 299).

nĕnĕ ~ **nanĕ** f, pl. *nĕna* ~ *nana* 'mother'. An onomatopoeia comparable with that of SCr *nana* id., Rum *nană* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 297, *Alb. St.* III 65). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27 (from Slavic); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 18; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 201, *Stratificazione* 118; HULD 98 (traces *nĕnĕ* ~ *nanĕ* back to Indo-European); JANSON *Unt.* 97-98; DEMIRAJ *AE* 294.

nĕnĕris aor. *nĕnĕrita* 'to murmur'. An onomatopoeia.

nĕng ~ **nang** adv. 'not'. A difficult form. Probably, a Latin loanword, cf. Lat *numquam* (MEYER *Wb.* 304), but then the vowel remains unexplained. Is it a double negation from **ne nuk* developed to **nenk* > *nĕng*? ◇ HULD 99.

nĕngj m 'knot'. Borrowed from Rom **nodunculus* (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054).

nĕntĕ ~ **nand** num. 'nine'. The Tosk form is an analogical innovation that has replaced **nĕndĕ*. Continues PALb **neunti-* representing a *ti-* derivative of IĒ **neun* id.: Skt *nāva*, Lat *novem*, Goth *niun* and the like (BOPP 459; MEYER *Wb.* 304, *Alb. St.* III 65). ◇ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 85; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 61; LA PIANA *Studi* I 84; PISANI *Saggi* 106;

MANN *Language* XVII 20; MAYRHOFER II 141-142; WALDE-HOFMANN II 179-180; FEIST *Goth.* 378-379; POKORNY I 318-319; HAMP *IF* LXXXI 43-44 (to Illyr *Neunt(i)us*), *Numerals* 915-916; HULD 154; DEMIRAJ *AE* 294-295.

nëpër prep. 'through'. A compound of *në* and *për*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193.

nëse conj. 'if'. A lexicalized sequence of *në* and *se* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 375).

nga prep. 'out'. Goes back to PAIb **en-ka*, a compound consisting of **en-* identical with IE **en* 'in' and **ka* (also preserved as dialectal *ka* 'out'), a reflex of IE **kom*, cf. Slav **къ* 'to, towards' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 150). A particularly interesting parallel of PAIb **en-ka* is found in Slav **vъn-kъ* (Czech *venkū*, Ukr *vonka*) < IE **en-kom*. The unusual semantic shift of *nga* is a part of a general transformation of prepositional meanings in Albanian, cf. *ith*. ◊ CAMARDA 84; MEYER *Wb.* 304-305 (*ka* < Gk *κατά* 'down' with an inexplicable loss of the second syllable); POKORNY I 311-312, 612-613; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 105-106 (on Slavic prepositions); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 211.

ngac aor. *ngaca* 'to check, to halt'. A denominative based on **ngalcë* derived from *ngalem*.

ngacmoj aor. *ngacmova* 'to incite, to tease'. A form parallel to *ngallmoj* and based on **ngacmë*, derivative of **ngacë* - ultimately, to *ngas*.

ngaj aor. *ngava*, *ngajta* 'to run'. Another variant is *nga(h)*. From PAIb **en-ganja* related to the reduplicated Skt *jāhāti* 'to leave, to abandon', OHG *gān*, *gēn* 'to go' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 305, *Alb. St.* III 6-7). Other morphological variants of the verb are *nga(h)* < **en-gaska* and *ngas* < **en-gatja*. ◊ CAMARDA I 40 (to NGk *ἐγγίζω* 'to touch'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 331 (borrowed from Slav **nukati* 'to prompt, to urge'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 205; KLUGE 241; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44 (to Slav **kotiti* 'to roll'); MAYRHOFER I 426; POKORNY I 418; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *quatiō* 'to shake'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 295 -296.

ngalem refl. 'to be limping, to be lame, to be paralyzed'. From PAIb **en-gala*, a denominative based on an unattested **gala* 'end, obstacle' related to Lith *gālas* 'end', Latv *gals* id., OPrus *gallan* 'death'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incagliare* 'to halt'); HELBIG 23-24 (from Rom **incalleāre*); OŠTIR *Anthropos* VIII 165-168 (to *gul* 'hornless');

FRAENKEL 130; ÇABEJ *St.* I 375-376 (to Lat *callum* 'hardened, thick skin').

ngallis aor. *ngallita* 'to sprout, to shoot'. Another morphological variant is *ngalloj*. Denominative based on *ngallë* 'flowering head of an onion' < *'sprout, shoot'. The latter is derived from **ngall* 'to sprout, to shoot', a prefixal verb built from *kall* ~ *kalli* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 376-377 with differences in details). A related form with a different prefix *c-* is *ckalloj* id. (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 51). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 80 (to *shkal*, *shqelm*).

ngallis aor. *ngallita* 'to annoy, to irritate'. A derivative of *ngas* based on an unattested nominal form **ngall(ë)*.

ngallmoj aor. *ngallmova* 'to urge, to irritate, to arouse'. Based on **ngallmë*, a deverbative noun in *-më* related to **ngall*, see *ngallis* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 376). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incalmare* 'to inoculate' or Rom **incalamāre*); JOKL *LKUBA* 269 (to *akull* and Slav **kāliti* 'to temper [iron]'); HAARMANN 130.

ngardhuliqe f, pl. *ngardhuliqe* 'goldfinch'. Borrowed, with a secondary *n-* and an additional suffix *-iq-*, from Lat *carduelis* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (reconstructs Rom **cardellicula*).

ngarend aor. *ngarenda* 'to run fast'. A univerbation of *nga rend* or *ngas rend* still preserved in Old Albanian (ÇABEJ *St.* I 377).

ngarkoj aor. *ngarkova* 'to load, to charge, to burden'. Borrowed from Rom **incaricāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incaricare* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1048 (from Italian); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14, 16; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 130.

ngarmoj aor. *ngarmova* 'to drive away, to incite, to irritate'. A phonetic variant of *ngallmoj*. Cf. also *ngërmoj* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 12 (from Ital *anheria* 'oppression, tyranny'); KRISTOFORIDHI 261 (to *gërmoj*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 378-379 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI).

ngas aor. *ngava* 'to urge, to incite, to annoy'. From PAIb **en-gatja*, a causative related to *ngaj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 221 (to *qas*); PEDERSEN *KZ*

XXXVI 331 (borrowed from Slav **nukati* 'to urge, to say *nu*'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 154, 218.

ngastër f, pl. *ngastra* 'piece, part, section; block, quarter'. Another variant is *ngasër*. Derived from *ngas* (MEYER *Wb.* 221). Note a secondary cluster *-st-* < *-s-*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 377 (from NGk γάστρα 'wide part of a jar').

ngashërej aor. *ngashëreva* 'to touch, to move, to affect'. Another variant is *ngashëroj*. The Geg form is preserved in *ngashnjej* 'to incite, to rouse'. Built on the basis of Rom **incausināre*, cf. Lat *causa* 'cause'.

ngatërroj aor. *ngatërrova* 'to entangle, to complicate'. The antonym is *shkatërroj* 'to undo, to disentangle'. Derived from *ngatërr* 'hair ribbon' < **thread*. The latter is based on *ngas*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (to *ngathet* and/or Ital dial. *ingattiar* 'to entangle'); SPITZER *MRIW* I 325 (from Rom **inquaternāre*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 60-61 (to *shtie* and *shtri*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 377-378 (back-formation of *shkatërroj* based on *katër*).

ngathem refl. 'to grow numb, to grow stiff'. From **ngalth* related to *ngalem*.

nge f, pl. *nge* 'time, leisure, chance, opportunity'. Goes back to *ngae* preserved in dialects. From PALb **en-gadā* etymologically related to Slav **godъ* 'time, year' with which it shares the temporal meaning (JOKL *Studien* 62-63). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305-306 (to Lith *gaivūs* 'cheerful, merry'), *Alb. St.* III 7, 39; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 46; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 191-192; MURATI *Probleme* 92-93.

ngec aor. *ngeca* 'to get stuck, to halt, to hesitate'. A morphonological variant of *ngac*.

ngel aor. *ngela* 'to get stuck, to remain'. A morphonological variant of *ngalem*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238-239.

ngeq aor. *ngeqa* 'to become worse, to get bad'. Derived from *keq*.

ngërç m 'cramp, stiffness'. Derived from *kërç*.

ngërdhej aor. *ngërdheva* 'to mock, to sneer, to mimic'. Another variant is *ngërdhesh*. Derived from *ngrydh*.

ngërhis aor. *ngërhita* 'to snore, to snort'. Another variant is *ngërhas*. A prefixal derivative of *gërhas*.

ngërthej aor. *ngërtheva* 'to press, to encircle'. A prefixal derivative of *k(ë)thej* with an epenthetic *-r-*. Cf. *kthej*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 379 (to *gardhë*).

ngërzis aor. *ngërzit* 'to annoy'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested **gërzis* borrowed from Slav **groziti* 'to threaten', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *groz'a*, SCr *groziti*.

ngij ~ **ngîj** aor. *ngiva* ~ *ngina* 'to sate, to suckle'. Dialectal forms preserve *gl-* and *gj-*. From PALb **gleinja* related to Lith *gliėjù, gliėti* 'to smear', OHG *klënan* id. and the like. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 62 (from **niglno-* 'swallowed down'); FRAENKEL 157; POKORNY I 362-363; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201.

ngojoj aor. *ngojova* 'to mention; to slander'. Derived from *gojë* 'mouth'.

ngolaj aor. *ngolova* 'to try, to taste'. Historically identical with *ngojoj*. Derived from *golë*, a phonetically archaic variant of *gojë*.

ngollar m 'sodomite; sodomite sexual act'. Derived from *golle* on the basis of an intermediate verb **(n)golloy*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 306 (from Slav **gōzlarь*, to **gōzъ* 'anus, bottom'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 61 (prefix *n-* followed by a cognate of Gk κήλη).

ngop aor. *ngopa* 'to sate, to cram'. Related to *gop* 'greedy, gluttonous'. The latter continues PALb **gāpā* probably related to IE **ǵep-l/*ǵebh-* 'to eat'. A parallel form *ngos* 'to sate' goes back to **en-gāptja* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LV* 194). ◊ POKORNY I 382; ÇABEJ *St.* I 379 (*ngos* borrowed from NGk *ἀγχώνω 'to choke').

ngordh aor. *ngordha* 'to die (of animals), to stiffen, to become erected (of penis)'. A synonymic form is *kordh*. Continues PALb **kār(i)da* going back to IE **kēr dhē-* 'to take a root', hence - 'to stiffen' and, finally, 'to die'. For the first component cf. Lith *kēras* 'root', Slav **korenъ* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 306 (from Rom **incordāre*, cf. *kordhë*); KRISTOFORIDHI 265 (to NGk κορδόνωμα 'to show off'); FRAENKEL 241; POKORNY I 572-573; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XI 62-65; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 80, VII 184.

ngratĚ adj. 'wretched, miserable, unhappy'. Borrowed from Lat *ingrātus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 306). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1041; HAARMANN 131.

ngre aor. *ngrita*, *ngreja* ~ *ngrĕjta* 'to lift, to raise'. A parallel form is *ngreh* ~ *ngref* reflecting an inchoative in *-sk-. Continues PAIb **en-grad*a and **en-gradska* related to Lat *gradior* 'to step, to walk', Goth acc. *grid* 'step', OIr *in-grenn-* 'to pursue', Slav **grĕdŏ*, **grĕsti* 'to walk'. ◇ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk *ἐγείρω* 'to rouse, to stir up'); MEYER *Wb.* 306 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 8, 71; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 545; JOKL *Sprache* IX 128; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93; WALDE-HOFMANN I 615-616; FEIST *Goth.* 222; POKORNY I 456-457; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 76; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VII 123-124; DEMIRAJ *AE* 296-297 (to Lat *crĕscō* 'to grow').

ngrij ~ **ngriĵ** aor. *ngriua* ~ *ngrina* 'to freeze'. From PAIb **en-kreinja*, a denominative verb related to Lith *krenà* 'film, thin skin (on milk)', Latv *kriena* id. For the semantics cf. another Baltic cognate - Lith *krygà* 'floating pieces of ice'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 306-307 (to Gk *κρύος* 'frost'); JOKL *Studien* 63-64 (to Slav **čьrstivъ* 'hard, dry'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 245 (to Frioul *criure* 'cold'); FRAENKEL 297; POKORNY I 618; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

ngroh ~ **ngrof** aor. *ngroha* ~ *ngrofa* 'to warm'. From PAIb **en-grāja* etymologically identical with Slav **grĕjŏ*, **grĕti* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 307, *Alb. St.* III 8, 71; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46), continuing IE **g^hher-* 'to burn'. ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 321, 324-325, *Kelt. Gr.* I 108; PISANI *Saggi* 125 (follows MEYER); VASMER I 456 (*ngroh* from **en-grĕsko*); POKORNY I 493-495; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 48; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 77; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, apud DEMIRAJ (to Lith *kārštas* 'warm'); HULD 98 (on *sĕ*-formations in Albanian), *KZ* CVII 169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 298.

ngrydh ~ **ngriđh** aor. *ngrydha* ~ *ngriđha* 'to work up, to foment, to ferment', refl. 'to be in heat (of horses)'. From PAIb **en-krūda* etymologically related to Lith *grūžiu*, *grūsti* 'to stamp, to punch', Latv *grūst* id. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Slav **sъrditi se* 'to get angry'); FRAENKEL 173-174; POKORNY I 460-462; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684 (to Skt *gṛđhyati* 'to wish').

ngrys aor. *ngrysa* 'to darken'. Goes back to PAIb **en-krūtja* further

connected with Slav **kryti* 'to cover', Lith *krūju*, *krūti* 'to pile'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 64 (to Lat *creper* 'dusky, dark'); BARIĆ *Glasnik SND* II 167-170 (to Gk *γνόφος* 'darkness, gloom'); FRAENKEL 291; POKORNY I 616-617; ÇABEJ *St.* I 379-380 (to IE **kers-* 'black'); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XIII 71-72.

nguc aor. *nguca* 'to rouse, to incite'. A phonetic variant of *ngus*.

ngujoj aor. *ngujova* 'to enclose, to lock up'. A prefixal derivative of *kunjoj*. ◇ WEIGAND 62 (denominative based on *kunj* 'peg, wedge'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 380 (follows WEIGAND).

ngul aor. *ngula* 'to thrust in, to stick in'. From PAIb **en-kula*, a zero grade etymologically related to Lith *kūlti* 'to thresh', Latv *kūlt* 'to strike' and further connected with IE **kel(ə)-* 'to strike' (MEYER *Wb.* 307, *Alb. St.* III 4). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 206; MANN *Language* XVII 14; FRAENKEL 211; POKORNY I 545-546; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

ngulmoj aor. *ngulmova* 'to insist'. Derived from *ngulmĕ* 'insistence', a deverbative of *ngul*.

nguč aor. *nguqa* 'to redden'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq* (MANN *HAED* 322).

nguroj aor. *ngurova* 'to growl, to howl'. Based on an unattested noun **gur* etymologically related to Skt *gavate* 'to sound', Gk *γόος* 'lamentation', Latv *gaura* 'chatter', Lith *gāuti* 'to howl' and the like. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 307 (onomatopoeia comparable with Germ *gurren* 'to coo' and similar); FRAENKEL 141-142; MAYRHOFER I 445; FRISK I 317-318; POKORNY I 403.

nguroj aor. *ngurova* 'to harden, to petrify'. Derived from *gur*. Another form based on *gur* is *ngurr* 'to stiffen'.

ngurtoj aor. *ngurrova* 'to hesitate, to falter, to stop'. From late Lat *incurrere* 'to commit (a fault)', see WEIGAND *BA* I 259. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 380-381 (to *gur* and *nguroj*).

ngus aor. *nguta* 'to urge, to force'. From PAIb **en-kutja* related to Lith

káuti 'to strike', Slav **kovati* 'to forge', Lat *cūdō* 'to strike', OHG *houwan* id. ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 46-47; BÜGA II 153; FRAENKEL 232; WALDE-HOFMANN I 300-301; POKORNY I 535; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

ngush aor. *ngusha* 'to annoy, to irritate'. Continues PALb **en-kuša* related to Lith *kūšti* 'to move', Latv *kustināt* 'to move, to touch'. ◊ FRAENKEL 321-322.

ngush aor. *ngusha* 'to embrace, to neck'. Derived from *gush*.

ngushtë adj. 'narrow'. Borrowed from Lat *angustus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA II 61; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 307). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 206; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMAN 111; HULD 98.

ngushulloj aor. *ngushullova* 'to comfort, to give consolation'. Another variant is *ngushëlloj* ~ *ngushëllonj*. Based on an unattested **kushulloj* borrowed from Lat *consolāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 307) ◊ HAARMAN 119.

ngjalë f, pl. *ngjala* 'eel'. A back-formation of **ngjelë* understood as an unlaoticized plural. The latter is borrowed from Lat *anguilla* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 308). ◊ CAMARDA I 36 (to Gk ἔγγελος id.); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232, *KZ* XXXVI 283; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* I 381-382 (from Illyr **engella* related to Lat *anguilla*).

ngjat adv. 'near'. Derived from *gjatë*, cf. Ital *lungo* 'along, beside', Fr *le long de* 'along' and similar coinages (ÇABEJ *St.* I 382-383). ◊ CAMARDA I 323 (to *ngas*); MEYER *Wb.* 220 (to *qas*); WEIGAND *BA* I 254 (to *ngjis*).

ngjelmët adj. 'salty, briny'. Another variant is *ngjelbët* < *ngjelmët*. The source of this word is PALb **en-salma* related to IE **sal-* 'salt': Gk ἄλς, Lat *sāl*, OIr *salann*, Arm *at* and the like (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 285). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 64-65, *LKUBA* 231; AÇAREAN *HAB* I 114-116; LA PIANA *Studi* I 41; FRISK I 78-79; VENDRYES [S] 17-18; WALDE-HOFMANN II 465-466; POKORNY I 878-879; OREL *IF* XCIII 106 (reconstructs PALb **en-salima*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 298-299.

ngjesh aor. *ngjesha* 'to gird'. From PALb **en-jāuša* etymologically connected with Av *yānhayeiti* id., Gk ζώννυμι id., Lith *juosti* id., Slav **jasati* 'to tear clothes' <* 'to tear into bands', **po-jasъ* 'belt' (MEYER *Wb.* 308, *Alb. St.* III 39, 61). The development of PALb *-s- to -sh is explained by the "ruki" rule rather than by derivation of -sh- from *-sj-. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 105; LA PIANA *Studi* I 92; PISANI *Saggi* 102, *REIE* IV 10; POKORNY I 513; FRAENKEL 198; VASMER III 351; FRISK I 617-618; HAMP *Laryngeals* 134; BARBER *JIES* III/4 294-320; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219; HULD 99, *KZ* CVII 169; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 129; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38, *IF* XCIII 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 299-300.

ngjesh aor. *ngjesha* 'to knead'. Derived from *gjesh*.

ngjëroj aor. *ngjërova* 'to try, to sample, to taste'. The corresponding Geg form is *gjinonj*. Borrowed from Lat *jējūnāre* 'to fast', with the further semantic development from 'not eat' to 'taste only'. The meaning 'to fast' is preserved by Geg *ngjinoj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 308 (to *gjër*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

ngjëroj aor. *ngjërova* 'to encircle; to jump over, to wade through'. Another variant is *gjerroj*. Derived from *gjer*. A relatively rare case of a verb based on a preposition/adverb.

ngjir m, pl. *ngjire* 'whirlpool'. Another form is *ngjirr*. Derived from *gjerë*. ◊ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 241-242 (to Skt *sirā* 'stream').

ngjirem refl. 'to get hoarse'. The same verb is attested without prefix as *qirem* 'to get hoarse', cf. also *shqirem* id. An onomatopoeia (HERMANN *KZ* XLI 47). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 308 (to Gk κέρχνος 'hoarseness' or E *hoarse*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 329 (to Gk κέρχνος); ÇABEJ *St.* I 383 (to *shqerr*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 300-301.

ngjis aor. *ngjita* 'to stick to'. Continues PALb **en-gleitja* related to Lith *glieju*, *gliëti* 'to smear', *glitūs* 'sticky', Gk γλοιός 'sticky stuff' and similar (MEYER *Wb.* 309). ◊ CAMARDA I 135 (to Gk ἔγκειμαι 'to press upon'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 62-63 (to Skt *sājati*); FRAENKEL 157; FRISK I 312-313; POKORNY I 363; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219, 243.

ngjizem refl. 'to clot, to curdle'. Derived from *gjizë*.

ngjok aor. *ngjoka* 'to knock'. Derived from *qok* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 383). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 192 (derived from *klokĕ* 'hooked stuff' of Romance origin).

ngjyej aor. *ngjyeva* 'to dip, to plunge, to dye, to color'. Borrowed from Lat *unguere* 'to smear, to anoint' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 308). ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (to Gk χέω 'to pour'); MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 225; HAARMANN 156.

ninĕ f 'cradle'. Borrowed from Rom **ninna* id.: Ital *ninna* 'lullaby', Sard *ninna* 'cradle' and similar (MEYER *Wb.* 309). The lack of rhotacism may be explained by a specific development of the geminate. Derived from *ninĕ* is *ninullĕ* 'lullaby'.

nip m, pl. *nipa*, *nipĕr* 'nephew, grandson'. Borrowed from Lat *nepōs* 'grandson' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 310). A rare case of a Latin loanword based not on the oblique stem *nepōtem* but on the restructured nom. sg. **nepos*. The vocalism of *nip* may reflect a relatively late borrowing from Dalm Lat *nepo* < Lat *nepōs*. ◊ CAMARDA I 200 (treats *nip* and Lat *nepōs* as cognates); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 99 (from IE **nepōt-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 92; BARTOLI *Dalm* II 414; JOKL *LKUBA* 15-28; SKOK *A ArbSt.* I 221 (from Dalmatian Romance); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 207 (agrees with PEDERSEN), *Stratificazione* 118-119; HULD 99 (follows PEDERSEN); LANDI *Lat.* 51, 143-145; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; BEEKES *CIEL* 139 (same as PEDERSEN); KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 226; DEMIRAJ *AE* 301-302.

nis aor. *nisa* 'to start, to begin, to prepare for journey'. Continues PALb **neitša* going back to IE **neikʰs* and related to Lith *su-nikti* 'to set upon, to attack', Slav **niknŕti* 'to rise, to grow'. If this comparison is accepted, the dubious Greek parallel in *veikos* 'quarrel, struggle' should be dropped. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 310 (from Gk ἐκίνησα 'to set off, to start out' - not without doubt); LAMBERTZ - PEKMEZI *Lesebuch* 107 (follow MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt* 63 (to Gk ἐνεγκεῖν); FRAENKEL 503; FRISK II 297; VASMER III 74-75; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

noĕkĕ f, pl. *noĕka* 'knuckle, joint'. There exists a close form *noĕĕ* id. Unclear.

nofkĕ f, pl. *nofka* 'nickname'. Borrowed from an unattested South Slavic

**novzka* 'new (name)', cf. SCr *Novka*, a feminine proper name.

nofull f, pl. *nofulla* 'jaw, jawbone, cheekbone'. Back-formation based on the borrowing of Lat *in offulae*, cf. *offula* 'small piece, little bit' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 383-384), with a semantic evolution opposite to that of *bukĕ*, cf. Ital dial. *gnoffele* 'jaw' of the same origin. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 310-311 (compares *nofull* with Ital *ganascia* 'jaw, jowl'; similarity with *offula* is accidental); BARIĆ *A ArbSt.* I 150-151 (compound of *no-* related to Lat *gena* 'face, cheek' and of *-full* compared with Slav **ĕel'ustz* 'jaw'); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 114 (to Skt *snāpayati* 'to make wash'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93-94.

nokĕr adj. 'small, tiny'. Derivative of **nokĕ* borrowed from Lat *innocuus* 'harmless, innocent'. ◊ CAMARDA I 137 (to Gk μικρός id.); MEYER *Wb.* 311 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology).

noshtĕr f, pl. *noshtra* 'sprout, young plant, sapling'. Borrowed from Rom **nōvaster* > Ital dial. *novastro* id. (JOKL *IF XXXVI* 98-100, *LKUBA* 212-213). ◊ MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 129, 136.

notoj aor. *notova* 'to swim'. Borrowed from Rom **notāre* replacing classical Lat *natāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43-44; MEYER *Wb.* 311). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (from IE **snĕ-* id.); MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 138.

nozikĕ f 'knife worn at the belt'. An early loanword from Slav **nožikъ* unattested in South Slavic, a diminutive of **nožь* 'knife' (MEYER *Wb.* 311). Note a peculiar substitution of Slav *-ž-. ◊ SVANE 85.

nu adv. 'when'. Continues PALb **nu* etymologically identical with IE **nu* 'now': Skt *nú*, Gk *vŕv*, Goth *nu*, OHG *nŕ* and the like. ◊ FRISK II 325; KLUGE 515-516; FEIST *Goth.* 380; MAYRHOFER II 175; POKORNY I 770.

nuhar m, pl. *nuharĕ* 'lair of young deer'. Derivative of *nuhas*, cf. also its derivative *nuhuris* 'to track (of hounds)'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 311 (*nuhuris* from Slav **n'uxati* 'to smell').

nuhas aor. *nuhata* 'to smell, to sniff'. Another variant is *njuhas*. Bor-

rowed from Slav **n'uxati* id., otherwise unattested in South Slavic. The same root is attested in SCr *njušiti* id. (DESNIČKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ SVANE 257.

nuk adv. 'not'. From PAIb **nuka* composed of **nu* < IE **ne* colored under the influence of the following labiovelar and **ka* < **k'o-*, a pronominal stem (JOKL *AArbSt* I 34-35), cf. such negatives in Skt *naca*, Lat *neque*, Goth *nih*, OIr *na-ch*, MW *na-c*, OBret *na-c* 'and not'. ◇ BOPP 490 (analyzes *nuk* as *ne* + an element identical with Gk οὐκ 'not'); CAMARDA I 312 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 304 (from Lat *nunquam* 'never' - phonetically impossible as Lat *-nqu-* may not yield *-k-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 207; MANN *Language* XXVI 385 (to Lat *nec*); CLACKSON *LR* 158; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD 99-100.

nulë f 'grandmother'. Borrowed from Rom **anulla* based on Lat *anus* 'old woman' (JOKL *LKUBA* 40-41). ◇ BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 413 (against JOKL in view of the unrhotalized *n-*); TREIMER *Slavia* III 45 (agrees with BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *St.* I 384 (from *nunël* 'grandmother' based on *nun* 'grandfather, godfather' < NGk *vouvós* 'godfather').

nullë f 'gum'. Borrowed from Lat *alveolum* in its later meaning as a word for a dental alveole. The Albanian form implies an earlier **lullë* with dissimilation of sonorants.

(G) **nus** m. 'thread, string'. Continues PAIb **snutja* related to Skt *snāvan-* 'band, sinew' and other continuants of IE **snēu-* 'to turn, to spin' (JOKL *Studien* 65), cf. in particular Skt *snuta-* 'of sinew'. ◇ POKORNY I 977; DEMIRAJ *AE* 302 (to *nyej*).

nuse f, pl. *nuse* 'bride, young woman, younger daughter-in-law'. Singularized plural of **nusë*. Borrowed from Rom **nūptia*, a local variant of Lat *nūpta* 'married woman, wife, bride'; for the formation cf. *nūptiae* 'wedding' (MEYER *Wb.* 312). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *snusā* 'daughter-in-law'); CAMARDA I 52 (links *nuse* to the continuants of IE **snusos* 'daughter-in-law'); MEYER *BB* VIII 191 (follows CAMARDA and reconstructs **nusjā*), *Alb. St.* IV 89, V 97 (accepts PEDERSEN's interpretation); PEDERSEN *BB* XIX 295 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology and supposes a dissimilation of sibilants leading to the preservation of the inlaut *-s-*), *KZ* XXXVI 279, 283, 339; WIEDEMANN *BB*

XXVII 214 (reconstructs **nukā*); JOKL *LKUBA* 14, *Balkangerm.* 132; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 207-208, *Stratificazione* 119 (reconstructs **snusjē*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 452; SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 319; CHANTRAINE 760; POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 137-138 (to Mingr *nosa, nis* 'daughter-in-law'); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 89; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD 100 (derives *nuse* from IE **nubh-tjā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 302-303 (to dialectal Rom **nunta* 'bride', **nuntiae* 'marriage').

nxeh aor. *nxeha* 'to heat, to warm'. Another variant is *nxej*. Continues PAIb **en-dzerska* related to *zjarr* (MEYER *Wb.* 485). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 84 (to *dhez*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 308; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 239.

nxit aor. *nxita* 'to urge, to stimulate, to hurry'. There also exists *zit* id. From PAIb **džita* related to IE **gʰi-* 'to live': Skt *jīvati*, Lat *vīvō* and similar (MANN *Language* XXVIII 36). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 302 (to Skt *dīyati* 'to fly, to soar'), 485 (from SCr *zatka*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 150-151 (to *nxeh* and *ndez*); MAYRHOFER I 439; WALDE-HOFMANN II 808-810; POKORNY I 467-469; ÇABEJ *St.* I 385-386, II 327 (prefixal derivative of *cys*); HAMP *SGI* 89 (from **gʰiVt-*, semantically cf. E *quick*).

nxjerr aor. *nxorra* 'to pull out, to draw out'. A prefixal derivative of *çjerr* (CAMARDA I 43). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 70 (derived from *djerr*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 325 (derived from *bie*); HAMP *Sprache* XXX/2 157 (follows PEDERSEN), *Münch. St. Spr.* XLI 52; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (agrees with MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 303-304 (to *ngre*).

nyç adj. 'hard, strong; gnarled'. Derived from *nyell*.

nyell m, pl. *nyej* 'ankle, gnarl, knot'. Borrowed from Lat *nōdulus* 'little knot'.

nyje f, pl. *nyje, neje* 'knot'. Singularized plural (originally, *nye*) of *ne* borrowed from Lat *nōdus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 302). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1046; JOKL *Studien* 60 (on *-y-*), *LKUBA* 64-65; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387, XXVIII 32; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 272, 276; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 64-65.

nytëroj aor. *nytërova* 'to murmur, to whisper'. Borrowed, with a dis-

similation of sonorants, from Lat *reiterāre* 'to repeat'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 386 (onomatopoeia).

Nj

njegull f 'fog, mist'. A dialectal phonetic variant of *mjegull* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 386). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 283-284 (from Lat *nebula* 'fog'); JOKL *Studien* 57.

njuh ~ **njuh** aor. *njeha* ~ *njeja* 'to count, to consider'. From PALb **nemska* further connected with IE **nem-* 'to divide, to take, to arrange, to count', cf. Gk *νέμω* 'to divide', Goth *niman* 'to take', Lat *numerus* 'member, element, number' and *nummus* 'coin, money' (OREL *IF* XLIII 113-114). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 314 (identifies *njuh* with *njuh* which is not very plausible semantically); BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 81; FEIST *Goth.* 375-376; WALDE-HOFMANN II 186-187; FRISK I 302-304; POKORNY I 763-764.

njeri m, pl. *njerëz* 'man, person, human being'. A more archaic form of sg. *njer* is preserved in Geg dialects. Goes back to PALb **nera* further connected with Skt *nār-* 'man', Gk *άνήρ* id., Arm *ayr* id. (BOPP 461-462; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 186; MEYER *Wb.* 313, *Alb. St.* III 66, 71). Note a rare plural in *-ëz* < **-adja* (JOKL *LKUBA* 89). ◇ PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 242; JOKL *Studien* 102; AÇAREAN *HAB* I 173-174; FRISK I 107-108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 208-209; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38; PORZIG *Gliederung* 155; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MAYRHOFER II 148-149; POKORNY I 765; HULD 100-101; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 142; DEMIRAJ *AE* 304-305.

njerkë f, pl. *njerka* 'stepmother'. Borrowed from Lat *noverca* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 313). The masculine form *njerk* is built on the basis of *njerkë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 386). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1043, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 138.

njethet refl. 'to fertilize, to be fertile, to grow, to bud'. From **ngjethet*, derivative of *gjethe*.

një ~ **nji** num. 'one'. From PALb **ainja*, a derivative of IE **oi-no-* id.: Lat *ūnus*, Goth *ains*, OPrus *ains* and the like (CAMARDA I 169). ◇ MEYER

Wb. 313-314 (prefers an erroneous comparison with Skt *anyá-* 'other', Gk *ένιοι* 'some'), *Alb. St.* III 66; BARIĆ *ARS* 64-65 (from **n-sem-*); HAMP *Anc. IE* 113 (follows MEYER and connects *një* with Messap *ennan*); TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 296-297; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 209 (agrees with MEYER); FEIST *Goth.* 24; WALDE-HOFMANN II 821-823; POKORNY I 286; HULD 101 (without any serious reason, postulates a back-formation from fem. **smjeH*); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39; HAMP *Numerals* 903-904; CLACKSON *LR* 175.

njicë f, pl. *njica* 'big fishing net'. From **ngjicë*, derived from *ngjis* in view of the expression (*peshku*) *ngjis* '(the fish) sticks to the net' = 'gets into the net' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 386-387).

njilë f, pl. *njila* 'tench'. A dialectal form of *ngjalë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 387).

njuh ~ **njuh** aor. *njoha* ~ *njofa*, *njova* 'to know'. From PALb **gnaska* related to IE **genā-* ~ **gnō-* id., cf. particularly, Gk *γινώσκω*, Epidaur *γνώσκω*, Lat (*g*)*nōscō* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 47; MEYER *Wb.* 314, *Alb. St.* III 17, 66). The vocalism of present was changed under the influence of aor. *njova* which is identical with OE *cnáwan* id. < **gnē-u-* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXII/1 82-83). ◇ ASCOLI *KZ* XVII 351; BARIĆ *ARS* 65-66; FRISK I 308-309; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 339 (reconstructs **gnē-sk-*), *Kelt. Gr.* II 547; LINDEMAN *IF* LXXI 283 (to ON *kná*, *knégum* < Gmc **knē-jan*); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 54; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 209; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34; WALDE-HOFMANN II 176-177; POKORNY I 376-378; ANTILA *Schw.* 71; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239; HULD 101-102 (clumsy reconstruction of a causative **gnoH-ēskoH*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 130; OREL *IF* XCIII 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 305-306 (similar vocalism in Hitt *ganēš-* 'to know').

njollë f, pl. *njolla* 'spot, mark, stain'. Dialects preserve a more archaic form *ngjollë*. From PALb **en-sālā* related to ON *sqrlr* 'dirty', OIr *sal* 'dirt' (JOKL *Studien* 65-66). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 47 (to *njuh*); VENDRYES [S] 16; POKORNY I 879; ÇABEJ *St.* I 387 (to *ngjyey*).

njomë ~ **ngjomë**, **nglomë** adj. 'wet'. The verb *njom* 'to make wet' is derived from the adjective. Based on PALb **glāima* related to OE *clám* 'clay', Lith *gléimės* 'slime' and other continuants of IE **glēi-* (JOKL *Studien* 66). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 315 (borrowed from Lat *unguō* 'to spread, to smear'); POKORNY I 364; ÇABEJ *St.* I 387-388 (verbal adjective of

ngjyej); DEMIRAJ *AE* 306-307 (to Goth *hnasqus* 'soft, fine' or to OHG *naz* 'wet').

O

oborr m, pl. *oborre* 'yard, court'. Borrowed from Slav **obvorъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *obor*, SCr *obor* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 314). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 150-151; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; SVANE 58.

ofiq m, pl. *ofiqe* 'service, function'. Borrowed from Lat *officium* id.

ofsh m 'glow, heat'. Variant of *afshë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 3 (to *afë* 'breath').

ofshë f, pl. *ofsha* 'curse'. Derived from *ofsh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 220.

ograjë f, pl. *ograja* 'pasture'. Borrowed from Slav **ogordja* 'fencing', cf. SCr *ograda*. As to Alb -j-, it may either reflect an early South Slavic *-dj- or, rather, go back to *-gj- < SCr -dj-. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 315 (to SCr *ograda* 'fence, yard'); JOKL *Slavia XIII* 305-306 (from Chakavian *ograja*); ; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159; RUSAKOV *LIs* 1982 195; SVANE 58.

okër f 'kind of grain, Einkorn'. Borrowed from Gk ὄκρος 'birds' pease, Lathyrus Ochrus' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 389) or, rather, from substantivized ὄκρος 'pale-yellow'. ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk ὄκρον).

okitë f 'frost or snow (on tree branches)'. Borrowed from Slav **ob(ъ)kytъ* id., cf. SCr *okit* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 14).

okoll adv. 'around'. Borrowed from Slav **okolъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *okol*, SCr *oko*, *okolo* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 315). ◇ BERNEKER I 548; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197, 303; ÇABEJ *St.* I 389 (local borrowing from Serbo-Croatian); SVANE 271.

opingë f, pl. *opinga* 'sandal'. Other variants are *opangë*, *opengë*. Borrowed from Slav **ob(ъ)ръпъкъ* 'sandal, shoe', cf. SCr *opanak* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 315). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-*

lenie 175-176; HAMP *LB XIV/2* 13; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; FLORESCU *REF IX/6* 594 (on the Dacian origin of this type of sandals); SVANE 100.

orendi pl. 'equipment, utensils'. An early borrowing from Slav **orqđbje* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 389). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 316 (from Ital *arredo* 'fittings, furnishings'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 192; SVANE 65.

orok m 'time, term, limit, appointment'. Borrowed from Slav **ob(ъ)rokъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *obrok*, SCr *obrok*. Note that *oroqe* 'wish' is a singularized plural of *orok*. ◇ SVANE 176.

orri m 'eagle, buzzard'. Borrowed from Slav **orъlъ* id., cf. Bulg *orel*, SCr *orao* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 316). ◇ SVANE 148.

osh adv. 'trailing, along the ground'. A fossilized form of a rare *osh* 'harrow'. Thus, the original meaning of the adverb was 'trailing as a harrow'.

oshtë f, pl. *oshta* 'pole, drawbar'. Borrowed from Slav **ojište* id.: Bulg *oište*, SCr *ojište* (MEYER *Wb.* 316). ◇ SVANE 29.

otavë f 'second crop of hay'. Borrowed from Slav **otava* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *otava*, SCr *otava* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◇ SVANE 41.

P

pa prep. 'without', conj. 'before, then', particle 'let' (in imperative). From PALb **apa* reflecting IE **apo*: Skt *āpa* 'away, off', Gk ἀπό 'from', Goth *af* 'from' and, in particular, Lith *pa-* (prefix), Slav **po* 'on, along' (BOPP 500; CAMARDA I 320; MEYER *Wb.* 317, *Alb. St.* III 30). ◇ JOKL *IF XXXVII* 107-108 (*pa* 'before' < **parj* related to *prej*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224; FEIST *Goth.* 3; POKORNY I 53-55; MAYRHOFER I 37; FRAENKEL 519-520; VASMER III 292-293; ÇABEJ *St.* II 5 (against JOKL), apud DEMIRAJ (to Osc *perum* 'without'); HULD 156; OREL *SBJa Lek-sikol.* 151-152; DEMIRAJ *AE* 307-308 (to Goth *fawai* 'few, little').

padis aor. *padita* 'to accuse'. Borrowed, with a semantic change, from